THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
BENGALI LANGUAGE
The Origin and Development of the English Language
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

BY

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With a Foreword by

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In Two Parts
Part I: Introduction, Phonology

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FOREWORD

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

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

For many reasons, Bengali, in itself, is specially deserving of careful study. With a literature going back for several centuries, and preserved
with some care, it gives opportunities for the study of its history that are wanting in some other forms of Indian speech. It is a typical descendant of the great language that, under the name of Magadhi Prakrit, was the vernacular of eastern North India for many centuries. This was the official language of the great Emperor Asoka, and an allied dialect was used by the Buddha and by Mahavira, the apostle of Jainism, in their early preaching. With the shifting of political gravity at a later epoch, it became superseded as a literary form of speech by dialects current farther to the West, but as a spoken language it has developed into the modern Bengali, Oriya, Bihari, and Assamese.

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

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

Rathfarnham,
Camberley (Surrey),
October, 1925.

George A. Grierson.
idāṁ nāma ṛṣibhyāḥ pūrvajēbhiaḥ
pūrvēbhyaḥ pathikṛdbhiaḥ
āvīr āvīr ma ēdhi

utā tvaḥ pāśyan nā dadarśa vācam
utā tvaḥ śṛṇvān nā śṛṇōti ēnām
utō tuasmāi tanūam vi sasrē
jāyeva pātyē uṣatī suvāsāḥ
PREFACE

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

The idea of systematically investigating the history of my mother-tongue first struck me over twelve years ago when I was at college in my native town of Calcutta reading for the Master of Arts examination in English with Old and Middle English and History of the English Language and a little Germanic Philology as my special subjects. The modern methods of linguistic investigation which I saw applied to English filled me with admiration and enthusiasm; and as the problem of Indo-European is equally connected with my own speech, my interests naturally began to turn wistfully in that direction. From Morris and Skeat, Sweet and Wright, and Jespersen and the rest, and from Helfenstein and Brugmann,—masters of Indo-Aryan philology like Uhlenbeck and Wackernagel, Whitney and Pischel, Beames and Bhandarkar, Hoernle and Grierson and others were naturally approached and studied for guidance and light; and I began also to look round myself, to observe facts in the words as written and as actually spoken. A few years of haphazard reading and observation, and taking notes, and stumbling on in this way, while working as Assistant Professor and Lecturer in English and in Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta; and then in 1916 I presented as a three years' research programme for the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the Calcutta University a scheme for 'an Essay towards an Historical and
Comparative Grammar of the Bengali Language,’ with a specimen of my work embodied in a thesis on ‘the Sounds of Modern Bengali’ as a preliminary to the investigation of Bengali Phonology. My programme and my thesis were approved by the adjudicators, the late Principal Rāmendra Sundara Trivedī and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pañjīt Haraprasāda Śāstrī, M.A., C.I.E. For the University Jubilee Research Prize for the following year the subject was announced as ‘Comparative Philology with special reference to the Bengali Dialects,’ and this allowed me an opportunity to put into shape my notes on the dialects of Bengali, while winning me the prize. The three years’ work as Premachand Roychand student consisted of a monograph on the Persian element in Bengali, a study of the Bengali verb and verb-roots, and a study of the language of the Old Bengali Cāryā poems, combined with further notes on Bengali Phonetics.

In 1919 I was selected for a Government of India linguistic scholarship for the scientific study of Sanskrit in Europe. My three years’ stay in Europe, during 1919-1922, at the Universities of London and Paris, has naturally enough been of the greatest value for me in my work. It enabled me to come in touch in London with scholars like Dr. L. D. Barnett, with whom I read Prakrit, and who supervised my work in London; Dr. F. W. Thomas, who as lecturer in Comparative Philology at University College guided me in my study of Indo-European Philology; Professor Daniel Jones, under whom I studied Phonetics, who was not only my śikṣā-guru but also a warm friend and helper; besides Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, and most sympathetic of men, and Professor R. W. Chambers (of University College), and Messrs. E. H. G. Grattan and Robin Flower (also of University College), whose classes respectively in Persian, Old English, Gothic and Old Irish I attended; and in Paris, I had the privilege of sitting at the feet of a master like Professor Antoine Meillet for different branches of Indo-European linguistics, and of studying Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan philology under Professor Jules Bloch, besides meeting other eminent scholars like Professors Sylvain Lévi, Paul Pelliot and Jean
Przyluski. While I was in England Sir George Grierson took a personal interest in my work, an interest which manifested itself in many ways and which he in his kindness and his love of science still retains. This has benefited me to the greatest degree imaginable; and the fellowship of common studies with this doyen of Indo-Aryan Linguistics which it has been my very great fortune to enjoy, has been, along with my coming in similar personal touch with Professor Jules Bloch, an inspiration in my studies and my labours; and I may say the same of my coming to know Professor Meillet, the savant and the teacher. To all these gentlemen I have to convey my most grateful thanks for all their kindnesses and for all that I have received from them as their pupil.

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

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

Linguistics as a modern science is still in its infancy in India, and the meagre dose of 'Comparative Philology' or 'Historical Grammar' which our college students reading advanced courses in Sanskrit or English, not supplementing it by any acquaintance with another cognate language of equal importance, most unwillingly gulp down, is hopelessly inadequate to create an intelligent interest in the subject. Added to this initial difficulty, Indo-Aryan linguistics both of the classical and modern periods has formed the favourite haunt of mere amateurs who seek to compensate for their want of knowledge of the principles of historical grammar and of the modern science of language by professing utter contempt of it; and the professed student of literature who knows the language but not its history shares in this contempt. To make confusion worse confounded, the spirit of scholasticism is not yet dead: we have elaborate grammars of Sanskrit masquerading as Bengali grammar, in which the genuine Bengali forms have been branded as vulgar (asādhu) beside the so-called 'polite' (sādhu) forms borrowed from Sanskrit. The first professedly historical grammar and etymological dictionary of Bengali (by that erudite and versatile scholar Rāi Bahādur Yogesh Chandra Ray Vidyānidhi, published by the Vangrīya Sāhitya Parisad, Bengali year 1819-1822), for instance, has not been able to shake off the Sanskrit idea by appreciating the true line of linguistic development. A historical grammar of Bengali in the true sense of the term there has never been in Bengali; and there has not been a work exclusively on Bengali by any European scholar, on the lines of Trumpp's Sindhi Grammar, or Kellogg's Hindi Grammar, or C. J. Lyall's Sketch of Hindustani, to guide the Bengali scholar in acquiring a true perspective which the too near presence of Sanskrit and the fact of the language being his mother-tongue generally blur for him. But there have at times been refreshing manifestations of common sense in writing grammars of Bengali. The first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother-tongue was the Father
of Modern India, the great Rājā Ram Mohun Roy, whose work was published in English in 1826, and in Bengali in 1833; and he knew what we should mean by 'Bengali.' Chintāmanī Gāñguli's book (published in the early eighties) is a great advance on the so-called Bengali grammars of the period, and in recent times we have Nakulēśvara Vidyābhuṣaṇa's little book (first edition Bengali year 1305, fourth edition 1315), and mention may be made of Ḥṛṣīkēśa Śāstrī's book (Bengali year 1307 = 1900). But the first Bengali with a scientific insight to attack the problems of the language was the poet Rabindranath Tagore; and it is flattering for the votaries of Philology to find in one who is the greatest writer in the language, and a great poet and seer for all time, a keen philologist as well, distinguished alike by an assiduous enquiry into the facts of the language and by a scholarly appreciation of the methods and findings of the modern western philologist. The work of Rabindranath is in the shape of a few essays (now collected in one volume) on Bengali phonetics, Bengali onomatopoetics, and on the Bengali noun, and on other topics, the earliest of which appeared in the early nineties, and some fresh papers appeared only several years ago. These papers may be said to have shown to the Bengali enquiring into the problems of his language the proper lines of approaching them.

Two works, however, though not on historical grammar, have been specially useful in writing this book, and I cannot be too grateful to the scholars responsible for them. These are the Bengali Dictionary of Jñānendrā Mōhan Dās, and the edition of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,' our most important Middle Bengali text, by Basanta Raṇjan Rāy Vidvadvallabha. The former work presents the richest collection of material for phonology and for the study of the formative affixes of both New Bengali and Middle Bengali; and the latter with its excellent commentary and word index, especially the latter, has been an invaluable help for both phonology and morphology. For the rest, stray papers and monographs on points of vocabulary and grammar, in the Journal of the Vāṇgītīya Sāhitya Pariṣad and in periodicals like the 'Prabāṣī,' have at times been requisitioned. These latter of course are not always
up-to-date in their methods, but have nevertheless been very useful. My obligations in each case are indicated at the proper place. In connexion with the chapter on the Phonology of the Persian Element in Bengali, I have to acknowledge gratefully the assistance I received from my friend Khān Bahādur Shamsu-l-'Ulamā Maulāvī Muḥammad Hidāyat Husain, Ph.D., of the Presidency College, Calcutta, with whom I went through my list of Perso-Arabic loan-words in Bengali in relation to their original forms.

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

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

The book is now placed before the public, and while I do so I recall with the greatest sorrow that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is no longer in our midst to see it completed. Sir Asutosh's services to his University and to his people and his towering personality are well known in our country, and I need not dilate upon them here. For the foreign scholar interested in Indian Philology and in the spread of modern science in India to form some idea of the work of Sir Asutosh in the University of Calcutta, I would refer to the obituary note on him from Professor Sylvain Lévi, who had occasion to know the man as well as his ideals and achievements, in the 'Journal Asiatique' for 1924. In his sudden and untimely death in May 1924, I mourn the loss not only of a great national figure but also of a personal friend, and especially of one who was keenly interested in this work. Those of us who were privileged to come in intimate touch with his personality and followed his lead in university matters can say wholeheartedly that his indeed was a "svādu sakhyam" as well as a "svādvī prāṇītīḥ". After my return from Europe late in 1922, I was at a loss how to print my book, and naturally I turned to Sir Asutosh, my patron, my friend, philosopher and guide. Sir Asutosh had watched my career abroad, and he at once offered to publish my book through my Alma
Mater. For over a decade before that time, Sir Asutosh had been actively engaged in establishing and furthering the study of Bengali and other Indian Modern Languages in the University of Calcutta. He was responsible for the foundation of the first post of research-lecturer for an Indian language in an Indian University—the Bengali research fellowship established in 1913. After creating the University Departments of Post-graduate Teaching and Research in Arts and Science in 1916, which formally transformed Calcutta University from an examining body (teaching but indirectly through affiliated colleges) into a teaching and investigating one, he instituted the study of Indian Vernaculars as a subject for the M.A. examination in 1919. He made provision for the teaching of all the important vernaculars of India, Aryan and Dravidian; and at his instance important volumes of typical selections from the different North Indian languages were undertaken and published. In 1922, he founded the Khaira chair of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics with the endowments furnished by the late Kumār Guruprasād Singh of Khaira, and selected me as its incumbent. Sir Asutosh's idea was to establish in Calcutta a school of Indian philology, in the widest sense of the term. He had a number of well thought-out plans, but death has put a stop to all of them. When my book was taken up by the University Press, Sir Asutosh showed a personal interest in it, and after the initial difficulties in preparing the necessary types with diacritical marks were overcome, thanks to his solicitude, he watched the progress of the work, and was at times impatient at the delay. It was a most cherished hope of mine that he would see the completion of the work, and it is my greatest regret that this hope remains unfulfilled.

While carrying the book through the press, I have received uniform kindness and encouragement from everybody concerned, and I cannot be too grateful to them. I have to express my thanks especially to the Assistant Registrar of the University, Bābu Yogesh Chandra Chakravartti, M.A., whose unfailing courtesy and prompt action have been of great help; to Bābu Atul Chandra Ghaṭāk, M.A., Superintendent
of the University Press, who took a keen interest in my book, and granted me every facility that the University Press could offer, and allowed me many special privileges: his kindness has been constant during the three years that the book took to print—the first forme was printed early in 1923, and the last ones in 1926; to Baibu Kālipada Dās, B.A., Chief Assistant in the University Press, whose expert proof-reading and whose most intelligent interest have saved me from many a typographical error and many a lapsus calami. I have also to record that the compositors in the University Press, Bengali young men all of them, appreciated my labours and gave their most cheerful coöperation. A number of typographical errors nevertheless will appear. For these I am to a large extent responsible, as all the proofs from first to last (there were sometimes five or six proofs to read before one forme could be printed) were corrected by me. In the Additions and Corrections at the end of the book I have pointed out such typographical and other errors as have come to my notice, but I fear some more, though I hope they are of a trivial sort, have escaped my scrutiny, and for this I crave the indulgence of the reader.

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

I have indicated the scope of my work in a detailed list of Contents, and a further index of the topics discussed, as well as of the names, would have increased the bulk of the work and delayed the publication for a still longer period. The Contents I hope will be found to be enough.
"Méga biblión, méga kakón": the great evil however has been done—the text of my book, barring the Contents and the Index, runs up to nearly 1100 pages; but this could not be helped—as the subject, it must be admitted, is a very wide one. I have not stinted any labour, and I have tried to do my best: but

"ā paritōṣād viduṣām na sādhu manyē prayōga-vijñānam".

THE UNIVERSITY,  
CALCUTTA:  
15 JUNE, 1926.  

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.
ABBREVIATIONS

A.C. = After Christ.
Arab. = Arabic.
ASB. = Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
B.C. = Before Christ.
B., Beng. = Bengali.
Bib. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica Series, ASB.
Coll. = Colloquial.
DMG. = Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Berlin.
Drav. = Dravidian.
E. = East, Eastern.
EB. = East Bengal, East Bengali.
eMB. = Early Middle Bengali.
eMIA. = Early Middle Indo-Aryan.
Hind. = Hindīstānī.
IA. = Indo-Aryan.
IAnt. = Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IE. = Indo-European.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin.
I.-Ir. = Indo-Iranian.
JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
ABBREVIATIONS

JBBRAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Langue Marathe = ‘La Formation de la Langue marathe’ by Jules Bloch,
LSI. = Linguistic Survey of India.
LMB. = Late Middle Bengali.
LMIA. = Late Middle Indo-Aryan.
Māg. = Māgadhi.
MB. = Middle Bengali.
MIA. = Middle Indo-Aryan.
MSL. = Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, Paris.
N. = North, Northern.
NB. = New Bengali.
N.E. = North-East, North-Eastern.
NIA. = New Indo-Aryan.
N.W. = North-West, North-Western.
OB. = Old Bengali.
OIA. = Old Indo-Aryan.
OWR. = Old Western Rājasthānī.
Pers. = Persian.
Pers.-Arab. = Perso-Arabic.
Pkt. = Prakrit.
S. = South, Southern.
Śaur. = Śāraśeṇi.
S.E. = South-East, South-Eastern.
ŚKK. = ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,’ edited by Basanta-Raṇjana Rāya, VSPd.,
Bengali year 1323.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPd. = Sahitya Pariṣad.
Stand. = Standard.
ABBREVIATIONS

sta., stas. = semi-tatsama, semi-tatsamas.
S.W. = South-West, South-Western.
tbh., tbhs. = tadbhava, tadbhavas.
ts., tss. = tatsama, tatsamas.
U.P. = United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
VSP. = ‘Vanga Sāhitya Paricaya’ or Typical Selections from Early
Bengali Literature, Two Volumes, Calcutta University, 1914.
VSPd. = Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta.
VSPdP. = ‘Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā.’
W. = West, Western.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
SIGNS

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

TRANSLITERATION OF BENGALI.

অ has been transcribed as « a », when the original sound of [ɔ] (see below, under Phonetic Transcription) is retained; as « a' » or « ɔ » indifferently, when as a result of Umlaut and loss of following « i » or « u » the sound is altered to [ɔ]: when the spelling is kept in view, « a' » has been used, and when the pronunciation, « ɔ ». The letter « a » represents a long অ « a » sound which seems to have resulted in OB. and MB. from an earlier group « া, া, া » . A quiescent অ, not indicated in the Bengali spelling by ( = the « virāma » or « hasanta »), is transcribed « a », i.e. a deleted « a » : e.g., অনল = « ালী », but চলী « ালী » (cōlō). In a final া « yά », where it represents an earlier « -e », the « a » has not been noted: া = « y ». In personal names and names of books, simple « a » has been used for অ, and not « a », and the symbol « ə » also has not been employed.

আ, ই, ঈ, উ, ঊ have been transcribed respectively as « a, i, ɪ, u, ŋ ». As results of « sandhi », « া, ি, ɹ » also have been employed. ই উ forming separate syllables, in writing at least, are denoted by « i, ŋ ».

শ have been transcribed as « r, ɹ », with a vertical bar below, the commoner « r, ɹ » being retained respectively for the so-called ‘cerebral r’ (র, ɻ) and for the ‘cerebral l’ (= ল, not found in Bengali).

এ এ ও ও = « e, ai, ə, au » ; « Sandhi » এ, ও = « e, ə ».

t = « ɾ » or « ɹ » ; s = « ɻ » ; “ = « * » on the top of the vowel (e.g., অ = অ, আ = আ, ই = ই, ধ’ = ɹ; উ = ɹ, ই’ = ɹ ; ə = ɻ, ɹ = ɻ).

ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ঙ = « k, kh, g, gh, ɳ ».
চ, ছ, জ, ঝ, ঞ = « c, ch, j, jh, ɳ ».
ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ, ণ = « t, th, d, dh, ɳ » ; ফ, ফ = « r, rh ».
ত, থ, দ, ধ, ন = « t, th, d, dh, n ».
প, ফ, ব, ভ, ম = « p, ph, b, bh, m ».
TRANSLITERATION

\[ \text{\( \varphi = \langle j \rangle \) in \textit{tadbhavas} mainly; and in some cases in \textit{tatsamas}, \( \varphi = \langle y \rangle \).} \]

See below, under \( \varphi \).

\[ \text{\( \varphi, \lambda = \langle r, l \rangle \).} \]

\[ \text{\( \varphi = \langle b \rangle \) when initial, intervocal and final, \( \langle w \rangle \) when post-consonantal.} \]

\[ \text{\( \varphi, \gamma, \lambda = \) respectively \( \langle s, g, s \rangle \).} \]

\[ \text{\( \h = \langle h \rangle \).} \]

\[ \text{\( \varphi = \langle y \rangle \). \( \varphi \) or \( \varphi \), subscript or post-consonantal (\( = j \)) is transcribed \( \langle y \rangle \).} \]

\( \varphi \) has in some cases been ignored, where it stands for the \( \langle w \rangle \) glide.

Glide \( \varphi \) has been occasionally transcribed as \( \langle \dot{y} \rangle \) and also as \( \langle \dot{w} \rangle \) (see text, pp. 338-342). The group \( \varphi \gamma \) has generally been transcribed as \( \langle w \rangle \), (or \( \langle \dot{w} \rangle \) to indicate its character as a glide sound).

\[ \text{\( \varphi = \langle k\dot{s} \rangle \); \( \varphi = \langle j\dot{u} \rangle \).} \]

TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT.

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

\( \langle \ddot{o}, \ddot{\sigma} \rangle \) have invariably been used for \( \varphi, \varphi \), to emphasise upon their long quantity; and the long diphthongs \( \ddot{\eta}, \ddot{\varepsilon} \) are written \( \langle \ddot{\alpha}i, \ddot{\alpha}u \rangle \). Accent in Vedic has been denoted by \( \langle ' \rangle \) on the vowel bearing \( \ddot{\eta} \): \( \langle \ddot{\alpha}, \ddot{i}, \ddot{\iota}, \ddot{\alpha}, \ddot{\u} \rangle \).

The \( \langle \text{anuvāra} \rangle \) has been indicated by \( \langle \ddot{n} \rangle \) or by \( \langle \ddot{m} \rangle \) following the etymology.

\[ \text{\( \varphi = \langle \ddot{r} \rangle \); \( \varphi = \langle \ddot{\ddot{r}} \rangle \) (i.e., \( \langle \dddot{r} \rangle \); \( \varphi = \langle \dddot{l} \rangle \); \( \varphi = \langle \dddot{l} \rangle \); \( \varphi = \langle \dddot{h} \rangle \).} \]

\( \varphi \) has been denoted by \( \langle v \rangle \) as usual, but in some cases, \( \langle w \rangle \) has been employed, to emphasise upon the bilabial pronunciation.

For \( \langle \ddot{e} \rangle \), see under \textit{Phonetic Transcription} below.

TRANSLITERATION OF PRAKRIT.

\( \langle \ddot{a}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{\sigma} \rangle \) have been used to emphasise on their short quantity before double consonants. Disyllabic groups—\( \langle a\ddot{i}, a\ddot{u} \rangle \).

The \( \langle \text{anuvāra} \rangle = \langle \ddot{n}, \ddot{m} \rangle \).

The \( \langle \text{ya-śruti} \rangle \) has been denoted by \( \langle \ddot{y} \rangle \), and \( \langle \ddot{w} \rangle \) has been used for a similar \( \langle w \rangle \) glide.

In some cases, spirant pronunciation has been indicated by \( \langle g, j, \ddot{s}, \ddot{h} \rangle \).

For \( \langle \ddot{e} \rangle \), see under \textit{Phonetic Transcription} below.
OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES.

Quiescent <ā> has not as a rule been indicated in languages other than Bengali by <ḍ> as it has been done in Bengali, except to make clear the derivation of a form or word in a particular case.

Oriya and Assamese <ā>, as in Bengali.

Bihari <ā>, a rounded vowel sound as in Middle Bengali.

Small <a, i, u>, at the top of the line, indicate the attenuated final vowels of Maithili, Sindi, etc.

The diphthongs are written <āi, āu> for Oriya and Assamese, and <ai, au> for the rest. The nasalised diphthongs are <āi, āu>.

The stops with simultaneous glottal closure, as for instance in East Bengali and in Sindi, have <' > after them: e.g., <g', b'>.

Generally <r, rh> have been used for intervocal <ṛ,ṝ>, <ḍ, ḍh> where these letters are pronounced as the 'cerebral r, rh'.

For the letter <ṅ, v, w> have indifferently been used: generally <w> for Hindostani. Assamese and Oriya follow the Bengali way—<b-, -b>, <-b->, <-w-> (intervocal), <w> (post-consonantal).

Tamil palatals have been indicated by the italic <ṅ, r, t>, and the Tamil voiced cerebral spirant by <ḷ>.

<ś> is the voiced form of the sibilant <ṅ> = ṇ of Skt., which occurred in Indo-Iranian.

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

PERSIAN AND ARABIC.

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

<ṅ> has generally been employed to indicate the letter <ṅ>: the usual transcription is <kh> or <kh>.

<ś> = ṣh, sh of English; <ṣ> = j, or s as in English pleasure = French j.
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

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

[::] after a symbol denotes length of the sound indicated by it, whether a vowel or a consonant; ["] on the top of a vowel indicates nasalised pronunciation; and [’] before a syllable indicates stress upon it and ["'] indicates strong stress. The little vertical bar [|] beside a stop sound shows that it is unexploded, e.g., [pi, ti, ki].

[a]: ‘front a,’ as in North English man, cat, heard in dialectal West Bengali pronunciation of a word like কাও[kaːl] yesterday, tomorrow, as opposed to কাল[kal] time. Nasalised form = [ã].

[u]: a central vowel occurring in Modern Portuguese: see pp. 621-622.


[o]: the sound of o as in Southern English hot, lot: it occurred in Old Bengali for the later অ[ɔ] (see below): see Text, p. 258. It is a kind of [o] without lip-rounding.

[b]: as in English = the Bengali ব.

[b’]: made with simultaneous glottal closure, as in Sindhī, or in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [b’a:t] boiled rice = Standard ভাত[bhaːt].
[bh] : the 𐎕 of Sanskrit and Hindi etc.: the voiced labial stop aspirated.
[b] : bilabial fricative, the same as [v] for which see below.
[c] : palatal stop, unvoiced—the old sound of Skt. ॠ—resembling in acoustic effect a fronted or palatalised  k, i.e., a sort of  ky.
[ch] : the same aspirated = the old sound of Skt. קלאסי.
[q] : palatal affricate, unvoiced = the West Bengali  FINSEQ.
[qh] : unvoiced palatal affricate, aspirated = West Bengali ܬ.
[q] : unvoiced palatal fricative, the sound of ch in German ich : the old value of the Skt. ऋ.
[d] : interdental stop, voiced = ध of Bengali. (In OIA., this sound was alveolar).
[d'] : the same, with accompanying glottal closure, as in dialectal East Bengali [d'a:n] paddy = Standard Bengali धान [dha:n].
[d] : voiced alveolar stop, as in English and Assamese.
[d] : voiced cerebral or retroflex stop made with curled-up tongue-tip = ध of Sanskrit. The Bengali � is of the same class, but it is pronounced at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region.
[d'] : the above, with accompanying glottal closure: found in Sindhī, and in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [d'a:k] drum, tom-tom; to cover = Standard Bengali धाक [dha:k].
[df] : voiced cerebral stop aspirated = Sanskrit ध, West Bengali ܕ.
[ɾ] : voiced interdental spirant = th in English this [ðis], then [ðən], same as  dental of Arabic as in د [ða:t], نصر [ناصر] etc.
[d] : voiced dental or alveolar stop, velarised, i.e. made with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue: occurring in Arabic (see Text, pp. 567ff).
[d] : voiced alveolar unilateral, velarised: occurring in Arabic (see p. 568).
[dz] : voiced dental or alveolar affricate = dialectal East Bengali ฑ.
[dz] : voiced supra-alveolar or palatal affricate, as in English judge = [dʒʌdʒ].
[e] : high-mid front vowel, as in West Bengali ে [de:] land, country. Nasalised form = [ě].
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

[ə]: 'semi-vowel e,' the Bengali ง as in ง ANSI [maēa] (Skt. ง ANSI = :ma:ia:].
[ɛ]: a sound intermediate between [e] and [ɛ] (see below).
[æ]: the 'neutral vowel' or 'shēvā'—a central vowel as in English again [ægeiʃ], Hindīstānī मूर्त [mʊrət] image, रतन [rətən] gem, etc.
[a]: low-mid front vowel, as in dialectal East Bengali কেবল [kəbol] only, or in English get [get]. Nasalised form = [ə]..
[ɔ]: a central vowel, as in English bird, her [bɔ:d, hɔ:d].
[f]: unvoiced denti-labial spirant, as in English. Often heard in Bengali for  fluoride = [ph].
[θ]: unvoiced bilabial spirant, the puffing sound made in blowing out a candle: commonly heard in Bengali for  fluoride = [ph] (in dialectal East Bengali also for  fluoride = [p]).
[g]: velar stop, voiced = English g in go, Bengali ง. (The symbol generally used for this sound in the IPA alphabet is [g]).
[g]: the above, with glottal closure: found in Sindhi, and in dialectal East Bengali, as in [g'or] = Standard Bengali ง fluoride  fluoride  fluoride house.
[g]: voiced velar stop, aspirated = Skt. घ, West Bengali घ.
[g]: voiced velar fricative = ง of Persian: found in dialectal East Bengali in an intervocal position.
[g]: voiced uvular stop (the IPA. symbol commonly used is [o]).
[y]: voiced uvular fricative = Arabic ง.
[h]: unvoiced glottal fricative, 'unvoiced h,' the ง sound of English, as in ง kat, happy. This is the Skt. and Bengali ง visarga, and the ง prāṇa or aspiration in the ง aghoṣa mahā-prāṇa or unvoiced aspirated sounds—[kh, ch (ʧh), th, th, ph].
[fi]: voiced glottal fricative, or 'voiced h' = English ง as in behind [bəflind], perhaps [pəflps] ;= Sanskrit घ, Bengali ง, Arabic ง.
[h]: a whispered ง , = ง, the so-called 'emphatic h' of Arabic.
[i]: high front vowel, unrounded, as in Bengali দীন [di:n] poor, দীন [di:n] day, English seen [si:n, si:n]. Nasalised form = [ɪ].
[ɨ]: high front vowel, retracted and brought down very near high-mid position = English i as in pit [pɨt].
[ɪ]: 'semi-vowel or consonantal i': the old value of Skt. घ.
\[ j \] : voiced palatal fricative, like English \( y \) in \textit{yes} [\( j\text{\textae} \)].

\[ z \] : a stronger form of the preceding, with greater audible friction, approaching \([\text{\textae}]\), for which see below, after \([z]\).

\[ j \] : voiced palatal stop = Skt. \( \text{\textae} \) (the old pronunciation of which was like that of a fronted or palatalised \( m = < \text{gy} \)).

\[ \text{\textae} \] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali \( \text{\textae} \).

\[ \text{\textae}' \] : palatal affricate, voiced, with glottal closure, found in dialectal East Bengali for the next sound, \([\text{\textae}\text{\textae}]\), of Standard Bengali.

\[ \text{\textae}\text{\textae} \] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali \( \text{\textae} \).

\[ k \] : unvoiced velar stop = Bengali \( \text{k} \), English \( k \) as in \textit{baker} [be\( k\text{\textae} \)].

\[ k\text{\textae} \] : the same, aspirated slightly = the English sound in \textit{cap} [\( k\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \)], \textit{king} [\( k\text{\textae}\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \)].

\[ kh \] : the same, aspirated strongly = Skt. \( \text{k} \), Bengali \( \text{k} \).

\[ l \] : 'clear l,' as in South English \textit{long} [\( l\text{\textae} \)], = Bengali \( \text{\textae} \).

\[ l \] : 'dark l,' or velarised \( l \), pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate, as in South English \textit{well} [\( w\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \)], \textit{Bill} [\( b\text{\textae} \text{\textae} \)].

\[ l \] : 'cerebral \( l \),' made with the curled-up tip of the tongue against the dome of the palate = Vedic \( \text{\textae} \). The same aspirated, \( \text{\textae}\text{\textae} \) = \([\text{\textae}]\).\(^1\)

\[ l \] : 'vocalic \( l \)' — forming a syllable with another consonant = Skt. \( \text{\textae} \); like the \( l \) in English \textit{bottle} [\( b\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \), \textit{bottl}].

\[ l\text{\textae} \] : slightly palatalised \( l \) as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).

\[ \text{\textae} \] : 'palatal \( l \),' pronounced with simultaneous raising of the front of the tongue towards the hard palate: a sound found in dialectal French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.

\[ m \] : bilabial nasal = the Bengali \( m \).

\[ m\text{\textae} \] : 'vocalic \( m \),' as in English \textit{bottom} [\( b\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \)].

\[ u \] : high back unrounded vowel = an \([u]\) made with spread lips: found in Tamil, in Japanese, and in other languages.

\[ n \] : alveolar nasal = the Bengali \( n \).

\[ n\text{\textae} \] : retroflex or cerebral nasal = the Sanskrit \( \text{n} \).

\[ n\text{\textae} \] : 'vocalic \( n \),' as in English \textit{button} [\( b\text{\textae}\text{\textae} \)].
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

[ŋ]: velar nasal: the Skt. ṣ, Bengali ছ, English ng as in sing [sɪŋ].
[p]: palatal nasal: the Skt. ṭ, Bengali ṭ, French and Italian gn, Spanish ñ.
[o]: high-mid back vowel, rounded, = Bengali ো in লোক [lo:k] person, world. Nasalised form = [ŋ].
[œ]: ‘semi-vowel o,’ e.g., Bengali ও in খাওঁ ও [khaːɔ].
[ɔ]: is a sound intermediate between [o] and [œ] (see below).
[œ]: low-mid front vowel, rounded, = the French sound as in cœur [kœʁ].
[œ]: low-mid back vowel, rounded: the sound as in English law [lo:], =
Bengali ও. Nasalised form = [ŋ].
[ø]: high-mid front vowel, rounded, = the German ö as in schön [ʃœn],
French eu as in peu [pœ].
[p]: bilabial stop, unvoiced: Bengali প.
[pʰ]: the same, slightly aspirated: English p in pat, pick [pʰæt, pʰɪk].
[ph]: the same, strongly aspirated: Skt. ṣ, proper sound of Bengali ছ.
[q]: uvular stop, unvoiced, = Arabic Confirmation.
[r]: alveolar trilled, voiced: Bengali র, Scots English r.
[r]: flapped r, or so-called ‘cerebral r’ = Bengali র, Hindi r.
[r]: ‘vocalic r’: = Skt. ṛ.
[r]: ‘fricative r’, alveolar, as in South English.
[ɾ]: retroflex fricative r, = the Tamil sound often transliterated ɾ.
[ɾ]: slightly palatalised r, as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).
[k]: trilled ‘uvular r’, as in Northern French.
[s]: dental or alveolar sibilant, = Skt. ṣ, East Bengali স, English s.
[ʃ]: unvoiced dental or alveolar sibilant, velarised, = Arabic ʃ.
[ʃ]: palatal sibilant made with the blade of the tongue, with slight lip-
rounding, = English ʃ, Arabic and Persian ʃ (in transcriptions
written ʃ, ʃ).
[ʃ]: palatal sibilant made with the front of the tongue = Bengali শ, ষ, স.
[ʃ]: cerebral or retroflex sibilant made with the tip of the tongue curled-up
against the dome of the palate = Sanskrit շ.
[t]: unvoiced inter-dental stop = Bengali ত. (The Skt. ṭ was originally
a danta-mūlya > or alveolar, like the English t.)
[θ]: the same, aspirated strongly = Sanskrit θ, Bengali ড.
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

[ᵲ]: alveolar t as in English better [bᵲtᵲ].

[tʰ]: the same slightly aspirated = English t in tap, tip [tʰap, tʰip].

[ʈ]: retroflex or cerebral stop, unvoiced, = z of Skt. The Bengali ʈ is of the same class, but it is pronounced at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region.

[ʈʰ]: the same aspirated = Sanskrit ʈ, Bengali ట.

[ʈ]: unvoiced dental or alveolar stop, with velarisation, = Arabic ʦ.

[ʦ]: unvoiced dental or alveolar affricate = East Bengali ʦ.

[ʈʂ]: supra-alveolar and palatal affricate, unvoiced = English ch as in church = [ʈʂɹʃ].

[u]: high back rounded vowel = Bengali ର, ଟ. Nasalised form = [ũ].

[u]: high back rounded, slightly advanced and approaching the mid position, = English short u as in put, book [pʰut, buk].

[v]: voiced denti-labial fricative, = English v; frequently heard in Bengali for ʃ = [bʃ].

[b]: voiced bilabial fricative: it is the common Indian value of the < antastha va > = ʋ: very commonly heard in Bengali for ʋ = [bʃ].

[ʋ]: a central vowel (or rather, a low-mid back vowel), considerably advanced, found in English, as in sun, enough [san, inʌf] = the Hindi stressed ु as in रत्न [rətən], and very probably also the Sanskrit < sanvṛta > ʋ.

[w]: bilabial semi-vowel, or 'consonantal u' (= [u]), as in English wet, won, the old value of the Skt. < antastha va > = ʋ.

[ʍ]: bilabial semi-vowel, or fricative (= [ʍ]), nasalised, occurring in Apabhraṅṣa, in Hindi, in Middle Bengali.

[x]: velar spirant, unvoiced = German ch - in ach, Persian ĵ: found in dialectal East Bengali. Occurs also in Slav, in Germanic: cf. pp. 243, 246, 387: see also p. 558. Ordinarily transcribed < kh >

[χ]: uvular spirant, unvoiced, = the spirant form of [q].

[y]: high front vowel, rounded — an [ɪ] pronounced with rounded lips = French u, German ü.

[z]: alveolar voiced spirant = English z, Persian j.

[ʒ]: the same sound, velarised, occurring in Arabic (=  ראוי).
[ɜ]: voiced palatal fricative = French j, Persian ʃ, (in transliterations from the Persian written ١ ʻ).

[θ]: inter-dental fricative, unvoiced = English th in thin, thank [θιν, θινκ], Arabic ω.

[ʔ]: the 'glottal stop,' = Arabic ‘hamzah’ (ی، ا).

[ɣ]: the ‘laryngeal fricative’ = Arabic ‘ayn’ (ع).

(In transliteration, the above two are denoted respectively by ʻ and ʼ).

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

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

Foreword by Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E. ... v—vii
Benedictory ... ix—x
Author's Preface ... xi—xx
Abbreviations ... xxi—xxiii
Signs ... xxiv
Transliteration ... xxv—xxvii
Phonetic Transcription ... xxviii—xxxiv
Contents ... xxxv—xxxv
Introduction ... 1—149
  Appendix A to Introduction ... 150—169
  Appendix B ... 170—178
  Appendix C ... 179—188
  Appendix D ... 189—223
  Appendix E ... 224—225
Phonology ... 237—648
Morphology ... 649—1052
  Appendix to Morphology ... 1053—1056
Additions and Corrections ... 1057—1078
Index of Bengali Words ... 1079—1179

DETAILED CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION, pp. 1-235.

§ 1: Position of Bengali, its age as a characterised language, p. 1;
§ 2: Number of Bengali Speakers, p. 1; Linguistic Boundaries—Aryan,
languages on the frontiers of Bengali, p. 1; non-Aryan neighbours of
Bengali, pp. 2-3; ‘Kôl’ and ‘Munjâ,’ p. 2. § 3: The Indo-European
speeches: the Indo-Iranian or Aryan branch: Indic, Dardic and Iranian
CONTENTS


§ 24 : the Indo-European people, their problematic area of characterisation, and primitive home, p. 23 ; Dialects in Indo-European, ‘satəm’ and ‘centum,’ p. 24. § 25 : Advent of the Indo-Europeans in Western Asia and Iran : the Aryans—the Mitanni—the Kassites—the Manda


§ 28: The Tibeto-Chinese Mongolians in the Himalayan regions and in North-Eastern India, pp. 29-30.


§ 37: the Aryan Speech in the East, in Bihar: the Prācyas, the Vṛātyas, pp. 45-46; Vṛātya speech: preference for 'l', p. 47; the Middle Indo-Aryan stage attained in the East earlier than in the
West, p. 48; Greek names of Eastern Indian peoples and places borrowed from Western Indo-Aryan dialects, p. 48.

§ 38: Development of Indo-Aryan: change in sound, and loss of old roots and words which are replaced by new ones, pp. 48-49; conservative tendencies: gradual establishment of Sanskrit as a literary language on the basis of the dialects of the Midland and the West, pp. 49-50; Pāṇini: his date: «chāndasa» and «lāukika»: dialects and schools of grammar in Pāṇini’s time, pp. 50-51; spread and general adoption of Pāṇinean Sanskrit by Brahmanical Aryan speakers: Sanskritisation of popular literature—the ‘Mahābhārata’, the ‘Purāṇas,’ and the ‘Rāmāyana’; «ārṣa» forms, pp. 51-52. Later History of Sanskrit: gradual approach to Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan in syntax and in general spirit: mutual influence in vocabulary, pp. 52-53; Sanskrit gradually accepted by the Jainas and the Buddhists: approaches to Sanskrit: ‘Gāthā’ or Mixed Sanskrit, or Buddhist Sanskrit: Final Triumph of Sanskrit, pp. 53-54; Sanskrit as the feeder of the Vernaculars, p. 54.

§ 39: ‘Prācyā’ characteristics in phonetics and morphology; ‘Eastern Prācyā’ or Māgadhī, p. 54; ‘Western Prācyā’ or Ardha-māgadhī, the speech of Kōsala, the speech of Buddha, pp. 55-56; the linguistic situation in Northern India at the time of Buddha, pp. 55-56; Pali, a Western or rather a Midland Speech, not based on the Eastern dialect (of Kōsala and Magadha), p. 57; influences of the various dialects on Pali, pp. 57-58; Sanskrit influence on Pali, p. 58; Ardha-māgadhī of the Jainas, p. 58; The ‘Eastern Prācyā’ or Māgadhī speech: the «s» pronunciation: oldest specimens of the Māgadhī dialect, pp. 58-59.

§ 40: The Śutanukā inscription, and the Brāhma seals from Magadha with «-ś-» for «-s-», p. 59. Dialects in the Inscriptions of Aśoka: the Midland Speech (‘Old Śauraseni’) and the Māgadhī Speech (with the «-ś-» characteristic) not represented, p. 60; temporary supremacy of Prācyā over Madhya-dēsa during Maurya times, p. 60; Sanskrit influence on Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan, p. 61; Middle Indo-Aryan dialects and the evidence of usage in the Sanskrit drama, pp. 61-62; the position of Māgadhī, p. 61; artificial character of later Middle Indo-Aryan, p. 62.
CONTENTS

§ 41: Overflow of Magadhan speech into Bengal, p. 62; the Vaṅgās, the Vagadhās, the Cērapāḍās, the Puṇḍrās in the Brāhmaṇa literature, pp. 62-63; the Rāḍhas and Suhmas in early Jaina tradition, p. 63; Bengal probably linked to Aryan India by the Maurya conquest, p. 63; spread of the Aryan speech through religious and cultural influence, pp. 63-64.


§ 45: Existence of a Pre-Aryan culture in Bengal, p. 70, but certain tribes were apparently rude and barbarous, p. 71; gradual Aryanisation of the Bengal tribes: introduction of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism: how the Aryan language spread in Bengal, pp. 71-74; progress of the Aryan speech and culture in Rāḍha, in Varṇendra, and in Vaṅga: Samataṭa: Bāgarī: pp. 73-74. (The legend of Vijayasiriha the Aryan coloniser of Ceylon: Vijaya-siriha and the first Aryan colonists in Ceylon went from Gujarat and not from Bengal: later connexions between Magadha-Bengal and Ceylon, through Buddhism and through trade, pp. 72-78.) Spread of Aryan speech in Ōḍra, p. 74.

§ 46: Aryanisation of Bengal in post-Mauryan times: the Susunia rock-inscription of Candra-varman: the Gupta conquest of Northern India and of Bengal: Kālidāsa’s mention of Bengal; ‘Bhāsa’ and Bengal: Jaina tradition and Bengal, pp. 74-76; spread of Brahmanical religion and culture under Imperial Gupta auspices, as evidenced from inscriptions, pp. 76-77. § 47: Fa Hien in Bengal (Tāmrālipti), p. 77; Hiuen Thsang’s evidence about linguistic and cultural conditions in Bengal and the Assam and Orissa tracts in the early part of the 7th century after Christ, pp. 77-78; Assamese and the Kāma-rūpa speech of the 7th century, p. 79.
§ 48: Substantial if not complete Aryanisation of Bengal proper by the 7th century, p. 79; political troubles in the 7th century and first half of the 8th century, pp. 79-80; foundation of the Pāla dynasty, welding into a political unity the Aryanised people of Bengal, p. 80; the importance of the Pāla period in the history of the Bengali people and old Bengali culture: formation of a Gauḍa-Vaṅga or Bengali nation, pp. 80-81; the rise of the Sēnas, p. 81; dissociation of Bengal from Magadha and from Mithilā in political and cultural matters, p. 81; formation of the Bengali speech, p. 81.

§ 49: Materials for the study of the Prāṣya (and Old Māgadhī) speech as the source of Bengali, p. 82. Fricative Pronunciation of Intervocal Stops and Aspirates lead to their elision and weakening, and this marks the progress of the Early Middle Indo-Aryan dialects into New Indo-Aryan, pp. 83-85; contrast between Mahārāṣṭrī on the one hand, and Āḷaurāṣṭrī-Māgadhī on the other, pp. 85-86. § 50: Transitional Middle Indo-Aryan, and the Prakrits of the Grammarians, pp. 86-87; grammars treating only of the archaic forms of speech, p. 87; advance of the Second Middle Indo-Aryan into the Third Middle Indo-Aryan or Apabhraṃśa stage, p. 87; Āḷaurāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa, and other hypothetical Apabhraṃśas, p. 87. § 51: Probable date when the ‘Apabhraṃśa’ stage for Middle Indo-Aryan came in, pp. 87-88; the ‘Dhakki’ dialect, p. 88; the ‘-ṭa’ > ‘-da’ affix in Apabhraṃśa, pp. 88-89; late names in ‘-ṭa, -da’, p. 89; where the ‘Apabhraṃśa’ stage was first developed or noticed, p. 89; the term ‘Apabhraṃśa,’ and analogous words, pp. 89-90; recent special technical use of the term ‘Apabhraṃśa’ in Indo-Aryan linguistics, p. 90; Apabhraṃśa literature, p. 90; Importance of Āḷaurāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa in Aryan India during the period of transition from Middle Indo-Aryan to New Indo-Aryan, pp. 90-91; the ‘Avaḥaṭṭha’ speech, p. 91.

§ 52: The modern representatives of a ‘Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa’—the present-day Māgadhī or Magadhan speeches, their mutual agreements and inter-relation, pp. 91-92; Grouping of the modern Magadhan speeches: Eastern, Central and Western Groups, p. 92; Common
CONTENTS

Magadhan Characteristics, pp. 92-93; Characteristics noticeable in Eastern Magadhan only, pp. 93-94; in Central Magadhan, p. 94; in Western Magadhan, pp. 94-95; Characteristics common to East Magadhan and Central Magadhan, p. 95; to East Magadhan and West Magadhan, pp. 95; to Central Magadhan and West Magadhan, p. 96. § 53: Probable date of separation of the various Magadhan groups from each other by each following its own line of development, pp. 96-97; ‘Proto-Bengali,’ ‘Proto-Maithili,’ ‘Proto-Öriya’ stages, when special characteristics manifested themselves in these speeches as forms of a Magadhi Apabhraṃśa, p. 97; the establishment of different affixes for the plural of the noun in the various groups, pp. 97-98; division of Eastern Magadhan into (a) Bengali-Assamese, and (b) Öriya, p. 98; shifting of stress in Old West Bengali, p. 98; early establishment of a Literary Speech uniting the various local dialects of Bengali, p. 98; separation of Assamese from the common Bengali-Assamese group, pp. 98-99.

§ 54: Bhōjpuriya, a little-cultivated speech, p. 99; oldest specimens in some poems of Kabīr, pp. 99-110. § 55: Magahi: absence of literary culture of this dialect: political and other reasons for the subsidiary position of Magahi in its own home, pp. 100-102. § 56: Maithili: Sanskrit culture in Mithilā, p. 102; Early Maithili literature: the ‘Varṇa-ratnakara’ of Jyotirīśvara Thākura, and the lyrics of Vidyāpati, pp. 102-103; influence of Maithili on Bengali: the ‘Braja-buli’ dialect of Vaiṣṇava poetry in Bengal, pp. 103-104; the ‘Avahaṭṭha’ speech in Mithilā: Vidyāpati’s ‘Kirtti-lata,’ p. 104; Early Maithili contrasted with later Maithili, p. 104; probable Kōl influence in the formation of the verb in Magahi and Maithili, p. 104; pre-Moslem place-names in the Maithili area, p. 104. § 57: The Öriya people of the time of Hiuen Thsang, p. 105; Öriya speech spread from South-West Bengal, pp. 105-106; spread of Brahmanical culture, and settlement of Brahmans in Orissa, p. 105; the names ‘Ödra,’ ‘Orissa’ (< Ödivisa > < Āuḍri-viṣaya >), and ‘Utkala,’ p. 105; conservative character of the Öriya speech: old references to it, p. 106; oldest specimens of
CONTENTS


§ 59: Oldest Specimens of Bengali: (1) Place-names from old inscriptions, p. 109; (2) Words in Sarvánanda's 'Tikā-sarvasva' commentary on the 'Amara-kōsa,' p. 109; Connected Specimens: § 60: (3) the 'Caryā-padas,' p. 110; their subject-matter, p. 110; the 'Baudhā Gāṇ O Dōha' of Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī: probable date of the MS. of the 'Caryā-padas,' p. 110; the 'Dōha-kōsas' of Saraha and Kānha in Western Apabhranśa, p. 111; the 'Dākārṇava' and the speech in which it is written, p. 111; the Sanskrit commentary to the Caryās, pp. 111-112; to the two 'Dōha-kōsas,' p. 112; the subject-matter of the 'Caryās,' p. 112; the speech of the 'Caryās' is Old Bengali, p. 112, and that of the two 'Dōha-kōsas' Western or Śauraseni Apabhranśa, p. 112; other similar literature in Western Apabhranśa: the 'Subhāṣita-saṅgrahā,' and the works or poems rendered into Tibetan in the 'Bstan-Hgyur,' pp. 112-113. § 61: Importance of Śauraseni Apabhranśa as the lingua franca or accepted literary language of Northern India in the formative period of NIA., p. 113; 'Avahāṭṭha' and 'Pīṅgala,' pp. 113-114; Bengali (or East Magadhan) idioms and forms in Western Apabhranśa as written in Bengal (or Eastern India), p. 114; the tradition of employing a western dialect in later Maithili and Bengali literatures, pp. 114-115.

§ 62: Archaic character of the Old Bengali of the Caryās, p. 115; Śauraseni or Western Apabhranśa forms in the language of the Caryās, p. 115; forms from the literary Prakrit, pp. 114-115; reasons for this Western influence, p. 116; the occurrence of a few Maithili forms in the language of the Caryās explained, p. 117; the Basis of the Speech of the Caryās probably West Bengali, p. 117; the Metres of the Caryā poems: 'Pādākulaka' and 'Pāyār,' p. 117; proper New Indo-Aryan and Bengali character of the language of the Caryās, pp. 117-118; Importance of the Caryās
as a linguistic document in the history of New Indo-Aryan, p. 118.
§ 63 : Date of the Caryās : the Caryā Poets—their identity with the Siddhas of late Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 119 ; Translations of works by these Siddhas in the Tibetan ‘Bstan Hgyur,’ p. 119 ; the date of Lūyī-pāḍa, one of the Siddhas and Caryā poets, pp. 119-120 ; Kānha the Siddha, poet of the Caryās, and Panḍitācārya Śrī-Kahna the author of the ‘Hāvajra-pañjikā Yōga-ratna-mālā’ (preserved in a dated M.S.), probably identical, and the same person is in all likelihood the Kānu-pā of the Gōpi-canda legend, pp. 120-122 ; evidence from Old Marāṭhī sources about the date of Gōrakṣa-nātha and the Kānu-pā of the Gōpi-canda legend, p. 122 ; evidence from Tibetan tradition for settling the question of date without much value, pp. 122-123 : the period 950-1200 after Christ the probable date of the Caryās, p. 123.

§ 64 : The ‘Prākṛta-Pāṅgala’ : alleged Bengali character of some of the verses considered, pp. 123-124 ; Two Poems attributed to Jaya-dēva from the ‘Ādi-Granth,’ pp. 124-125 ; § 65 : the Songs in the ‘Gītā-gōvinda’ probably originally composed in Old Bengali, or Western Apabhraṅsa, and then Sanskritised, pp. 125-127.

§ 66 : Typical Middle Bengali of literature—its limitations as illustrative documents of the history of Bengali due to lateness of MSS. not preserving the original language intact, p. 127 ; Standard Literary Language in Early Bengal, and dialectal mix-up in Middle Bengali literature, pp. 127-128 ; the ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,’ : unique character of the work : the antiquity and genuineness of the MS., p. 128 ; its importance in the history of the Bengali language, pp. 128-129.

§ 68 : [2] Middle Bengali Period : (a) Transitional Middle Bengali, not represented by authentic specimens : probable characteristics of it, p. 130 ; the works ascribed to this period, and to the earlier one, are really very late, pp. 131-132 ; (b) Early Middle Bengali, as represented by the ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana’ and other works : its character—changes in phonetics, inflexions and vocabulary, pp. 132-133 ; (c) Late Middle

§ 70 : Classification of the Dialects of Bengali : Dialectal Forms in Middle Bengali MSS., p. 136 ; the 'Crepar Xaxtrrer Orthbhed,' p. 136 ; probable lines of spread of the Māgadhī speech in Bengal, and its local crystallisation, pp. 136-137 ; Oriyā and the old speech of Rājha, p. 137 ; divisions of West Bengali, p. 137. § 71 : Four main Groups of Dialects in Bengal and Assam, and their mutual agreements, p. 138 ; Intermingling of Dialects, p. 138 ; Rise of Class or Caste Dialects which still are current, pp. 138-139 ; mutual influencing of contiguous dialects, p. 139 ; the Dialects in the Delta, p. 139 ; Movement of the Brahmans within Bengal, p. 139 ; the Standard Colloquial Speech, p. 139.

§ 72 : No single Primitive Bengali as the unique source of all Bengali dialects of the present day : special independent developments in the different localities, pp. 140-141 ; the exact position of the Standard Literary Bengali, the <sādhubhāsa> as a composite speech, p. 141 ; Tabular Representation of the Dialects of Bengali, their areas and mutual relationship, p. 140. § 73 : Differences among the various dialects or dialect groups : Phonetic, pp. 141-144 ; Morphological, pp. 144-146. § 74 : Factors helping to bring about Linguistic Unity in Bengal : Political Unity under the Pālas—the Gauḍa-Vaṅga land as one country, p. 146 ; Brahman dispersion all over Bengal giving a common intellectual aristocracy, pp. 146-147 ; the importance of the latter factor, p. 147 ; connexions between Bengal and the contiguous tracts—Magadha, Mithilā and Orissa, p. 147 ; closer connexion with Orissa through the temple of Jagannātha as a centre of Vaiśṇavism, and through the personality of Caitanya, pp. 147-148 ; isolation and separate cultural development of Assam, p. 148.
§ 75: Names for the Bengali Language: the common name Bengal (Bangălah) for the whole country given by the Turki and other Mohammedan conquerors, p. 148; zabān-i-Bangālah, the Persian name, and Idioma Bengalla, the Portuguese name, p. 148; bhāsā and prakṛta, p. 148; Gauḍa, Gauḍa-bhāsā, Gauḍiya bhāsā, p. 149; Bāṇ(g)ālā-bhāsā, Bāngalā, Banglā, Bengal Language, Bāngā-bhāsā, p. 149.

Appendix A: pp. 150-169.

§ 76: Retention of Final Vowels in New Indo-Aryan speeches, pp. 150-151; Transitional stage of very short vowels in dropping these, pp. 151-152; Epenthesis in New Indo-Aryan, p. 152; Derivation of some Bengali words, p. 152; Interchange of i, u and ē, ē, p. 152-153; Change of u to i, p. 153; Change of ai, au to open ē, ē, and Hindi pronunciation of ai, au, p. 153-154; ai, au in Bengali, and final o in Bengali, p. 154; Pronunciation of e, j as palatal and as dental affricates in New Indo-Aryan, pp. 154-156; New Indo-Aryan ŋ, ŋ, į, ſ, ſ, p. 155; Derivation of some New Indo-Aryan words, pp. 155-156; Interchange of r, l, r, p. 156; Interchange of d, d, p. 156-157; Change of d to j, of mb to m, p. 157; Elision of intervocal -r-, p. 157; the Bengali form mālām, p. 157; Change of intervocal -s- to -h-, p. 158; Use of ē for the other sibilants, p. 158; Disaspiration in New Indo-Aryan, p. 159; Derivation of some words, pp. 159-160; Compensatory lengthening of vowels, p. 160; Absence of compensatory lengthening in Western Hindi, p. 160. § 77: The -i, -i affix for the feminine, p. 161; The ablative post-positions bāḥī, sandō, handō, p. 161; Synthetic and Analytical Methods in the Declension of the Noun, pp. 161-162,—in Western Hindi, p. 162; in Bengali, pp. 162-163; in Marāṭhī, p. 163; in Lahṇī, p. 163; help-words reduced to affixes also in Western Hindi, p. 164; Affixed Pronouns with Nouns—in Assamese, pp. 164-165; the formation of the Past Tense of the Transitive Verb, p. 165; the Passive and the Active Constructions in New Indo-Aryan languages, p. 166; the Adjectival Affix -l-, p.
CONTENTS

167. § 78: General Agreement in Vocabulary between the 'Outer' and the 'Inner' languages: the root -āch-, p. 167. § 79: Conclusion: Division into two groups 'Western' and 'Eastern' more likely, rather than into 'Inner' and 'Outer' groups, pp. 168-169.

Appendix B: pp. 170-171.

§ 80: Paucity of Diphthongs in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, p. 170; dislike of spirant sounds in both, p. 170; The question of the Cerebrals, pp. 170-171; Anaptyxis in Dravidian: did Primitive or Old Dravidian have initial surds only, or sonants as well? p. 171; other possible Dravidian influence in Phonetics, pp. 171-172. § 81: Disuse of Prepositions in Indo-Aryan, p. 172; New Indo-Aryan Declension, with Post-positions of nominal or verbal origin, p. 172; Absence of a Dative-Accusative Affix for Neuter Nouns, p. 172; Nature of Dravidian Influence on Indo-Aryan: not borrowing of affixes or forms, but imposition into Indo-Aryan of the Dravidian principles of formation, p. 173; the Adjective Genitive in New Indo-Aryan, p. 173; Indication of Comparison in Old Indo-Aryan, and in New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, as well as in Indo-European speeches outside India, pp. 173-174; Compound Verbs, p. 174; Participial Tenses in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian: the importance of the Conjunctive Indecinable, pp. 174-175; Passives of Compound Verb Construction, p. 175; Onomatopoetic Formations in Indo-Aryan, in Dravidian (and also in Köl), p. 175; 'Echo Words' in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, p. 176. § 82: Syntactical Agreement between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, pp. 176-177; Omission of the Copula, p. 177; Common Idioms occurring in both—e.g., use of a form meaning having said, p. 177. § 83: Dravidian words borrowed in Indo-Aryan—probably begun from outside India, from possible Dravidian speakers in Iran, p. 178.

Appendix C: pp. 179-188.

§§ 84-110: A List of Place-names from old Inscriptions (copper-plate grants, inscriptions on stone etc.) from Bengal and Assam, dating from 432-483 A.C. to 1248 A.C., pp. 179-188.
CONTENTS

§ 111: The terms tatsu$a, tad$bha, d$si (and vid$si) as used with reference to New Indo-Aryan, and the old employ of these terms with reference to Prakrit, p. 189; the term semi-tatsu$a explained: examples of semi-tatsu$as in Bengali, pp. 190-191. § 112: The tad$bha element—its importance, p. 191; the d$si element: true d$si words, p. 192. § 113: The vid$si or Foreign Element: Foreign words (Persian, Greek) in Middle Indo-Aryan, p. 193; later Persian (New Persian) words in New Indo-Aryan, p. 193; Greek words in Ancient India, pp. 193-194; Old Persian and Greek words inherited by Bengali from Middle Indo-Aryan, pp. 194-195. § 114: Classification of New Indo-Aryan words: some principles to observe, with illustrations, pp. 195-197. § 115: The tad$bha and d$si element: cognate forms from other languages in the Modern Indo-Aryan speeches driving out of use native forms have obscured the story of the development of a New Indo-Aryan speech, pp. 197-198; Phonetic Alteration in tad$bha words: typical Bengali tad$bhas, pp. 198-199. The study of the d$si words: words of Dravidian origin; words of Kol origin—the work of J. Przyluski, p. 199; d$si words conveniently considered under tad$bha, pp. 199-200; Onomatopoetic words, p. 200. § 116: The tatsu$a words: Prakrit traditions in pronunciation, pp. 200-201; Solecisms in the use of tatsu$a words in Bengali, p. 201. § 117: The Foreign Element: Persian words in Bengali, pp. 201-202; Introduction of Persian into Bengal: Turks and ‘Pathans’ in Bengal, p. 202; Turks and Tajiks in India: spread of Persian in North India, p. 202; Development of Urdu, p. 202; Persian in pre-Moghal Bengal, pp. 202-203; Channels through which Persian words could come into Bengali in pre-Moghal times, p. 203; Examples of such Early Borrowings, p. 203; the Study of Persian in Bengal, as an administrative as well as a cultural language, pp. 204-205; Rate of Admission of Persian Words into Bengali as evidenced from Middle Bengali literature before 1800, p. 204; Post-Moghal times in Bengal and further influence of Persian, p. 205; Establishment of Hindostan, p. 205; Hindostan becomes the vehicle of a
synthetic Indo-Moslem culture, and formed a new channel for the introduction of Persian words into Bengali etc., p. 206. The Present Extent of the Persian Element in Bengali, p. 206; § 118: Nature of the Persian Element: Classification of Persian Words, with examples, pp. 206-208. § 119: the Mohammadans and Bengali: percentage of Mohammadans in Bengal and in other parts of North India, p. 208; Causes of the Spread of Islam in East Bengal, pp. 208-209; slow progress of 'Islamic' i.e. foreign or non-Bengali culture among Mohammadans of Bengal, pp. 209-210; the poet Áláíl, pp. 209-210; Present-day Tendencies among Bengali Mohammadans, p. 210; 'Musalmáni Bengali,'—its character and the literature in it, pp. 210-211; Percentage of Persian words in it, p. 211; Hindöstání forms in 'Musalmáni Bengali,' p. 211; poor quality of the literary output in this dialect, as compared with genuine folk poetry of Bengali Moslemdom, pp. 211-212; 'Jánga-námah,' p. 212. § 120: Arabic and Turki words also conveniently included under 'Persian' Element in Bengali, pp. 212-213; List of Turki words in Bengali, p. 213; no direct Arabic influence, p. 214; Phonetics of the Persian words in Bengali modified by Turki pronunciation: Archaic Character of Persian as used in India, p. 214. § 121: Portuguese words in Bengali: how to differentiate them from similar borrowings from English, pp. 214-215. French and Dutch words in Bengali, p. 215. § 122: English words in Bengali: popular borrowings from English, and learned Sanskrit equivalents for these loan-words, 215-216; Folk Etymology in popular words, p. 216; Nature of the English Element: Foreign Names coming through English, pp. 216-217; Naturalised English Words in Bengali, p. 217. § 123: Proportion of the Various Elements of Bengali: in the New Bengali Dictionary, p. 218; in Old Bengali, pp. 218-219; in Early Middle Bengali, p. 219; ousting of tadbhavas by corresponding tattvas in Middle Bengali, pp. 219-220; Proportion of the Various Elements in later Middle Bengali, p. 220; the Early 19th century and the Sanskritising tendency, pp. 220-221; Proportion of the Various Elements in Modern Bengali writers in the different styles, pp. 221-222; the Percentage of the Persian Element in Bengali, pp. 222-223.
CONTENTS

APPENDIX E : pp. 224-235.

§ 124 : Origin of the Bengali Alphabet, pp. 224-225; the Maithilī, Dēva-nāgarī, Kaithī, and Ōriyā Alphabets, pp. 225-226; Phonetic History and Orthography, p. 226; the w glide in the Eastern languages, and the new letters to denote it, p. 226; spelling in the epigraphical records, p. 226; Sanskrit influence on Bengali orthography dislocating the native tadbhava tradition, pp. 226-227; the 50 akṣaras: z and Ṛ, p. 227; the old pronunciation of Ṛ, p. 228; the akṣara principle and Bengali versification, p. 228. § 125 : The Persian-Arabic Script and Bengali: some Chittagong MSS.; Specimens, pp. 228-233. § 126 : The Roman Alphabet and Bengali: Manoel da Assumpção’s work; Augustin Aussant; Halhed; Gilehrist; pp. 233-234. § 127 : The Sīleś Nāgarī Alphabet, pp. 234-235; Other Alphabets used for writing Bengali, p. 235; the question of the Roman Script for Bengali, p. 235.


CHAPTER I : PHONETIC HISTORY OF INDO-ARYAN, pp. 239-274.

§ 128 : The Old Indo-Aryan Sound-system, pp. 239-240; Reconstruction of Old Indo-Aryan Pronunciation, p. 240 § 129 : the Sounds of OIA. described: Vowels, pp. 240-242; § 130 : Consonants, pp. 242-244; the Semi-vowels, p. 244: Nasalisation in OIA., p. 244; the anuvāra, p. 244.

§ 131 : OIA. Changes into Middle Indo-Aryan, pp. 244-245. § 132 : Palatal Stops > Palatal (and Dental) Affricates in MIA. and NIA., pp. 245-249: Evidence from Greek Transcriptions, p. 245, from Epigraphy, pp. 245-247, from the Prakrit Grammarians, pp. 246-248. § 133 : ‘Cerebral r’ Pronunciation of intervocal -d-, p. 249; the Pronunciation of y in MIA., as evidenced from inscriptions and from the orthography of Old Khotanese (० y = շ), pp. 249-250; how OIA. y altered to j in Second MIA., p. 250; the Pronunciation of v in OIA. and MIA. as evidenced from Greek transcriptions, p. 250; § 134 : Unexploded Stops in Consonant Groups in OIA. leading to Assimilation,
§ 135: The Redistribution of Sounds into *ākṣara* groups, p. 252.

§ 138: Development of Old Bengali—alteration in Phonetics, p. 259; *<ā, ā>* in Old Bengali: Combinative Changes of *<ā, ā>* , p. 260; other sounds in Old and in Early Middle Bengali, p. 261. § 139: Reconstruction of Old Bengali Pronunciation: Phonetic Transcriptions of passages in Old Bengali, pp. 261-263; in Early Middle Bengali, pp. 263-260. § 140: The Sounds of Late Middle Bengali and New Bengali, pp. 267-269; New Bengali Dialectal Sounds, pp. 269-270. § 141: Standard New Bengali Sounds, and Percentage of their Frequency, as compared with Sanskrit, pp. 270-272; Reasons for the Divergences between OIA. (Sanskrit) and Bengali, pp. 272-274.

**Chapter II: Phonology of the Native Element: Vowels:**

**Accent System and its Influence on Vowels**, pp. 275-300.

§ 142: Loss of Interior Long Vowels of OIA., noticed in NIA., due to reasons of Stress, p. 275; Stress Accent and Pitch Accent, pp. 275-276; Pitch and Stress in OIA. and MIA., pp. 276-277, in NIA., pp. 277-278; Loss of OIA. syllables though Absence of Stress, pp. 278-279.

§ 143: Accent in Old Bengali: Bengali Stress-system contrasted with that of Common or Typical NIA., p. 280; Non-initial Stress in Bengali dialects: probable occurrence in Old Bengali of Non-initial Stress, of Prakrit origin, side by side with Initial Stress which was probably Non-Aryan, pp. 280-284; Evidence of the presence of these two systems from early orthography, pp. 280-282, and from the development of Middle and Modern Bengali, pp. 282-283; probable non-Aryan influence, pp. 283-284.
CONTENTS


§ 146: Dropping of Final and Medial Vowels in MB.: Evidence of Metre, pp. 295-298; Diphthongs in *-i* in MB., p. 299. § 147: Evidence from Transcription of Bengal Names by Early European Writers, pp. 299-300; Stress and Contracted Forms of Bengali, p. 300.


[A] OIA. and MIA. Vowels in Bengali.

§ 148: Loss of OIA. Final Vowels in Bengali, p. 301. § 149: OIA. final *-ā*—its Loss, pp. 301-303; its Assimilation with preceding vowels, pp. 302-303; Pronunciation of the final *-ā* in *ts.* and other words in NB., pp. 303-305. § 150: OIA. *-ā*, lost in Bengali, pp. 305-306; Assimilation with preceding vowels, p. 307. § 151: OIA. final *-i, -i*—their loss in NB. after a consonant, pp. 307-308; Diphthongisation with a preceding vowel, pp. 308-309; loss of final *-i* in *stss.*, p. 308; Final *-i* in eMB., p. 309. § 152: OIA. final *-ū, -ū*—loss in Bengali, p. 310; Diphthongisation after a vowel, p. 310; some apparent exceptions, pp. 310-311; Final *-u* of Western Apabhraṃsa origin, p. 311. § 153: OIA., MIA. final *-ē* gave *-i*, and then this *-i* was lost in NB., pp. 311-312; the final *-ō* extremely rare in pre-Bengali, p. 312. § 154: *Tatsama* influence restores final vowels in many cases, p. 312.


§ 169: Threefold treatment of Vowels in Contact, p. 338; § 170: [a] Insertion of Euphonic Glides in MIA. and in NIA., pp. 338-340; the
CONTENTS

Euphonic Glides • य, व • in Bengali, pp. 340-341; Bengali Orthography and the Euphonic Glides, p. 341; Instances of the Euphonic Glide in Bengali, p. 342. § 171: [b] Diphthongisation of Vowels in Contact: in MIA., and in Bengali, pp. 342-344; Instances from Bengali, pp. 344-345; Diphthongs in MB. and NB. resulting from « samprasāraṇa », from contraction, from Epenthesis: Diphthongs with high vowels and low ones, in MB. and NB., p. 345. § 172: [c] Contraction of Vowels in Contact in MIA. and in Bengali, pp. 345-346; the group « ा », pp. 346-349; New Bengali final « ा » and final « ा », pp. 348-349; the groups « ा, ा, ा », pp. 349-350; various other groups of MIA.—« ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा, ा » etc., pp. 350-353.

[B] Treatment of OIA. « औ ».


[C] Nasalisation of Vowels in MIA. and NIA.


[D] INTRUSIVE VOWELS.


[E] PROTHESIS OF VOWELS.


[F] EPENTHESES.

§ 184: Epentheses in MIA., p. 378; Epentheses in the Magadhan speeches, pp. 378-379; Beginnings of Epentheses in Bengali, p. 379; Character of MB. Epentheses, pp. 379-381; Examples of <i> and <u> Epentheses in Bengali, pp. 380-381; § 185: Epentheses of post-consonantal <y> in ts. words, pp. 382-383; Diphthongs as a result of Epentheses, p. 382; Bengali Orthography and Epentheses, pp. 382-384; the diphthongal stage as developed out of Epentheses retained in many Bengali dialects, p. 384; § 186: Contraction of such diphthongs in the Standard Colloquial, pp. 384-385; Conflict of the Literary Speech and the Standard Colloquial in the matter of contraction of epenthetic diphthongs, pp. 386-387; New Diphthongs in MB., p. 387.

[G] VOWEL-MUTATION OR 'UMLAUT': VOWEL HARMONY.

CONTENTS

[H] ORIGIN OF THE NEW BENGALI VOWELS.

§ 193: The NB. Standard Colloquial vowels, p. 402. § 194: Sources of NB. [a], pp. 402-404. § 195: Sources of NB. [a], p. 404; § 196: Cases of interchange between [a] and other vowels, pp. 404-405. § 197: Sources of NB. [i], pp. 405-407. § 198: Sources of NB. [u], pp. 407-408; § 199: Interchange between [i] and [u], p. 408. § 200: Sources of NB. [e], pp. 408-410. § 201: The [æ] sound in Standard Bengali, and [æ] in dialectal Bengali, p. 410; Sources of [æ], pp. 411-413. § 202: Sources of NB. [o], p. 413. § 203: Interchange between [i] and [e] and between [u] and [o] in Bengali, pp. 414-415, due largely to OIA. Ablaut and to Bengali Vowel Harmony.


§ 230: Bengali double vowels [ii, ee, aa, oo, uu], p. 429.

§ 231: Triphthong and Tetraphthongs in Bengali, p. 429.

[I] VOWELS IN SANSKRIT WORDS

§ 232: Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit Vowels, pp. 429-430; Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit given in phonetic transcription, pp. 430-431; § 233: Examples of Bengali semi-tatsamas widely removed from the originals, pp. 431-432.
§ 234: Limitations to our Phonetic Studies of Bengali due to the absence of properly observed and recorded data, p. 432.

CHAPTER V: PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT:


[A] OIA. CONSONANTS: GENERAL LINES OF CHANGE TO BENGALI.


[B] ASPIRATION AND DEASPIRATION.


[C] INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS.

§ 244: Cases of Voicing and Unvoicing, between [k, g], [ق, خ], [t, c > r], [t, d], [p, b], pp. 445-446; § 245: Change in point of articulation, between [ʃ, ʃ(h)], [l, n], [m, ɹ], [f, z], pp. 446-447.

[D] DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 246: Doubling before the semi-vowels and liquids in Bengali, p. 447; by assimilation of *r*, p. 447; through emphasis, pp. 447-448.
CONTENTS

[E] Changes of Consonants in Contact: Assimilation.

§ 247: The Assimilation of <r>, pp. 448-449; Full Explosion of Stops in Consonant Groups, p. 449; Assimilatory Deaspiration, p. 449; Regressive Assimilation in Consonants of the Same Class, p. 450; Absence of it in Consonants of Different Classes, pp. 450-451, and also Presence of it in such cases, p. 451; Assimilation in the Chittagong Dialect, pp. 451-452; Progressive Assimilation, p. 452.


§ 248: Instances from Bengali, pp. 452-453.


§ 249: Instances from Bengali, p. 453.

[H] History of the Bengali Consonants.

[I] The Stops and the Affricates, with the Aspirates.

(1) The Gutturals or Velars: § 250: Under-articulation and Voicing, pp. 453-454; Elision, p. 454; Spirant Pronunciation in Dialects—intervocal, p. 454, initial, pp. 454-455; [k] in the ‘Crepar Xaxtrrer Orthbhded’, p. 455. § 251: The Sources of NB. <k> in MIA. and OIA., pp. 455-457; <k> as an Affix, p. 457; final pleonastic <k>, pp. 457-458; Cases of resultant <k> in NB., p. 458. § 252: <kh> [x, f] in Dialects, p. 458; in the ‘Crepar Xaxtrrer Orthbhded’, p. 458; Sources of NB. <kh>, pp. 460-461. § 253: Elision of <g> in Dialects, p. 461; Sources of NB. <g>, pp. 461-463; Resultant <g> in Dialects, pp. 462-463. § 254: NB. <gh>—its Sources, p. 463; <gh> in some obscure words, p. 464.

(2) The Palatals: § 255: Dental Affricate Pronunciation of the Palatals, pp. 464-465; § 256: Evidence from Tibetan, p. 465; Alternation of <c, ch> with <s>, p. 465; § 257: Alternation of <c, ch> and the Sibilants in OIA. and MIA., pp. 466-467; § 258: Intervocal Palatal Stops in Magadhī Prakrit, in Bengali and in other NIA., p. 468. § 259:
OIA. kṣ > (k)kh, (e)ch in MIA.: dialectal differentiation, p. 469.
§ 260 : The MIA. changes of ty, dy to tiy, yy; ce, jj, etc., p. 470.
§ 265 : Interchange of Palatals with other consonants—Gutturals, Cerebrals and Dentals: examples, pp. 482-483.


(4) The Dentals: § 273 : Changes undergone by the OIA. Dentals through Contact with other Consonants, pp. 500-501; the Sources of NB. t, pp. 501-503. § 274 : Sources of NB. th, pp. 503-505. § 275 : Sources of NB. d, pp. 505-506. § 276 : Sources of NB. dh, pp. 506-507; Interchange between dh and dh-, p. 507; dh in some obscure words, pp. 507-508.

(5) The Labials: § 277 : Labialisation through influence of v, m in MIA., p. 508; -v- > -p- in MIA., pp. 508-509; MIA. Dialects and Labialisation, p. 509. § 278 : The p sound in Bengali: change to the spirant, p. 509; Sources of NB. p, pp. 509-511. § 279 : Sources of NB. ph, pp. 511-513; ph in some obscure words, p. 512.
CONTENTS

§ 280: Sources of NB. <b>, pp. 513-514. § 281: Sources of NB. <bh>, pp. 515-516; <bh> in some obscure words, p. 516.
§ 282: Elision of OIA. intervocal consonants, p. 517; of intervocal <r> in Bengali, p. 517.

[II] The Nasals in New Bengali and in Old and Middle Bengali.
§ 283: The Pronunciation of <anusvāra> in Bengali, pp. 517-518.
§ 284: <ŋ> [ŋ] in OB., MB. and NB., p. 518; the <w> and [y] sounds in OB. and MB., pp. 518-519; OIA. intervocal <m> reduced to a mere nasalisation in Bengali: examples, pp. 519-521; Loss of Nasalisation in <w> <m>, pp. 520-521; Nasalisation of <v, w>, p. 521; Nasalisation of NB. resultant <m->, p. 521; Interchange between [ŋ] and [m] in NB., pp. 521-522.
§ 285: The <ṇ> <n> (or [ɲ]) in Bengali, pp. 522-523.
§ 287: Sources of NB. Dental <n>, pp. 527-529; Elision of <n->, p. 529; <n> in some unexplained words, p. 530; Interchange of <n> with <m, ŋ>, p. 530.
§ 288: Sources of NB. <m>, pp. 530-532; Change of intervocal <b>- to <m>, p. 531; Intrusive or Euphonic <m->, p. 532.


§ 289: The circumstances of their occurrence in MB. and NB., p. 533; the [ə] glide in NB., pp. 533-534; Pronunciation of post-consonantal <y> in MIA., p. 534.

[IV] The Liquids ‘r’ and ‘l’ in Bengali.

§ 291: The ‘Prācya’ speech and <r, l>, p. 535; MIA. dialectal cross-influences in the matter of <r, l>, pp. 535-538; the <r, l> question in NIA., pp. 537-538; the History of the Māgadhī <l> in the Modern Magadhan speeches, pp. 537-538.
§ 292: The Question of the Cerebral <l> in MIA.
and NIA., pp. 538-539; Palatalised \( <ly> \) in MIA. and in dialectal Bengali, p. 539; Cerebraliséd \( <l> \) in Oriyā, p. 539. § 293: The Sources of NB. \( <r> \), pp. 539-540; Interchange of \( <r, r> \), p. 541; § 294: Dropping of pre-consonantal \( <r> \) in NB., pp. 541; wrong Intrusion of \( <r> \), pp. 541-542; the intervocal \( <r> \) in Bengali, dropped or intruded, p. 542; Initial \( <r> \) in dialectal Bengali, pp. 542-543. § 295: The Sources of NB. \( <l> \), pp. 543-544; \( <l> \) in words of dēśī origin, p. 544; Elision of \( <l> \), p. 544; Intrusion of \( <l> \), p. 545. § 296: Interchange of \( <l> \) and \( <n> \), pp. 545-46.

[V] The Sibilants in Bengali.

§ 297: The Question of Palatal and Dental in the Magadhan speeches, pp. 546-547; Orthography and the Sibilant Sound of Bengali, p. 547. § 298: Sources of the NB. \( \tilde{f} \) sound, pp. 548-549. § 299: The Problem of the Change of intervocal Sibilant (single or double) to \( <h> \) in MIA. and in NIA., pp. 549-550; Preservation of the Sibilant the Rule in Bengali, p. 550; Change of the Sibilant to \( [h, x] \) in East Bengal and in Assam, pp. 550-551. § 300: Interchange of the Bengali Sibilant with \( <c, ch> \), p. 551. § 301: Intrusive Sibilant before Consonants in NB., and the ancient MIA. (Māgadhī Prakrit) characteristic in pronunciation, pp. 551-552.

[VI] The ‘h’ Sounds in Bengali.

§ 302: Initial, and intervocal, and final \( <h> \) in Bengali, p. 552; Sources of NB. \( <h> \), pp. 552-556; \( <h> \) from the Sibilants, pp. 555-556. § 303: Prothetical \( <h>- > \) in Bengali, p. 556; Euphonic intervocal \( <h> \), p. 556; \( <h> \) in some obscure words, pp. 556-557. § 304: Final \( <h> \) in Bengali, p. 557; Intervocal \( <h>- > \) in Interjections, p. 557; Metathesis of \( <h> \) in Consonant Groups, p. 557. § 305: Unvoiced \( <h> \); \( <visarga> \) in Bengali, in Interjections, p. 558: the Pronunciation of the \( <visarga> \) in Bengali, and in Sanskrit, and in Foreign words, p. 558.
Chapter VI: Phonology of the Foreign Element: Persian, pp. 559-619.

§ 306: Arabic and Turki words introduced into Bengali through Persian, p. 559; Arabic words in Spanish etc. and in Indian languages, p. 559, foot-note; Early Persian and Modern Persian Sound-systems, pp. 559-560; Turki influence in the Indian pronunciation (and grammar of) Persian, p. 560; Persianised Indian words, p. 560; the Hindostani speech as the medium of Persian influence in India from the 18th century downwards, p. 561.

§ 307: The Sound-system of Early Persian: the Sounds tabulated and described, pp. 561-564; modern aspirate pronunciation of the unvoiced stops, p. 562; "mārūf .arr.ū. and "mājāhūl s, o in Persian, p. 563.

§ 308: Phonetics of Classical Arabic—its Sound-system, and the reconstruction of it, pp. 564-565; the Sounds of Arabic tabulated and described, pp. 566-569; the 'emphatic' consonants of Arabic, pp. 567-568; the letter ُ, p. 568.

§ 309: The Sounds of Turki, pp. 569-571; Persian modification of Turki sounds, p. 571.


§ 311: Wide deviation from the original Persian sounds in some Bengali words, p. 572; Transliteration and Phonetic Transcription of Persian, p. 573.

§ 312: Treatment of the Persian Vowels in Bengali, p. 573.

[I] Short Vowels: § 313: (1) Persian short "ā" in Bengali, pp. 573-579; Initial "ā-" and "ā-" in initial and interior syllables, pp. 574-578; Final "ā-", p. 579.

§ 314: (2) Short "i, ə" of Persian in Bengali, pp. 579-580. § 315: (3) Short "ū, ō" of Persian in Bengali, pp. 581-582.


CONTENTS


CHAPTER VII: PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT:

PORTUGUESE, pp. 620-632.

§ 354: The Portuguese and their Language in Bengal, pp. 620-621; the Pronunciation of Portuguese, early and recent, p. 621; Foreign (non-Latin) words through the Portuguese, p. 621.


CHAPTER VIII: PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT:


Bengali Pronunciation of English—its Character—with Specimen of Bengali-English Pronunciation in Transcription, pp. 634-635.

The Vowels: § 382: Quantity of English Vowels ignored, pp. 635-636; the Vowels of Standard Southern English, p. 636; § 383: English, [i, iː, ə, æ, ɑː], p. 636; § 384: English [v, ɔː]—the early pronunciation of these English sounds from the evidence of Bengali and other Indian borrowings, and from transcriptions into English of Indian names and words, pp. 636-638. § 385: English [v, uː]; English [ʌ]: the early 19th century pronunciation of the English [ʌ], p. 638; § 386: English [ə], p. 638-639; English [ɛː], p. 639; § 387: the English Diphthongs: [eɪ], [æ], p. 639; [au], and its early pronunciation in English, pp. 639-640; [ou], [ɔː], [ɔː], [ɪə], [uə], [ʊə], [ʊə], p. 640; § 388: Loss of Vowels, p. 640; Anaptyxis of Vowels, pp. 640-641; Prothesis, pp. 640-641; Addition of final Vowels, p. 641; 'Italian' values in foreign names, p. 641.

The Consonants: § 389: the Stops and Nasals, and Affricates: the Alveolar Sounds of English, pp. 641-642; the Nasals, p. 642; the Affricates [ʧ, ʤ], p. 642; § 390: the Liquids: 'clear' [l], and 'dark' [ɹ], and [r], p. 642; § 391: the Fricatives: [h], [s], [ʃ], [z], [ð], [θ], [ɹ], [f], [v], pp. 642-643; the English [v] and the spirant pronunciation of ṽ in Bengali, pp. 643-644; § 392: the Semi-vowels vetica y, w • [j, w] of English, p. 645.


MORPHOLOGY, pp. 649-1056.

CHAPTER I: FORMATIVE AFFIXES, pp. 651-714.

§ 394: OIA. Affixes in NIA.: living and dead • affixes, pp. 651-652. [A] Suffixes—[I] Tadbhava Suffixes: § 395: (1) the Suffix • -ā, -a • p. 652; § 396: (2) the Suffix • -ā, -o •, pp. 652-653; MB. personal names in • -ō, p. 653; § 397: (3) Affixes derived from the OIA. Active Present Participle • -ānt •: • -āntā, • -āt, • -ātā, • -āt.
CONTENTS

pp. 653-655; § 398: (4) -āti, -ṭi>, pp. 655-656; § 399: (5) -ānd, -ṇḍ, -ṇd>, p. 656; (5a) -ānā, -nā>, p. 657; (5b) -ānī, -uni, -ni (-nī) etc., pp. 657-658; § 400: (6) -ā> (i), Definitive, Pejorative, Connective, Agentive and Pleonastic, pp. 658-659; § 401: (7) -ā> (ii), Passive Participle and Verbal Noun Affix, pp. 660-661; § 402: (8) -āi> (i), Verbal and Abstract Noun Affix, pp. 661-662; § 403: (9) -āi> (ii), Diminutive, p. 662; § 404: (10) -ātā, -āṭā>, p. 663; § 405: (11) -āū > -āō>, pp. 663-664; § 406: (11a) -āuā > -āō> p. 664; § 407: (12) -ātā, -āṭi> (āṭi), p. 664; § 408: (13) -ānd, -ānā> (ānō)>, (i), pp. 664-665; (13a) -ānī, -uni, -nī etc., pp. 665-666; § 409: (14) -ānā> (ānō)> (ii), p. 666; § 410: (15) -ānī> (āni), p. 666; § 411: (16) -ānd, -āmā, -āmi, -mā, -mi etc., pp. 666-667; § 412: (17) -āṛ, -āṛ, -rā, -ri etc. (i), p. 668; § 413: (18) -āṛ, -āṛ> (ii), pp. 668-669; § 414: (19) -āṛ, -āṛ> (iii), p. 669; § 415: (20) -āru>, p. 669; § 416: (21) -āḷā, -āḷā> (i), with extensions -āḷā, -āḷi>, pp. 670-671; § 417: (22) -āḷā> (ii), also with extensions -āḷā, -āḷi>, pp. 670-671; § 418: (23) -ī, -i> (i), pp. 671-672; the form -āī, -ui>, p. 672; § 419: (24) -ī, -i> (ii), Feminine, Diminutive and Abstract Affix, pp. 673-674; § 420: (25) -ī>, Verbal Noun Affix, p. 674; § 421: (26) -iyā, -iā > -ē>, pp. 674-675; § 422: (27) -iyē, -iē>, pp. 675-676; § 423: (28) -it>, p. 676; § 424: (29) -ib>, p. 676; § 425: (30) -ilā> (i), Adjectival, pp. 676-677; § 426: (31) -ilā> (ii), Past Base, p. 677; § 427: (32) -ū, -u> (i), pp. 677-678; § 428: (33) -ū, -u > -ō > -ā> (ii), p. 678; § 429: (34) -ūā, -ūō, -o>, p. 679.

§ 430: (35) -kā> and its extensions: -ka> (i), Nominal (=abstract, concrete, onomatopoetic), pp. 679-682; the MIA. -kka>: its Source in OIA., with possible Dravidian influence, pp. 680-681; Extensions of this -ka> in Bengali, pp. 681-682; § 431: (36) -ka> (ii), with extensions, pp. 682-683; § 432: (37) -kārd>, p. 683; § 433: (38) -gēchērd, -gēch(h)d>, pp. 683-684; § 434: (39) -cā, -ācā>, p. 684; § 435: (40) -jā>, p. 684; § 436: (41) -ṭā> (i) and its extensions -ṭā, -ṭi, -ṭiyā> -ṭē>, pp. 684-686; § 437: (42) -ṭīd> (ii), p. 687; § 438:
CONTENTS

§ 439: (44) -ra - (i), with extensions, p. 687; § 440: (45) -ra - (ii), with extensions, pp. 687-688; § 441: (46) -ra - (iii), with extensions, pp. 688-689; § 442: (47) -tā, -tī - (i), pp. 691-692; § 443: (48) -tā, -tī - (ii), p. 692; § 444: (49) -tā, -tī, -uti - (iii), p. 692; § 445: (50) the Feminine Affix -nī, -n, -nī, -uni - etc., pp. 692-696; its Sources in OIA., pp. 692-693; its encroaching upon the domain of -i -, pp. 694-695; § 446: (51) -pānā -, p. 696; § 447: (52) -māntā > -mātā, -mātā, -māṇḍ -, pp. 696-697; § 448: (53) -ru > -ru, -ur -, p. 697; § 449: (54) -la - and its extensions, pp. 697-698; § 450: (55) -śā, -śā, -chā, -cā -, with extensions, pp. 699-700; § 451: (56) -śā(h)i -, p. 700; § 452: (57) -sārā, -sārā -, pp. 700-701; § 453: (58) -sā -, p. 701; § 454: (59) -hārā, -hārā - p. 701.

§ 455: Other tadbhava Affixes, pp. 701-702.

II. Tadbhava Affixes: § 456: their adoption through the occurrence of a large ts. element in the speech, p. 702: Doubling of Consonants in the MIA. ts. forms, pp. 702-703. § 457: (1) -imā -, p. 703; § 458: (2) -iya -, p. 703; § 459: (3) -ka -, pp. 703-704; § 460: (4) -t(ā), -t(ā) -, pp. 704-705; § 461: (5) -tāβyā -, p. 705; § 462: (6) -tā -, p. 705; § 463: (7) -twā -, p. 705; § 464: (8) -pārā -, sts., p. 706; § 465: (9) -māyā -, p. 706; § 466: (10) -sāhā -, p. 706; § 467: (11) -suddhā, -suddhā -, p. 706.


Some other Words used as Prefixes, p. 713.

CONTENTS


[A] STEMS.

§ 480: OIA. Noun Stems reduced in their number by phonetic decay in MIA. and in NIA., p. 715; the Stems in the Apabhraṅsa period tending to be reduced to a single ०-ा stem, pp. 715-716; Long Vowel Stems in NIA. due to contraction, p. 716; the predominance of the ०-ा stem in Early Bengali, p. 716.

§ 481: Nominative and oblique in NIA., pp. 716-717; Levelling of special forms for the feminine to those for the masculine, p. 717; § 482: One Declension in Bengali: Consonantal and Vowel Stems, and the phonetic modification in the inflexions consequent to these Stems: ०-रा, -ेरा; insertion of ०-०: pp. 717-719.

[B] GENDER.


[C] NUMBER.

§ 484: Loss of the Dual, p. 722; OIA. Plural (Nominative) Inflexions—how far preserved or lost in NIA., p. 723; Extension of the Instrumental and Genitive Plural Affixes to the Nominative, p. 723. § 485: Nominative and Oblique Plural kept distinct in most of the NIA. speeches, pp. 723-724; the Instrumental Affix used for the Nominative in NIA.—evidence from Western Hindī, from Awadhī, from Oriyā, from Bengali, pp. 724-725; § 486: the old Genitive Plural in ०-ना as a Plural Affix in Bengali, p. 725; this encroaches into the verb, and drives away ०-अं, -ेंता etc., pp. 725-726; the Genitive > Nominative Plural ०-ना in OB.
and NB., p. 726. § 487 : Two sporadic cases of old Plural forms in Bengali, p. 726.

§ 488 : New methods to indicate the plural with the loss of the old affixes, pp. 726-727; the numerals qualifying the simple base were enough, p. 727; Compounding with Nouns of Multitude, pp. 727-728: <kula- >gulā->, pp. 727-728; § 489 : <digā-, digērd, -di, -dērd >: use of this affix in Bengali, pp. 728-729; the form <digērd > and the question of Persian influence, pp. 729-730; Theories about the origin of this affix, p. 730; the source is <ādī-ka, -ādī >, p. 730; <ādī, -ādikā > in MB., pp. 730-731; the shorter form < -di, -dērd >— in MB. and NB.—with phonetic modifications involved, pp. 731-732; the Genitive <digerd > from <ādī-ka + -ērd >, p. 732. § 490 : Other Words of Multitude figuring in Bengali, pp. 732-733; Affixation of Case Terminations at the end of the compounded word, p. 733; employment of some of the nouns of multitude at the head of the compounded word in OB., MB., NB. p. 733; use of the Pronominal Adjective <jātā > for the Plural, p. 733; use of Demonstrative Pronouns with the Plural, p. 734.

§ 491 : The Bengali Plural Affix < -rā, -ērā, >, p. 734; Affinities in Maithili: use of a Noun of Multitude after the < -rā > forms, p. 734; Genitival Origin of < -rā >, p. 734; first employ of the < -rā > with the Pronouns, pp. 734-755; the < -rā > forms in the ŠKK., p. 735, and in other eMB. and lMB. literature, pp. 735-736, as well as in the NB. dialects, p. 736; the use of the Genitive Affix < -kā > -gā > for the Plural in dialectal Bengali, p. 736; the Genitive > Plural forms in other NIA.—Bhojpuriyā, Baghēl-khaṇḍī, Khas-kurā, Mālavī and Early Kanaṇḍī, pp. 736-737; no connexion of Bengali < -rā > with any Dravidian affix, p. 737.

§ 492 : The word <mānava > as a Plural Affix in Oṛiṣyā, in S.-W. Bengali, in Bhojpuriyā (Nāgpuriyā), and in Chattīsgarḥī, pp. 737-738. § 493 : Some Assamese plural-indicating words — < -bīlākā >, < -bōrā >, p. 738, and < -hātā >, p. 739.

§ 494 : Distributive Plural by Repeating the Adjective in Bengali, p. 739.
CONTENTS

[D] CASE INFLEXIONS: INHERITED FROM MIA., AND NEWLY CREATED.

§ 495: NB. Affixed Inflexions as distinguished from Separate Postpositions, p. 739. § 496: Inherited Inflexions and New Creations in the above, pp. 739-740.

NOMINATIVE.

§ 497: The Nominative Affix -ē > Māgadhī Prakrit -ē > Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa *-i>, p. 740; survival of this *-i > in Bengali in a few sporadic cases, p. 741; Origin of the Bengali -ē > from Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa *-aī > < Māgadhī Prakrit -aē, p. 741; the -ē affix for the Nominative in Ōriyā, pp. 741-742, and in Maithili, p. 742; disappearance of the *-i > in New Magadhan, p. 742; influence of the Instrumental -ē in the Nominative -ē >, pp. 742-743; possible influence from Tibeto-Burman in confusing the Instrumental and the Nominative in Bengali, p. 743; use of the Locative in -t- > for the Nominative, in NB., through extension of the Locative to the Instrumental, pp. 743-744.

INSTRUMENTAL.

§ 498: The Instrumental Affix -ē, -ē > in OB., MB., NB., p. 744; Source of this Affix, pp. 744-745; the Affix in other NIA., p. 745; Locative Affix for the Instrumental, p. 745; OB. base-forms for the Instrumental, p. 745.

LOCATIVE AND OBLIQUE.

§ 499: The OIA. and IE. Sources of the MIA. and NIA. Locative Affix -ē >, pp. 745-746; the MIA. Locative Affixes, p. 746; OB. Locative Affixes, p. 746; the Accusative or Dative (Oblique) in -ē, -ē > in OB., MB., NB., p. 747; the corresponding Oblique form in Early Awadhī, p. 747; in W. Hindī, pp. 747-748; in Ōriyā and in Maithili, p. 748; the Oblique in -ē > is the same as the Locative, pp. 748-749; the Locative Affix in the
CONTENTS


Genitive.

§ 502: The OIA. Genitive Affix *-syā*, and the MIA. (Māgadhī) and Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa form *-āha, -ahō* etc., p. 751; the OB. forms, pp. 751-752; Origin of the *-āha, -ahō* form, p. 752; *-asyā > -assā > -ās, -as* in MIA., p. 752; instances of the *-ā, -āha* Genitive in OB., and in MB. and NB., p. 752. § 503: Help-words for the Genitive in MIA., p. 753; their nature, and their transformation in NIA., p. 753; *kārya* and its derivatives, p. 753; Synthetic Affixation or Compounding of these help-words, as opposed to their Separate Use, in different forms of MIA. and NIA., p. 754; *kārya > kēra, kēla* and *kara*, *kāra*, *kṛta > kaa* as Genitive Affixes, p. 755; the form *kāra* in Bengali, pp. 755-756; the form *kṛta > kaa* and pleonastic *-ka > -kka* in NIA., pp. 756-757; the various Post-positional Affixes for the Genitive in OB., p. 757; *kēra, -kara* in MB. pp. 757-758; the *-ka* for the Genitive in MB. and NB., p. 758, § 504: The Medieval Sanskrit form *-sat-ka*, and a possible NIA. equivalent of it in Assamese, pp. 758-759.

Dative.

§ 505: The Affix *-ka* for the Dative in OB. and MB., occurring as *-kā* in dialectal Bengali and Assamese, pp. 759-760; the Dative in *-kē*: theories about its Origin, p. 760; *kakṣa > kahu, kahi*, pp. 760-761; analogous forms in other NIA., p. 761; a modification either of *kṛta*, or of *kakṣa*, pp. 761-762; the *-kē* form in other NIA., p. 762. § 506: The Dative Affix *-r-ē, -ēr-ē*, p. 762.
CONTENTS

ABLATIVE.

§ 507: The «-hu» Affix in OB., and «-hű, -u» in Öriyă, pp. 762-763; Source of this Affix, p. 763; the Ablative in «-tă, -tē», p. 762.

§ 508: The Declension of the Noun in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, and the forms which have survived in Bengali—a Comparative Statement, pp. 763-765.

POST-POSITIONS.


Sanskrit Words used as Post-positions, p. 777; Perso-Arabic Words similarly employed, p. 777.

[E] ENCLITIC DEFINITIVES OR NUMERATIVES.

§ 510: The Bengali Definitives and their Formal Use in Bengali. pp. 777-778; Indefinite Use of the Definitives, p. 778; Definitives in
other speeches, p. 778. The Definitives of Bengali, and their Derivations:
(1) *khāṅ* etc., p. 779; (2) *gāch†* etc., p. 779; (3) *gōtā* and its Source, pp. 779-780; (4) *jāṅ*†, p. 780; (5) *-tā* etc., the ‘Definite Article’ of Bengali, pp. 780-781; (6) *thāṅ*†, p. 781.

Other words of a definitive nature, p. 781.

Chapter III: The Numerals, pp. 783-806.

§ 511: The words for the Numerals on a pan-Indian rather than local dialectal basis, p. 782; local dialectal forms as a substratum, p. 782; Late MIA. or NIA. developments shared in most NIA., but not uniformly, p. 783.


§ 635: Declension of Adjective Numerals in OB., pp. 803-804.

§ 536: The Ordinals: absence of a regular Ordinal Affix in NB., and the make-shifts employed, p. 804; the form for First, p. 804; forms for Second, Third, Fourth, p. 805; forms for the higher numbers, pp. 805-806.
Chapter IV: The Pronoun, pp. 807-860.

§ 537: The Pronouns take the same affixes and post-positions as the Noun, but have Oblique Forms, p. 807.

[A] The Pronoun for the First Person.

§ 538: The OIA. *aham* in MIA. and in OB.: OB. *hāu*, pp. 807-808; § 539: the Nominative *hāu = haũ* and the Instrumental *maĩ* in OB., pp. 808-809; confusion of the Oblique Base *mō* with Instrumental, p. 809; the Instrumental = Nominative in NB., in Orijā etc., p. 809. § 540: The form *āmi*—its source, and its occurrence in OB. and MB.: *āmhi* and *āmhē*, pp. 809-810; *āmhē, āmhi, āmi* transferred to the singular, p. 810; MB. plural use of *āmi*, p. 810. § 541: The Oblique Forms *mō-, āmā-*—their origin, and their use in OB. and MB., pp. 811-812. § 542: New Plural Formations by adding nouns of multitude or the *-rā-* affix, p. 812; the position in Bengali: singular and plural forms, p. 812; in other Magadhan speeches, p. 813; Hindi *ham, ham-losing*, p. 813. § 543: The oblique form *majhu* in MB. and in Braja-bult—its source and affinities in other NIA., p. 813; the NIA. genitive of the personal pronouns in *-ra*, pp. 813-814; the literary form *mama*, p. 814. § 544: The Early NB. form *āsmādādi*, p. 814. § 545: Typical Dialectal Forms for the First Person, pp. 814-815; notes on some of these, pp. 815-816.


§ 546: The forms in NB., singular and plural, p. 816. § 547: The OIA. *tvam, *tū* in the NIA. speeches—in OB., pp. 816-817. § 548: The OB. and NB. form *taĩ, tui*, p. 817. § 549: The Oblique *tō-* in OB., pp. 817-818; the eMB. Oblique *tō-* and equivalent forms in Maithili, p. 818. § 550: The form *tumi* and its origin, pp. 818-819; the Oblique Form *tōmā-*, p. 819; § 551: the Braja-bult forms *tuhū, tujha* etc., p. 819. § 552: Old Singular, Old Plural and New Plural

[C] The Pronoun for the Third Person.


[D] The Proximate or Near Demonstrative.


[E] The Remote or Far Demonstrative.

§ 571 : Standard NB. Forms, p. 835 ; § 572 : Demonstrative Bases in Indo-Iranian and in Indo-Aryan, pp. 835-836 ; Base of this Pronoun
in Bengali: «ō-, u-» forms; Interchange with the Pronoun of the Third Person, pp. 836-837; the «ō-» form in Apabhraṃśa and in Avahāṭṭha, p. 837; the Source of the Bengali «ō-, u-», p. 837; the forms in the Bihārī dialects, p. 837; § 573: the Remote Demonstrative in the various NIA. speeches, p. 838; notes on some of the forms in these, p. 838. § 574: Other Forms: «ōi» etc., pp. 838-839; § 575: Dialectal Forms, p. 839; § 576: the emphatic form, p. 839.

§ 577: The Question of the Non-Aryan Affinity of the IA. Demonstrative Pronouns, p. 839.


[H] The Indefinite Pronoun.

§ 588: The Indefinite in Bengali and in other NIA., and its Source, p. 845; Forms other than the Nominative, p. 845; § 589: the Neuter form «kichu»—its origin and affinities, pp. 845-846.
§ 590: Compound Pronominal Forms, in NB. and MB., p. 846.

[I] The Reflexive and Honorific Pronoun.


§ 598: The Bihārī Honorifics «rāur, raur; rauwā; āis, ais; āhā-, ahā-» and their Sources, pp. 850-851.


[I] Adjectives of Quality or Manner in «-mātā, -mānā».

§ 599: The Forms in NB., p. 851; the Source of the Affix in OIA., p. 851; Irregularity as to its Phonetics, pp. 851-852; the form «mātā(nā)», p. 852; the form in Assamese, p. 852; Extension of the Affix, and Dialectal Forms, pp. 852-853.

[II] Adjectives and Adverbs of Quality in «-hānā > -hēnā > -hnā > nā ».

§ 600: The Forms in NB. and in MB., as well as in Maithili, p. 853; in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa,—and its OIA. Source, pp. 853-854; Corresponding Forms in other NIA., p. 854; Forms in Braja-bult, p. 854; Analogous Forms in MB., and in Early Assamese, p. 854.

[III] Nouns and Adjectives of Quantity in «-tā, -tō».

§ 601: The NB. Forms, pp. 854-855; Equivalents in other NIA., p. 855; Origin of this form in MIA. and OIA., p. 855; use of «-kārā»
for the genitive of the \(-tā, -tō\) form in Bengali, p. 855; the form \(-kātākṣa\), p. 855.

[IV] Adverbs of Time in \(-bē\):
§ 602: Forms in Bengali and in other NIA., p. 856; Sources in Apabhraṁśa, p. 856; Origin, pp. 856-857; some Western Apabhraṁśa and other Affinities, p. 357.

[V] Adverbs of Time in \(-kānṭa\):

[VI] Adverbs of Place in \(-thā\):
§ 604: The Form in NB., p. 858; Origin, p. 858; the Locative forms as Oblique Pronouns, p. 858; the form in an extended shape in Bengali: Ōriya and other dialectal Equivalents, p. 858; Adverbs of Place in \(-t\) in Assamese and other Magadhan, and their Origin and Affinities, pp. 858-859.

[VII] Other Adverbs of Place in \(-kānē\), etc.:
§ 608: Other Dialectal Forms in \(-thī\), pp. 859-860.
§ 609: The Correlatives \(-jāī\) and \(-tāī\), p. 860.
§ 610: Some Western Adverbs of Manner in OB., and their Origin and Affinities, p. 860.

Chapter V: The Verb, pp. 861-1052.

[A] Conjugation of the Verb in IE., in OIA., and in NIA.

CONTENTS

[B] Bengali Verb-Roots.

[I] Historical Classification.

§ 614: Number of Roots in Sanskrit, p. 870; Roots in the Vedic Speech, in the Brahmanic, in Classical Sanskrit, pp. 870-872; Nature of a great many Skt. Roots as in the 'Dhātu-kōśas': Tadbhava Roots, pp. 871-872.

§ 615: Verb Roots in Bengali: their Number and Classification, p. 872.

§ 616: Primary Roots, p. 873; § 617: Unprefixed Primary Roots, pp. 873-874; Prefixed Primary Roots, p. 874; § 618: Relics of the OIA. Thomes in the NB. Primary Roots, pp. 874-875; § 619: Passive and Future Bases used for the Present in MIA. and NIA., pp. 876-877; § 620: Original Causatives as Primary Roots in Bengali: pp. 876-877; § 621: Some Obscure Roots, Primary in Form, with Dravidian Affinities in some cases, pp. 877-879; § 622: Tatsama and Semi-tatsama Roots in Bengali, pp. 879-880.

Partial or Modified Repetition, pp. 890-891; § 636: Some Obsolete Roots, p. 892; Phonetic Modifications in Bengali Root Forms, p. 892.

[II] Formal Classification.


[III] Roots and Verbal Nouns in Bengali.

§ 638: Nominal Forms in OIA. identical with the Root as conceived by grammarians, p. 895; Verbal Nouns reduced to the monosyllabic form of Roots through loss of final vowels in NB., pp. 895-896.


CONTENTS


§ 651: The Future Imperative Precautive or Prohibitive in -ihā, -iyō, -iō-,—its Origin, and its Affinities in other NIA. speeches, p. 908. § 652: The forms -gā, gē- with the Imperative in Bengali, and in Western Hindi, pp. 908-909.

[E] VOICE: THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

[I] THE INFLECTED PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

CONTENTS

The Inflected Passive in Maithili, pp. 916-917; in Oriyā, p. 917. § 657: Survivals of the Inflected Passive in NB.: Prohibitives and Optatives in dialectal Bengali, pp. 917-918; the Passive in Proverbial Expressions, p. 918; the Passive in respectful Imperative (dialectal), p. 918.


[II] ANALYTICAL FORMATION OF THE PASSIVE IN BENGALI.

§ 660: The different methods of analytically forming the Passive in Bengali, pp. 920-921. § 661: (1) The form with √jā, with the Object in the Nominative: its use, and idioms with this form in Bengali, pp. 921-922.

§ 662: (2) The form with √jā with the Object in the Dative,—an Impersonal Construction, p. 922; the Origin of this construction, pp. 922-923. § 663: The Origin of the √jā passive in NIA.: a Connexion with the Inflected -ijja- Passive of MIA. exceedingly probable, pp. 923-924.

§ 664: (3) The Passive with the Verbal Noun in -ana + √jā, with the Object in the Dative, pp. 924; Origin of this form, probably from the MIA. Passive Adjective in -anijja(y)ā, pp. 924-925; use of the -ana + √jā form in Bengali, p. 925; some cases of Haploglogy, p. 925. § 665: (4) The Passive with √par, a 'Compound Verb' Construction: a Dravidian resemblance, pp. 925-926.


[III] THE PASSIVE IN -ā-.

§ 671: Instances of the Passive in -ā- from MB., p. 927; from NB., p. 928; from Oriyā, p. 928; from Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī,
CONTENTS

p. 928. Source of this form: not the old Causative (in -āpayana-), but rather the old Denominative in -āya-, pp. 928-929; Evidence from the Bihārī dialects establishing this derivation, p. 929, and from Bengali, as well as from Western Hindi, p. 929.


[F] TENSE: THE SIMPLE TENSES.


[I] THE RADICAL TENSE.


[II] THE TENSES ORIGINATING FROM OIA. PARTICIPLES.

(1) THE PAST BASE.

§ 680: The Inflected Past Forms of OIA. curtailed in MIA.: the Past Forms in Pali and in Ardha-māgadhī, pp. 937-938; the use of

(2) The Past Conditional or Habitual.

§ 693: The Source of this form: OIA. Present Participle in < -ant- >: the syntactical development in MIA., p. 959; the form in OB. and MB.,
CONTENTS

p. 960. § 694: The Past Conditional in the other Magadhan speeches, pp. 960-961; the New Assamese Conditional in "hātēn", p. 961. § 695: The "-it-, -at-" Future in the Modern Magadhan Speeches: in Maithilī and Magahi, p. 961, and its development, pp. 961-962; the "-it-" Future in Dialectal Bengali, pp. 962-963; probable independent development of this use of the original "-ant-" form in the Central Magadhan speeches and in Dialectal Bengali, p. 963; the use of the "-ant-" participle for all tenses noted by the Prakrit Grammarians, p. 963.

(3) THE FUTURE TENSE.

§ 696: The OIA. Sigmatic or Inflected Future in NIA., pp. 963-965: its occurrence as a living form, pp. 963-964; cases of this old form in M.B. (for the 3rd person, in addition to the 2nd person forming the Future Precreative), pp. 964-965.

§ 697: The "-itavya > -ib-, -ab-" Future in NIA.: the Affix in OIA., MIA. and NIA.: a Verbal Noun Base as well, pp. 965-966: the late and foreign character of the change "-itavya > -ib, -ab-" in the Magadhan speeches, p. 966; the adjectival nature of the affix retained, p. 967. Cases of the "-ib-" form in O.B., p. 967; the form "-ib-" in Bengali etc., as opposed to the form "-ab-", p. 967; the change of the "-b-" in this form to "-m-" in Dialectal Bengali, p. 967.

[G] PERSONAL AFFIXES.

[1] THE VARIOUS CONSTRUCTIONS (PRAYōGAS) IN NIA.

§ 698: Affixation of Personal Terminations—a NIA. Development, pp. 967-968; the "Kartari, Karmaṇi, Bhāvē Prayōgas" in MIA., p. 968; the development of the "Bhāvē Prayōga" with the transitive verb in NIA., p. 968; the "Prayōgas" in the different NIA. speech groups: Western Hindi, p. 968; Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, p. 969; Marāṭhī, p. 969; Pahārī, pp. 969-970; Western Panjābī and Sindhi, p. 970: Affixation in the North-Western languages,—its resemblance with Iranian, footnote pp. 970-971. § 699: The "Prayōgas" in the Eastern NIA. Groups:


3) The Affixes for the Third Person: § 713: OB., MB. and NB. forms without any affix, pp. 982-983; § 714: the affix -ē- for transitive verbs, pp. 983-986; its use in the dialects of NB., p. 983; its origin, pp. 983-984; its occurrence in the ŚKK., side by side with -ā, -ā, p. 984; MB. feminine forms for the intransitive past indicate the continuance of their original adjectival nature in eMB., p. 984; the extension of the 3rd person present affixes (singular -ē, and plural -anti etc. for the honorific) accomplished during eMB. period, pp. 984-985; the -thi- and -āh- affixes for the verb honorific in Maithili, p. 985; the affix -ē for the past intransitive verb 3rd person in the Standard Colloquial, p. 985; use of -ā for the 3rd person past transitive verbs in the Stand.
CONTENTS

Coll. due to EB. influence, p. 985; Grierson’s explanations of the divergence in affixation between the transitive and intransitive past forms for the 3rd person, pp. 985-986. § 715: The -k- affix in the past form, p. 986. § 716: The honorific -anti, -ānī, -ānī, -ēn etc., p. 986; the -ēn form and the -ānī form, pp. 986-987; the equivalents of the Bengali -ēn in other Magadhan speeches, p. 987; the plural affix -e for the 3rd person past honorific in Oriya, p. 987.


[IV] The Affixes for the Conditional or Habitual Past.

§ 720: The forms -is; -i, -u, p. 989.

[H] Pleonastic Affixes.

[I] The Pleonastic Affix -ka-.

§ 721: The tense forms which can take this affix, pp. 989-990; some forms in eMB., and NB., p. 990. § 722: The -ka in the other Magadhan speeches, especially in Central Magadhan, pp. 990-992. § 723: The -ka affix with other parts of speech, p. 992; its extension first to the transitive verb, p. 992. § 724: The -ka form not an affixed pronoun, as suggested by Grierson, p. 993. § 725: The pleonastic -ka-, its importance in IA.: its occurrence in OIA., noted by Pāṇini, pp. 993-994.

[II] The Pleonastic Affix -ra-.

§ 726: Examples of its occurrence and use in the NB. dialects, p. 994, and in the ŠKK., p. 995; § 727: it was probably a much more common form in Bengali, p. 995; the occurrence of a -ra affix in other NIA., pp. 995-996; the Etymology of this Affix, p. 996.
CONTENTS

[III] The MB. Pleonastic Affix "-li".

§ 728: Cases of its occurrence in eMB., and in other NIA., p. 997; probable Source, p. 997.

[IV] The Pleonastic Affix "-khan, -khun".


[V] The Pleonastic Affix "-tā".

§ 730: Its occurrence in the Mayang Dialect and in Ĭriya, p. 998; probably the same as the Enclitic Definitive, p. 998.

[VI] The Pleonastic Affix "-pa".

§ 731: Its occurrence in OB., and in other NIA., p. 999.

[I] The Participles.

[I] The Present Participle.

§ 732: The "-itē" and "-anta", forms, p. 999; Locative of the Present Participle, pp. 999-1000; § 733: ibid., in Dialectal and Standard Bengali, and in other NIA., pp. 1000-1001; the Locative Participle in OB. and MB., pp. 1001-1002; in OIA., p. 1002.


§ 734: The "-ā" type and the "-ila" type, p. 1002; the Past Participle in "-iyā", p. 1002: use of the Past Participle as a present or static form, p. 1003.


§ 735: The "-iyā" form, and the "-ilē" form—their special forces, pp. 1003-1004:
[I] The Conjunctive or Absolutive in "-ilē"

§ 736: Its use as an Adjective, and as a Verbal Noun, p. 1004; it is not repeated, pp. 1004-1005; its use in NB. and MB., p. 1005; analogous forms in other Magadhan and in Hindōstānī and Marāṭhī, pp. 1005-1006; the Past Participle with the Locative in MIA. and OIA., p. 1006.

[II] The Conjunctive in "-iyā, -iyā, -i"

§ 737: The Various Forms of this Conjunctive in OB., pp. 1006-1007; Dialectal Bengali Conjunctive in "-nē, -(i)nai", Īriyā Conjunctive in "-ina", compared with the Bengali forms in "-ina, -iyā", p. 1007; the "-i" form in other Magadhan, p. 1007; the Māl-Pāhāriā form in "-henākū", p. 1008.

§ 738: Conjunctive Affixes in OIA. and in MIA., pp. 1008-1009; their connexion with the forms in the various NIA. speeches, pp. 1009-1010, and in Bengali, p. 1010; § 739: the Gujarātī Conjunctive in "-ī-nē", pp. 1010-1011. § 740: The Conjunctive in the syntax of NIA. (Bengali) and of MIA. (Pali, Classical Skt.), p. 1011. § 741: Adverbial Gerundive use of the Conjunctive in Bengali, p. 1012. § 742: Cases of loss of the "-i" affix in MB., p. 1012.

[K] Verbal Nouns, and the Infinitive in "-itē"

1017-1018. § 751: Relative Participle Adjectival Use of the Past and Future Passive participles, in Bihārī and in Ĭriyā, and in Bengali, pp. 1018-1019.

[L] The Compound or Periphrastic Tenses.

§ 752: (1) The «-iṭē-chē, -iṭē-chilā» type, pp. 1019-1020; (2) the «-i-chē, -i-chilā» type, p. 1020; (3) the «-(i)lā-chē, -(i)lā-chilā» type, pp. 1020-1021; (4) the «-i-yā-chē (-i-yā-chē), -i-yā-chilā (-i-yā-chilā» type, p. 1021. § 753: The Progressive Form in MB., pp. 1021-1022. § 754: The history of the «-iṭē-chē, -iṭē-chilā» form, pp. 1022-1023; its affinities in other NIA., p. 1023. § 755: The history of the «-i-chē, -i-chilā» form, pp. 1023-1026; analogous forms in other NIA., pp. 1024-1025; its use for both the Progressive and the Perfect, pp. 1025-1026. § 756: The Perfect form in «-ilā», pp. 1026-1027. § 757: The «-iṇā, -i-yā» form: its history, pp. 1027-1028. § 758: Two dialectal periphrastic tenses—(5) S.-W. Bengali forms with «√ṭha» auxiliary, and (6) North Central Bengali forms in «-(i)ṭ- + -it- » + root «āch», p. 1029.

[M] Causatives.


[N] Denominatives.

§ 765: Denominatives in OB., MB., p. 1033; Denominatives without any affix, and with the «-ā-» affix, pp. 1033-1034; Source of this «-ā-»
affix, p. 1034; the "-ānā" and "-īlā", -(i)lā" affix with the Denominative, p. 1035.


§ 766: Substantive Roots in Bengali, p. 1035. The Source of Root "āch", pp. 1035-1036; the "*-ske-, *-sko-" > ēcha- Verbs in Sanskrit, p. 1036: wider extent of the employ of √ "āch" in NIA., pp. 1036-1037; Conjugation of the verb "āch" in MB. and in NB., p. 1037; Root "ṭhā" < sthā in Oriya, and in Assamese, and "ṭhā, ṭha" in dialectal Bengali, pp. 1037-1038.

§ 767: Root "hā, hō": Affinities in other NIA.: the two forms merged into one, p. 1038; phonological reasons for considering a form "*as-a-ti" > hāy > beside "bhav-a-ti" > hōē > etc., pp. 1039-1040.

§ 768: Root "rah": its current derivations, p. 1040; the Skt. root "arh", pp. 1040-1041; an Indo-European root found in German and Latin, p. 1041; "rah" in MIA., pp. 1041-1042.

§ 769: Root "ṭhāk": its Source, p. 1042.

§ 770: Root "bāṭ", pp. 1042-1043.


§ 772: The Roots meaning "to give" and "to take": "lāh, lā, le, nē", pp. 1044-1046; Root "ghēn", p. 1046.

§ 773: Roots "ā" and "ā-is" beside a form from "ā-gam", = to come, pp. 1046-1047.


§ 774: Duplicated Verb-forms in OB., MB. and NB., p. 1047. § 775: Roots which go in pairs, pp. 1047-1048; Roots repeated by an artificial or 'Echo' form, p. 1048. § 776: Verbal Nouns of Reciprocity from Reduplicated Forms, pp. 1048-1049: their occurrence in OIA., p. 1049.
[Q] Compound Verbs.


Appendix to Morphology: pp. 1053-1056.

§ 780: Development of New Bengali from the Primitive Indo-European speech illustrated by a number of NB. sentences with equivalents (attested as well as hypothetical) in the various stages, pp. 1053-1056.
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

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

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

\(^1\) Of course, a modified form of Western Hindi (Hindostani, Hindi or Urdu) is the lingua franca of all Aryan-speaking India, and is the established language of literature, of education, of the law-court and of public life in the Bihari, Eastern Hindi, Panjabi and Lahndi, Central and Western Pahari, and Rajasthani tracts. From this, Hindi or Hindostani is often loosely regarded as the language of the people of all Aryan India excluding Sindh, Gujarat, the Mahatta country, Orissa, Bengal and Assam, Nepal, Kashmir, and to some extent the Panjabs, of a tract with a population of over 112 (including the Panjab, over 133) millions. Hindi or Hindostani is unquestionably the most important language of India, and the only speech which can be said to be truly national for all India; but it, together with other forms of Western Hindi, like Braj-bhasha, Kanaujia, Bundeli, etc., is the mother-tongue, the home-language of a little over 41½ millions only (according to the census of 1911). Taking into consideration the number of people speaking it as their mother-tongue, Bengali is the seventh language of the world, coming after Northern Chinese, English, Russian, German, Spanish, and Japanese; although as a great world-speech, Hindostani alone of Indian languages can rank with English, French, Spanish and Arabic.
INTRODUCTION

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

On its borders, it meets with several aboriginal languages and dialects. Within the western boundary of Bengali is found Santali (Sāōtālī), a dialect of the Kōl¹ (Munḍā) group (of the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family of speeches); and Hō and Munḍārī, also Kōl speeches closely related to Santali, are found to the west of Bengali. Besides, two Dravidian dialects, intimately connected with each other, are found to the west of Bengali: Malto, which is spoken in the Rāj-mahāl Hills, and Kurukh (Kārukh) or Oraon (Orāō), which just touches Bengali at its extreme western fringe. In the north and the east, Bengali comes in touch with a number of speeches which are members of some six different groups of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese family. To the north, we have Lepea or Rōng, a dialect of the Tibeto-Himalayan group; Dhimāl, Limbu and Khambu, which are ‘pronominalised’ speeches

¹ I have a preference for the old, familiar and accurate ‘Kōl,’ used by the Aryan-speaking neighbours of the Kōl peoples, as an ethnic and linguistic term, to ‘Munḍā.’ ‘Kōl’ comes from a Middle Indo-Aryan ‘Kōla,’ which is found in Sanskrit (also as ‘Kōla’); and obviously in Sanskrit it referred to the aboriginal people of Central India. (Cf. New Indo-Aryan ‘Bhill’ from earlier ‘Bhillā,’ found in Sanskrit and Prakrit.) The word ‘Kōla, Kōl’ itself seems to be of Kōl origin, and in all probability it is an early Aryan transcription of the source-form, in what may be called ‘Old Kōl,’ of the modern Kōl words for man—Santali [hɔːr], Munḍārī [hɔːr], Hō [hoː], Korwā [hoː], Kürkā [koːroː]. There is no contempt implied in the use of the word among those who employ it, whatever the Sanskrit ‘kōla,’ never a popular word, might mean. A tract in Singbhum District in Chota Nagpur is known as Kolhan (< Kollānām) = (the land) of the Kōls; cf. Bhōṭān = (the land) of the Bhōts or Tibetans. The term ‘Kōl’ has an extensive employ, whereas ‘Munḍā’ is the designation of only one section of the Kōl people. Besides, it was used by Hodgson to denote this particular group of speeches, which, however, he classed as ‘Tamulian,’ i.e., Dravidian. (A. Nottrott and P. Wagner, ‘A Grammar of the Kol Language,’ Ranchi, 1905, pp. 2, iii; LSL, IV, pp. 7, 8.) ‘Munḍā’ has not been able to drive out ‘Kolarian’ entirely; ‘Kōl’ seems to be least objectionable, and it is near enough the unmeaning but popular ‘Kolarian.’
belonging to the same group, and are spoken by small numbers in the extreme north; Dänjong-kā or Sikkimese, and Lho-ke or Bhotanese, which are closely related forms of Tibetan. To the north-east and east, Bengali meets dialects of the Boṭo group: Boṭo (Bārā) or Kacārī (also known as Kēc, Mēe and Rābhā), Garo, and Dimā-sā, as well as Mrung or Tipurā; it touches the area of the dialects of the Naga group; and dialects of the Kuki-Cin and Burma groups, like Meithei (or Maṇipurī) and Luśai, and Aracanese. Another aboriginal language, not related to the Tibeto-Burman dialects mentioned above, is spoken on the eastern frontier of Bengali, namely, Khasi, belonging to the Mōn-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic languages, and thus connected with the Köl speeches of West Bengal.

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

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

I) The Indo-Iranian, or Aryan, falling into three\(^1\) groups:

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

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

\(^{1}\) I accept Grierson’s division of Indo-Iranian into three groups, although this is not admitted by all. (Sten Konow, ‘Notes on the Classification of Bashgali,’ JRAS., 1911, p. 1, ff., where Dardic is relegated to the Iranian group; Jules Bloch thinks it possible that the source-dialects of present day Dardic, together with the Indian Prakritic speeches of the north-west [and the source-forms of the Gipsy dialects of Armenia and Europe?], formed a distinct Indian dialect-group; JA., 1912, i, p. 336. Another view is that the Dardic speeches are ‘ancient Aryan (Vedic) dialects which have been overlaid with Irānian as the result of later invasion’ in the time of the Achāmenids, or earlier: E. J. Rapson in the Cambridge History of India, 1922, p. 52.) See below, § 25.
(ii) Dardic, or Piśāca: embracing the languages of the extreme north-western frontier of India, and falling into these subgroups: (a) Kāfir—Bašgali; Wai-alā; Wasī-veri or Prēsun; and Kalaśa, Gawar-batī and Pasai; (b) Khō-wār, or Citrālī; and (c) Śīṇā—Śīṇā proper (7 dialects); Köhistānī (3 dialects); and Kaśmirī.

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

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The subgroups other than Persic are sometimes classed together as ‘Medic,’ in the sense of ‘non-Persic.’
EXTINCT INDO-EUROPEAN SPEECHES

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

4. Besides the above eight branches, members of which are living languages at the present day, there were a number of speeches both in Europe and in Asia, now extinct, which were members of the Indo-European family; e.g., the languages of the Ligurians, the Iapygians and Messapians, and the Veneti of Italy; the languages of the Illyrians and Dacians, and of the Thracians; Phrygian, spoken in Ancient Asia Minor, a speech related to Thracian, and connected by some with the Armenian; the remains in the above are extremely scanty, and it is impossible to find out their proper relationship within the family. Within recent years have been discovered, from Chinese Turkistan, Buddhist and other documents, in Indian Brāhmī characters, of an Indo-European speech, spoken up to the end of the first millennium A.C. in the Tarim Valley, in the cities of Kueha (Dialect B) and Qara-shahr and Turfan (? Dialect A); and this speech, to which the names Kuchean and Tokharian have been given, and which has some unique points of interest, agreeing more with the Indo-European languages of the west (Celtic, Italic, and Slav and Armenian) than of the east (its neighbour speeches of the Aryan group), has been relegated to a branch by itself. (A. Meillet, ‘Le Tokharien,’ Indogermanisches Jahrbuch for 1913; Sylvain Lévi, ‘Le “Tokharien B,” Langue de Koutcha,’ J.A., 1913, ii, pp. 311-380). The language of the Hittites of Asia Minor has been declared to be Indo-European by Friedrich Hrozný (‘Die Sprache der Hethiter,’ Leipzig, 1917) and J. S. Marstrander (‘Caractère indo-européen de la Langue hittite,’ Christiana, 1919); but although this has been disputed or regarded as not established with certitude by some, there can be no question about the Indo-European character of the language. (Cf. also ZDMG. for 1922: Johannes Friedrich, ‘Die hethitische Sprache,’ pp. 153-173; E. Forrer, ‘Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches,’ pp. 174-269; both these writers agree as to the Indo-European character of the speech, which is named ‘Hethitisch,’ or ‘Kanisisch’ by Forrer, as the language of an
'Indo-European' ruling class, in contradistinction to the non-IE. speech of the people of the Hittite kingdom, called 'Chattisch' or 'Proto-Hattisch.') Also see below, § 25.

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

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

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

7. Beginning from the extreme north-west, we have the Dardic languages, which, although they do not belong to the Indo-Aryan group, may be noticed in this connection. These languages are spoken in the Kashmir valley, and in the region to the north and north-west of Kashmir, namely, Dardistan (Gilgit etc.), Chitral and Kashmir, with the Hindu Kush as its north-western boundary. The Dardic languages, or, rather, ancient dialects of the same group, influenced Indo-Aryan dialects of the north-west and the west, of which Western Panjābī (Lahndī) and Sindhi are typical examples. (See §§ 11, 12, 25.) Excepting Kaśmīrī, the Dardic languages, although philologically important, have no exalted position. The number of people speaking them does not exceed 2 millions, of which Kaśmīrī alone takes up over 1 million. The Dardic speeches of the present day, barring Kaśmīrī, were never cultivated, and were written down only in the 19th century, so that no specimens of an earlier period are available. From the earliest times Kashmir was a

part of the Indo-Aryan world in culture and religion as well as in politics, whereas the other Dardic tracts, because of their inaccessibility, were never completely brought under Indian influence and organisation, so that the people retained more or less their primitive ways. Kaśmīrī consequently has always been exposed to the influence of the Indo-Aryan speeches, Sanskrit and the Prakrit vernaculars, from which the other Dardic speeches are free. There was literary cultivation of Old Kaśmīrī, and probably the lost 'Bṛhat-kathā' of Guṇāḍhya, written in the 'Paiśāci' language, was in Old Kaśmīrī, if it was in any Dardic speech at all. We may be quite certain that Kaśmīrī was cultivated before 1000 A.C. There is some Middle Kaśmīrī literature. The earliest specimens of Kaśmīrī that have been made accessible to us are the poems of Lallā, a mystic poetess of the Śaiva Tāntrika cult, of the 14th century ('Lallāvākyāni,' ed. by Grierson and Barnett, RAS., London, 1920). Kaśmīrī used to be written formerly in the Śāradā character, allied to the Dēvā-nāgarī, but at the present day, since over 90% of its speakers are Moslems, the Perso-Arabic character is used, although a modified Dēvā-nāgarī has been devised and employed, for philological purposes mainly. Kaśmīrī was at first regarded as a Sanskritic or Indo-Aryan language, owing to the large Indo-Aryan element in it, but its Dardic affinities have been fully established (Grierson, 'Linguistic Classification of Kashmirī,' IAnt., 1915, p. 270).

8. Western Panjābī or Lahndī, also known under various other names (Hindkō, Jaṭkī, Mūltānī, Cībhālī, Pōṭhwārī etc.), is a group of dialects current among nearly 5 millions of people in Western Panjab, who employ for literary purposes Urdu and to a slight extent Hindī and Eastern Panjābī. Western Panjābī does not possess much literature, except some Sikh prose narratives like the 'Janam-sākhī,' and some popular ballads and songs, of which the language is often mixed with eastern forms of speech. The native system of writing for Western Panjābī, with the 'Laṃdā' characters, a variety of Śāradā, is in comparatively little use now, Persian characters being commonly employed when the language is put in writing.
9. Eastern Panjabi, or Panjabi, is the language of nearly 16 millions (according to the census of 1911). This speech is only one form of a Common Panjabi, extending from the west of the Western Hindi to the region of Pašto; only it has from early times come under the influence of the Midland speech of the west Gangetic region. There are various dialects of Eastern Panjabi, a noteworthy form of it being Ďōgrī, which is spoken in the state of Jammu and in the district of Kangra. There is a slight literary culture in it, the oldest extant specimen being a few Sikh hymns dating from the 16th century. Sikhs at the present day use E. Panjabi to some extent for literary purposes, employing the Gur-mukhi character, which is a reformed kind of Landā; but Hindostāni (Urdū or Hindi) has always been the dominant language among E. Panjabi speakers. The Persian character is also sometimes used to write E. Panjabi.

10. Sindhi is the language of the lower Indus valley and of Kachh, and is spoken by a little over 3½ millions. It has 5 dialects—Vicōli, Siraiki, Lāri, Tharēlī and Kacchi. Sindhi is written in an elaborated form of the Perso-Arabic alphabet, but the Landā character, proper to it, is in common use among merchants, and Gur-mukhi is occasionally employed. In its grammatical forms, Sindhi retains many archaic features, and in its phonetics it is remarkable in possessing four peculiar sounds not found in any other Indian language, Aryan, Dravidian, Kōl, or Tibeto-Chinese, viz., [g'], [j' or j3'], [d'] and [b'], which are only [g, j3, d, b] pronounced with simultaneous closure of the glottis. In phonetics and morphology there are points of agreement between Sindhi and Panjabi (W. and E.). Sindhi has a little literature of ballads and prose tales, and of compositions in the Persian style.

11. The dialects of the Rājasthāni group (Mārwāri, Jaipuri, Mēwāṭi, Mālavī and others) are spoken by over 14 millions, and they seem to form, with Gujarāti, a separate branch of the Indo-Aryan family, which has as its basis the early IA. dialect (or dialects) current in Malwa and Gujarat, strongly modified by the neighbouring Saurasenī speech of the Midland (§ 13), and in times post 500 A.C., also to some extent influenced by the language of the Gurjara tribes (possibly Dardic in origin), who came from
the north-west and settled in Rajputana and Gujarat and became the rulers there. The Western or Mārwārī form of Rājasthānī is in reality the immediate sister of Gujarātī, the eastern dialects agreeing more with Western Hindi. The exact affiliation of the Eastern Rājasthānī dialects (Mēwātī, Jaipuri and Hārautī etc., Mālavī and Nimārī), whether they are more intimately connected, in their origin, with Western Hindi or with W. Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, cannot be determined, in the absence of genuine ancient remains in them; but it has been found out that W. Rājasthānī and Gujarātī are derived from the one and same source-dialect, to which the name ‘Old Western Rājasthānī’ has been given (L.P. Tessitori, ‘Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rājasthānī,’ IAnt., 1914-1916 : Introduction). This OWR. is represented by a respectable literature, mostly by Jain authors, and this literature dates from the 14th century and earlier to the end of the 15th century. Gujarātī must have differentiated from OWR. in the 16th century into a separate language, which is now spoken by over 10 millions. The first great poet of Gujarat, Narasīh Mēhta, belongs to the 15th century, but the language of his poems, which are very popular, has been modernised in the course of centuries. The dialects of Rājasthānī are not much used for literary purposes now. The language of the Midland has always been dominant in Rajputana. In the earlier days, the Saurasēṇī Prakrit and Saurasēṇī Apabhraṃśa had spread their influence over the original Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in Rajputana and Gujarat; and the literary dialect of the Old Western Hindi period, Avaḥatṭha or ‘Pīṅgala,’ was as much cultivated by the bards of Rajputana as ‘Pīṅgala’ or the local Rājasthānī dialects, especially Mārwārī; and at the present day, Hindi is almost the sole literary language. There is, however, a rich literature in Rājasthānī, mostly in Mārwārī, and to some extent in Jaipuri, consisting mainly of bardic poems and chronicles. This literature has been explored, and its nature made known, by Tessitori, who edited, before his lamented and untimely death, some fine Mārwārī poems (Journal and Proceedings of the ASB., 1914, 1916-17-19-20; Bib. Ind., Rājasthānī Series).

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

Khas-kurā (called also Parbatīyā, Gōrkhaḷī or Nēpāḷī) is the most important Pahāṛī speech. The other Pahāṛī dialects are interesting philologically, but otherwise they have not much importance. Excluding Khas-kurā, for which exact figures are wanting, the Pahāṛī dialects are spoken by less than 2 millions. Khas-kurā seems to be outsting rapidly the Tibeto-Burman speeches of Nepal. It originally spread from Western Nepal, and its oldest remains do not go beyond the latter part of the 18th century. Maithilī seems to have been current in South-eastern Nepal before the advent of Khas-kurā; in any case, Awadhi, Maithilī and Bengali were used as languages of culture in the court of the (Tibeto-Burman speaking) Nēwāṛī kings, who ruled before the Gurkhas, as is evidenced by a number of dramas written in the above languages in Nepal, right down to the middle of the 18th century (e.g., A. Conrady, 'Hariścandra-ṇṛtyam,' Leipzig, 1891; Nonī-Gōpāl Banerjee, 'Nēpāḷī Bāṅgāḷā Nāṭak,' VSPd., 1824 San, Introduction; C. Bendall, 'Cat. of Buddhist Skt. MSS. in the Univ. Libr. of Cambridge,' 1883, pp. 83-84, 183; 'Kat. der Bib. der DMG.'; referred to by Bendall and Conrady). Kumāṃī and Gaṛhvāḷī, and other forms of Central Pahāṛī, and the various dialects grouped together as Western Pahāṛī, have no literature worth mentioning. Hindī is the established language of literature in the Central Pahāṛī region,
13. The Central Indo-Aryan language, Western Hindī, is spoken by over 41½ millions. Its chief forms are (i) Braj-bhākhā, the dialect spoken round about Bareilly, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Dholpur and Kerauli; (ii) Kanaujī, in the upper Doab, east of the Braj-bhākhā area; (iii) Bundelī, in Bundelkhand and part of Central India; (iv) Bāngarū or Hariānī in South-eastern Panjab; and (v) the dialects to the north of Braj-bhākhā, from Ambala to Rampur, to which the name 'Vernacular Hindōstānī' has been given, as they approach nearest Hindōstānī as now written (Hindī or High Hindī, and Urdu). The oldest remains of W. Hindī extant are in the 'Prithvirāja-Rāsa' of Canda Bardāi (12th-13th centuries). The language there is much under the influence of literary Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa of the earlier periods. The 'Prakrta-Paṅgala,' which is a treatise on Apabhraṃśa versification, compiled, in its present form, towards the end of the 14th century, gives in illustration of the metrical rules, a number of poems and couplets, most of which are in a dialect which is essentially Old Western Hindī. The Apabhraṃśa verses quoted in the Prakrit Grammar of Hēma-candra (1088-1172 A.C.) are in a Śaurāsenī speech which is archaic for the time of Hēma-candra, and which represents the pre-modern stage of Western Hindī.

The dialect of Braj is the most important and in a sense the most faithful representative of the old Śaurāsenī speech, the source of the W. Hindī dialects, which was current in the Midland (Madhya-dēśa) of Aryan India, corresponding roughly to South-eastern Panjab, the western districts of the United Provinces (Rohilkhand, Agra and Meerut Divisions), and the tract immediately to the south. Braj-bhākhā has a rich literature, mainly in verse and partly in prose; and it and Awadhī, an Eastern Hindī dialect, formed the common literary vehicles for poetical composition in the Upper Ganges Valley (Hindostan proper), until recent times, when standard Hindōstānī came into being. Hindōstānī is in its origin based on the Western Hindī dialects spoken in and around Delhi, dialects which were strongly influenced by the contiguous Panjābī and Rājasthānī; and as the speech of the capital, it gradually came to be adopted by the Turki, Persian and Paštō speaking nobility of the
Moslem court. Originally a mixed *patois* of the bazaar and the camp (*urdu* < Turkī *ordu* camp), it came to have a prestige as the language of the capital city and of the Moslem conquerors who settled down in India; and under the successive Moslem dynasties, officials and others from Delhi helped its spread into the provinces, east and west and south, as a convenient *lingua franca*, a natural successor to the Śaurasenī Avahāṭṭha of the Rajput courts of Northern India immediately before the Muselman conquest. For some time, when it was in a fluid state, with its grammar not yet fixed, and its vocabulary mainly native Indian, it was only a spoken language, the Moslems of foreign origin who spoke it at home using Persian for literary and epistolary purposes, and the Hindus and converted Moslems employing the vernaculars, Braj-blākhā and Awadhī. It was first used seriously for literary composition only towards the end of the 17th century, by North Indian Musalmans sojourning in the Deccan; although, it is said, it was taken up earlier for poetical composition in Delhi itself by Amīr Khusrau in the 14th century (Bāl-mukund Gupta, 'Hindi-bhāṣā,' Calcutta, Saṁvat 1964, pp. 9 ff). From the 18th century onwards, Hindīstānī became a serious rival of Braj-blākhā and Awadhī as a literary language. Persian words were being adopted by all Indian dialects from after the Muselman conquest, and poems of Kabīr (15th century) and others in the dialects, with a large Persian vocabulary, have been found long before the establishment of Hindīstānī. Hindīstānī was already the home language of an influential Moslem nobility and gentry in Northern India, and as such, it had gradually taken up a large number of Persian words; it was already the accepted standard speech, *khaṛī-bōli*, for all Northern India; and by the beginning of the 19th century, it was well established as a literary language; and as most of its writers were Musalmans, it was written in the Persian character, and a large Persian element became its great characteristic. Hindu writers (beginning with Lallū-lāl and Sadal Miśra) then took it up, at first at the suggestion of some English scholars in Calcutta, and used Hindīstānī with as few Persian words as possible, and wrote it in the national script, the Dēva-nāgarī. The resultant style of Hindīstānī, known as Hindī or High Hindī, has become established
in all Upper Gangetic India, in the Panjab (among many Hindus), in Rajputana, in Central India, in the Central Provinces, as it admirably met the necessity for a convenient dialect for prose. It has been experimented for poetry in the old Hindu style as well, although Braj-bhākhā still holds its own. The Musalman style of Hindōstānī, known as Urdū, has developed greatly, and in versification and other matters has completely shaken off the Indian tradition and adopted those of Persian and Arabic.

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

14. Eastern Hindī (called ‘Purabiya’ by the speakers of W. Hindī) is the name given to a group of three dialects, Awadhi (called also Kōsali and Baiswāri), Bhāgheli and Chattis-garhī, spoken by over 22½ millions in the United Provinces, Central India and the Central Provinces, to the east of the W. Hindī area. Bhāgheli is almost identical with Awadhi, but Chattisgarhī is different in some respects. Awadhi has a rich literature. The earliest great work in it is the ‘Padumāwati’ of Mālik Muhammad Jaisi (middle of the 16th century), but its literary cultivation undoubtedly goes back several centuries earlier. Tulasī-dāsa wrote mostly in Awadhi. Bhāgheli and Chattis-garhī have a little literature, some of which has been printed. Hindī and Urdū, however, as successors to Brajbhākhā, which was formerly much cultivated in the Eastern Hindī area, have been adopted by the speakers of Eastern Hindī as their literary language.
15. **Marāṭhī** is the language of nearly 20 millions in the Deccan, along the Bombay coast and in Berar, Haidarabad and the Central Provinces. Marāṭhī has 3 dialects—Dēsasth or Dēśī, the central and standard dialect spoken in the Deccan tract; Kōŋkaṇi or coast dialect; and Vārāhī-Nāgpuri or eastern dialect. The language round about Goa, called also Kōŋkaṇi, is a sister-dialect of Marāṭhī, and has some peculiarities of its own. The oldest specimens of Marāṭhī are epigraphical, consisting of a number of short inscriptions, the earliest of which dates from 1118 A.C. (J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ pp. 279 ff.; Vināyak Lākṣmaṇ Bhāvē, ‘Mahārāṣṭra-Sūrasvat,’ Poona 1919, pp. 9 ff.). The earliest writers of Marāṭhī whose works are extant are Mukunda-rāja (end of the 12th century: cf. Bhāvē, op. cit., pp. 25-26); Jñāna-dēva, whose ‘Jñānēśvari,’ a translation with commentary of the Bhagavad-gītā, was written c. 1290; and Nāma-dēva, a contemporary of Jñāna-dēva, a few of whose poems are preserved in the Sikh ‘Ādi-Granth.’

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

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

17. There are some curious dialects current in Bastar and the Central Provinces, which are a mixture of Chattis-gaṛhi, Oṛiyā and Marāṭhī. These
are spoken by tribes who originally had Gondi and other non-Aryan languages, and came simultaneously under the influence of three slightly different forms of Indo-Aryan. The most important of these dialects is Halabā or Halabi (LSI., VII, pp. 330 ff).

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

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

20. Taking into consideration the main phonetic and morphological trend of the Indo-Aryan speech as a whole, its history has been conveniently divided into 3 broad periods: (1) Old Indo-Aryan (OIA.), when the language was most copious in both its sounds and forms; (2) Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA.), when there was a movement towards simplification of older consonant groups, and a general curtailment of grammatical forms. The MIA. period may further be subdivided into an Early, a Second and a Late stage, with a Transitional stage between the Early and the Second; (3) New Indo-Aryan (NIA.), when the old simplifying tendencies inaugurating the
second period had worked themselves out; the old inflectional system having been worn down to a few meagre forms, grammar had to be eked out with a number of new help-words, so that the whole character of the language became altered, and the modern IA. 'vernaculars' came into being. Vedic and Sanskrit form the typical or representative languages of the first period. For the second period, we have the various Prakrits of the earlier inscriptions beginning with those of Aśoka, Pali, and the Prakrits of literature. At the confluence of the second and the third periods we have the literary Apabhraṅgas; and these Apabhraṅgas of literature are mainly based on hypothetical spoken Apabhraṅgas, in which the earlier Prakrits die and the Bhāṣas or modern Indo-Aryan languages have their birth. The terms 'Vedic' or 'Sanskrit,' 'Prakrit' and 'Bhāṣa' may be used as short and convenient, though rather loose, terms for the three periods of Indo-Aryan; and the transitional stage between 'Prakrit' and 'Bhāṣa,' properly forming a part of the 'Prakrit' or MIA. period, can be conveniently called 'Apabhraṅga.'

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

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

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

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


(i) Early stage: 600 B.C.—200 A.C. (Aśoka Prakrit and Pali as types). Phonetic: 5, 9, lost; ā, ā, also aya, ava 8, 6; simplification of consonant groups, by assimilation, etc. (kk, dd, tt, mh, etc.); final consonants and visarga dropped; tendency towards cerebralisation of dental stops and aspirates in connection with r; 8, 8, 8 reduced generally to one sibilant, s or 8; intervocal single stops retained. (In the North-west and the West, and possibly also in the Midlands, the cerebralising tendency was resisted, in the early period, but it showed itself as a characteristic of the eastern dialects very early, even as early as the OIA; the dialects of the North-west preserved a great deal of the phonetics of OIA,—e.g. occurrence of r in consonant groups, retention of 3 sibilants 8, 8, 8—right down to the end of the transitional MIA. period, but gradually through the influence of other dialects, yielded to the pan-Indian tendencies.) The old ‘root-sense’ grew obscured. A fixed stress accent, in the place of the earlier free pitch, seems generally to have been established. Morphological: considerable simplification of the declensional system: move towards standardising the a declension; the dual lost; the dative merged into the genitive; the forms of the pronominal declension were extended to the noun. Conjugation: imperative and optative remain, but the subjunctive, found in a few rare cases, is lost; perfect system becomes less and less used, and is confined to a few verbs only; aorist and imperfect fall together, and are less and less used; middle voice, preserved as a relic in the earlier period, disappeared; of the derived forms, causative alone a living form; verbal nouns and gerunds become fewer, but more used; wider use of the passive participle for the past tense; fewer prepositional particles.

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

(iii) Second MIA. stage: A.C. 200—600 A.C. (Dramatic Prakrits—Śaursenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī, and Jaina Ardhā-māgadhī as types). Phonetic: the process of turning original single stops to zero completed during this period; original intervocal aspirates (except -ṭh-, -ṭh>-ṭh-) became spirants aspirated, probably, and then weakened
to -h-: (the above processes were carried on in all the dialects, but seem to have been completed first in the southern speech, e.g., Mahārāṣṭrī—while in some of the northern dialects—Śaurāṣṭrī and Māgadhi—the voiced [and spirant] stage was maintained longer; Ardh-māgadhi in this seems to have agreed with its neighbours): -p-, however, commonly found as -v-; intervocal -s- becomes -h- in some cases; sandhi between udvṛtta vowels. Morphological: Declension—further advance towards simplification, but masculine and feminine declensions preserved; beginning of the use of help-words in forming cases of nouns and pronouns—kēra<kārya, kaa<kṛta; (in the transitional stage, -santaka and one or two others can be noted). Conjugation: reduced to indicative present and future, imperative, optative present, perfect for a few stray verbs, and passive present; use of the passive participle to indicate the past becomes the rule; a number of verbal nouns and participial forms. Syntactical: Word-order becomes stereotyped; preference for the nominal rather than the verbal phrase.

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

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

[3] NIA. Period: after 1000 A.C. Common characteristics in the oldest period: Phonetic: reduction of earlier double consonants to single ones, with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel, except in the North-west and West; existence of intervocal euphonic -y- -w- between uncombined udvṛtta vowels, excepting -āi -āū in certain cases. Morphological: Declension—distinction of feminine; nominative and oblique bases—the latter an earlier oblique case-form; formation of plural by new methods
(agglutination, use of the genitive, etc.); inherited inflections very few; no accusative-
dative for inanimate names; use of post-positions; Apabhraṣṭa (inherited) forms for
the nouns of number (no new combinations). Conjugation: use of the present participle
as a tense-form commences; beginning of compound tenses by combination; passive
construction, with the passive participle qualifying the object, for the past tense of the
transitive verb; adjectival (and neuter) construction for the intransitive verb past; use of
inflected passive, present tense, in -i- or -iṣ-. establishment of analytical passive form with
roots ja, paṇ, etc.; causatives in -aḥ(v); some verbal nouns; wide use of the conjunctive
participle (indeclinable) in adverbial and other senses. Syntactical: compound verb con-
structions are established.

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

22. Common forms and inflections, as well as common habits of
phonetics and syntax show that the dialects of Bengali, as well as Assamese
and Oṛiyā on the one hand, and the dialects of the Bihārī group on the
other, must have originated from some early form of IA. current in the
eastern part of Northern India. To this mother-dialect, the name 'Māgadhī'
has been given; and Māgadhī, with its immediate neighbour 'Ardha-
māgadhī,' the source of E. Hindi, formed the 'Prācyā' or eastern group of
dialects in the late OIA., and MIA. periods. Some of the phonetic
characteristics of Māgadhī, e.g., [s] for [śśśś], [l] for [r], noticed from
a very early period, are preserved or can be traced in its descendants; and
some time before its break-up into Bhōjpuriyā, Maithili and Magahī,
and Oṛiyā and Assamese-Bengali, which continued along their own lines
since then, it developed certain morphological features and syntactical
tendencies (e.g., use of [kaa] and [kēra] or [kara] with the genitive,
of [-ill-], [-ell-] or [-all-] with the passive participle, of the verbal noun in
[-ebba-] or [-abba-] for the future, of an active construction for the past
tense), which were new in its history, and which have been inherited by its
descendants. This late form of Māgadhī, when these peculiarities originated,
can be described as 'Māgadhī Apabhraṣṭa.' We have no remains in this
immediate source-form of the modern Māgadhī languages preserved for
us, but we can form some idea of it from a comparison of the oldest
specimens of Bengali, Oṛiyā and Maithili, and their sister-languages, as
well as of Śauraseni and other Western Apabhraṣṭa dialects of the
same period, of which we have records. The Prācyā speech, including
Māgadhī, originally differed remarkably in its phonetics, and to some
extent in its morphology, from the other forms of IA. which prevailed to its west (§ 39).

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

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

A sketch of the early history of IA., with reference to the origin of Bengali, is attempted below, as a preliminary to a study of the Phonology and Morphology of the language.
24. Aryan speakers are admitted by most scholars to have come to India at some period not very much anterior to 1500 B.C., which is the date usually given to the commencement of the age when the Vedic hymns were composed. The Aryanisation of North-western India (Panjab) was a gradual process, and started as an overflow from what is now Afghanistan, where Aryan speakers were sojourning for some time before they turned to India, along the rivers Kuhba (Kabul), Krumu (Kuram) and Gomatı (Gomal) and the passes of the western frontier. The original people among whom the primitive Indo-European speech, the ultimate source of Vedic and Avestic, of Greek, of Italic and Celtic, of Slavie and of Germanic, was characterised, were, according to testimony of language, pastoral, and perhaps nomadic, with some knowledge of agriculture, but their home and race-type are matters of dispute. Panjab and Kashmir, Central Asia, South Russia, Poland and Lithuania, Hungary, North Germany, and Scandinavia, among other places, have been proposed by different writers as the original Indo-European home. But it seems that there cannot be much objection in regarding the wide tract of land extending from the west and south of Russia (possibly also from east Germany and Poland) to the Altai and Thien Shan mountains of Central Asia, as the 'area of characterisation' of primitive Indo-European language and culture. In the central and eastern parts of this tract now live various Tatar peoples, speaking dialects of the Turki and Mongol groups (of the Ural-Altaic family), side by side with the Russians. North of this tract was the original home of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, remnants of whom are still found there. It is probable that the wide grass lands of Eurasia were shared by primitive tribes, both Indo-European and Ural-Altaic (Altaic and Finno-Ugrian) in speech, and that there was some amount of intermingling among them. The connection between the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian languages, as advocated by Henry Sweet ('History of Language,' London, 1900, Chapter VII) might be a genetic one, and it may yet be proved that the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian (and consequently also the Altaic) speeches have a common origin in the language of the prehistoric dwellers of the Eurasian plains. There is again, no proof
that the primitive Indo-Europeans, the *Wiros*, as P. Giles proposes to call them (‘Cambridge History of India,’ Vol. I, p. 66), were a pure and unmixed race. Many scholars, mostly German, assumed the original Indo-European type as being tall, long-headed, straight-nosed, with fair complexion and golden wavy hair, the Nordic type of Europe; others, like Sergi, regarded them as having been a medium round-headed race, fair, with black hair, the Alpine type; while a third view suggests with greater plausibility that the Indo-European speakers were ‘a conglomerate of peoples of different origins who in prehistoric times were welded together into an ethnic unity’ (A. H. Keane, *Man Past and Present,* revised and re-written by A. H. Quiggin and A. C. Haddon, Cambridge, 1920, p. 505). Marked dialectal differences were present among the primitive Indo-Europeans, as can be seen from the derived languages. Primitive IE. dialects have been classed into two broad groups from point of view of phonetics and vocabulary, a Western and an Eastern. In the former group, original IE. gutturals, stops and aspirates, were preserved as stops and aspirates, and in some cases they seem to have been pronounced with rounded lips, and so developed a *w* quality; and in the latter, some of the original gutturals were palatalised, and then turned into fricatives; the former dialect group developing into the ‘centum’ languages—Celtic and Italic, Germanic, Greek, and the latter into the ‘satem’ languages—Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Albanian and Baltic-Slavic. (See § 33.) The presence of Tokharian (Old Kucheian), which is a non-palatalising speech, akin to the ‘centum’ languages of the west, within the eastern area is an ethnic and linguistic problem, a likely explanation of which is that it is due to the migration of a western IE.-speaking tribe into the east in some unknown epoch.

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

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

Be it as it may, these IE. speakers were settled for some time in Eastern Iran before they came into India; and long before that event, their language had entered into a stage of development which has been called Indo-Iranian or Aryan. This Indo-Iranian form of IE. is the immediate source of the dialects brought by the ‘Aryans’ into India. In Eastern Iran, it is likely that the Aryan speakers absorbed the original peoples, who must have differed from them in race, speech and culture. The influx of the Aryans into the Panjab from what is now Afghanistan seems to have been brought about by gradually extending the Aryan pale in the east; parts of Eastern Afghanistan—the Gandhāra (Kabul Valley) region—always formed an integral part of Aryan India down to Moslem times. It was not a national movement, a folk-wandering, on a large scale,
to a distant land in search of new homes; in any case, it did not leave such an impression in the mind of the Vedic people. The reasons for Aryan migration into India are not known, but probably it was the land-hunger of a primitive half-nomadic people, accentuated possibly by divergences in cults and dialects which were manifesting themselves in Eastern Iran. The tribes that moved into India, with their special cults, became the founders of the Hindu civilisation, gradually taking up elements from the culture of the peoples already in the land. Of those who were left in Iran, some remained in their primitive state, and became the Iranian-speaking Seythians, of Central Asia and the Black Sea regions; while others, also Iranian speakers, developed the Magian religion and culture, and coming in touch with the Semitic people of Babylonia and of Assyria and with the Elamites, founded the great and powerful civilisation of Persia; and others again, not developing any great culture of their own, became in course of time the Baloches, Afghans and other Iranian peoples. A third group sought homes in the bleak and inhospitable mountain regions east-south of the Hindu Kush: it is thought they parted company with the rest before the split had occurred among the Indo-Iranians, leading to their bifurcation into Indo-Aryans and Iranians. The speech of this third group, now represented by the Dardic or Pisâca dialects (§ 3), holds an intermediate position between Iranian and Indian. Dardic speakers peopled Kashmir; and it would seem numbers of them settled in the plains of India as well, where they have been absorbed among their Indo-Aryan kinsmen, and their characteristic dialects have naturally died out, but these have left their marks on the Indo-Aryan speeches which came in touch with them and ousted them from the plains. (LSI., VIII, Part II, Introduction.)

26. Two peoples, speaking languages belonging to two different and unconnected families of speech, and having originally different types of

1 P. Srinivas Iyengar would have it that the Aryan speech came to India without an Aryan people; he would explain the introduction of the Aryan speech into a densely populated and civilised non-Aryan (Dravidian) Panjâb and Northern India as a culture drift, in the wake of a religious cult ('Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' Madras, 1912, pp. 3, 4, 10, 11, 14-16). But the theory of an Aryan invasion is borne out
culture, have built up the ancient civilisation of India. These two peoples are the Aryan and the Dravidian, and the complex and composite civilisation which is the result of a synthesis of these two cultures is known as 'Hindu civilisation.'

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

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

¹ Cf. 'Hinduism,' by W. Crooke, in Hastings's Cyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI, p. 688; E. Forrer, 'Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches;' ZDMG., 1922, i, p. 232; B. G. Țilak, 'Chaldæan and Indian Vedas,' in Comm. Essays presented to R. G. Bhādpārkar, Poona, 1917, pp. 29-42; A. Weber, 'Indian Literature,' London, 1904, pp. 2, 247-248. The 'Asuras' as the enemies of the Gods in old Sanskrit literature may be a reminiscence of hostile contact between Assyrians and Aryans outside India: F. W. Thomas, in the JRAS., 1916, p. 364. The latest theory about the origin of the Dravidians is that they belong to the Mediterranean race, that they lived for some time in Mesopotamia, and by the pressure of the Akkadians or Semites, they pushed into India, by way of Balochistan (where the Brahui language marks their presence), and spread along the Indus and Ganges valleys,
INTRODUCTION

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

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

Beside the Dravidians there were the Kols, whose speech is a member of a linguistic family extending through Indo-China and Malay Peninsula to Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia—the Austric family (P. W. Schmidt, 'Die Mon-Khmer Völker, etc.,' Brunswick, 1906). Kol speakers are now confined roughly within the region between the Ganges, the Tapti and the Godavari (West Bengal, Chota Nagpur, North-east Madras before passing into the South and absorbing there the primitive Negrito and proto-Polynesian population; James Hornell, 'The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat-designs,' Memoires of the ASB., 1920, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 225-226. The Vedic word 'mana' a weight, is regarded as being of Babylonian origin (= 'mina'), and 'parašu' (= Greek 'pelekas') axe and 'löha' [<"rōda" iron have been connected with Sumerian 'balag' (Akkadian 'pilaku') and 'urudu' copper respectively: cf. A. B. Keith, 'The Early History of the Indo-Aryans' in the Bhāgpārkar Comm. Volume, p. 87. The finding of a Babylonian cylinder of c. 2000 B.C. in Central India (Rākhil-Dās Banerji, 'Bāŋgālār Itihas,' Part I, Calcutta, 1921 San, pp. 20-22), and of the Harappa seals from the Panjab, with the unmistakable Cretan bull and Cretan-looking symbols (Annual Progress Report of the Supdt. Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, Lahore, 1922, Plate IX; Cambridge History of India, I, Plate XI, 22, 23), are probably among direct evidences of early contact between the Indo-Aryans or Dravidians and the people of the West. Cf. also 'Some Ancient Elements in Indian Decorative Art' by Ananda Krishna Coomaraswamy, in the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, quoted in the Modern Review (Calcutta) for August 1914, where the influx of decorative motifs from the Aegean region into pre-Aryan India is established.
KÖL, MÔN-KHMÈR, TIBETO-CHINESE

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

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

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

¹ Census Report (India) for 1911, p. 327, § 412. Sarat Chandra Roy, ‘The Mundas and their Country,’ Ranchi, 1912, Chap. II, pp. 30-32, 43, 44, 47 ff., 61, 70 ff. Mr. Roy’s attempts to identify names of non-Aryan chiefs in the Rig-Veda with Mûndârî names, pp. 47-49, are rather fanciful. All that we can be fairly certain of is that the Kôls lived in the Upper Gangetic Valley, and were considerably influenced by their more civilised neighbours the Dravidians, among whom they might have been absorbed, at least in the plains; and when the Aryans came, they, in common with the Dravidians, took up the Aryan speech and were brought within the fold of the Brahmanical social order. Those Kôls, who, living in the remoter parts of Central India, did not come in contact with the Gangetic Aryans or Aryanised people in ancient times, are now represented by the Santals, the Mûndás, the Hôs, the Kûrkû, the Savares, the Gadabas, etc., and possibly also by the Bhils (now Aryan in speech).
possibly mingled with the Köl and Dravidian peoples already established there; and this amalgam rapidly became Aryanised in contact with Gangetic culture. The other branch of the Tibeto-Chinese peoples, the Tai or Shan, carried on its incursions in North-eastern India in successive waves, of which we know in detail one only, the Ahom invasion of Assam in the 13th century. The Tibeto-Chinese peoples who came to India were rude tribes without any high culture, and their contribution to Indian civilisation seems to have been nil; although one branch of this race, the Chinese, built up one of the greatest material civilisations of the world, the foundations of which go back to the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

29. Hoernle had postulated the incoming of the Aryans into India in two groups or bands, one earlier, and the other later. According to this theory, a group of Aryans first came into India and settled in the Western Gangetic Doab or the Midland country. They were followed by another group, and these new-comers dispossessed their kinsmen, who had come earlier, from their original settlements, and forced them into tracts west, north, east and south of this Midland region. The new-comers thus became the 'Inner' Aryans; and their predecessors, who had to retreat into the outlying tracts, became the 'Outer' Aryans. It was among these 'Inner' Aryans that Vedic culture and Brahmanical ideas grew up. This view of a two-fold Aryan immigration, or rather, of the advent into India of two separate and antagonistic groups of Aryan-speakers, both equally important, has been endorsed by Grierson, and the theory has been further elaborated by him. According to Grierson, the 'Outer' Band of Aryan invaders, who were closely connected with the Dardic speakers, and were probably but a branch of them, settled in the Panjab, in Sindh, in Gujarat and Rajputana, in the Maratha country, in the Eastern Hindi area, and in Bihar (whence their language was taken to Bengal, Assam and Orissa), and in the north, along the slopes of the Himalayas. Thus, the 'Inner' Aryan speech is now represented by Western Hindi; whereas the other current forms of Aryan speech developed from the dialects used by the 'Outer' Aryans ('History of India' by A. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 12, 13; Grierson, BSOS., Vol. I, No. 3, p. 52).
The reasons adduced by Grierson are mainly linguistic. He notices that there are certain points of disagreement between the Midland Aryan language, Western Hindi, on the one hand, and the other Aryan languages, *viz.*, Lahndi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Bihari and the Pahari dialects, on the other. These disagreements in points in which the outer languages agree are inherited, as Grierson is inclined to think, from the two ancient groups of Aryan languages spoken by the 'Inner' and the 'Outer' Aryans respectively. Not only do the 'Outer' languages agree with each other in those very points in which they differ from the Midland language, but what is more, the Dardic languages share with the 'Outer' speeches most of these very characteristics. Consequently, the NIA. languages fall into two main classes: (i) 'Inner,' or Midland, or Śauraseni class: classical Sanskrit is believed to be specially connected with this group, being based on the early Midland dialects; Western Hindi is its modern representative; and (ii) 'Outer,' or non-Vedic, or non-Sanskritic, the so-called 'Māgadhī' of Hoernle, to which fall practically all the other NIA. speeches; as also Sinhalese, and the Gipsy speeches outside India. The 'Outer' group is closely connected with Dardie, according to this classification. Grierson has brought together (in the *BSOS.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 78-85) those points of linguistic similarity among the 'Outer' speeches on which he has based this connection among the various 'Outer' languages, and their differentiation from the 'Inner' or Midland language.

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

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

31. The problem presented by the above theory is a most important one, and impossible withal to solve. The linguistic data brought forward by Grierson is admittedly late; and they might very well be the result of independent development in the various ‘Outer’ languages, not of inherited tendencies. A consideration of the points raised by Grierson is made in Appendix A to the Introduction. The anthropometric data of Chanda need not be questioned, and what he says about the influence of Magadhan and East Midland (‘Outer’ Aryan) peoples upon the ‘Inner’ Aryans of the West Gangetic Doab (‘Indo-Aryan Races,’ p. 54 ff.), is note-worthy. It may be that the Gujarātis and the Bengalis, with most Bihāris, present a type which is the result of the mixture of Dravidian, Kōl and ‘Inner’ Aryan long-heads with a race of broad-heads, akin to the Homo Alpinus, from Central Asia, who came to India in some prehistoric period: but what evidence is there that these broad-heads were Aryan or Indo-European speakers? The linguistic basis for Chanda’s theory is weakened a great deal when the Lahndi-speaking Western Panjābīs, who by their dialect are ‘Outer’ Aryans, according to this ‘Inner’ and ‘Outer’ theory, and whose ancestors at least in certain tracts used to be regarded by the
'Inner' Aryans of the Midland as being equally degraded and out of the Brahmanical pale as the Magadhan and other eastern peoples (§ 37), are proved racially to be of the same stock as the Kanaujiyā Brahmans of the Midland. Besides, the evidence of anthropometry based on cephalic index alone is not regarded as conclusive. For aught we know, and it is not necessary to digress into questions of anthropology, which as a science is still in its infancy, the hypothetical brachycephalic hordes from Central Asia, who are regarded by Chanda, with the concurrence of A. C. Haddon, as forming one of the elements in the Gujarāti, Marāṭhā, Koḍagu, Kannāḍa, Telugu, Oṛiyā, Bengali and Bihārī peoples, might never have been Aryan speakers. It is to be noted that the Telugu, Kannāḍa and Koḍagu peoples, who are supposed to be the result of exactly the same ethnic mixture as the Gujarāṭis and the Bengalis, never spoke Aryan. Again, there is not the slightest tradition in Bengal favouring the assumption of the migration of (brachycephalic 'Outer') Aryans from Western India or Gujarat into Bengal and Bihar. On the other hand, the traditions of Aryandom everywhere refer to the Midland as the nidus. The attempt to establish on anthropometrical and ethnological grounds a ring of 'Outer' Aryandom round an 'Inner' Aryan core is as unconvincing as that on linguistic grounds.

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

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Indo-Iranian
  |           |
  |           |
  |           |
  | Indo-Aryan Dialects
  |
  | Dardic    |
  | Dialects  |
  |
  | Indo-Aryan Dialects
  |
  | A          |
  | B          |
  | C          |
  | D          |
  | E          |
  | F          |
  | etc.       |
  |
North-west Midland West East
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INTRODUCTION

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

The speech of the Rig-Veda, which is our sole representative for all these dialects, A, B, C, D, E, F etc., is a kind of literary language, a bardic speech, based primarily on one of these dialects only, but admitting forms from other dialects as well, specially when towards the end of the Rig-Vedic period the mass of Vedic hymns became the common property of most Aryan tribes. The basic dialect upon which this composite Vedic bardic speech was gradually built up, and quite unconsciously too, as is the case with all similar bardic languages, was probably of the extreme West, when the Aryans were as yet confined to the Panjæb; and we can trace some of its salient phonetic characteristics which marked it off from the other dialects. Thus, for example, it was a dialect which had only < r >, and no < l >; it spirantised internal voiced aspirates like < gh jh dh bh >, ultimately to change them to < h >; and turned intervocal < ḍ ḍh > to the liquids < ḍ ḍh > (cf. A. Meillet, ‘Les Consonnes intervocaliques en Védique,’ IF., XXXI, pp. 120 ff.). In its preference for < r >, this basic dialect of the Rig-Veda speech agreed with Iranian, possibly its immediate neighbour to the west. From forms preserved in classical Sanskrit (which, again, is a later literary dialect, also of composite origin, based on the spoken forms of OIA. current from Gandhāra or Peshawar frontier to the Midland, until the middle of the first millennium B. C., but approximating to the dialects of Western Panjæb in its rather archaic phonetic character), and also from forms preserved in the MIA. dialects (or Prakrits), we can conclude that there were other OIA. dialects of the Vedic age which did not agree with this basic dialect. Thus, certain Aryan dialects, probably of the central region, preserved both < r > and < l >; and others, undoubtedly of the east, had only < l >: e.g., genuine Vedic < -sṛi-ra- > (cf. Avestic < sṛi-ra- >) prosperous, beside < sṛi-la- > and < śi-la- >, both preserved in Sanskrit (= Indo-Iranian < * cṛi-la- >, IE. < *kr̥i-lo- >). The later, younger portions of the Rig-Veda show forms in < l > also; which indicates the influence of an < l > dialect. The other dialects, which are represented by Sanskrit and forms of MIA., did not favour the
change of the voiced aspirates to « h »; and it was through the influence of these, that the habit of the basic dialect of the Rig-Vedic speech was not allowed to have full play; so that we find in the poems of the Rig-Veda (as much as in Sanskrit) very many instances where the old aspirates were retained, or restored. While some of the OIA. dialects, including the basic dialect of the Rig-Veda, changed intervocal « -d- » to « -l- », other dialects, as shown by Sanskrit, retained the « -l- ». In other points too, the presence of a varied dialect group in the oldest Indo-Aryan stage is very well attested. A form « guru » heavy, important is found in Vedic and Sanskrit, but that another form « garu », corresponding to the Greek « barús », existed dialectally, is attested by the Pali and later Prakrit « garu »; cf. also Skt. « gar-iyas, gar-istha ». The Vedic and Sanskrit « pūruṣa, puruṣa » man was only dialectal Indo-Aryan; the common Indo-Aryan form seems to have been « * pūrṣa » from « * pu-vṛṣa » (J. Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, Göttingen, 1896, p. xix; C. C. Uhlenbeck, ‘Etym. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache,’ Amsterdam, 1899), which is found as « pōsa, purisa, pōrisa » in Pali. Inflected forms, roots and words not preserved in Vedic and classical Sanskrit are occasionally found in MIA. dialects, and these often indicate their presence in OIA. dialects other than the Vedic or classical Sanskrit literary speeches. Vedic and Sanskrit have a form « syāt » (= « √ as », 3 sg. optative), corresponding to the Latin form « siet > sit »; but the Pali « assa » represents an OIA. dialectal form « *asyāt », in which the vowel of the original root is strengthened and preserved, and which corresponds to Greek « eîê » (for « * ehēt » = IE. « * esēt »). IA. « √ dā » occurred in the present tense both in the reduplicated and simple forms; the former, « dadāti » gives, « datta » given, were more current in the dialect or groups of dialects on which Vedic and Sanskrit were based; but the latter, « dāti », « dita » had apparently an equally wide or even wider currency in the other dialects, and in the NIA. languages it is these latter forms which have held on (« dāti » > « dēti » in a Bharhut inscription, through analogy of « nayati » > « nēti » takes; « dēti » > NIA. « déi, dēy »; « dita » > NIA. base « dīa », as in Hindi « dī-ā », Bengali শ্রেণ « di-lā » etc.).
The common NIA. root *āeh, ach, ch* be, present in Bengali etc., in Gujarātī, in Pahāri, comes from an OIA. *aceh*; this *aceh* is not found in Vedic and Sanskrit, and must have been quite common in other OIA. dialects, being only a thematic form of √ as √ : IE. *es-skō-ti* would give √ acechati in OIA.; *es+skō-* is found, beside the athematic √ es √ , in Greek, in Latin and in Kucheian. The MIA. word *adhiģiçhya* commencing, in the Bhabra edict of Aśoka, long wrongly read as *adhiģicya* , is explained as preserving an OIA. root *grdh* step, walk, agreeing with Avestic *garəd*, Latin *gradior*, Lithuanian *giridiu*, Old Church Slav *grēdō* etc., and different apparently from the Vedic *grdh* be greedy (Truman Michelson in the IF., XXVII, p. 197).

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

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

and Germanic, did not change these original front gutturals into palatal spirants or sibilants (although that change has resulted in most of the modern forms of the above speeches, e.g., dialectal Greek, Italian, French, English, during the last thousand or fifteen hundred years). The Primitive IE. word for *hundred, < *kṣṭom, became < satam in Sanskrit, < sātam in Avestic, < sīntas in Lithuanian, and < sūto in Old Church Slavic; while the guttural was retained in Greek < (he)-katon, Latin < centum (pron. kentum), Primitive Celtic < *kantón whence Old Irish < cēt (pron. kédl) and Welsh < cant, Primitive Germanic < *xundám whence Old English < hund. Two typical words, Avestic < sātam and Latin < centum, representing two varieties of transformation of the IE. < *kṣṭom, are employed as convenient labels to mark off the two kinds of IE. from each other. The consonant system of IA., as represented by Vedic, is remarkably full, and is most faithful to the Primitive IE., especially as to its characteristic aspirate sounds, which are preserved nowhere else. But it is particularly poor in its vowels—IE. < a e o, ā ē ō > having already in the Indo-Iranian stage fallen together into < a, ā >. The languages with which Aryan came into contact in India, of which we have belated specimens only, namely Köl and Dravidian, influenced it a great deal in its phonetics, and determined the character of the subsequent phonetic history of IA. on some note-worthy points. The simple and primitive vowel system such as characterises Vedic was continued in Common IA. down to recent times, and it has been modified but slightly. It is to be noted that Köl and Dravidian possess an equally simple vowel system. The aspirates of IA., however, have succeeded in imprinting themselves on all non-Aryan languages with which it came in direct touch, e.g. Kannada, Telugu, Santali. The Vedic literary speech is lacking in spirants, except in the case of the rare guttural and labial breathing, the ' jihvā-mūliya' [x] and the 'upadhmāniya' [F], as variants of the 'visarga.' The palatal spirant [k>ç] was changed to the palatal sibilant < ś > = [ś] in India, and [g> ž] to the palatal stop < j > = [j]. This is remarkable, when we find that the sister and probably the nearest neighbour of IA., namely Iranian as in the Avesta, is particularly rich in spirants. This lack of spirant sounds in IA.
might have been due to the very early influence of Dravidian (and perhaps also Köl). Besides, the cerebral sounds «t̪ d̪ n», which are pre-eminently Dravidian,¹ have already been imposed upon the earliest IA.

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

¹ The following is the reconstruction of the Sound-system of Primitive Dravidian by K. V. Subbayya ('Dravidian Phonology,' IAnt., June, July, August 1909): Vowels: a, ō, i, i, u, ū, e, o, ō; and long w (simple and nasalised); Consonants: p-, b-; t-, d-; t̪-, d̪-; k̪-, g̪- (=front gutturals of IE., k, g); k-, g- (=velars of IE., q, g); m, n, p, ŋ, n; r, l, r (trilled), l, l (=spirant cerebral l, or r, or x), and probably also a bilabial spirant, w, both voiced and unvoiced, and the palatal semi-vowel y; and there was no sibilant.
modern vernaculars, and this simplification has been carried out to a great extent along the lines of Dravidian (cf. Appendix B).

34. The first coming of the Aryans into India was, we may presume, as the extension into North-western India of the Aryan pale from what is now Eastern Afghanistan. There was progress towards the east, along Northern Panjab; and in the Rig-Vedic period, commencing from about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., Aryandom in India, at least the Aryandom of which the Rig-Veda is the religious and literary expression, extended from the Kabul and the Swat rivers to the Ganges. Probably at this time there were two centres of Aryan life: at least it was so during the earlier part of the next period: Gandhâra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi), and the tract which came to be known as 'Brahmâvarta, by the river Sarasvatî (Patiala, Ambala, Karnal). The distinctly Indian character of the Vedic religion seems to have taken shape in the eastern part of the area. Here one section of the Aryans developed the Vedic cult of fire, of Indra and of the great Gods of the Rig-Veda; here probably the later, Brahmanic ideas of sacrifice first took shape, and the beginnings of the old Aryan monarchical institutions were made. The hymns of the Rig-Veda, the bulk of them, were composed in the Panjab, but it is quite imaginable that a number of them were brought into India from outside by the Aryans: witness, for instance, the common metres and strophes found in both the Rig-Veda and the Avesta. The particular group of Aryans who created the Vedic religion, and systematised its literature and its ritual, seem to have made the Midland (the Upper Ganges Doab) their home, where they developed the system of the four castes, and in general laid the foundations of Brahmanistic culture and religion of later times (1000—600 B.C.). From their position in one of the richest parts of India, from their high culture and their organisation, these Midland Aryans became the most dominant people in Northern India, and their intellectual people, the Brahmans, and their aristocracy, the Ksâtriyas or Râjanyas, were able to influence all surrounding peoples by their superior mentality; and they extended the Midland institutions right up to Benares and Mithilâ in the east, and also into the south and the west.
All Aryan speakers, however, were not ‘Vedic’ in their religion and general outlook. There is evidence in the Rig-Veda that the Vedic Aryans fought not only with the non-Aryans, but also with other Aryans, whose ideas and ways of life were probably dissimilar. Some of these non-Vedic Aryans seem to have preceded the Aryans of the Vedic cults in the east, along the Ganges, where the latter followed them from their Midland head-quarters. Other bodies of Aryans, keeping themselves equally aloof from the Vedic Aryans of the Eastern Punjab, were settled in Western and South-western Punjab. These Aryans of the eastern tracts seem to have differed from the Midland or Vedic Aryans in many respects—in religious observances, in many practices, in dialect.

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

35. Even as early as the Vedic period, when the thoughts and notions, the social institutions and mental outlook of the Aryans in India, in fact, their culture as a whole, had many more things in common with the primitive Hellenes, Italians, Celts, Germans and Slavs than with their descendants the later Hindus of Northern India,—at a time when characteristic Hindu ideas did not develop among them, Dravidian cults and Dravidian language had begun to influence their religion and speech. No trace of the doctrine of transmigration, for instance, is found in the Rig-Veda, and yet no other doctrine is so peculiarly Indian; it may have had its origin in non-Aryan animism, but it became established among the Aryans quite early. Some of the cosmic notions seem to be Dravidian; Dravidian gods⁠¹ were being added to the Aryan pantheon; or rather, their attributes and natures, and sometimes

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

The language of the Rig-Veda is as yet purely Aryan or Indo-European in its forms, structure, and spirit, but its phonetics is already affected by Dravidian; and it has already begun to borrow words from Dravidian (and from Köl): not only names of objects previously unknown to the Aryans, but also a few words of ideas; among words of probable Dravidian origin in the Rig-Veda being, to give a few examples, «ātu» particle, «araṇī», rubbing wood for fire, «kaṭū-ka» sharp, «kapi» monkey, «karmāra» smith, «kalā» small part, art, «kāla» time, «kitava» gamester, «kuta» hut, «kuṇāru» withered-armed, «kuṇḍa» hole, «gaṇa» band, «nāṇa» several, «nila» blue, «nihāra» cloud, snow, «puṣka-ra» lotus, «puṣpa» flower, «pujana» worship, «phala» fruit, «bila» hole, «bija» seed, «mayūra» peafowl, «rātri» night, (?) «rūpa» form, «sāyam» evening, «valgu» handsome.

As we proceed, the non-Aryan words are on the increase: in the Brāhmaṇas, for instance, we come across words like «āṭavī» forest, «alarka» a kind of flower, «āḍambāra» drum, «kambala» blanket, (?) «kulāla» potter, «khaḍga» rhinoceros, «taṇḍula» rice, «tila» sesame, «phaṇa» froth, scum, «maṭacī» (?) locust, «marka-ṣa» ape, monkey, «valakṣa», balakṣa» white, «vallī» creeper, (?) «vṛihi» rice, «śava» corpse, mostly names of objects; and as the Aryan speech gets in strength, words of ideas seem to be borrowed no longer, but a respectable number of concrete terms are adopted into the old vernaculars and in Sanskrit. (For References, see under Appendix B.)

36. Among the various OIA. dialects, those of the tribes of the West, contiguous to Iranian, might show points of agreement with the latter; and those of the East might reasonably be expected to have come more and more under the influence of the non-Aryan languages, as they penetrated deeper and deeper into the heart of India. As an increasingly large non-Aryan population adopted the Aryan speech, we may expect changes to creep into it, and its words and forms to be modified, to suit the ways of the people that adopted it. By 1000 B.C., the Aryan tongue seems to have become well established or dominant in Northern India up to Bihar, which
becomes 'Āryāvarta' or Aryan land. Certain Aryan tribes seem, from the evidence of the Brāhmaṇas, to have been nomadic at this time. The Vedic Aryans from Eastern Panjab and Western Doab advanced eastwards, in the wake of their eastern kinsmen. Rich and powerful states, like those of the Kurus (Bhāratas) and the Paṇcālas, the Vaśas and the Uśīnaras, the Matsyas and the Śālvas, the Śūrasēnas, the Kōsalas and the Kāsis, and the Vidēhas, were established in the Midland and in the Ganges Valley, the last three states being the easternmost. These are among the states mentioned in the pre-Buddhistic Brāhmaṇas (1000—600 B.C.), with which the early traditions of India in history and romance, poetry and philosophy, religion and social institutions are connected. The population of these states consisted of Aryans, Vedic and non-Vedic, of a mixed population of Aryans and non-Aryans, and of non-Aryans more or less Aryanised in language and culture.

The Aryan dialects of the preceding generations, which were contemporaneous with the speech of the Rig-Veda, changed, so that the latter became slightly archaic, and, although studied in the poems of the Rig-Veda, forming the corpus of a national literature, it could no longer remain a current, every-day speech; and a new literary speech, a slightly simplified Vedic, grew up, among the descendants of Vedic speakers and among those who adopted the Vedic cults. This Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇas is the literary form of the dialects spoken by those Aryans and Aryanised people who originally followed the Vedic cults, and were now spread from Western Panjab to Bihār. The Aryan tribes of the Panjab, like the Gandhāras, the Kēkayas, the Madras, and the Kurus and Paṇcālas of the Midland were the people among whom the Vedic culture had its proper home. By the time that the Aryan speech had penetrated into what is now Bihār, i.e., after 1000 B.C., some distinct tendencies in pronunciation were manifesting themselves in the eastern Aryan dialects, spoken by the non-Vedic Aryans. But it may be presumed that in spite of the difference between the dialects of the extreme West and those of the extreme East becoming greater and greater, through the 'Prakritic' tendencies developing in the latter, there was a general intelligibility among them, through
the medium of the language of the Brāhmaṇas; although it represented in its phonetics and its general spirit the dialects of the extreme West and of the Kuru-Paṇcāla tract. Despite the presence of at least two antagonistic or differing sets of Aryans, the Vedic Aryans and those who did not follow Vedic customs and religion, Northern India of the first four centuries before Buddha, presented one cultural whole. In the ‘Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa’ (700 B. C.?), the colonisation of North Bihar by Panjab (Vedic) Aryans is described: cf. the story of Māthava Vidēgha (SB., I, 4, 1). But the Western Panjab or Udīcya peoples, according to the testimony of one of the Brāhmaṇas, spoke the Aryan tongue with greater purity than the people of the Midland: this statement is corroborated by the north-western inscriptions of Aśōka (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) several centuries later, where the language agrees with Sanskrit (=OIA.) in its phonetics very closely, whereas the language of the eastern inscriptions of the same monarch shows the greatest possible deviation from the Sanskrit norm. (‘Śāṅkhyāyana’ or ‘Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa,’ VII. 6: ‘tasmād udīcyaṁ dīṣi pra-jñāta-tārā vāg udyata, uḍāṇca u ēva yanti vācaṁ śīkṣitum, yō vā tata ā-gacchati, tasya vā śuśrūṣanta iti’ in the northern quarters is speech uttered with more discernment, and northward go men to learn speech: he who comes thence, to him men hearken: A. B. Keith’s translation, Harvard, 1920, p. 387). With this opinion of the Midland scholars about the purity of the speech of the North-west, their view about the debased speech of the ‘Vṛatyas’ or non-Vedic Aryans of the East (p. 47) may be contrasted. There cannot be any question that the dialects of the Aryan language were losing their purity in the East, at a time when the West had preserved it better. The influence of the East is seen in some of the words of Yajur and Atharva Vedas, and in the Brāhmaṇas; nay, even in the Rig-Veda. Instances are ‘vīkaṭa’ deformed < ‘vīkṛta’, ‘mlēccha’ barbarian < ‘* māikṣa’, ‘daṇḍa’ stick < ‘* danda’, cf. Gk. ‘dendron’, ‘kuru’ do (imperative) for ‘kṛṇu’, ‘√pāṭh’ read < ‘prath’, ‘kāta’ depth beside ‘karta’ pit, ‘āśhya’ wealthy = ‘* ārdhya’ < ‘√ṛdh’, ‘nāpita’ barber < ‘√snā’, cf. Pali ‘nahāpita’; in addition to these cases of cerebralisation in connection with ‘r’ and assimilation of consonant groups,
prevalence of «₁» forms is possibly to be referred to the influence of this eastern dialect, as also those cases where earlier «₃» is changed to «₅». (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, ‘Vedic Grammar’ in the Grundriss der Indoirischen Philologie u. Altertumskunde, under Phonology; J. Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, liii, and under cerebrals; also cf. Vidhu-śēkhaṇa Śāstrī, ‘Saṃskṛte Prākṛta-prabhāva,’ in the Bengali journal Pravāsī, Calcutta, for Phālguna, 1817 Bengali Year.)

37. A few centuries before Buddha, Vedic cults and literary tradition were introduced into North-eastern India, as far as Benares and North Bihar. When Buddha flourished, Magadha or South Bihar, hardly known in pre-Buddhic times to the Aryans of the West, was already a member of the Aryan group, and a strong member too. The Rig-Veda mentions only once (III, 53, 14) a country called «Kikata», which Yāska (VI, 32) describes as a country which is the home of non-Aryans, «dēśo’ nārya-nīvāsah». Kikata is identified by later Sanskrit writers with Magadha. (Cf. Hēm-Chandra Rāy-Chaudhuri, ‘Political History of Northern India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara,’ Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IX, 1923, p. 56.) In the Atharva-Veda, the Angas and the Magadhans are mentioned as far-off or strange peoples among whom the Midland Aryan would gladly spirit away the malarial fever which troubled him (V, 22, 14). The ‘Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa’, describes the easterners as being «āṣurya» or demoniac (hostile?) in nature (XIII, 8, 1, 5). The orthodox Brahman spirit found something antagonistic in the eastern peoples, «Prācyah», among whom the Magadhas are to be numbered. Magadha was quite outside the Aryan, or rather Vedic, pale in the Brāhmaṇa period; so, too, according to Yāska; yet when Buddha flourished, during the age immediately following that of the Brāhmaṇas, Magadha is a powerful Aryan state. Magadha, then, must have received the Aryan language and settlements of Aryans long before Buddha. What is very likely is that these Aryans were distinct from those other Aryans of the West among whom the Vedic culture grew up, distinct in dialect, in religion, and in practices, at least in the Brāhmaṇic period. We do not know how far, or whether at all, they differed from each other in race, but
they certainly differed in dialect and in religious practices. Possibly these eastern Aryans, or Aryan speakers, were a mixed people, with an Aryan element which had fallen under the spell of non-Aryan ideas, but had not given up its Aryan tongue: just as at the present day Russian colonists in the remoter parts of Siberia are being considerably influenced by Mongol (Buriat) and Turki (Yakut) peoples (cf. E. J. Dillon, 'Siberia in our own Time,' in Harmsworth's History of the World, p. 700).

The Aryans of the Vedic cults called these non-Vedic Aryans 'Vṛātyas,' outcasts, or riteless people. The Vṛātyas could obtain admission into the Vedic community by the performance of a ceremony or sacrifice, « vṛātya-stōma ». (Cf. Ramā-Prasād Chanda, op. cit., p. 39; Weber, 'Indian Literature,' pp. 67, 68, 79.) The tract where these Vṛātyas were most numerous seems to have been Magadha. Their priests were probably bards as well, so that after the absorption of the Vṛātya communities, or of sections of them, into the Brahmanic fold, the word « māgadha » was retained in Sanskrit to mean a bard. The rise and progress of the anti-Brahman and the anti-sacrificial ideas of the Buddhists and the Jains among the eastern peoples—and these heterodox schools also called their teachings 'Aryan truths,'—perhaps shows that other traditions were established before the Brahmans came, and the Vedic institutions or ideas brought by the Brahmans from the Midland and the North-west (Madhyadēśa and Udīya) sat lightly on the masses. (Cf. Weber, op. cit., p. 79.) The Vṛātya hymns of the Atharva-Veda (XV), in which there is a deification of a wandering Vṛātya priest, with his strange paraphernalia and his cortège, are a puzzle: they suggest the presence of a Śaiva cult among the Vṛātyas, and certainly a cult quite different from that presented by the Vedic world. The extravagant respect paid to the Vṛātya in these poems either shows the hand of the followers of Vṛātya cults themselves; or they are the work of Vedic Aryans who felt fascinated by the Vṛātyas with their non-Midland practices, and perhaps by their wild mysticism, for the Atharva-Veda hymns are highly mystic in this connection. There are, however, similar passages of mystic and supernatural treatment of the idealised priest or mendicant elsewhere in Vedic literature (P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, op. cit., pp. 77-78).
The general Brahman attitude towards the Vrātyas was anything but sympathetic. But they admitted that the Vrātyas were Aryan in speech. The 'Tāṇḍya' or 'Paścaviṇśa Brāhmaṇa,' in speaking of the Vrātyas, says (XVII, 4) that they call an expression which is not uttered with difficulty as being uttered with difficulty, and also they speak the language of the initiated (i.e. into Brahmanism), although they are not initiated: «a-dur-ukta-vākyam dur-uktam āhur......a-dīkṣitā dīkṣitā-vācaṁ vadaṇti».

Weber's explanation of the first statement is that it 'probably refers to prākritic, dialectic differences, to the assimilation of groups of consonants, and similar changes peculiar to the Prākrit vernaculars' (Weber, op. cit., pp. 67, 68); and Weber is undoubtedly right: here we have the oldest contemporary notice of a Prakritie habit of speech in India. The 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' (III, 2, 1, 23) makes the Asuras, i.e., anti-Vedic people, presumably of the East (cf. the expression «āsuryaḥ prācyah» in the ŚB., referred to at p. 45), cry out «hēlavō, hēlava» when they were deprived of speech (ātta-vacasaḥ) and vanquished; and this word is given by Patañjali (I, i, 1) as «hēlayah», and it is the Asura pronunciation, according to traditional explanation, of the words «hē arayaḥ» O, the foe-men! A form like «alayō» or «alayaḥ» for «arayaḥ», with «l» for «r», is characteristic of the Prācyya or eastern speech, of which that of Magadha is a variation. (Weber, op. cit., p. 180; Ramā-Prasād Chanda, op. cit., p. 222.)

Taking into consideration the linguistic state of the country during the time of Asoka (middle of the 3rd century B.C.), it is evident that the Prakritic or 'Māgadhī' forms developed quite early, and in the East. The Sohagaura copper plaquette inscription is perhaps the oldest Brāhmī record, and may date from the 4th century B.C.; it belongs to the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces, within the Prācyya area, and we find here forms like «bhaṇḍagalani» = «bhāṇḍagāra», «bhala» = «bāra», «mathula» = «Mathurā», with «l» instead of «r» (J. F. Fleet, 'The Inscription on the Sohagaura Plate,' JRAS., 1907, pp. 509 ff.). And the statement in the 'Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa' may be reasonably construed to mean that the simplification of the consonant groups in the East was noticed by the people of the Midland or the North-west as early as, say the 8th century B.C.
It would thus seem that the real Prakrit stage was first attained by IA. in the East, among the Prācyas, in Kōsala and in Magadha, and specially among the Vṛātya Aryans who were established there. Prakritic habits of speech gradually spread themselves from the East to the West; but as it is shown by the inscriptions of the North-west and the West (e.g., the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, the Besnagar inscription, the Mathura lion capital inscription, etc.), in the earliest homes of Aryan speech in India, the habits of the easterners, although ultimately victorious, were resisted long. By the time of Aśoka, the popular dialects of the West Midland probably had succumbed, and abandoned OIA. traits; but these traits (e.g., retention of «ṛ» with consonants, of the three sibilants «ś ś s») continued in the North-west till Kuśāna times, and later. Greek forms like «Prasioi» = «Prācyāḥ», «Amitrokhathēs» = «Amitra-ghātaḥ», or «-khādaḥ», «Sandrokuptos» = «Candra-guptaḥ», «Palibothra» = «* Pāṭalī-butra, Pāṭalīputra, * Pāṭalī-purta» (cf. Jarl Charpentier, ZDMG., LXX, pp. 216-250), «Erennesis» = «Varāṇasī» and «Erannobos» = «Hiranya-vāhaḥ», are really western, although they are names of persons, peoples, and places of the East; and the Greeks first heard these names, from the 4th century B.C., from speakers of the western and north-western dialects which retained the «ṛ».

38. The Aryan language entered the second stage of its development some time before Buddha, for by the time that Buddha flourished (c. 500 B.C.), the spoken language of Kōsala and Magadha had progressed from the OIA. stage sufficiently far to become a distinct language from the earlier literary forms, «chandas», which obtained, namely, Vedic and Brāhmanic Sanskrit. In addition to fundamental changes in phonetics and modifications in morphology, old words were being replaced by new or foreign ones, or were being modified in their meaning. This was more noticeable in the second MIA. stage, when old and almost universally used IE. words, like «aśva» horse, «aśman» stone, «śvan» dog, «vr̥ṣa» bull, «avi» sheep, «anālvān, ukṣan» ox, «rōhita, araṇa» red, «vāha, ratha» wagon, chariot, «rāis, rádhas» wealth, «sahas, taviśi» strength, «udan» water, «adh» eat, «gr̥bh» seize, take, «dr̥ś» see, «gr̥dhr̥» be greedy, «han» strike, kill, «vakṣa» grow, «yaj» worship, sacrifice, «vij,
\( \sqrt{vēj} \) tremble, \( \sqrt{pṛ-ṇ} \) fill, \( \sqrt{ut-śa} \) fly, \( \sqrt{sū} \) give birth to, \( \sqrt{dama} \) dama, \( \sqrt{vēśa} \) house, \( \sqrt{dru} \) tree, \( \sqrt{puṣkara} \) lotus, etc., etc. gave place, respectively, to words like \( \sqrt{ghōṭa-ka} \), \( \sqrt{prastara} \), \( \sqrt{kukkura} \), \( \sqrt{saṇḍa} \), \( \sqrt{gōṇa} \), \( \sqrt{mēśa} \), \( \sqrt{jha-ka} \), \( \sqrt{bālīvara} \), \( \sqrt{rakta} \), \( \sqrt{ṣakaṭa} \), \( \sqrt{gaś-ḍ-ikā} \), \( \sqrt{dhana} \), \( \sqrt{bala} \), \( \sqrt{pāṇiya \ jala} \), \( \sqrt{kmād} \), \( \sqrt{jam} \), \( \sqrt{pra-śāp} \), \( \sqrt{pra-śāk} \), \( \sqrt{dpāk-ṣ} \), \( \sqrt{lubh} \), \( \sqrt{mārer-a} \), \( \sqrt{vṛdh} \), \( \sqrt{pūj-a} \), \( \sqrt{kāmp} \), \( \sqrt{pūr-a} \), \( \sqrt{ud-ḍī-ya} \), \( \sqrt{jan-a} \), \( \sqrt{vāṭ-ikā} \), \( \sqrt{vṛt} \) beside the old \( \sqrt{gṛha} \), \( \sqrt{vrkṣa} \), \( \sqrt{gaccha} \), \( \sqrt{piṇḍa} \), \( \sqrt{kaṇala} \), \( \sqrt{padma} \), etc., which are the sources of the words actually in use in NIA.

When all Aryan India became or tended to become Prakritic in speech, even in the Midland and in the Brahmvartta of the Vedic Rishis, there was an attempt on the part of the Brahmans—possibly they were not conscious of it—to establish for use in their schools, a form of speech as near the older dialects of the Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas as possible. It may be expected that when Prakritic habits were becoming the rule among the masses in Central Āryanvarta, the upper classes, the Brahman priests and scholars and the Kṣatriya aristocracy, who were of Midland Aryan blood, tried to preserve purity of speech, at least in all formal affairs, if not in their private life; and they were probably the last to be affected by Prakritic habits, since they, more than any other section of the people, were born Aryan speakers; and they kept themselves aloof from the vast majority, which was a mixed group of Vedic \( \sqrt{Viśas} \), or Vrātyas, and Dravidians and other full-blooded non-Aryans. As it has been pointed out before, the speech of the North-west was nearest the Vedic in phonetics; and the North-west was, from its geographical position, the stronghold of Aryan speakers in India. The pronunciation of the North-west was the acknowledged standard in Brahmanic schools in the Midland, and further east, during the period of the Brāhmaṇas (p. 14). The north-western tracts (Gaudhāra etc.) were famous for their learning, and both Brahman and Buddhist tradition agree in making Takṣaśilā in Gaudhāra a great cultural and educational centre for all Aryan India, where pupils from the farthest east of Aryandom used to resort. Towards the close of the Brāhmaṇa period, then, another literary speech, practically a younger development of the speech
INTRODUCTION

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

This new literary speech must have arisen about this time; and much as Hindōstāni or « khaṛī-bōli » (§ 12) of the present day, it was used and studied by the followers of the Vedic faith from Gandhāra to Benares and Pāṭaliputra. Patañjali in the 2nd century B.C. describes it as the language of the « *śiṣṭa* » or *cultured* people, chiefly Brahmans, of Āryāvarta. After the language of the Vedas, this speech became an object of serious study with Brahmans: and differences of opinion naturally arose as regards correct usage in this language. In the 5th century B.C., the great grammarian Pāṇini wrote his ‘ *Aśṭādhyāyī*,’ the oldest systematic grammar of this new language that we possess. (For the date of Pāṇini, I accept the views of Hēm-Chandra Rāy-Chaudhurī in his ‘ *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishnava Sect,*’ Calcutta University, 1920, pp. 14-18.) Pāṇini was an inhabitant of the North-west, of Gandhāra; and this literary speech, (in contradistinction to the speech of the earlier literature, « *chāndasa* », which he also treated of in his book), was, in his time, sufficiently close to his own Udīcya dialect to be described by him as « *lāukika* » or *current speech*. In later times, this very speech, Sanskrit, attained a sanctity and came to be called « *dēva-bhāṣā* » or *the Speech of the Gods*. Before Pāṇini, several schools of grammarians had arisen. In addition to the views of individual scholars, two important regional schools are noted by Pāṇini: the Northern, *i.e.*, Northern and Western (Udīcya), and Eastern (Prācya),—in the western and eastern tracts of Aryan India, during the closing centuries of the OIA. period. These tracts were separated from each other, according to tradition, by a river Śāravatī, which was somewhere in the Midland, and it has been
sought to identify it with the Śatadrū or the Satlaj (Hārān-Chandra Chakravartī, ‘Prācyā O Udīeya’ in the VSPdP., 1319, No. 1). In the ‘Kāśikā’ Commentary on Pāṇini (middle of the 7th century A.C.), the Vidēhas, Āṅgas, Vāṅgas, and Magaillhas, as well as the Pañcālas of the Midland, which is curious, are included under the Prācyas. The Śāravatī river is perhaps the Sarayū (Śāravatī = a medieval Sanskritisation of a Prakrit « Saravū » for « Sarayū »; cf. the Greek transcription « Sarabos », and « Sarwa » in the work of Al-Bērūnī), which is within the tract dividing the West and the Midland from the East.

Pāṇini gave this new literary language a fixity for all time. But during his age, it was a living language, current as a sort of Hindōstānī of the upper classes, and as such it had local variations, and approximations to local vocabularies and idioms, which it was impossible to bring under rule. During the earlier centuries of the MIA. period, the masses throughout Aryan India certainly understood it, even in the East, where Prakrit was already fully developed. Ancient Indian drama (the earliest fragments of which that we possess date from 1st cent. A.C., the period of the Kuṣāṇas), in making the aristocracy and the Brahmans speak Sanskrit, and the lower classes and the women the Prakrits, surely in this respect adheres to a tradition which has its origin in an actual state of things at the transition of the OIA. to MIA. in the Midland. The historical traditions as well as the ballads and songs which were current among the Aryan settlers (the Kṣatriyas and others) of the Vedic faith, in the Panjab and the Midland, and possibly also in the East, in the various dialects, were collected and arranged, and their language was emended into Sanskrit. These collections formed the nuclei of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, and possibly, also of the Rāmāyaṇa; though the last named work looks more like a Künstepos than real popular ballad poetry such as the Mahābhārata unquestionably preserves. In many cases, old dialectal forms were retained in these ballads, and these did not agree with the standard as laid down in Pāṇini’s grammar; and later Sanskrit grammarians accepted these dialectal forms, as preserved in the Sanskrit of the Mahābhārata and the older Purāṇas, and politely called them « ārṣa » forms—forms...
employed by the Rishis. The Sanskritising process for these specimens of OIA. saga and legend seems to have continued down to the Gupta period. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, 'The Dynasties of the Kali Age,' Oxford, 1913, Appendix, on metric evidence to show that a great many passages in the Purānas were originally written in early MIA.) A mass of ritual literature began to be written in Sanskrit, and in all these ways, the foundations of classical Sanskrit literature were laid towards the end of the OIA. period.

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

When the MIA stage was fully on its way, Sáṃskrit became almost identical with Prakrit, remaining true to OIA only in phonetics and inflection. It would seem that at first Sáṃskrit was confined to the Brahman schools, and courts of Aryan chiefs in the Panjab and the Midland; and with the spread of Brahman influence, Sáṃskrit came to have an exalted position in the East as well. But Buddhism and Jainism, two religions which had their origin in the East, at first employed languages based on eastern vernaculars, or on a koiné that grew up on the basis of the Prakritic dialects of the Midland, and was used in the early MIA period (B.C. 500 downwards) as a language of intercourse among the masses who did not care for the Sáṃskrit of the Brahman and the Rájanya; and these languages for some time checked a wide employ of Sáṃskrit. There was a certain amount of success in setting up rival literary languages like Páli and Ardha-mágadhí. But the spirit of conservatism, which is never absent from literary effort, saw that Sáṃskrit did represent a standard which transcended the apparently erratic course of the vernaculars; and quite early, Sáṃskrit became triumphant, and obtained the homage of the Buddhists and the Jains as well. The Buddhists for a time (2nd cen. B.C.—3rd cen. A.C.) almost side by side with their literary work in Páli, sought to approximate the Prakrits they were familiar with to Sáṃskrit as used by the Brahmans; and this resulted in the curious dialect called «Gáthā» or Mixed Sáṃskrit, or Buddhist Sáṃskrit, from its very nature a most artificial mix-up, often with false Sanskritisation of Prakrit forms; and this is the language which is found in works like the ‘Lalita-vistara,’ the ‘Mahá-vastu’ and the ‘Divyávadána.’ The same thing was done in the chanceries of kings and in the public recording of events, as is evidenced from inscriptions of the period. But Sáṃskrit gradually came to its own entirely, and the oldest Sáṃskrit inscription, the Rudra-dáman inscription at Girnar, dates from the middle of the 2nd century A.C., when, in parts of India at least, Sáṃskrit began to oust the vernaculars from formal
documents. It thus came to have a position which it did not have before: it became both the official as well as the cultural and sacred language of almost all sections of people in India. Although it admitted vernacular and foreign words by the back-door, once its prestige being established Sanskrit became the reservoir from which the vernacular streams were frequently fed. OIA. words had their natural change in MIA., and in that case they represented the original, basic stratum of the language. But with the general recognition of Sanskrit as the undisputed representative of an earlier stage of IA., borrowing from it freely began in MIA. (especially in the Second and Third stages); and thus fresh elements were added to the vernaculars, which became naturalised, and were subjected to the subsequent phonetic modification of the dialect into which they were introduced. This process of borrowing from Sanskrit was repeated at various times in the later history of IA.; and this fact of Sanskrit interfering with the natural development of the language by being always ready to supply new words by the hundred, and occasionally a new form here and there, is a note-worthy thing in the development of Middle and New Indo-Aryan.

39. The people known to the Kurus, Pañcâlas and other tribes of the Midland and the West as Prâeyas or Easterners consisted of the Kâsalas (in Oudh), the Kâsis (round about Benares), the Vidêhas (North Bihar) and later, the Magadhas and the Ângas (South Bihar). The term « Prâeya » has its modern counterpart in the word « Purabiya », by which the speakers of the Western and Midland speeches, Panjâbî and Western Hindî, designate their eastern neighbours in Hindostan, the Eastern Hindî and Bihâri speakers. The Prâeya dialect seems to have developed two forms, a Western and an Eastern. The following were among the salient characteristics of the Prâeya speech: in phonetics, « l » alone was used, and there was no « r »; and there was a tendency towards cerebralisation of « t, d » in connection with « r »; OIA. « -vy-, -ty- » etc. became « -viy-, -tiy- », but « -ly- » became « -yy- »; and there was one dental « s » for « ś ś s »; in morphology, OIA. singular nominatives of « -a » nouns, « -a, -am » took the form « -ê » (in the West it became « -ô- »); the accusative plural of masculine « -a » nouns had the affix « -âni » , and the locative singular « -assi » (or « -assim » ?). In the eastern
form of Prācyā, a *patois* which advanced further from the western norm, the sibilants «śśśś» were represented by the palatal «śś» and not by the dental «s».

Following the nomenclature of the Prakrit grammarians describing MIA. of the second period, Western Prācyā can be called Ardhā-śāgayā and Eastern Prācyā, Māgadhī; and these dialects as they were during the first MIA. period can be described as Old Ardhā-śāgayā and Old Māgadhī. Old Ardhā-śāgayā as spoken in Kōsala was undoubtedly the speech of Buddha1; on it was based a current speech of Eastern Aryan India, in which Buddha and Mahāvīra gave their discourses, and which

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

40. The Śutanukā inscription in the Jogimara cave in Ramgarh Hill, in Sarguja State, Chota Nagpur (=South-west Magadha) is the earliest specimen¹ of Māgalaḥī proper that we possess (Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, 1903-1904, pp. 128 ff.; Lüders, 'Bruchstücke,' p. 41).

It runs thus:

«Śutanuka nāma dēvadaśikyi
tam kamayitha balanaśeyē
dēvadinē nāma lupadakhē »

(= «Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāsikīyī, tam kāmayittha Bālā-
naśeyē Dēvadinī nāma lūpā-dakhē », in Sanskrit—
«Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāsikā : tāṃ akāmayiṣṭa Vārāṇasēyāḥ
Dēva-dattō nāma rūpa-dakṣaḥ »)

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

¹ Mention may be made of a Brāhma seal from Patna, dating probably from pre-
Maurya times, with the inscription 'Agapalaśa'= 'Agga-palaśa,'= 'Agra-palaśa'; of the
Buddha Gaya seal, c. 2nd century B.C., with the legend 'Mokhalikaśa'= 'Maskarikasya'? and
of the Naūdi-vajha seal, find-place unknown, c. 200 B.C., with the inscription 'Naūdi-
vajhaśa'= 'Nandi-vardhasya, -vṛddhasya' (O. Franke, 'Pali und Sanskrit,' Strassburg,
1902, pp. 17, 18, 11; 55, 98). Franke notes sporadic cases of occurrence of ś (and ś) for s
in other epigraphical records, including those of Aśöka.
INTRODUCTION

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

The language of the Midland does not seem to be represented in the Aśoka inscriptions found within the Midland tract (Kalsi, Topra, Meerut, and Bairat-Bhabra). Here it is practically only a variant of the eastern dialect, which as an official language thus seems in the 3rd century B.C. to have almost overwhelmed the Midland speech in its own home. But the Midland speech, with its -<r>- words, and its -<o>- nominatives and -<e>- accusative plurals, seems none the less to have maintained a vigorous existence outside the official circle, and to have slowly ousted the Prācyā speech from its power: witness the growth of Pali, narrated above. The Midland speech had its fullest revenge later; and from the transitional and second MIA. periods, it is the Midland speech, as Śaurasenī Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, as Braj-bhākhā, and at the present day, as Hindostāni, which has been dominant in the Purābīyā and Bihāri (&emdash;eastern&emdash; areas. The early epigraphical records, post-Aṣokan, found in the Midland region (Mathurā), in Malwa (Sanchi), as well as in the South (Nasik and Karle caves), show dialects, more or less, but not entirely, free from the Prācyā characteristics;
local dialectal forms seem to have gradually reasserted themselves. In the
Midland, however, there have also been found inscriptions of which the dialect
is of the North-west, showing its influence in the former tract through
political reasons. But owing to the carelessness of writing and spelling,
to the influence of neighbouring dialects or of official speeches, and, as we
advance, to a growing desire to approximate to Sanskrit, the MIA.
inscriptional records of the transitional MIA. period (200 B.C.—200 A.C.)
are very unsatisfactory in determining the lines of dialectal differentiation;
and in this respect they fall far below the Aśoka inscriptions, which more
or less faithfully reflect the actual dialectal conditions.

By the 1st century A.C., however, the fact of dialectal difference
became a noticeable thing in the social life of Aryan India. If the writers
in the Midland during the late OIA. period (800—600 B.C.) casually told
us about the purity of the speech of the Northerners (Udiyayas), and
seemed to have hinted at the Prakritic speech habits of the Vṛāyas of the
East (pp. 45, 47), dramatists and their audiences from the time of Christ (or
earlier) keenly appreciated the variations in local dialects; and in Indian
drama the practice of employing a local dialect to suit the social position of the
speaker came into being. The Midland dialect, Śaurasenī, was thought most
fitted to be the speech of the best and most cultured classes who did not speak
Sanskrit. The Mahārāṣṭrī or southern dialect, with its mellifluous nature
brought about by early dropping of the intervocal stops, was utilised
as the dialect par excellence for songs by those who employed Śaurasenī in
ordinary speech. And Māgadhī, as an uncouth provincial dialect spoken
in the extreme eastern frontier of Aryandom, a dialect which showed a
wide deviation from the common MIA. norm, was thought suitable for the
lowest and least cultured classes. In the Buddhist drama fragments Ardhamāgadhī is also used, but Ardha-māgadhī ceased to be employed in later
dramas, Śaurasenī apparently taking its place. In the main, these three
dialects—Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī, became established in drama
in the transitional and second MIA. periods. Later, other dialects were
sparingly used: and as something resembling a local dialect would satisfy
the author or the people, the specimens in the dramas do not have the
importance of genuine dialectal documents. The earliest Prakrit grammarian, Vararuci (5th century A.C.?), seems already to be actuated by ideas as to what the Mahāraśṭrī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, and Pāścāti speeches in a drama ought to be, rather than what they actually were in current usage. Later grammarians are much more influenced by these theories; and later writers of Sanskrit drama follow the grammarians as models, more than anything else.

41. Geographical situation, linguistic evidence, tradition, history, all go to prove that the Aryan language came to Bengal as an overflow from Bihar. It cannot be divined when the Aryan speech first came to Bengal,—to North Bengal probably from Mithilā, and Central and West Bengal from Aṅga. Magadha entered into the community of Aryan states before 600 B.C.; and outposts of Aryan colonisation, or, rather, centres of Upper Gangetic language and culture, would start being established immediately afterwards in the lands of the East, which were inhabited by non-Aryan tribes like the Puṇḍras, the Rādhas, the Vaṅgas and others. These peoples were known at least by name to the Midland Aryans of the late OIA. period. The ‘Aitarēya Āraṇyaka’ mentions the Vaṅgas, the Vagadhas, and the Cērapādas, meaning no doubt the people of Vaṅga or East Bengal, the Magadhan people and the aboriginal Chērōs or Chērūs of West Bihar, who are Kōl in origin; and they are described as birds (=birdlike men?), whatever that may imply (Aitarēya Āraṇyaka, II, 1, 1, 5: «prajā ha tisrah atiēyam ivery iti, yā vāi tā imāḥ prajās tisrah atiēyam āyaṁ tānīmāni vaiyānisi vaṅgā vagadhās cērā-pādāḥ »: now three races transgressed (the Vedic path); those three races which did transgress were indeed these birds—the Vaṅgas, the Vagadhas and the Cērā-pādas. Sāyana explains differently; cf. Ait. Ār., Bib. Ind., 1876, p. 147. Cf. also the article ‘Vaṅga’ in Macdonell and Keith’s ‘Index of Vedic Names,’ London, 1912). The ‘Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa’ (VII, 6) speaks of the Puṇḍras, who gave their name to Puṇḍra-vardhana or North Central Bengal, and are now represented by the पुरुपुर "Pūrū" or पुर (Pūr) "Pūrū" caste of Bengal, as an aboriginal people. Some of the early Brahmanical works regard the countries of the East, including Magadha,
as barbarian lands not suitable for Brahmans to settle or sojourn in: penances are prescribed, for instance, in the ‘Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra’ (I, i, 32, 33) for Vedic Brahmans who went to Puṇḍra, Vaṅga and other lands. The Rāḍhas are mentioned as a barbarous people in Jain tradition, which goes back to the 6th century B.C.: an opinion which has its echo in Middle Bengali literature. (See below, § 45.)

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

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

42. Is there any evidence about the class of speech that prevailed in Bengal before the coming of the Aryan tongue? There is, of course, the presence of the Köl and Dravidian speakers (the Santals, the Maler, the Oraons) in the western fringes of the Bengali area, and of the Bojo and Môn-Khmēr speakers in the northern and eastern frontiers. There are, again, some unmistakably Dravidian affinities in Bengali phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary: but these agreements with Dravidian are not confined to Bengali alone, but are found in other NIA. also (see Appendix B). Apart from that, local nomenclature in Bengal may be expected to throw some light on the question. Place names in Bengal have not been studied in detail, although individual writers have occasionally touched upon the topic. (Cf. Ram Comul Sen, ‘Dictionary in English and Bengali,’ Serampore 1834, Preface, p. 9; Rai Bahadur Yōgēśh Chandra Vidyānīdhi, ‘Bāṅgalā Grāmēr Nām,’ in the Pravāstī for Āsvina, 1317, in which there is an able discussion of the tadbhava names of places in Bengal; H. Blochmann, ‘Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, I,’ JASB., 1873, pp. 211-244, giving a study of some Moslem place-names; cf. also F. Hahn, ‘Kolarian and Dravidian Place-names,’ JASB., 1903, Part III; Bijay Chandra Mazumdar, ‘Sonpur,’ Calcutta, 1911, pp. 18-19.)
The study of Bengali toponomy is rendered extremely difficult from the fact that old names, when they were not Sanskrit, have suffered from mutilation to such an extent that it is often impossible to reconstruct their original forms; especially when they are non-Aryan. Fortunately for us, Bengal inscriptions, from the 5th century onwards, like inscriptions found elsewhere in India, and occasionally works written in pre-Moslem Bengal, have preserved old forms of some scores of these names. But it is a pity that generally there was an attempt to give these names a Sanskrit look. In other cases, the forms preserved are translations, supposed or real, of vernacular names, due to a Sanskritising tendency which is noticeable in such learned concoctions as as भट्टपालि « Bhāṭṭa-pālī » for भट्टपाड़ा « Bhāṭṭa-pāḍā », युग्मसेतु « Yugma-sētu » for मोड़सेतु « Ḍōḍā-sēṭu », कालिकेष्त « Kālikēśṭra » for कलिकेत « Kālikēti », दाग्धवाः « Dagdha-vāḥ » for पोड़ावाः « Pōḍā-bāḥ ». Still, they are of very great importance, as they indicate the line of change in the phonetics of these names, and help us in making guesses at the genuine old forms. If it were not for the forms preserved in the inscriptions and in pre-Moslem works, it would have been impossible for us to find out that बाणुट « Bāṇuṭ » and मुड़ « Muṛund » were something like « Bāláhiṭṭā » and « Mōḍiḥāndi » in the 12th century, पाँब « Pāṃbā » was something like « Paṭubānā » (written « Paduvānā ») in the 11th, or ब्रह्मचाल « Brahma-cālā » was « Barāwaṅcālā » or « Barawāncālā » (written « Varapaṅcālā ») in the 9th. (Cf. Sītā-hāṭi Grant of Ballāla Sēna; Rāma-carita of Sandhyākara Nandi, ed. H. P. Śāstri, ASB.; Sylhet Bhāṭṭerā Grant: see Appendix C, in which some of the more interesting names obtained from early inscriptions in Bengal are given.)

In the formation of these names, we find some words which are distinctly Dravidian: e.g., « -jōla, -jōṭa, jōli, -jōṭikā » etc.; « hiṭṭi, bhiṭṭi, viṭṭi, hiṣṭ(h)i » etc.; « gaṇḍa, gaṇḍi »; « -pōla, -vōla »; and probably also « -haṇḍa », « -vaṭa », « -kunjad, -kunjid » and « cavaṭi, cavāḍa » etc.; and besides these, there are many others which have a drōsti or non-Aryan look. The first word, as in « Piṇḍāra-viṭṭi-jōṭika, Uktāra-yōta (= jōta), Dharmmāyō-jōṭikā, Naḷa-jōli, Camyalā-jōli, Sik(ph?)-gaṇḍi-jōli, Djiamakkā-jōli », meaning channel, water-course, river, water, is found in modern Bengal place
names: e.g., नारा-जोल < Nārā-jōla >, डोमुड < Dōmu-juṛa >, गोड़ा-सोक < Jōrā-sākol > ( = river-bridge, probably wrongly explained as double-bridge, and rendered into Skt. as < Yugma-sētu >); cf. also नायां-जुली < nāyaṁ-juḷi > conduit. This word is certainly Dravidian: it is found in Kandh as < jorr >, whence the name of the Kāḷ-juṛi river in Orissa (B. C. Mazumdar, ‘Sonpur,’ p. 19); we can compare the Bengali word ফোল < jhol > soup, watery mass, (also saliva, as in নালা ফোল < nāla-jhol >), and Kannada < jōrm >, Telugu < dzollu > saliva; cf. also Kannada < jōru > drip, flow, trickle. < (B)hiṭṭi > occurs in Modern Bengali in the form of ভিট or ভিট < bhiti = biṭṭi, bhiṭṭa = homestead, homestead land. It occurs in a number of village names in the old inscriptions: e.g., < Piṇḍāra-viśī-, < Campā-hiṭṭi, -hiṣṭi >, < Hastinī-bhiṭṭa >, < Villa-hiṣṭi > ( < -ṭ- > is an easily explainable Sanskritisation of < -ṭṭ- >): we can compare Dravidian (Tamil) < viṭṭu > house: < bh > < v > and < h > do not present any insurmountable phonetic difficulty. < Gaḍḍa, gaḍḍi >, also < guḍi >, as in < Āūhā-gaḍḍi, Sura-kōṇa-gaḍḍi, Sila-guḍi > (cf. Modern Bengali শিলগুড়ি < Śili-gūṛi >, হল্পাইজড়ি < Jālpāi-gūṛi >), can be compared with the common Telugu affix < gaḍḍa >, Kannada < gaḍḍē > lump, mass, clot; bank, brink, edge. < Pōla, vōla > with which we may compare Telugu < pōlamu > field, cornland, Kannada < pōḷal > field, common in place names, is found in early Bengal in names like < Jayarāṭi-pōla, Uṇāi-pōla, Ajha'-cāṇ-vōla, Dhra-vōla > etc. < Haṇḍa >, as in < Tikṣa-haṇḍa >, < Kala-haṇḍī > (in the Tārācanḍi inscription of Pratāpa-dhavala, c. 1169 A.C., in Shahabad District), might be from Sanskrit < khaṇḍa >: cf. < Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa > in the 7th century Lōkanāṭha inscription from Tippera; but one may compare Tamil < aṭṭai > nearness, vicinity, raised side of a field, boundary. < Vaḍā > is partially the source of New Bengali -ডা < -rā >, a common affix in place-names: e.g., বাঁকুড়া < Bakurā > = Bankura, হাওড়া < Haōrā > = Howrah, চুড়ি < Chinsurah, রাবুড়া < Risurā >, বাগুড়া < Bagurā >, ইগারাক < Igurā >, সোমড়া < Somurā >, সাপড়া < Cāpurā > etc. It is found plentifully in older inscriptions out of Bengal as well; e.g., at Bharhut and Sanchi; it may be from an OIA. < vṛta-ka >, but we may note the common Köl word for house, < orak’ >. < Kunda, kunḍi >, as in < Śrīkṣi-kundal, Śila-kundha,
Nandi-haripā-kūṇḍī », seems to be the same word as the New Bengali কুণ্ড় "kūṇḍa" heap, little hillock, dunghill, with which may be compared Telugu "kōṇḍa" hill, rock. The Bengali গোঁড় "gōrī", as in "Siliguri" mentioned above, may be a variant of কুণ্ড় "kūṇḍa"; cf. Bengali গোঁড় "gōrī" fleshy navel. "Cavaṭi, cāpāti, cavāḍa », as in "Cavaṭi, Kula-cāpāti, Tata-cavāḍa », is the source of the New Bengali word চাতী "cāṭī" [cōṭi] lodge, posthouse, caravanserai; it is found in other NIA. languages, but it is probably a Dravidian word (=Telugu and Kannada "cavaḍi"). An investigation of the place-names in Bengal, as in other parts of Aryan India, is sure to reveal the presence of non-Aryan speakers, mostly Dravidian, all over the land before the establishment of the Aryan tongue.

43. Bengal originally did not form one country and one nation. The Ganges (Padmā or Pādā) with its branch the Bhāgīrathī or Hugli and the Brahmaputra divide the country into four tracts, in which dwelt, several hundred years before Christ, at a time when the riverain system of the country must have been a great deal different from the present one, the tribes of the Pundras (in North Central Bengal, roughly in the tract bounded by the Ganges to the south, and the Karatōya in the east), the Vaṅgas (in Bengal east of the Brahmaputra and north of the Padmā), and the Rājhas and to their south the Suhmas (west of the Hugli). A great deal of the delta was marshy and uninhabitable in the early period of Bengal history. The above four tribes, Pundra, Vaṅga, Rājha and Suhma, were the important ones, who gave their names to the various tracts they inhabited. But there were other tribes as well, some of which, like the Kaivarttas or Kēvaṭṭas (Kēōṭṣ), were spread all over the country, while others, like the Caṇḍalas (Cāṅālaś), the Ḍōmbas, (Ḍōms), the Haḍḍikas (Hāṛīś), the ancestors of the Bāḷūḍīś (="* Vyaṅghra-dvīpikas "?), the Vāṭhuris (Bā[h]urīś), the Cūḥḍas, were more or less confined to parts of the country. Under the influence of the Upper Gangetic (Brahmanic) idea of caste, many of the non-Aryan tribes have become occupation castes in an Aryanised society, their position in the present-day Hindu society being determined by the nature of their occupation as a community. The tribes of Aṅga (East Bihar)
and Magadha were perhaps allied, and so were the Ödra and the Kalingas of Orissa. There seems to have been an unbroken connection between Bihar, West Bengal, Kalinga and the Andhra country, racially and linguistically. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter in the JASB., 1897, i, pp. 85 ff.). The Köl tribes (Santals etc.), now found in West Bengal are recent arrivals from the plateau of Chota Nagpur; but before the advent of the Santals, there were earlier Köl tribes e.g., the Bhûmijes,—ancestors of some of the humbler sections of the West Bengal people—who, with their Dravidian neighbours, have become completely Hinduised. The Maler of the Râj-mahâl Hills, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Kandhs of Orissa are some of the ruder Dravidian speakers who still preserve their language in their hill and jungle fastnesses. The Suhmas of South-west Bengal had their capital city in Tâmralipti, or Dâmalipta, as it is called in the 'Daśa-kumāra-carita' (8th century A.C.): this is a Sanskritised form of some name like « * Dâmalitta, Dâmilitta », and here we probably have a connection with the word « Dâmi [a] » (=Tamil), as Mahâmahopâdhyâya Hara-Prasâd Śêtôrâ has suggested. (« *Dâmilitta » for a « * Dâmi-[v]ittu »? home of the Dâmi [a] people ). The modern name of this town is তমলুক, তমলুক « Tâm(o)luk [a] »: the affix suggests, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett, a connection with Kannaḍa « okkal » house, home (cf. the name « Utkala » for Orissa, probably also of Dravidian origin: Kannaḍa « čkkala » = householder, farmer; the Ödra people= « dfunding labourer, in Dravidian; see F. Kittel's 'Kannaḍa Dictionary,' Bangalore, 1894, under « ǭḍa 1 » and « ǭdra »). The Mahâbhârata legend of the five princes Aṅga, Vânga, Kalinga, Pûṇḍra and Suhma being brothers, who were sons of the Rishi Dîrghatamâs begotten on the wife of King Bali, is probably based on traditions of ethnic kinship among the tribes of which the five princes were the eponymous ancestors. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, JASB., cited above). These early tribes of Bengal, Dravidian speakers mainly, were well-organised, and they seem to have possessed a culture of their own. The early history of Burma and Siam tells us that at a time when the Tibeto-Chinese tribes (Burmese, and Tai) had not yet arrived on the scene, and these countries were inhabited
only by Môn-Khmêr peoples, Dravidians from Bengal and Kalinga were emigrating into these lands, and becoming the ruling race there. Later, when these non-Aryans from India assimilated Brahmanic culture, their princes claimed connection with the ancient royal houses of Aryan Upper India (a thing which was repeated in the case of the new Rajpût clans at a later period), and introduced among the Môn and the Khmêrs in times post Christ the Sanskrit language as well as traditions connected with Hastināpura and Ayōdhyā which yet live.

44. The Tibeto-Chinese tribes came into the field later. In Indo-China, two of their powerful tribes, the Mran-mâ (=Brammā, Byamā or Burmese, Indianised into ‘Brahma’), and the Tai (better known by the name given to them by their Burmese kinsmen, viz., Rham or Šan [Shan], Siem or Siamese, Indianised to ‘Śyāma’), conquered respectively the Môn and the Khmêrs, the conflict beginning sometime in the middle of the 1st millennium A.C. and continuing down to the 18th and 19th centuries. (Cf. R. C. Temple, ‘Outlines of Indo-Chinese History,’ JAnt., 1916, pp. 37 ff.) The Boḍo section of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese people (Boḍo, Mee, Kœc, Kacârî, Râbhâ, Garo, Tipura) came to Assam and East Bengal, and were spread all over East and North Bengal. The time of the Tibeto-Burman incursion and settlement in Assam and East Bengal is not known, but it could not have been long before the beginning of the Christian era, at the earliest. Huen Thsang’s remarks about the people of Assam in the 7th century A.C. (§ 47) are to be noted in this connection. In pre-Moslem Bengal, in the 10th century, the Kambôjas (= *Kamôca, Kâôca, Kœc†), one section of the Boḍos, for a time, usurped the throne of Bengal, at least in the northern part of the country (R. D. Banerji, ‘The Pâlas of Bengal,’ Memoirs of the ASB., V, 3, pp. 68-69; Ramâ-Prasâd Chanda, ‘Gauḍa-râja-mâlâ,’ Rajshahi, 1819 San, p. 37); and during the Moslem times, the Kôces, under their Hinduised Kings, had a powerful state in North Bengal and West Assam which continued till the middle of the 17th century (E. A. Gait, ‘History of Assam,’ Calcutta, 1916, Chap. IV; the Assamese verse chronicle ‘Darang-râj-bâṅsâwalt,’ ed. by Hêm-Chandra Goswâmi, Calcutta, 1917, Introduction). Aryanisation of
the Bojōs and of the Köl and Dravidian peoples, and probably also of Môn-Khmēr tribes allied to the Khasis, in North Bengal, Assam and East Bengal must have begun immediately after Central and North Bengal became Aryanised: and the kingdoms of Prāgjyōtiśa and Kāmarūpa, claiming a fabulous antiquity, were established. Assam possessed a Hindu king in the 7th century, according to the testimony of Hiuen Thsang and of contemporary epigraphical documents. From its geographical position, Assam was practically an extension of North Bengal, so far as its speech and early history were concerned. The Aryanisation of the Tibeto-Burmans in North Bengal and in Assam is still progressing; and a strong Bojō influence has been seen by one scholar at least in the growth of Bengali (J. D. Anderson postulated Bojō influence on Bengali syntax and accentuation: JRAS., 1911, pp. 524 ff., 1913, pp. 133 ff.; and 'People of India,' Cambridge, 1913, p. 54). But it seems it is to Dravidian stress and Dravidian idiom rather than to the Tibeto-Burman Bojō, that we are to look for the source of influence in the above points.

45. The people of Bengal, in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., do not seem to have been Aryan speakers, but they possessed great skill in some arts and crafts which was recognised in Aryanised, imperial Magadha. Kauṭilya’s ‘Artha-sāstra’ (end of 4th century B.C. in its original form) praises the silk and other stuffs made in Pūncia, Suvarpa-kurīya and Vanga (II, 11): the second tract has been identified with Karṇa-suvarga in Murshidabad District. The original author of the oldest Indian treatise on elephant-training and the diseases of elephants, the ‘Hastīyāyuvāda’ ascribed to Pāla-kāpya, a work compiled during the Sūtra period (600-200 B.C.), is described as a man from ‘where the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) flows towards the sea,’ i.e., from East Bengal near the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (H. P. Śāstri, ‘Presidential Address to the 8th Bengali Literary Conference,’ VSPdP., 1821, No. 4). It does not seem likely that Bengal (even North and West Bengal), was brought in line with the Aryan states of India before the Maurya period, by being conquered by Magadha. The Pāli Jātaka and Tri-piṭaka literature which gives a faithful account of Aryanism in
THE RĀDHAS AND SUHMAS

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

p. 70—ব্যাধ গো-হিংসক রাজঃ।

«byādhā gō-hiṁsākā rājā (=rājha) »
A hunter, a cow-killer, a Rājha.

p. 73—অতি নীচকুলে জন্ম জাতিতে চোরাড়।

keh na parash kere lokāke bale rāj.

«āti nicā-kulē jāṁma, jāti-tē cōrā;

kēhā nā pāraśād kāśē, lōkē bale rāj ».

«Birth in a very low caste; by caste, a Cō(ḥ)āḍ (or Cuhāḍ : any connection with the Cuhāḍās or sweepers of Northern India and the Panjab?) ; no one touches (me), people call (me) a Rājha.

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

Pāṇini just mentions Gaṇḍā (VI, 2, 100): this Gaṇḍā seems to be in Bengal. Later Buddhist tradition as in the ‘Divyāvadāna’ mentions Puṇḍra-vardhana as being under Aśoka (see above, § 41), and Tāmrālipta, the capital of Suhma, was also under Aśoka (V. A. Smith, ‘Early History of India,’ Oxford, 1914, p. 162). The inference which can be drawn is as follows. Bengal was not within the Aryan pale in the 6th century B.C. In the 4th century B.C., Bengal was joined to Magadha, at least by commercial ties. A large number of pre-Maurya and Mauryan coins
(purāṇas), of the same kind as those found in Magadha, have been discovered in South-west, West, and North Bengal (R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgalār Itihās,' Part I, pp. 31-32). Jainism, and perhaps also Buddhism and Brahmanism, were spreading among the people in North, Central, and West Bengal: Pūṇḍra-vardhana was a Jain centre according to the 'Divyāvadāna,' in the time of Aśoka; and in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., the King of Kaliṅga was a Jain; and he was also a patron of the Brāhmans (Hāthī-gumpha Inscription of Khāravēla). North and West Bengal, contiguous to Magadha and Kaliṅga, were under Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. From that time, we might assume, there was the commencement of a vigorous movement towards Aryanisation in Bengal.¹ The Aryan speech was undoubtedly brought into Bengal, from Magadha and beyond, by

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

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

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

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

The Kālīṅga country which Aśoka conquered, far removed from centres of Aryan speech, has always remained Dravidian, and the ᪅ra people, the ancestors of the present-day *Oriya* speakers, were not Aryannised even as late as the 7th century A.C., according to the testimony of Hiuen Thsang (see *infra*, § 47). But the early use of the Aryan language for administrative and cultural purposes in Dravidian Kālīṅga and ᪅ra can be inferred from Aśoka’s and Khāravēla’s inscriptions.

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

\(^1\) The delta of Bengal is known by the name of বাঙ্গাল *Bāṅgrī < Bāgaḍī.* The name *Sama-taṭa* is sometimes used for the delta, but it is properly a name for East Bengal, Vaṅga, rather than for South Bengal (Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, *Sama-taṭer Rāja-dhānī,* Sāhitya, Aśvina, San 1321). The word ‘Bāgaḍī’ has not been satisfactorily explained. It is sometimes derived from a Sanskrit ‘Vaka-dvipa,’ which is phonologically inadmissible. There is a ‘Bāgrī’ or ‘Bāgaḍī’ in Midnapur District, near Garbēta, but it is far away from the delta. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharma-pāla (c. 800 A.C.) we find the mention of a ‘Vyāghra-taṭi’ district, forming part of the Puṇḍra-vardhana province. This place has not been identified, but it may be in the delta. Can ‘Vyāghra-taṭi’ =*tiger-coast*, a fitting name for a delta district as the home of the Royal Bengal Tiger, be the source of ‘Bāgaḍī’ (through ‘Vaggha-aḍi,’ ‘Bāghawadjī,* ‘Bāghaḍī,* with deaspiration of ‘gh’ in Middle Bengali)?
whether Bengal formed a part of the Śaka empire. But there is evidence of the industrial and commercial activities of the people of Bengal during the Kuśāṇa period, e.g., from the contemporary Greek work the ‘Periplus of the Erythraean Sea’ (1st century A.C.: Section 63).

The oldest epigraphical record found in Bengal is a very short Sanskrit inscription, in Brāhmī characters of the 4th-5th cen. A.C., on Susunia Rock in Bankura District, which mentions a king Candra-varman, the son of Siddha-varman (? Siṅha-varman), ruler of Puṣkaraṇā, a devotee of ‘the Lord of the discus’ (cakra-svāmin = Viṣṇu) (Ep. Ind., XIII; H. Lüders, ‘List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,’ No. 961, Appendix to Vol. X of the Ep. Ind.) This Candra-varman has been regarded as identical with the king Candra mentioned in the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription, as well as with the king Candra-varman named in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra-gupta; and it has been also suggested—and the suggestion has been accepted by some scholars—that the Candra-varman-Candra of these three inscriptions was a scion of the Varman dynasty of kings mentioned in some inscriptions from Mandasor in Gwalior State (the oldest of which is dated 404-405 A.C.), and that he was a ruler of Western Rajputana, the place Puṣkaraṇā in the Susunia inscription being identified with Pokharaṇ city in Western Jodhpur (H. P. Śāstrī in the IAnt., 1913, pp. 217-219; R. D. Banerji, ‘Baṅgālār Itihās,’ I, pp. 39-41). The presence of the inscription of a king of Rajputana at Susunia in distant Bengal has been explained as a memento of the digvijaya undertaken by this king: the Meherauli Inscription which mentions the conquests of king Candra from Balkh to Bengal supplying the explanation. But this identification of Candra-varman of the Susunia Rock Inscription with a supposititious ruler of the Varman dynasty of Mandasor, not mentioned at all in the Mandasor records, fails to be convincing; and Candra-varman of Susunia can very well be a local ruler in West Bengal, distinct from the Candra of the Meherauli Inscription, and very likely he was the same Candra-Varman who is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription (J. F. Fleet, ‘Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,’ III) as one of those chiefs of Āryāvartta who were ‘forcibly rooted out’ by
Samudra-gupta; and 'Puškaraṇa' of which he was the king is in all likelihood a place in West Bengal. If this view is correct, then Candragarman would be the oldest ruler of Bengal of whom we have a contemporary record: and he belonged to the middle of the 4th century A.C., when Bengal was recognised as a part of Āryavarta and could no longer be omitted from the tale of North Indian Hindu states. The poet Kālidāsa (end of the 4th century A.C.), in describing the conquests of Raghu in his 'Raghu-vanśa,' brings him to Bengal (Vaṅga and Suhma), and apparently is of the same mind. The Sanskrit drama 'Pratijñā- Yaugandharāyaṇa,' ascribed to 'Bhāsa,' which is probably not older than the 4th century A.C., suggests that the ruling families of Bengal were regarded as equals to those of Northern India for inter-marriage with the house of Mālava.¹ The Jaina Upāṇgas, again, redacted c. 454 A.C., but preserving earlier traditions, include Bengal (Tāmalittra and Vaṅga) among Aryan lands, as opposed to 'Milikkha' (=Mleccha or Barbarian) peoples like the Saka, Yavaṇa, Pārśa, Damila, Pulinda, Hūṇa, Rōmaga, Boṭṭhakāna and others (IAnt., 1891, pp. 374 ff.: I am indebted to my friend Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri for drawing my attention to this). All this would presuppose a considerable Aryanisation of Bengal by 300 A.C.

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

¹ Act II of the drama: king Pradyọta of Ujjaini says, discussing with his queen a suitable match for their daughter Vāsava-dattā: "asm-at-sambaddhā Māgadhaḥ Kāśi-rūjō Vaṅgaḥ Surastraḥ Mithilāḥ Śrāsāṇaḥ: śeś nānārthair lōbhayantō guṇair maṁ: kaś to vāśoṣṭam pātratām yāti rājā?" connected with us are the kings of Magadha, of Kāśi, of Vaṅga, of Surāstra, of Mithilā and of Śrāsāṇa; they attract me by their manifold qualities: which king among them is deemed a proper bridegroom by you?"
inscriptions consist of deeds recorded on copper-plates of such grants of land to Brahmans. The Brahman ‘coming out of the Midland’—

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

47. When Fa Hien came to Bengal, in the beginning of the 5th century, the country was apparently flourishing in (Aryan) learning and culture, at least in the West and the North: for the Chinese pilgrim found Tāmralipti a seat of learning, where he spent two years, copying MSS. and painting images (J. Legge, ‘Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms, etc.’ Oxford, 1886, p. 100). Another Chinese traveller, Huien Thsang, visited Bengal during the 1st half of the 7th century. He has an occasional remark about the language of the tracts he passed through, and his statements are valuable and interesting. (S. Beal, ‘Records of the Western World,’ II, London, 1906, pp. 194 ff.) Crossing the Ganges from Anga and Kājāngala, he came to Puṇḍra-vardhana, or North Central Bengal, to the north of the Ganges, where he found that the country was thickly peopled, the men esteemed learning, and Mahā-yāna and Hīna-yāna Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism were all flourishing. From Puṇḍra-vardhana he went to Kāma-rūpa or Western Assam and East North Bengal. The people of Kāma-rūpa were simple and honest in manners, and were of small stature, with a ‘dark yellow’ complexion. About their language, Huien Thsang says that it differed ‘a little’ from that of ‘Mid-India.’ The people were also impetuous and wild, but their memories were retentive, and they were earnest in study. They were mostly
Brahmanistic, and the king of Kāma-rūpa, Bhāskara-varman, is said to have been a Brahman. Hiuen Thsang remarked that the tribes living in the frontiers of Kāma-rūpa were akin to the Man tribes of South-western China, a wild Tibeto-Chinese people. From Kāma-rūpa he came south to Sama-taṭa or East Bengal, bordering on the sea. The land was low and rich; the habits of the people were agreeable; they were hardy, small of stature, and of a black complexion; and they were fond of learning, and exercised themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. As in Puṇḍra-vardhana, Brahmanism existed side by side with Jainism. From Sama-taṭa, he passed on to Karṇa-suvarṇa, identified with Kān-sōnā in Murshidabad District, in Central Bengal. The men there were hardy and brave, and quick and hasty in manners; they were both heretics and believers. Thence Hiuen Thsang went to Tāmralipti, the people of which place were honest and amiable of manners, loving learning exceedingly, and applying themselves to it with earnestness. They were both Brahmanists and Buddhists. This finishes his itinerary in Bengal. He then comes to Ojrā, which corresponded to modern South-west Midnapur and North Orissa, to Kōngōda or Central Orissa, and to Kalinga or South Orissa and Ganjam. The people of all these tracts are expressly mentioned as speaking a language different in forms and sounds from that of ‘Mid-India’; obviously they spoke Dravidian dialects, although c. 619 A.C. we have in Kōngōda a ruling house employing Sanskrit in inscriptions, like Khāravēla’s house in the 2nd century B.C. using the North Indian Aryan speech (Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, ‘Mādhava-varmmār Tāmra-sāsan,’ Sāhitya, Phālguna, San 1319).

Thus from the evidence of Hiuen Thsang, it can be concluded that by 7th century A.C. the Aryan language had been generally adopted by the people all over Bengal, and it had penetrated as far east as Western Assam, but it had not spread among the masses even in Northern Orissa. But it is curious to find that, according to him, the language of the Kāma-rūpa people ‘differed a little’ from that of Mid-India. Hiuen Thsang is silent about the language of Puṇḍra-vardhana or Karṇa-suvarṇa: it can be presumed that the language of these tracts was identical with that of Magadha, which was the ‘Midland,’ or ‘Central India,’
or ‘Mid-India’ of the Chinese traveller. Now, one would expect one and identical language to have been current in North Central Bengal (Pünchen-vardhana) and North Bengal and West Assam (Kāma-rūpa) in the 7th century, since these tracts, and other parts of Bengal, had almost the same speech, at least in morphology, in the 15th and 16th centuries, as can be seen from the extant remains in Bengali and Assamese. Perhaps this ‘differing a little’ of the Kāma-rūpa speech from the speech of ‘Mid-India’ (and presumably also from those of Puchen-vardhana and other places in Bengal) refers to those modifications of Aryan sounds, which now characterise Assamese as well as North and East Bengali dialects, e.g., <ts, s, dz, z> for <c, ch, j, jh, r> (rather then <r>) for <q>, and <h> for <s<s s s s>. The presence of a large Tibeto-Burman element in the population of Assam and East and North Bengal may have something to do with this (cf. the Tibetan and Burmese pronunciation of IA. <c, ch, j [jh] as <ts, ts-h, dz> and <ts [s], s-h, z>, and Burmese pronunciation of <s> as a spirant <th> [θ]); and these phonetic modifications very likely were first brought about in the Māgadhī Prakrit or Apabhraṇṣa dialect current in Kāma-rūpa, with its predominantly Tibeto-Burman population, as noticed by the observant Hiuen Tshang; and from Kāma-rūpa the <ts, dz>, <r> and <h> pronunciations might have spread into the contiguous tracts of Bengal,—where, however, they do not seem to have become regularly established in the way they have done in Assamese.

48. Aryanisation of Bengal, inaugurated probably in the 4th century B.C. under the Mauryas, and vigorously carried on under the Guptas, seems thus to have been completed by the 7th century A.C. By this time the Gupta power waned in Northern India. In the early part of the 7th century, a chief named Šaśāṇka Narêndra-gupta, believed to be a scion of the house of the imperial Guptas, tried to create a strong and independent kingdom in Magadha and Bengal, but he failed, and Harṣa-vardhana of Thānēsār made himself master of all Northern India. During the first decades of the 7th century, Bengal seems to have been conquered by Bhāskara-varman of Kāma-rūpa, Harṣa’s contemporary. After the death of Harṣa there was period of confusion and internecine warfare, accompanied by
attacks by kings from other parts of India, and Magadha and Bengal suffered from anarchy (R. D. Bānerji, ‘Bāṅgālār Itihās,’ I, Chapter VI). But now Bengal, well-known by the joint-name of Gauḍa-Vaṅga, figured largely in North Indian politics. The Prakrit poem ‘Gauḍa-vaha’ of Vākpati-rāja describes the victorious campaign of Yasōdharmadēva of Kanauj into Magadha, Gauḍa and Vaṅga ‘by the side of the sea,’ in the early decades of the 8th century. Barring the short period of Harṣa’s rule, for about a century and a half (600-740 A. C.) there was no stable government in Bengal. Petty chiefs warred against each other, and there seems to have been general misrule and anarchy. Out of this chaos, the people of Bengal at last elected a strong man to be king over them—Gūpāla, the son of Vapyaṭa (mātsya-nyāyam apōhitum prakṛtibhir lakṣmyāḥ karāṇ graḥitaḥ in order to do away with ‘the way of the fishes,’ or anarchy; he was made by the subjects to receive the hand of Fortune—as the Khalimpur grant of Dharma-pāla puts it); and with him (c. 740 A.C.) began a line of kings—the Pāla dynasty—which ruled Bengal for over 350 years, and which witnessed the highest political and intellectual achievements of the people of Bengal before the coming of the Turks in 1200.

The tribes of Bengal were already welded into an Aryan-speaking nation, and its distinct character was in its formative period. This new people took to learning with great zeal. Monasteries and colleges in Magadha and Bengal become famous as seats of Buddhistic learning, and an extensive Buddhistic religious and philosophical literature was produced. Indian culture was transmitted to Tibet and to Burma (among the Mōns and the Burmese) by Bengal scholars. In Sanskrit scholarship, Bengal already made its mark, and before the beginning of the 8th century when Bhāmaha and Dāṇḍin the famous writers on Sanskrit poetics flourished, the Gauḍīya-ṛiti or Bengal style of composition obtained an honoured place in Sanskrit rhetoric (M. Winternitz, ‘Gesch. der ind. Litt.,’ III, Leipzig, 1922, p. 14 : Sushil-Kumār Dē, ‘History of Sanskrit Poetics,’ I, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 49, 66, 67, 70). There grew up flourishing seats of Brahmancial learning, like Siddhāla and Bhūri-śrēṣṭha in West Bengal. Composition in the vernacular of the land as well as in the
literary Apabhraṣṭa of the West started during Pāla times, the teachers and preachers of the Sahajiyā Buddhist cult and the newly-risen Śivaite sect of the Yōgīs or Nāthas, and probably also the Vaiṣṇavas, taking the lead in this matter. (Cf. H. P. Śāstri, 'Literary History of the Pāla Period,' JBORS., V, ii, 1919). A new movement in sculpture arose in the 9th century in Varṇātra (i.e., Puṇḍra or North Central Bengal), according to the evidence of the Tibetan writer Tārāṇātha, who mentions two eminent artists Dhīman and Bitpalo (Tārāṇātha, 'Geschichte des Buddhismus,' by Anton Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, pp. 279-280): and this school gained distinction as the Gauḍa-Magadha style of Northern Indian sculpture.

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

By the middle of the 10th century, to which period the earliest extant specimens of Bengali can be referred, the Bengali language may be said to have become distinctive, as the expression of the life and religious aspirations of the people of Bengal, with the nucleus of a literature uniting the various dialectal areas. A new speech entered into being, to give expression, later in its life, to some of the highest flights of the human spirit in the regions of poetic imagination and perception.
49. The Indo-Aryan speech thus took over a thousand years to be transformed into Bengali, after it came to Bengal during the first MIA. period (roughly, 400 B.C.—900 A.C.). The story of the development of IA. during these long centuries cannot be taken up here; the broad lines of it have been indicated in § 20. Linguistic studies of the Aśoka and other inscriptions, grammars and philological works on Pali, the Prakrits and the Apabhraṅgas, and above all, the texts themselves, enable us to form some idea of MIA. The materials for the study of MIA. in Eastern India are the following (but it must be noted that MIA. documents relating to dialects current in other tracts are equally important, for their parallel forms, for their throwing valuable light on the development of MIA. as a whole, for their often preserving an eastern form, and for their influence on the dialects of the East):

(1) Stray words and forms in the language of the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, and in early classical Sanskrit, which, from their phonetic aspect, can be regarded as eastern: e.g., "vikaṭa = vikṛta", "daṇḍa = *dandra", "śīla = śīra", "śīthila = loose (for *śīthila = 2nd MIA. śīḍhila = *śṛthira), "√gil = gīr = swallow, "kṣulla = small (for *kṣudla = kṣudra). (Cf. § 36.)

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

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


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

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

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

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

¹ The intervocal cerebrals in MIA. did not become fricative, but were changed either to ‘f’ or to the so-called cerebral ‘r’: the latter is not a continuant, but a ‘flap’ sound. The very character of the cerebrals, which needed the tongue-tip to be rolled back and struck against the roof of the mouth for their proper pronunciation, ensured the momentary closure, even when the other consonant sounds became open. See later, under *Phonology*, where the phonetic history of IA. is discussed.
IN\[4\]

INTRODUCTION

= jñāpaka \(\) (Khāravēla Inscription, 2nd century B.C.) \; \(\text{chatrava}=\kṣatrapa\) \; \(\text{atērēṇa}=\text{antēpura}\) \; \(\text{thuva}=\text{stūpa}\) \; \(\text{niyado}=\text{nirātita}\) \; \(\text{Nākaraasa}=\text{Nāgarakasya}\) \(\text{(a hybrid form, with Dardic or North-west Indian } \text{-k-} \text{for } \text{-g-})\) \; \(\text{ayariya}=\text{ācārya}\) \; \(\text{vēya-udinō}=\text{vēgōdīrṇa}\) \; \(\text{viyaa}=\text{vijaya}\) \(\text{(Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, early 1st century A.C.)}\); \(\text{apratiṭhavita}=\text{apratiṣṭhāpita}\) \(\text{(Taxila Plate, of the same date as the preceding)}\). \(\text{Similar forms, with voiced stops for unvoiced ones, and } \text{-y-} \text{possibly for an open spirant pronunciation, are found in the Nasik and Karle Cave Inscriptions of the 2nd century A.C.}\). \(\text{Of the literary Prakrits (as in the older Sanskrit dramas), which were based on the spoken MIA. vernaculars of the 1st—5th centuries A.C., we find that the voicing of the tenues, and their retention side by side with the original voiced ones, to be quite the rule in Māgadhī and Śaurāṣṭrī \(\text{(only } \text{-k-} \text{is generally elided, but } \text{-t-} \text{-d-} \text{never)}\); but in the dialect named Mahārāṣṭrī, they are in all cases elided. Modern IA. languages derived from Māgadhī and Śaurāṣṭrī, e.g., Bengali and Hindi, show that those original single stops of OIA., which were preserved as voiced stops in the literary Prakrits, were subsequently dropped as well \(\text{e.g., OIA. } \text{-śatam-} \text{Māg. } \text{-śadē, śadaĩ-} \text{, Śaur. } \text{-sadāĩ-} \text{; cf. Bengali } \text{-śa-} \text{from } \text{-śaa, śawa-} \text{, Hindi } \text{-saʊ, saj-} \text{from } \text{-sa(w/y)a-} ; \text{OIA. } \text{-pāda-} \text{Māg., Śaur., } \text{-pāda-} \text{; cf. Bengali } \text{-pā-} \text{, Hindi } \text{-pāw-} ; \text{OIA. } \text{-calati-} \text{Mag. } \text{-yēcaladi-, Śaur. } \text{-caladi-} ; \text{cf. Bengali } \text{-cālē, Hindi } \text{-cālē calai-} \text{< } \text{-calai-} \text{. This stage of Māgadhī and Śaurāṣṭrī, in which all the intervocal stops were elided, has not been indicated in the oldest grammar of Prakrit that we have, that of Vararuci, who says that } \text{-t-, -th-} \text{become } \text{-d-, -dh-} \text{ in Śaurāṣṭrī; and Māgadhī follows Śaurāṣṭrī in this respect; and later Sanskrit writers, who turned Sanskrit words into Prakrit, followed Vararuci and the usage of Śūdraka, Kālidāsa and the rest. But in Śaurāṣṭrī Apabhraṃsa, we have the genuine state of things in the spoken language indicated by plenty of forms without the intervocal consonants. For a final or intervocal stop to be elided, it must be either laxly or laxly pronounced, leading to absence of contact, as described above; or ‘throttled’ into an unexploded stop, as it has} \)
happened to the final stops in many speeches; or changed into a glottal stop, [], as in dialectal English, e.g., London cockney [wɔːʔ, bɑːʔ, pʰaiʔ, moiʔ] for water, butter, paper, Michael = standard Southern English [wɔːʔ, bɑːʔ, pʰeiʔ, maik)]. The process, namely, stops > voiced stops, lazily uttered > open stops, or voiced fricatives with very little friction > complete elision, or zero,—seems to have taken place in Northern India. The « ya-śruti » of Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, which may be represented «-y-», probably represents an intermediate stage between fricative pronunciation and complete elision, when the suggestion of a spirant would just be heard. This, as S. Lévi has noted (J.A., 1912, ii. pp. 511-512), is found in the word « avāyēsi » = « avādēsi, avādayat » in the Bharhut inscriptions, 2nd century B.C. Later MIA. inscriptions of the transitional stage show it; and probably the Jain traditional spelling of Ardha-māgadhī with the « ya-śruti » is a systematisation in writing of what was no doubt heard in actual speech some time or other in the history of the dialect. Now, it seems that the occurrence of « -g- -d- -b-, -gh- -dh- -bh- » (as well as « -j- -jh- ») intervocally in Māgadhī and Śaurasenī in the second MIA. period, as illustrated by Vararuci and by the early dramas, could only have been as fricatives: witness also the existence of « -p- » as « -v- », in spelling, = bilabial fricative « -b- » (i.e., [v], in the IPA. script). Similar indication of fricative or open consonant sounds by letters which originally were always pronounced as stops is quite common in many languages, old and new: e.g., in Gothic, in Old Irish, in Modern Greek, in Spanish. (See under Phonology, Sound-System of Second MIA.) Occasional hesitancy in spelling, between retaining a voiced stop and dropping it, which is noticed in contemporary documents of the transitional period and in Prakrit texts (e.g., the name « Mōa=Mōga » respectively in the coin of that Indo-Parthian king and in an inscription of his time) also supports the assumption of the presence of a spirant pronunciation. The aspirates « kh gh, th dh, ph bh » similarly became « ɣh, ñh, ñh », and finally « -h- ». In Mahārāṣṭrī, however, the stops were already dropped at a time when they were yet preserved as open consonants in Māgadhī and Śaurasenī and in the dialects of the North-west, and possibly as strong
fricatives indicated by the *ya-*śruti* in Ardhama-gadhī. It is not certain by which process this was brought about in the Southern dialect, but the presence of *-y-* forms in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions (cf. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, ‘Wilson Philological Lectures,’ 1914, pp. 88, 30²), which belong to the present day Marāṭhī linguistic area, probably indicates the change here also was gradual, as in Northern India, only it was accomplished earlier. This peculiarity of pronunciation as soon as it was attained was probably noted in Northern India which still adhered to intervocal sounds. The predominance of vowels in Mahāraṣṭrī, as the result of the dropping of consonants, made it more melodious, and this, coupled with the prestige of a rich literature of lyrics and little couplets which was growing up in it from the beginning of the Christian era, was probably responsible for its being accepted as the Prakrit dialect for songs and poetical stanzas by Sanskrit and Prakrit dramatists and poets everywhere. Like Braj-bhākhā in Northern India from the 15th century downwards, Mahāraṣṭrī became the recognised dialect for lyrics in the second MIA. period. (See p. 61.)

50. The Prakrits of the transitional and second MIA. periods came to have some literature in them, through the endeavours of the Buddhists (the Prakrit speech of Gaudharā or the North-west, e.g., the ‘Dharmapada’ discovered by Dutreuil de Rhins in Central Asia, and first published by E. Senart in the J.A., 1897, and edited by Bēni-Madhhab Bāruśa and Śailendra-Nāth Mitra, Calcutta University, 1921), of the Jains (the Ardhama-gadhī dialect, now apparently re-edited from ‘Old Ardhama-gadhī’—cf. p. 58—with influence from Śaurasenī and other

1 In the ‘Mrochakaṭika’ drama, probably 4th century A.C. (cf. M. Winternitz, ‘Indische Litteratur,’ III, p. 203), a character says: ‘vaṇāḥ dakkhiṇattā avvatta-bhāsīṇō’ *we Southerners speak indistinctly* (Act VI). This is perhaps a comment on the early elision of the stops in the South, which would be contrasted with the comparatively distinct—*vyakta*—albeit fricative, articulation of the North. The speaker, Candanaka, speaks familiarly of the uses of the Karpara people in starting a quarrel: he is apparently a man from the Mahāraṣṭra country, bordering on Karpara; and his dialect is not pure Śaurasenī—it is described as Āvanti, spoken in Ujjayini—something intermediate between Śaurasenī and Mahāraṣṭrī. Cf. Pischel, ‘Gram. der Prakrit Sprachen,’ § 26.
of the Sanskrit dramatists, and vernacular poets in general (the Śaurāṣṭrī and Māgadhī dialects, the Māhārāṣṭrī dialect). Grammars of some of these were written in the second MIA. period: and these dialects soon became stereotyped as literary languages, and did not keep pace with the spoken dialects, both in the scholarly Sanskrit dramas and in the Prakrit compositions in which they figured. The spoken dialects developed and changed; and during the period between the second MIA. dialects as in the dramas and the modern languages, these arrived at a stage (§ 20, p. 19) which has been called ‘Apabhraṅśa,’ following Hēma-candra, who definitely describes by that name a typical late MIA. speech which is younger than the Prakrits of the dramas, but older than the modern vernaculars. Thus the ‘Śaurāṣṭrī Prakrit’ of the second MIA. stage, which was used in the Sanskrit drama, and was actually based on the spoken language, say of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries, continued to be written in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, and later; and being then confined to high literature only, and to a great extent removed from the actual, living Śaurāṣṭrī of the later period, it became a matter of the scholar’s and the grammarian’s interest, to be written according to the grammars based on earlier specimens and modified by later views, opinions, theories, and, very rarely, by actual (later) contemporary linguistic conditions. While this was going on, the current late Śaurāṣṭrī came to be used in literature by the masses; and then it grew to have a position of its own, as a younger Śaurāṣṭrī Prakrit; it developed into a ‘Śaurāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa,’ in which gradually a literature was created.

What happened to Śaurāṣṭrī undoubtedly happened to the other Prakrits; only the literary counterparts of the ‘Apabhraṅśa’ forms of these latter—Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī, Ardha-māgadhī, and the North-western Prakrit—are now wanting: either because the literatures in these have entirely perished; or because such literatures did not exist, at least on a large scale, which is equally likely—Śaurāṣṭrī Apabhraṅśa alone having taken up the whole field for literary purposes.

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

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

The term 'Apabhraṅśa' originally had no special significance, and merely meant speech fallen off (from the norm), vulgar speech. The learned man’s contempt for popular speech is manifest in the use of the terms «apaśabda, apabhraṅśa, apa+ḥ/ḥaṇas» by Patañjali (cf. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 81*). No one would suggest that the word Apabhraṅśa as used by Patañjali meant anything but dialectal, ungrammatical or vulgar speech, or that it can mean anything like the tertiary development of MIA. In Bengal, the Pāṇḍīts used to describe the Sanskritised literary Bengali as gāyikhaṭa «sādhu-bhāṣā», and the actual, living Bengali as ṣaṃthaṭa «apa-bhāṣā» or inṛta-ṭaṇ «itraṭ-bhāṣā» (cf. H. P. Śāstri, VSPdP., San 1321, p. 285). One can very well understand that after the MIA. forms (Pali and Śaurasenī and other Prakrits) were established, deviations in the vulgar speech, especially of some of the less cultured peoples of North-western and Western India, would be described as 'Apabhraṅśa' forms; and when these new traits (e.g., «-ō» -u») became established in the speech of all classes in Western and Northern India, and certain other new characteristics, not noticed before in the 5th or 6th
century, were developed and established, the term ‘Apabhraṅṣa,’ or
‘Apabhraṣṭa’ would come to be restricted for this new phase of the
speech, to distinguish it from the well-attested ‘Prākṛta’ of the earlier
epoch. The Apabhraṅṣas, as popular dialects, came to be employed by the
masses for their songs and couplets; and, with a popular literature, they came
later to obtain recognition from scholars as well. Hēma-candra, evidently
following earlier and generally accepted nomenclature, called this late
form of MIA, as used in literature an ‘Apabhraṅṣa.’ The necessity for
exact definitions in modern scholarship has gradually established, in Indo-
Aryan Linguistics, the use of the term Apabhraṅṣa to indicate the stage
between the Prakrits of the dramas (second MIA.) and the modern vernaculars:
a stage, as one can postulate from what has been said above, which
was well established by 600 A.C. (For Apabhraṅṣa, see R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar,
*op. cit.*, pp. 109-118; R. Pischel, ‘Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṅṣa,’
Abh. der kön. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1902; H. Jacobi,
‘Bhavisatka-kaha,’ Ueber den Apabhraṅṣa, *op. cit.*, pp. xix-xxx; P. D. Guṇe,
‘Saṁyama-mañjarī,’ Annals of the Bhāṇḍārkar Inst., Poona, 1920; Grierson,
‘The Apabhraṅṣa Stabakas of Rāma-sarman Tarka-vāgīṣa,’ IAnt., Jan., 1922, Jan. 1923.)

The IA. dialects spoken in Gujarat, Rajputana and the Midland
alone are fortunate in possessing specimens of the Apabhraṅṣa stage. A
kind of Midland or Śauraseni Apabhraṅṣa was a sort of literary speech
for Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A.C.,
and some centuries later. The power and prestige of the Rājput courts,
which had their centres in the Midland and the Ganges Valley, was
responsible for it. The Jains of Gujarat cultivated it a great deal; and
often it became a mixed dialect. Nāgara Apabhraṅṣa, also cultivated by
the Jains, is probably based on the late MIA. source-dialects of Rājasthani-
Gujarati, strongly tinged with Śauraseni. We are also told about Vṛścāḍa
(=Sindh), Kēkaya (=West Panjab) and other forms of Apabhraṅṣa.
Doubtless, there were similar Apabhraṅṣas derived from Mahaṛastri, Ardhama-
ḡadhī, and Māḡadhī; but we have no specimens in these. (Cf. Grierson,
‘The Apabhraṅṣa Stabakas of Rāma-sarman Tarka-vāgīṣa,’ referred to
above.) In the East, the local patois does not seem to have been cultivated after the days of Aśoka: in any case, Māgadhī never seems to have been. It was a despised dialect—the speech of the lowest classes in the drama. Sauraseni was established for literary purposes in the Ardhamāgadhī and Māgadhī areas. Possibly Sauraseni was the polite language of the day when people employed a vernacular; and in the Apabhraṇśa period, eastern poets employed the Sauraseni Apabhraṇśa, to the exclusion of their local patois. This tradition, that of writing in a western, Sauraseni, literary speech, was continued in the East down to middle and late NIA. times, even after the eastern languages had come to their own. The writers of oldest poems in Bengali (10th-13th centuries) also composed in this Sauraseni Apabhraṇśa; Vidyāpati, the Maithil poet of c. 1400, wrote in his native Maithili as well as in ‘Avahaṭṭha,’ or ‘Apabhraṣṭa,’ which is only a late form of Sauraseni Apabhraṇśa. (See § 61.) So far as the eastern languages are concerned, we have to come at one bound from the specimens in second MIA. (pre-6th century) to the specimens in the crystallised modern speeches (10th-13th centuries for Bengali, early 14th century for Maithili, and later for the other languages).

52. The modern representatives of Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa are Bengali, Assamese, Orijā, Magahi, Maithili and Bhōjpuriya. In the middle of the 7th century, as the testimony of Hiuen Thsang would seem to suggest, there was one language spoken in Bihar, Bengal and Western Assam: only in Assam there was a deviation, probably in phonetics only. Bengali and Assamese are practically one language, when a comparison is instituted among the Magadhan speeches; and Orijā is most closely related to Bengali-Assamese. There are some points of agreement between Maithili and Bengali-Assamese-Orijā. The ‘Prakrit’ and Apabhraṇśa dialects brought to Bengal and Assam (and Orissa) may have largely belonged to Aṅga and Mithilā, the tracts contiguous to Bengal. But Maithili and Magahi, in having a complicated verb-system, with its infixed pronouns and its honorific forms (cf. Grierson, ‘Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language,’ Calcutta, 1883-87; LSI., V, Part II), stand apart from other Magadhan. This verb-system of Maithili
and Mañahī seems to be a rather late development, originating or asserting itself long after the differentiation of the Māgadhī speeches. Early Maithili, as in the ‘Varṇa-ratnakara’ and in Vidyāpati, shows a simpler conjugation, which might have become archaic, and thus was restricted only to the language of literature, in the 14th century; but it certainly indicates that the intricacies of later Maithili were absent in Old Maithili. The same may be said of Mañahī, although here we do not have early documents. Bhūjpuriyā somewhat stands apart from its sister-speeches, having come under the influence of its western neighbour Awadhī (Ardha-maṅgha) from very early times. Magadhan speeches can very well be classified into the following 3 groups:

2. Central Magadhan: Maithili, Mañahī.
3. Western Magadhan: Bhūjpuriyā, with Nāgpuriyā or Sadāni.

Grierson calls 2 and 3 ‘Bihāri’, regarding them as variations of one type. But the sharp distinction between Bhūjpuriyā and Maithili-Mañahī in their conjugation would justify their relegation to two separate groups, at least for the modern stage.

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

(i) Common to all Magadhan:

**Phonetic:** Tendency to turn the original <ā> sound (‘sāmṛta’ ā = [ā]) of OIA. and MIA. into an <ā> [ə]; original <śśśś> <ś> [ʃ], (but in Central and Western Magadhan, Upper Indian influence has helped this sound, after the development of these languages, to change to a dental sibilant, while in the extreme east, in Assamese, it has become a guttural spirant, [x]); epenthesis of <i> developed in all Magadhan, except probably in standard Bhūjpuriyā. **Morphological:** an instrumental in <ś, ś, c, ċ, ṣ>; <kāra> as a genitive affix; original genitive> oblique plural in <n(i)>; locative in <n>; (see below under Morphology; ‘Case Inflections’); <l> for the past base, <b> for the future base and also for a verbal noun; remnants of an <h> future derived from the synthetic <sy> future of OIA. (e.g., Bhūjpuriyā 3 pers. sing. <dekhī>
< *dēkhihi*, Bengali 2 pers. precative future देखा=देखि=देखिऻं=देखिष् < dēkhō < dēkhiō < dēkhiä < dēkhiha >. Roots < hō, ah, rah >, and possibly also < aeh >, for the substantive verb (< aeh > not found in present-day Bhōjpuriya and Magahi). Syntactical: active construction in the past tense of the transitive verb, and affixation of personal inflections to the past base (e.g., base < dēkh-il-, dēkh-al- >: dialectal and standard Bengali देखिल, देखिलाहें > देखिल, देखिलाम < dēkh-il-i, dēkh-il-a-hō > dēkh-il-ū, dēkh-il-am, >, Assamese < dēkh-il-ō >, Orijā < dēkh-il-i, dēkh-il-ū >, Magahi dēkh-ṣl-ī, dēkh-ṣl-ū >, Maithili < dēkh-ṣl-ī, dēkh-ṣl-ā-hū >, Bhōjpuriya < dēkh-ṣl-ī, dēkh-ṣl-ō >) came to be developed independently in each. The differentiation between transitive and intransitive verbs, 3 person only (e.g., standard colloquial Bengali देखিল < dēkh-l-ē > he saw, but 3'ल < 'cōll-ō > he went, Assamese < dēkh-il-ē > but < tsāl-il-ā >, Maithili < dēkh-ṣl-ēak >, but < cal-al-ā >, Bhōjpuriya < dēkh-ṣl-ē, dēkh-ṣl-as >, never < dēkh-al-ā >, but < cal-al-ā >), can be called a common Magadhan trait, having its germs in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa. There was a general tendency to give up the distinction between the nominative and oblique forms of the noun, which is now absent in the modern Magadhan speeches.

(ii) Characteristics of Eastern Magadhan:

Full < ā > [ə] pronunciation of the short < ā > is the only one that obtains. The palatal nature of the Māgadhī sibilant is most faithfully retained. Epenthesis of < ĭ, u > fully established. < kṣ > (in tat-sama words) pronounced as < (-k)khya- >. Genitive in < -rā >, from < -kera, -kara >; disuse or restricted use of the genitive in < -ka >, except in Orijā. Past and future bases in < -il-, -ib- >, instead of < -al-, -ab- >, which characterise other Magadhan; a passive participle in < -ā >—e.g. < dēkhā > seen; confusion between roots < aeh > and < hō > (e.g., Old Hindi < (a)hai > and < hōwaï > both meaning is, but derived from different roots; so Magah̄ < hal > and < bhēl, hōl > was; in Bengali, Assamese, and Orijā, old forms like रू < हए < hai > and होए < होहु > hōi > have merged together. See below, under Morphology: ‘Defective Verbs’).

Nominate in < -ē >, locative in < -t(ā) >, and absence of number in verb, are common to Bengali and Assamese; formal differentiation between
the past of the transitive verb and the past of the intransitive verb in the 3rd person only (e.g., সে দিলে *sē di-l-ē* he gave, but সে গেল *sē gē-l-ā* he went), is found in West and North Bengali and in Assamese; *ś > h, e > jh > ts s dz z*, found in dialectal (East) Bengali and Assamese.

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

Special plural forms: রা *-ra* দিগ *-digā*, গুলা *-gulā* etc. in Bengali; *-bilāk, -bör, -hāt* in Assamese; *-ē, -mānē* in Oriyā. The ablative in *-u* and the conjunctive indeclinable in *-inā* are peculiar to Oriyā only.

(iii) Characteristics of Central Magadhan:

Short *ā* approaches the [ə] pronunciation of Eastern Magadhan, rather than the [ʌ] of Northern India. Special verbal forms, with affixed and infixed pronouns: elaborate system of honorific and other verb forms with reference to the object (e.g., Maithil forms—*dekh-āl-ak, dekh-al-āk-ai, dekh-āl-a-nhī, dekh-al-āk-ai-nhī, dekh-āl-athī, dekh-al-āthi-nhī, dekh-al-āthu-nhī > he saw or they saw*); present participle in *-at* used for the future, in the 3rd person only (e.g., Maithil and Magahī *dēkh-at, dēkh-āt-ai* he or they will see); *-th-* affix distinguishing verb plural, now singular honorific as well (e.g., Maithil and Magahī *dēkhāi > he sees*: original plural,*dēkhathī > they see*, now both honorific plural and singular).

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

(iv) Characteristics of West Magadhan:

*ā* is pronounced as in Northern India, = [ʌ]. There is a developed long *ā* sound,[ə:]. Use of an affix *-as* for verb 3 pers. singular, through influence of Awadhi (e.g., *dēkhē, dēkh-as* he sees, *dēkhālē,
dekhāl-as = he saw, dekhat, dekhātē, dekhit, dekhāt-as = he used to see); a present indicative and future with the particle la (dekhā-lō = I shall see, dekhā-, dekhā-lā = he will see); synthetic future in -h-, for the 3rd person only, retained; root vṛt for the substantive verb occurs as bāt, bār, bā; (root achat = be, now absent in Bhōjpuriyā, seems to have existed in Old Bhōjpuriyā); use of the particle khē in connection with the verb (nahi khē bā, nahi khē, nai khē = is not, does not exist, hōkhē = is).

(v) Common to East Magadhan and Central Magadhan:

Nominative in -ē; use of the affix -ka- in connection with the verb 3rd person (e.g. Bengali dekhilēka, Early Oriyā dekhilāka, Maithili-Magahi dekhilāka he saw); tendency to change intervocal -b- in some forms to -m- (e.g., Assamese dim, dialectal Bengali dimu < dibō I shall give, Oriyā dekhimi, beside dekhibi I shall see, Magah lēmā < lēbā = you will take); the roots achat (ach, ch) and tha (thik, thak, thāk) for the substantive verb; and the post-positional 'article' -tā, -ṭā.

-rā plurals, from the genitive, of personal pronouns (cf. Maithili hamāra-sabh, Magah hamarā-nī = Bengali amā sā, sābh < amārasabh(h)ā = we: later this was extended to the noun in Bengali); genitive in -kēra (= Bengali er -ēra) common to Bengali and Central Magadhan.

Pronominal adjectives in -h-, e.g. *jaihāna, kaihāna etc., = Maithili jēhan, kēhan, Bengali bēn kēn [koēno, kēno] from earlier bēhane, kēhane, jēhōnā, kēhōnā, Assamese bēn kēn < zēnē, kēnē: common to Bengali-Assamese and Maithili.

(vi) Common to East Magadhan and West Magadhan:

Root vṛt as a substantive root (= Bhōjpuriyā bāt, bār, bā, Oriyā aṭ, Bengali bōt bāt).

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

The use of a particle (or post-position) la in connection with the verb also found in Middle Bengali (?) (see Morphology: 'The Verb—Pleonastic Affixes').
(vii) Common to Central Magadhan and West Magadhan:

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

53. If we compare Maithili of the 14th century, which forms the oldest extant specimens in it (see § 56), with 14th century Bengali as in the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana,' and with the Oṛiyā of the Puri inscriptions (15th century), we find that these languages are already widely different, and have almost arrived at the stage where they are now. Maithili, Bengali and Oṛiyā are by 1300 A.C. fully developed languages, each with its own characteristics, and not mere dialects of a common Māgadhī. In its phonetics and its forms, Oṛiyā is the most conservative of Māgadhān languages, and Bengali is the most advanced, or farthest removed. The difference between Maithili-Magadhi and Bengali-Oriya is manifold, so much so that these groups must have parted company, each taking up its own line several centuries at least before 1300 A.C. When precisely this split of Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa into a Western, a Central, and an Eastern group had become accomplished, it cannot be determined. When Hiuen Thsang came to Eastern India (1st half of the 7th century), it seems there was not much difference between Magadhan as spoken in its own home (South Bihar) and in Bengal; it was just spreading from South-west Bengal into what is now Orissa, and it had already penetrated from
North-eastern Bengal into Assam, where it probably underwent some easily noticed phonetic modifications. The Apabhraṃśa stage was one in which IA. was shedding off most of its old affixes, when the old inflectional system was being whittled down out of existence. New affixes and postpositions were coming into prominence in the declension of the noun, and the temporal and finite use of the participles was established for the verb. A few of these were already to be found in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa of the 7th century, the common source of all modern Magadhan languages (see § 22). But as the modern Magadhan languages show, each local form of late Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, in the Bhōjpuriyā tract, in Mithilā, in Magadha, in Bengal, in Orissa, solved more or less independently its own needs, in the 8th-11th centuries A.C. This period was one in which the language was in a formative, ‘fluid’ state in all Aryan India; this was roughly a period for ‘Proto-Bengali,’ ‘Proto-Maithili,’ ‘Proto-Orīyā,’ etc., when the specifically Bengali, Maithilī and Orīyā characteristics were in all probability manifesting themselves, but were not as yet fully established; when the dialects still looked back to the past, to second MIA.; and the NIA. characteristics (e.g., loss of one consonant in double consonant groups with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel) were but in the process of formation. Thus, Orīyā-Bengali-Assamese normalised the affix *-kara>*-ara, *-arṣ>* for the genitive; Bengali also showed a predilection for *-kēra>*-ērā>; the old plural inflection was lost, and in this matter Bengali hesitated for a long time, until, in addition to a number of Sanskrit nouns of multitude, it took up the *-ara* of the genitive, strengthened with *-ā* affix into *-ārā*, and also the words गुल < Sanskrit < गुला < Sanskrit अदिका > in the Middle Bengali period; whereas Assamese differentiated itself in that period by building up the affixes *-bōr, -bilāk, -hāt*; Orīyā, on the other hand, probably as early as in the Proto-Orīyā stage, adopted the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa word *māṇava* = Sanskrit *māṇava* man as a plural sign, in addition to employing an oblique plural form in *-ē*. The differences in affixation, such as are noticeable in the plural form in Bengali, Assamese and Orīyā, cannot have been inheritances in these speeches from their common
source-dialect. Early Maithili of the 14th century, as in the 'Varṣaratnākara,' shows a plural nominative in « -āha, -āha », and a plural oblique in « -nhi », which are inherited forms from Apabhraṃśa Māgadhī, traces of which are found in all forms of Modern Magadhan. The Modern Magadhan genitive affixes « -raj, -karaj, -kara, -karā < -kara-, -ēraj, -kēraj, kēra < -kēra-, -kā, -kē < -kaa », the nominative, instrumental, accusative and locative « -i, -i, -e, -e », are inflections derived from the common mother. The passive construction for the past of the transitive verb was inherited by all Magadhan speeches, as can be seen from traces in the oldest specimens of these; but this method was given up independently in each.

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

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

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

Part I, pp. 20-21:

\[\ldots\ldots\text{kanawā phaṛāya jōgī jaṭawā bāṛhaulāj}:
\text{dāṛhī bāṛhāya jōgī hōi gailaj bakarā} \ldots\ldots
\text{kabahī Kabīra, ’sunō bhai sādhō,
Jama-darajawā bāṇḍhala jaibē pakarā.’}\]
INTRODUCTION

Splitting (his) ears, the Yogi has grown matted locks:
Growing a beard the Yogi has become a goat......
Saith Kabir: 'Hear, brother devotee,
At the gate of Yama you will be bound and seized.'

Part III, pp. 86-87:
...... <bābā-ghara rahaulaũ, babūl kahaulaũ,
saiyā-ghara, catura sayāna
cotaba gharawā āpana rē>......
In my father's house I was retained, and was called a daring;
My Husband's home—wise and grown-up,
I shall know that home to be mine, O.

Part III, p. 98:
<kā lai jaibau, pītama gharā aibau?
gāwa-kē lōga jaba pūchana lagihā,
taba hama kā rē bataibaũ? >......
With what will he depart (when) my Love will come to (my) house?
When the people of the village will begin to question, what indeed
then shall I say?

Part IV, pp. 70-71:
<sūtala rahalā mai nīda bhari ho, piyā dihalaũ jagāya;
carana-kawala kē anjana ho nainā leũ lagāya>......
I remained sleeping in deep slumber, ah me! My Love he made (me)
awake:
The collyrium (of the dust) from his lotus like feet I put in (my) eyes.

55. Magahī has been one of the least fortunate among IA. speeches.
The land of Magadha was one of the most prosperous parts of India in
pre-Christian times, and its people, probably together with their brethren
from other eastern (Prācyā) tracts like Benares (Kāsī), formed the most
powerful nation in India during the time of the Mauryas. But with the
fall of the Mauryas, the importance of Magadha waned. In the 4th
century A.C., according to the testimony of Fa Hien, the Chinese pilgrim,
there was a decay in Southern Bihar,—the country had become jungly,
and was sparsely peopled: and the reason of this decay is not known. But
Magadha, as the holy land of the Buddhists and the Jains, and later, with its newly established place of pilgrimage at Gaya, of Hindus as well, always had some importance. The establishment of the Buddhist colleges or universities of Nalanda during the time of the Guptas, and of Vikrama-sila, made Magadha once more famous throughout the Buddhist world in Asia as a centre of culture. During the time of the Pulas, who were professed Buddhists, Magadha seems to have flourished exceedingly. But the conquest of Bihar by the Turks in the last decade of the 12th century was fraught with disastrous results for the intellectual life and culture of the province. The story of the sack of Bihar, as preserved by Minhaj-i-Siraj in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, is typical of what had happened all over Magadha. Catastrophes like these extinguished learning in the land. The learned men were slain, or else they fled to Nepal with such manuscripts as they could take with them: in this way many precious MS. treasures from Bihar dating from pre-Moslem times could be preserved in the monasteries of Nepal. In Magadha, all indigenous literary culture was at an end. Magadha has been aptly described as the cockpit of Eastern India, and it was the scene of constant fights during the Turk, Pathan and Moghal periods. The desolation of the country favoured the incoming from the South of the Musaharas and other non-Aryan (Kol) tribes, who were partially Aryanised, and took up the Aryan speech from the original Magadha people. All sense of connection with the past was lost, all knowledge of the glories of pre-Moslem Magadha. The only important places were the small town of Gaya, where a few Brahmans might have kept up a little study of Sanskrit, and the city of Patna, which was dominated by the Indian Mohammedan culture from the West. The contrast with Mithila across the river was very great. There was no cultivation of the language of the country. The masses were rude, and to a great extent, in the lower classes, recruited from aborigines. The new upper classes were Brahmans and Kshatriyas as well as Kayasths, mostly from the West: the original Brahmans, the ‘Babhans,’ took to agriculture and became degraded. The aristocratic communities spoke or affected Hindi (Braj-bhasha, and Awadhi) as well as Urdu. The local dialect was never
seriously employed in literature, so that Magahí, the NIA. speech of South Bihar, has had to lead the existence of a humble patois from the very beginning of its life. But the masses, as in other parts of India, sought to express themselves in this patois of their daily life, and as a consequence in Magahí we have a small literature of ballads and folksongs, some of which have been collected in the end of the 19th century by scholars like Grierson. The educated classes in Magadha at the present day do not feel any interest in their mother-tongue, High Hindi and Urdu taking up all their attention. It is said, however, that a little other literature in the shape of a verse adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa, and one or two similar works, exists among the masses. All this corpus of composition in Magahí does not go back to any early period.

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

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

¹ Maithili as language of public life and literature has been largely suppressed by High Hindi and Urdu during the latter part of the last century. The University of Calcutta has within the last five years taken up seriously the study of Maithili, and has received strong support from many scholars and noblemen in Mithilā; and it looks as if there will take place a revival of this descendant of the old Māgadhī speech of Eastern India.
century. This work is a sort of lexicon of Maithili and Sanskrit words in the frame-work of several descriptions (e.g., the description of a king's court enumerating all the functionaries and officials who would be found there). It is preserved in a unique MS.\(^1\) dating from the beginning of the 16th century, now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (R. D. Banerji, ‘Bāṅgālār Itihās,’ II, p. 133; Manomohan Chakravarti, in the JASB., 1915, Nov. and Dec., p. 414; Hara-Prasād Śāstrī, ‘Bauddha Gāṇ O Dōhā,’ VSPd., Introduction, p. 35.)

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

\(^1\) An edition of the text has been prepared, to be printed by the University of Calcutta (August 1923).
poetic predecessors in his own language by writing a whole series of poems, the 'Bhānu-siūha Thākurēr Padāvall, in Braja-buli. Braja-buli poetry is a standing example of the extent to which an entirely artificial dialect can be utilised by a whole people for poetic exercise; and its position in Bengal can be compared with that of Sauraseṇā Apabhraṣṭa and Avahaṭṭha outside the Midland in the late MIA. and early NIA. periods.

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

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

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

¹ This Avahaṭṭha work, under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara-Prasād Śāstri, is now (August 1923) in the press in Calcutta.
57. Oriya is very closely related to Bengali. West Bengali and Oriya seem to have developed from one from of Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa, as current in South-west Bengal in the 7th-8th centuries. This speech was differentiated among the Ödra or Udra people\(^1\) who lived on the borderland between Suhma (South-west Bengal) and Kalinga. Hiuen Thsang described the Ödras as a barbarous people, whose words and language differed from 'Central' India; but they loved learning, and applied themselves to it without intermission, and they were mostly Buddhists. With regard to the people of Kōṇgōda, corresponding to Puri district of the present day, Hiuen Thsang makes a more definite statement, that although the Northern Indian alphabet was current among them, their language and mode of pronunciation were quite different (S. Beal's Translation of H. T., London, 1906, II, pp. 204-206). In the early part of the 7th century, we have thus the testimony of the Chinese traveller that the sea-board country where Oriya is now spoken was non-Aryan in speech. Yet we have epigraphical evidence to show that Brahmans were settled in non-Aryan Kōṇgōda with grants of land precisely when Hiuen Thsang noticed the general linguistic condition of the country (Rādhā-Govinda Basāk, 'Mādhava-varmār Tāmra-sāsan,' Sāhitya for Phālguna, 1319). What would seem to have been the case is that the Ödra people were receiving Aryan speech from the neighbouring Suhma and Rāḍha, in the 7th century and before, as well as during the subsequent period, and they rapidly became

\(^1\) Ödra is the Sanskritised form of the word Öḍḍa, the name of a Dravidian people. Kittel's opinion about the meaning and affinities of the word is given at p. 68. For a different derivation, from a Dravidian root meaning to run away, see B. C. Mazumdar, Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature.' Öḍḍiẏaa' (=Skt. Āṇḍriyaka') > 'Oriya'; Ödra-vidaya, or 'Āṇḍri-vidaya' = 'Odjd-vidāa, Oḍḍi-vidāa'; Öriya, the modern Oriya name for their country; whence Bengalī Oḍḍiẏā ('Öṛ♭ya'), the Oriya pronunciation of 'ś' as something like 'śy,' together with a vague sense of this word being connected with the word 'vidaya' with a cerebral 'ś' being responsible for the Bengali spelling 羯 'śyā.' The form 'Oḍdiẏā' is preserved in Tārānātha (16th cen.) and other Tibetan writers. The name 'Utkala' seems to be from a Dravidian word meaning householder, farmer (see supra, p. 68; also B. C. Mazumdar, op. cit.).
Aryanised. West Bengal was the centre from which Aryanism spread into Orissa and into Chota Nagpur, as far as Sambalpur side, where it joined forces with Aryan influences from the Midland and Kōsala. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' pp. 30-31, 115-116: the influence of Bengali Kāyasthas in Orissa of the 10th-11th centuries, as can be seen from epigraphical evidence, is noticed by Mazumdar; also cf. Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature' by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta University, 1921). The Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa of West Bengal was differentiated in Orissa, where it was transplanted, by that speech changing more in its original seat in Bengal than among the Odrasas and the Utkalas, among whom it acquired a most conservative spirit. The Old Bengali specimens of the 10th-13th centuries, as preserved in the 'Caryās,' already shows a stage in some respects in advance of that which is represented by Middle Oriya of a later period. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, 'author of the 'Prākṛta-candrikā' (12th century), mentions 'Udra' as one of the 27 Apabhraṃśas: this is perhaps the earliest reference to Oriya as a distinct Prakritic speech (Manomohan Chakravarti, 'The Language and Literature of Orissa,' JASB., 1897, i, p. 319). The spread of Oriya was at the expense of Dravidian and Kōl, as in Bengal; and a civilised Dravidian speech, Telugu, seems to have receded before Oriya.

The earliest specimens of Oriya, in connected expressions, hitherto discovered, occur in two copper-plate grants of king Nṛsiṁha-dēva IV, dated c. 1395 A. C. (edited by Manomohan Chakravarti, JASB., 1895, i, pp. 136 ff.). In these we find a respectable number of Oriya words which show that the Oriya language is already formed. Some of these words are very valuable for phonological study: for example, the word «cīari», occurring twice, for the modern «cāri» four; the «-i-» after the «c-» is found in Marāṭhī, «* cīari > cyār > cār», pronounced as a palatal affricate, [ʧ[ or [ʧ], and not as a dental affricate [ts], which would be the regular pronunciation of a «c» before «a, ā» in Marāṭhī; and this «i» is a puzzle. (J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 216; «cyāri =cīari» is found in Old Hindi, and in Old Gujarātī also. See later, Morphology, under 'Numerals'). Before that date, we can mention a
few place-names in earlier inscriptions (e.g., the copper-plate grant of Nršīṅha-dēva II, 1296 A. C., edited and published in the JASB., 1896, i, pp. 254-256; the grants of the Trikaliṅga Gupta and the Bhaṅja kings of South Kōsala or Sambalpur, for which see B. C. Mazumdar, ‘Sonpur,’ pp. 33 ff.; the grant of Mādhava-varma of Königoda, 7th century, referred to above).

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

The spelling of some of the words in these inscriptions is worthy of attention, and it throws a great deal of light upon the stress system of the language, and also on one or two points connected with the pronunciation. Epenthesis of -y- after a consonant was quite a regular thing; jñ in lat-sana words was pronounced gṛ as now; ṛ was pronounced as ru; and syllables contiguous to a strongly stressed one were dropped: e.g., Ṛaṅgī = Ṛajyē (inscription of 1466); Āṁrā = Āgṛ, Ājñā (1450); also Bāṁra (1470); Vṛṣṭi = Vṛṣṭya, Vāhya (1459); and forms like gṛtṛi, pṛtṛi, tṛi (1466), sūra = sūrea (1459), Ṛ(=ṛ)kṛtṛi (1470), Ṛṣya = Ṛṣya, Vṛṣya, Vṛṣya, Paramśvār (1470), Nāk (1542), show that the stress was ante-penultimate, and that a preceding or following weak vowel was dropped: e.g., gajapati, puruṣottamā, jāgīrā, guṇūbārī, puruṣottamā, puruṇā, paramśvārā, nārakā. The early Oṛiyā of these inscriptions is a living speech. Oṛiyā as in literature is more Sanskrit-ridden than Bengali, and the language there is never so interesting as in these not very long specimens in the inscriptions: except that a few archaic or obsolete forms are preserved in the former (e.g., the
conjunctive in «-inā», and that in quantity it is quite a respectable body of national literature in the language.

58. The agreement between Assamese and Bengali is so close that the dialects of Bengali and Assamese may be described as belonging to the same group. Dialects are independent of literary speech: as such, East Bengali dialects, North Bengali dialects (with which Assamese is to be associated) and West Bengali dialects are not only independent of one another, but also they are not, as it is popularly believed in Bengal, derived from literary Bengali, the «sādhu-bhāṣā», which is a composite speech on an early West Bengali basis. (See §§ 68, 70, 71, 72.) Assamese dissociated itself from the other Bengali dialects when the speakers of these acknowledged the supremacy of a literary Bengali, and thus accepted the bonds of linguistic union. Assamese continued to be the language of an independent community; and, under the peculiar circumstances under which it was placed, as it progressed deeper and deeper into the Brahmaputra valley among the Boḍó and other Tibeto-Burman, and Shan peoples, it developed some peculiarities of its own. The earliest Assamese remains date from the middle of the 15th century; and at that time the language is practically identical with contemporary literary Bengali as employed in North and East Bengal, with the distinctive Assamese characteristics rare and not at all prominent. Yet Assamese traits are occasionally noticeable: e.g., the confusion between dentals and cerebrals, the use of ṣ «-w-», the absence ṣ «-r-», the absence of the «-i» affix for the verb 1st person present, etc. But on the whole, Early Assamese, and even Modern Assamese, are not much removed from the Common Bengali type. The Bengali dialects of the extreme east and south-east (Sylhet, Chittagong) are certainly more removed from Standard Bengali than is Assamese. The earliest poets in Assamese are Mādhava Kandali, Saṅkara-dēva (? 1449-1569), Mādhava-dēva and Rāma-Sarasvatī (Ananta Kandali). Some Assamese writers would assign a Middle Assamese work called 'Dīpikā-chanda' to the 11th, 9th or even to the 6th century, but the work is palpably post-15th century in its language (Devendra Nath Bēz-bārua, 'Asamiyā Bhāṣā Āru Sāhityar Buraṇji,' Jorhat, Śaka 1833, p. 71;
Padma-nābha Śarmā, in the VSPdP., 1319, No. 1, pp. 45-58). The oldest linguistic remains of Assamese are some names in inscriptions; but in pre-Moslem times, Assamese and Bengali were certainly one language; and a study of these names can be better made in connection with old Bengal place names (Appendix C).

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

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

(2) A glossary of over 300 words, scattered in a Sanskrit commentary on the 'Amara-kōśa,' by a Bengali Paṇḍit, Vandyā-ghāṭiya Sarvānanda, written about 1150 A.C. This work, bearing the name 'Ṭikā-sarvasva' was noticed in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. by Aufrecht and Burnell (cf. Ep. Ind., VI, p. 203). The work was lost to Bengal, but was preserved in Malabar, and it has been recently edited from Malabar MSS. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the 'Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.' The vernacular words preserved in it belong to the Old Bengali period, and they embody valuable material for the study of Bengali phonology. A great many of these words have become obsolete now, and quite a number of them present a slightly Sanskritised appearance, which was due to the scholastic tendencies from which Paṇḍits have never been free. A few of these words have been found in pre-Moslem (Old Bengali) and early Bengali literature described below. [The VSPdP. for San 1326, No. 2, has two papers, in one of which these words have been discussed (by Rāi Bahādur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyā-nilīhi, 'Sāpē Sāt Sata Vatsar Pūrve Bāngalā Šabda'), and in the other they have been arranged alphabetically for the benefit of students (by Basanta-Rājan Rāy, 'Dvādas Śatakēr Bāngalā Šabda').]
The above lists of names and words are but meagre materials to reconstruct the history of a language. Sentences and connected phrases of the language in its oldest period, just after it had evolved from the Apabhraṣṭa stage, would be invaluable. Fortunately, we have been possessed of such specimens of Old Bengali, after it had manifested most of its peculiar characteristics, and before it could crystallise into the Middle Bengali of the established type. These specimens allow us to have a glimpse of the language in its formative period.

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

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

\(^{1}\) There were 50 songs in the MS., and these are numbered. Five leaves in the MS. are wanting. Through this reason, we have only a portion of Carjā 23, and Caryās 24, 25 and 48 are missing entirely, leaving the actual number at 47.
Of the four MSS. printed in this book, the first one alone, the 'Caryā-carya-viniścaya,' containing the songs mentioned above, have a supreme importance in studying the origins of Bengali.

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

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

In the MS. of the 'Caryā-carya-viniścaya,' we have the poem in the Prakritic speech given first, and then a Sanskrit commentary on the poem. The commentary occasionally gives short quotations from similar Prakritic
literature—Old Bengali and Western Apabhraṃśa, an interesting example being two short couplets in Old Bengali attributed to Mīna-nātha (in comm. to Caryā 21). In the second MS., the Prakritic lines of Saraha, or Saroja-vajra, are not always given by themselves, but are quoted in extenso in the Sanskrit commentary by Advaya-vajra: the author of the commentary has the text before him in another MS., from which he is content to introduce tags or full verses in his work. Kānha or Kṛṣṇācārya’s Dōhā-kōsa, the third MS. in Śāstri’s book, gives first the Apabhraṃśa couplets and then the Sanskrit commentary to it.

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

Two different dialects are found in these three works. The dialect of the ‘Caryās’ alone is Old Bengali, as its peculiar Bengali forms show (e.g., the genitive in এর, এর in -ēra, ara, dative in -re, locative in -ta; post-positional words like মাঝ - mājha, অন্তর - antara, সাঙ্গ - sānga; past and future bases in ইল, ইব - il-, ib- and not -al-, ab- of Bihāri; present participle in অন্ত - anita; conjunctive indeclinable in ইন - ina, conjunctive conditional in ইনী - ili; passive in ইন -ina-, which is preserved as a relic in Middle Bengali; substantive roots আছ - ṛch and থাক - thāk, not -thik of Maithili or -thā of Oriya; and a number of Bengali idioms). The two ‘Dōhā-kōsas’ present the same dialect, which is a kind of Western (Śaurasenī) Apabhraṃśa, as its -u nominatives, its -aha genitives, its -ijja passives, and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhraṃśa amply indicate. There was a considerable amount of Eastern Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature, of the type found in the ‘Dōhā-kōsas,’ in the Western Apabhraṃśa. C. Bendall has published some fragments of such Apabhraṃśa strophes (in the
IMPORTANCE OF ŚAURASEṇĪ APABHRAṆSA

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

61. As has been said before, as a literary language this Western Apabhraṃśa was current in Eastern India. During the 9th-12th centuries, through the prestige of North Indian Rājpūṭ princely houses, in whose courts dialects akin to this late form of Śaurasenī were spoken, and whose bards cultivated it, the Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa became current all over Aryan India, from Gujarāt and Western Panjab to Bengal; probably as a lingua franca, and certainly as a polite language, as a bardic speech which alone was regarded as suitable for poetry of all sorts. Professional bards, ‘bhāṣa,’ in other parts of India had to learn this dialect, as well as Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and compose in it. In the first centuries after the development of NIA, this Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa continued to be used, but it yielded more and more to the local dialects in the various parts of India, and ultimately, by the middle of the 15th century, it was no longer, or very sparingly, used, other vernaculars like Maithillī, Awadhī, and Rājasthānī having asserted themselves; and in its own home, the Midland, it gradually approximated itself to Braj-bhākhā, which was in a way its direct representative. The Old Hindī of the ‘Prithrāja-Rājā’ is very strongly influenced by Apabhraṃśa forms, is almost overwhelmed by them—the genuine NIA character of the work showing itself nevertheless. A younger form of this Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, intermediate in forms and in general spirit to the genuine Apabhraṃśa of times before 1000 A.C. and to the Braj-bhākhā of the Middle Hindī period, say, of the 15th century, is sometimes known as ‘Avahaṭṭha.’ The ‘Prākṛta-Paṅgala’ (see § 64) embodies an anthology of verses in this Avahaṭṭha speech. In Rājputana, Avahaṭṭha was also known as ‘Piṅgala,’ and local bards continued to compose in ‘Piṅgala,’ as an archaic literary
language, almost as much as they composed in 'Dingala' or local Rajasthani dialects. The prestige and influence of Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa was no less strong in Bengal than in Bihar, Panjab and Rajputana. During the formative period of Bengali (?) 700—900 A.C.) and the Old Bengali period (950—1200 A.C.), a great deal of the early Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature was composed in it. Being a dialect that was not the mother-tongue of those who composed it, local eastern (Bengali) idioms and words have crept into it: e.g., "kaṭhiu rava" raised a shout, in the 'Dohā-kōsa' of Saraha (p. 91 in Śāstri's book): cf. Bengali ৰা কাঠা < rā kāra >; "bhīḍi" tightly, fast (ibid., p. 90): cf. Middle Bengali ভিড়ি < bhiri >; use of roots "acch" and "thakk" (pp. 104, 105): Bengali আছ থাক < aĉ, thāk >; "jabbē, tabbē" when, then (p. 107): Bengali যবে, তবে < jābe, tābe >; "chaṭ(i)aī" leaves (p. 112): cf. Bengali ছাড়ে < chaṛē >, but Hindōstānī "chōṛē"; "tāhara" his (p. 115): Bengali তাহার < tāhāra >; "bujjhaï" understood (p. 129): cf. Bengali বুঝ < bujha >; etc.

The practice of employing this western literary speech in the eastern tracts continued in Mithilā at least as late as the time of Vidyāpati. Vidyāpati's compositions in Avahāṭṭha have been mentioned before (see p. 104); and in his Avahāṭṭha, naturally there is a considerable mingling with contemporary early Braj-bhākhā forms, as well as Miithilī forms; and frequently the influence of Miithilī phonology and orthography is noticeable, and, at times, the influence also of the classical Prakrit as used in the Sanskrit drama. Here, with Vidyāpati, the Avahāṭṭha dialect it is more or less restricted to court poetry of a formal, panegyrical character. In Bengal, Western (Sauraseni) Apabhraṃśa and its younger form Avahāṭṭha ceased to be employed as soon as Bengali came to its own. But the practice of using the language of Upper India on formal occasions at least seems to have lingered on as a tradition in the courts of Bengal princes, along with the courtly etiquette and ceremonial which was Rājpūt or Northern Indian; and it was revived in post-Moghal times, with the influx of Rājpūt and other officials from Northern India. In Bhārata-candra's 'Annaḍā-maṅgala' (middle of the 18th century), we have some Hindi verses in which a Bengal prince,
the ruler of Burdwan, and his ‘bhāt’ or court bard and emissary talk with one another. The use of Western Hindī, or Braj-bhākhā, by the Bengali poet is an echo of this revived tradition; which thus goes back to the days when Western Apabhraṃśa was cultivated by Bengal poets.

62. The language of the Caryās is the genuine vernacular of Bengal at its basis. It belongs to the Early or Old NIA. stage. The declension is still more like MIA. rather than NIA., although the NIA. system of post-positions has come in. The past base, when the verb is transitive, is still an adjective qualifying the object, as it is still the rule in Western Hindī. But the influence of the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa was very great on it: and occasionally of Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits of the second MIA. period. There is the old passive in «-ia»., which is lost to New Bengali, but which lingers in isolated instances in Middle Bengali. (See under Morphology: The Verb: Passive Voice.) The affix «-illa > -ila» has not as yet become universal for the past base, «-ia» forms, without the strengthening «-l» affix, being retained in a few instances (see below, under Morphology: Conjugation, Past Base). The text at times gives a form in «-ia», but from the commentary and from the rime it can be seen that the original word was in «-ila»: e.g., Caryā 31, «chājia» in text= «chājila» in commentary; 35, «laï» in text, to be read as «laïla», to rime with «kaelā»; so 50, «phulā» is for «phulilā», to rime with «tēlā»= «bhāila»? nēla?». Still, forms like «bujhia, bharia» were used side by side with «bujhila, milila» etc. The past (i.e., past participle) in «-iu, -u», as in «kī, bāpiu, gau, abāru, bikasāu, thāku, bāhu» etc., which, however are not many, are borrowed from Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. So also the pronominal forms like «jō, sō, kō, jasu, tasu», = Old Bengali «jē, kē, jā(ha), tā(ha)», also found in the Caryās; these, again, are not very common; and also the pronominal adverbs «jima, tima», and the pronominal adjectives «jaīsana, taīsana, jaīsō» (Old Bengali forms would be «*jēmanta, tēmanta; jaīhāṇa, taīhāṇa»). Echoes of the older literary Prakrits of the West are not absent (e.g., the «-ō» affix; stray forms like instrumental feminine in «-ia»: samāhia=
samādhya; retention of double consonants in a few cases; and an occasional phrase like « kim pi = kim api »). It seems that in these Caryās we have the first attempts at literary employment of the Bengali speech. And being but first attempts, the speech is not sure of its own forms, and leans on its stronger, better established (in a literary sense) sisters and aunts. The literary languages and models which the poets of the Caryās, Lui and Kānha, Bhusuku and Cāṭila, Saraha and Kukkuri, and the rest, had before them, were Sanskrit, the various literary Prakrits (of the Second MIA. stage), and Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, and the rich and ever growing literatures in them. Of these, the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa was in spirit and form nearest the vernaculars, presenting with them almost a similar stage of development. Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, again, was the most cultivated literary language based on a slightly archaic form of a contemporary vernacular: and its influence was paramount from Gujarat to Bengal. Naturally, it may be expected that there would be a great influence exerted by it on the Old Bengali of the period: especially when the latter was practising its first steps, so to say, in the hands of men fully familiar with the former. Hence it is not strange to find a number of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa forms in this offspring of Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. The manuscript in which the Caryās are preserved was written in Nepal, in a land where the scribes were perhaps more familiar with the standard Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa than with Bengali: at any rate, the readings of the poems as in the MS. sufficiently show that the scribe was not familiar with their dialect: and through this reason, the suppression of dialectal Bengali forms by others from the Western speech, at least in a few cases, is very likely; nay, it is proved by the correct reading often being given in the commentary, as in the case of the word « chāḍila » quoted above. Śaurasenī had already exerted a profound influence on its neighbour and erstwhile rival, Ardha-māgadhī, so much so that the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa affix « -u » for the noun had become established in the Eastern Hindī dialects (Awadhi etc.), the native Ardha-māgadhī « -e > -i » affix being entirely given up. The « -u » affix also invaded the Māgadhī area, but not to the same extent.
The MS. of the ‘Caryācarya-viniścaya’ was written in Nepal, where Maithili was current and was cultivated in the drama; and in South-eastern Nepal, the Morang country, Maithili was spoken. Hence, through contamination, it is not strange to find in the Caryā MS. two Maithili forms, ‘bhaṇathī’ and ‘bōlathi’ (= Old and Early Middle Bengali ‘bhaṇanti, bōlanti’) and one or two cases of use of ‘-a-’ instead of ‘-i-’ as the link vowel in the ‘-b-’ forms of the verb.

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

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

There cannot be any serious objection (which could be supported by a detailed study of the grammar of the language, as well as by taking into consideration the development of Modern Bengali) which can be urged against the Caryās as presenting the oldest connected specimens of a characterised Bengali speech that we have been enabled to possess. The language is
not 'Prakrit' or 'Apabhraṃśa,' as it has been urged by some, since it shows simplification of the MIA. double consonants (a dhāma < dhāmmā = dharma, jāma < jāmmā = janma, tānti = tānti = tantri, bāṭa < *vāṭṭa = vartma, āila < *āyilā = āyāta-ila-ka, hāḍa- < hāḍḍa, sēji = sēji < *sējjī = sāyyikā etc.), and has developed some genuine Bengali morphological forms. It is not 'Māgadhī,' i.e., Magahī, because no specifically Magahī characteristic is traceable, and the verb system is as yet primitive. And it is not an artificial jargon made up of shreds of different dialects, because, barring those few Western Apabhraṃśa forms, discussed above, there is nothing in its grammar which cannot be explained with reference to the development of Middle and Modern Bengali.¹

We have in these Caryās some of the oldest documents in any NIA. language, documents of prime importance for NIA. philology, which can be placed side by side with the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa fragments, in Hēma-candra, in the 'Kumāra-pāla-pratibōdhika,' and in other works; with the Avahatṭha fragments in the 'Prākṛta-Paiṅgala'; with the oldest Marathi fragments as in the epigraphical remains and in the 'Jñānēśvarī'; with the 'Prithirāja-Rāsau' in its primitive form; with the Old Western Rājasthāṇī remains, which are later in date; and also with the artificial Buddhist and Jain literature in Western Apabhraṃśa—like the 'Dōhā-kōsas' and the 'Subhāṣita-taṅgṛaha,' and the 'Bhavisatta-kaha,' the 'Nēmināhacarī,' the 'Samyama-mañjarī,' and other works.

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

¹ The importance of the Caryā-padas has not been sufficiently appreciated in Bengal, and only about half a dozen papers or notes on them have been published so far by Bengali scholars. They only valuable article is by Maulavī Muhammad Shahidullah, now of the department of Sanskritic studies in the University of Dacca; his paper (in the VSPdP., 1327, pp. 145-152) offers very satisfactory readings of some obscure passages, and on the whole is extremely helpful and suggestive. Prof. H. Jacobi cursorily refers to the language of the Caryās as being 'Alt-Bengalisch' (in the Introduction to the 'Sanatkumāra-carita,' pp. xxvii-xxviii, Munich, 1921).
and which is our oldest Middle Bengali text: roughly, before 1200 A. C. The authors who composed these poems are Lui-pá or Lüyi-páda (2 poems), Kukkurí (2 poems), Birüwā or Virūpa (1 poem), Guñ(J)arí (1), Câñila (1), Bhusuku (8), Kânha or Kṛṣṇa-páda (12), Kâmalī or Kambalâmbara (1), Dōmbî (1), Śânti (2), Mahittâ or Mahîdhâra (1), Bâjila or Vînâ-páda (1), Saraha or Sarōja-vajra (4), Śavara (2), Āja or Ārya-dêva (1), Dhenḏhaṇa (1), Dârika (1), Bhâdê or Bhâdra-páda (1), Tâlaka (1), Kâñkaṇa (1), Jayâ-nandî (1) and Guñjarî (1): 22 names in all. They are among the 84 Siddhas, or great miracle-working saints and teachers who are worshipped by the Mahâyâna Buddhists in Tibet and in Nepal, and about whom there are current a number of legends in Nepal, in Tibet and also in India. Their compositions have always been held in honour by the Northern Buddhists; these are even now sung by the Buddhists in Nepal (H. P. Śâstrî, VSPdP., 1829), and they were rendered into Tibetan and are included in the ‘Bstan-Hgyur’ (Tan-jur).¹

The date of one of these Siddha composers of the poems, Lui or Lüyi-páda, seems to be certain: he was an elder contemporary of Dipañkara Śrijâna, or Atiśâ, and they prepared a Buddhist Tântrika

¹ In the ‘Tan-jur,’ Cho XLVIII, there are translations of a mass of short poems (a reference to which I obtained from Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library) in the Prakritic dialects—Old Bengali, perhaps, and Western Apabhraṃśa, attributed to our poets of the Caryâs and to other Siddhas who are not represented in the ‘Caryâcaryâviniścaya.’ With the help of Cordier’s Catalogue of the ‘Tan-jur’ (‘Catalogue du Fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale,’ par P. Cordier, Deuxième Partie: Index du Bstan Hgyur, Tibétain 108-179, Paris, 1909), and through the courtesy of M. Jean Przyluski (of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris) I had copied out some 40 likely versions of these Indian songs from the volume concerned (Tibétain 157) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Przyluski read these for me, and we compared them with the Caryâs, and so far only one Caryâ poem agreed with a text from the ‘Tan-jur’ (Section 2, in Cho XLVIII, Tibétain 157, p. 26: the lines beginning ‘dñoś po yaǔ ni ma yin z’in, dñoś med la ni ma skyes pa’i,’ agreeing with Caryâ 29 in Śâstrî’s book, p. 46). This sufficiently demonstrates that the vernacular and Apabhraṃśa literature of the period 800-1200 A.C., or later, was to a large extent translated into Tibetan; a comparison of the text and the Tibetan translation, wherever this will be possible, is sure to help in the restoration of the former, which is generally in a very mutilated form).
work named ‘Abhiṣamaya-vibhaṅga.’ Ātiṣa went to Tibet in 1038 A. C., when he was 58. The literary life of Lui, when he composed these songs, can very well be placed in the second half of the 10th century. (H. P. Śāstrī, English Preface to the ‘Bauddha Gān Ī Dōhā,’ p. 2.) This period provisionally may be regarded as the upper limit for the Caryās: Lui seems to have been the most venerated in the group—there is a respectful reference to him in the poem by Dārika (No. 34), and in a poem by Kānha (No. 36), and he is worshipped even now in Bengal (cf. Śāstrī’s Preface): possibly he was the oldest. As many as 12 poems are by Kānha. It is quite possible that there were more Kānhas than one; the 12 poems, in most cases signed ‘Kānha, Kānḥu,’ are introduced as being ‘Kānha-pādānām, Kṛṣṇācārya-pādānām, Kṛṣṇa-pādānām, Kṛṣṇa(cārya?)-pādānām, Kṛṣṇa-vajra-pādānām.’ In the Tibetan ‘Tan-jur,’ there are apparently quite a number of Kṛṣṇas who figure as authors of Tāntrika works. The Cambridge University Library has a MS. of a work called ‘Hēvajrapāṇjikā Yōga-ratna-mālā,’ by ‘Pāṇḍitācārya Śrī-Kahṇa-(=Kānha)-pāda.’ It was written in Magadha during the 39th year of Gōvinda-pāla, the last king of Magadha (=c. 1199 A. C.), and was taken to Nepal, whence it was brought to Cambridge by D. Wright. (R. D. Banerji, ‘The Pālas of Bengal,’ p. 111.) This ‘Kahṇa’ must be one of the Kānhas, if there were several. That would place some of the poems in the second half of the 12th century, as the MS. can well be contemporaneous with the author.

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

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

« sākhi kariba Jālandhari-pāē :
pākhi (pāēi) na cāhaī [mōri] paṇḍiśēayē. »¹
I shall make Jālandhari-pāda (my) witness:

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

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

¹ The text as printed by H. P. Śāstrī runs thus: "Pāḍiśī kariba Jālandhari pāṭra / Pāḍiśī pā ṛāṇa mōri paṇḍīśē cādā." It has been emended in my quotation, following the reading and interpretation of the commentary.

16
is described as "Panditacarya Srī-Kahna-pāda." The word 'pañḍita-cārya,' in Caryā 36, as I read it, following the Sanskrit equivalent 'pañḍitācārya,' given in the commentary, can very well be a reference by Kahna to himself, the last verse usually giving the name or title of the poet: I shall call to witness my Guru Jālandhari-pāda; my Panditacārya (i.e., myself who am a great scholar) does not look at me (i.e., my knowledge I owe to the grace of my guru, and not to my studies and my being a Panditacārya). If the author of Caryā 36 were also the author of the Tantra work mentioned, as it can be reasonably supposed, then we would get c. 1200 A.C. as the lower limit for one Kahna at least; and consequently for Jālandhari and for Gōrańsk-a-nātha, and for the main personages who figure in the Gōpī-canda story, if that story has any basis in fact; and there is nothing to show that it does not have. This Kahna must have been the Siddha Kahna mentioned in the Tibetan and Indian lists of 84 Siddhas: and all the poems in the Caryās, as well as the Dōhā-kōṣa, may very well be by one and the same individual.

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

The Tibetan legends about the 84 Siddhas, including the poets of the Caryās, profess to give details about the life and history of them, but they are hardly reliable. (These have been translated into German, by A. Grünwedel in the 'Baessler Archiv,' Berlin, Vol. V.) Tārā-nātha,
in his 'History of Buddhism in India,' in Tibetan (German translation by A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869) also gives legends about them, but in the matter of chronology, the Tibetan authority is hopelessly confusing.

He, however, makes this interesting statement that at the time when the Tājiks and the Turks were ravaging Eastern India, i.e., at the end of the 12th century, the Yōgīs who followed Gōraṅa-nātha became devotees of Śiva (p. 255, Schiefner). Can this suggest a date for Gōraṅa-nātha? Tārā-nātha, however, gives elsewhere (p. 174, Schiefner) a date several centuries earlier for Gōraṅa. Among other interesting things, Tārā-nātha quotes a Bengali word (« Ajischa » in Schiefner, p. 205 = *āriśa = *āśa(a) » in Old Bengali, written आइश « aīs » come! in ordinary Bengali), as being uttered by Virūpa, who is one of the poets of the Čaryās.

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

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

1 E.g., Čaryā 6, अपंग मांसे हरिणा बैरी ‘apāṇa māṁsa hariṇā bairī 'the deer is a foe (to all) because of its own flesh'; cf. « Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana, » p. 78, बैरी हरिणा ल न मांसे जगतेर बैरी ‘jēna baiṛī hariṇī la ni māṁsa jagatēra bairī’; p. 88, अपाणार मांसे हरिणा जगतेर बैरी ‘apāṇāra māṁsa hariṇi jagatēra bairī’; also SKK., pp. 358-359: the lines on Sahajiyā Yōga practice are echoes of similar passages in the Čaryās; and the same may be said of lines from Middle Bengali works like the « Gōraṅa-vijaya. »
INTRODUCTION

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

Two poems ascribed to Jaya-dēva, the great Bengal poet of the 12th century, may be mentioned here. They are preserved in the Sikh Ādi
Granth,\(^1\) which is a collection, made in the 16th century, of devotional hymns composed by the Sikh Gurus and by saints of Northern India. The earliest of these hymns go back to the 12th century, and they embrace works of poets who lived in Aryan India from Bengal to the Panjab and right down to the Marathi country,—poems by Northern India saints like Râmânanda, and Kabîr, as well as by the Marathi poets like Trîlocana and Nâma-dēva being found in it. Jaya-dēva had become well-known in Northern India as a Vaiśāva saint and poet by the 16th century, and the two poems in the ‘Granth’ ascribed to him may really have been composed by him; but in their present form, they are sadly altered, and no one can recognise Bengali of any period in them. It seems very likely they were originally in the Western Apabhraṃsa as written in Bengal. Western character is noticeable in them: e.g., the < -u > affix for the nominative. There is strong influence of Sanskrit as well. They were later altered and mutilated to their present shape.

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

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\(^1\) One of these occurs under Rāg Gūjarî, as the last poem: this one has been given in the original by Trumpp, in his Translation of the ‘Granth’; the other under Rāg Mārū. (I am indebted to my colleague in the University, Mr. Indu-Bhūshaṇ Banerji, for these references.)
and their poetic charm they had an enormous popularity. Avahaṭṭha poems similar in form and spirit to some hymns by Jaya-dēva are found in the ‘Prākṛta-Paṅgala,’ e.g., the poems at pp. 334, 570, 576, 581, 586. Jaya-dēva, who was a Vaiśṇava of the Sahajiyā type, as later legends would seem to testify, might very well have written in the vernacular of the country. However, it seems that even the learned Paṇcūts, who would scorn anything composed in a vulgar tongue, were charmed with these padas of Jaya-dēva; and quite early in their history, some worthy scholar, or a group of scholars, it may be contemporaneously with the poet himself, rather than lower themselves by reading or chanting poetry in the vernacular, touched these poems up a bit, and garbed them in the dignity of Sanskrit, of a sort, just as it would not be very difficult to restore into Latin a line of Old Italian. After that some laborious verses in Sanskrit, in the most approved classical style, were composed, and these verses told the story of the love which is the theme of the songs; and thus they were formed into a sort of framework for the songs, the whole being arranged in a connected poem of 12 cantos. This made-up work is one of the most popular books in Sanskrit literature, and, under the name of ‘Gīta-govinda,’ is well-known wherever Sanskrit is studied. Later on, when there was a Vaiśṇava revival in the 16th century in Bengal and Orissa, it was venerated as a religious work,—it was enjoined to be sung before the image of Jagan-nātha in the temple at Puri, as we know from an inscription of 1499 A. C. in the temple. The style of the songs had an enormous influence on the Bengali lyric. Jaya-dēva, together with the poets of the Čaryās, stands at the head of Vaiśṇava and other lyric poetry in Bengal; and it would have been a great thing if we had his songs in the language in which he possibly wrote them. But undoubtedly they have been so carefully preserved because they happened to be rendered into Sanskrit: like other popular things in vernacular literature, e.g., the songs of Caṇḍī-dāsa, with the passing of centuries they would have been altered beyond recognition to medieval or present-day Bengali. The languages of the Čaryās and of the ‘Śri-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrtitana’ have been preserved only because they were
fortunately locked up in old MSS., which were not replaced by later copies in which the language would certainly have been altered.

66. The next great landmark in the study of Bengali, after the Caryas, is the ‘Srī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana’ of Caṇḍī-dāsa. This work, from point of view of language, is of unique character in Middle Bengali literature. There is a fairly copious Middle Bengali literature, of which the most important, and by far the earliest extant works are the ‘Padas’ of Caṇḍī-dāsa, the ‘Rāmāyaṇa’ of Kṛtti-vāsa, the ‘Padmā-purāṇa’ of Vijaya-gupta, the ‘Srī-Kṛṣṇa-vijaya’ of Mālādhara Vasu, the ‘Mahābhārata’ of Sañjaya, Kaviudra Paramēśvara, and Śrikanṣa Nandi, the ‘Dharma-maṅgala’ of Mānīka Gānguli, the ‘Caṇḍī-kāvya’ of Mūkunda-rāma Cakravartī, the ‘Padmā-purāṇa’ of Vaṇīś-dāsa, the ‘Manasaś Bhāsān’ of Kētakā-dāsa Kṣemānanda; besides, the poems about Gopī-canda, and other pre-Moslem romance; and Buddhist treatises on religious ceremonial and ritual, like the ‘Śunya-purāṇa’ of Rāmāi Paṇḍita; in addition to numerous fragments from diverse poets. The Middle Bengali period in literature is continued down to 1800, and a mass of songs, proverbs and popular poetry, which have been collected in recent times, also properly belongs to the Middle Bengali period. The help afforded by Middle Bengali literature, which covers a period from the 14th to the 18th century, is not as great as it might be expected, in tracing the history of Bengali. Early works as a rule have not been preserved in their original shapes, almost always in language and frequently in subject matter. The oldest MSS., mainly on paper, and also frequently on palm-leaf, seldom go beyond the middle of the 16th century, and commonly these are of the 17th and 18th centuries; and these give but late recensions of earlier works, in which it is useless to expect anything like a faithful representation of the author’s language. By the beginning of the 15th century (but the tendency or movement had started considerably earlier) a standard literary Bengali grew up and rapidly came to be used all over Bengal. This was the more or less conventional language of verse: of prose literature there was little or nothing before 1800; and it is prose which properly represents, under ordinary circumstances, the normal habits of a
language. MSS. do frequently show local forms: but in an ordinary Middle Bengali MS., no matter where it was written, we always find standard literary forms which are even now unknown to the spoken language of the place, side by side with the genuine dialectal ones. The Bengali literary language is a 'high' dialect, which has utilised forms from the various spoken dialects, and these latter are from the beginning independent of literary Bengali. If we could find a MS., say, of Kṛṣṭi-vāsa (15th century), which preserves the language of the poet intact, its importance would be inestimable. But there is no Middle Bengali work dating from before 1500 which is preserved in a contemporary MS.; except one, and that is the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana.'

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

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

1 Rai Bahadur Yōgēśh Chandra Vidyānīḍhi called into question the genuineness of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana' in a paper to the VSPdP. for San 1326. A study of the language with reference to the development of Bengali will show that this great and versatile scholar of Bengal is off the track here. Satṣāh Chandra Rāy and Basanta Kumār Chatterji in the VSPdP. for the same year have contested the issues raised by Y. C. Vidyānīḍhi in favour of the genuineness of the work.
Modern Bengali, in the hands of subsequent copyists. The grammar of the speech of the 'Śrī-Κṛṣṇa-Κīrttana' gives a clue to many of the forms of New Bengali. The speech here is not what may be called Old Bengali, taking Old, Middle and New in the sense in which they are used with regard to the Germanic and Romanic languages. The Āryās are in Old Bengali, and are comparable to Old English (Anglo-Saxon) remains in the study of English: Old in the sense that the speech belongs partly to an ancient stage rapidly passing away. The 'Śrī-Κṛṣṇa-Κīrttana' belongs to what may be called the Early Middle Bengali stage: and its importance in the study of Bengali, in the absence of other genuine texts, is as great as that of the works of Layamon, Orm and Chaucer in English.

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

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

The sound system is practically the same as that of late MIA., only there has been a simplification of double consonants and transformation of a nasal preceding a stop to a mere nasalisation (often expressed in writing by leaving the nasal letter untouched), with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; «ā» probably had not been drawn up to its present open «ō» [ɔ] value; final vowels were retained, except where there was simplification of groups like «-iā» -1»; and there is no indication of «i» or «u» epenthesis. Elision of intervocal labials and gutturals seems to have been in force, as in second MIA.; and the occurrence of euphonic «y, w» between vowels. The genitive affix was «ā, āha < -asya, -ēra, -ara, -ka < kēra, kara, kaa », and, in the plural,
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rāi Sāhib Dinesh Chandra Sen (e.g., in the 'Vaṅga Sāhitya Paricaya,' Calcutta University, 1914) refers to the 11th-12th centuries the poems of 'Māṇik-candra Rājār Gān' and 'Mayanāmatīr Gān,' narrating the Göpi-canda legend (cf. p. 121), which were taken down from the recitation of North Bengal villagers and edited respectively by Grierson in 1878 and by Bishweshwar Bhaṭṭāchārīya in 1908; to the 10th-11th centuries he refers the 'Śūnya-pūrāṇa,' the MS. of which, according to its editor, Nagendrā-nāth Vasu, is only 300 years old, and which, as Y. C. Vidyānidhi has shown (VSPdP., 1316, No. 4), must belong to a period subsequent to the 13th century. Certain distichs embodying the proverbial wisdom of the land,—agricultural maxims, and comments on life and on things, which are attributed to 'Dāka' and 'Khanā,' two personages (the second a woman) about whom there are numerous legends current in Assam and Bengal and who are connected with Varāha-mihira of Ujjayinī, the famous astronomer of the 5th-6th centuries A. C., Dinesh C. Sen refers to the 8th-12th centuries: but all these proverbial distichs attributed to Dāk and Khanā were collected within recent years. All these above-mentioned works, and some others too, occasionally do represent
archaie or pseudo-archaic forms, it is true: the Śūnya-purāṇa and similar Buddhistic works show a surprisingly large number of old forms for MSS. only 300 years old. But in their grammar, there is nothing archaic, generally: they are good Middle Bengali, although some of the poems, with their loose metre, their antiquated spelling, and their occasional old forms, do present an archaic look at times: but it is impossible, on both philological and literary grounds, to relegate them to any period before 1400: although their lost prototypes, models, or originals might quite reasonably be regarded as having belonged to the 14th, or even the 13th century.

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

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

In phonetics, the most noticeable thing, found in the ŚKK., is the weakening of independent <i>(u)</i> after <ā, ā>, resulting in new diphthongs <āi, āi, āu, āu>, which were regarded as one aksara in which the second element was pronounced very short, and the first element tended to be modified; this was followed by epentheses of <-i, -u>; <-enta <-anta> of the present participle is found as <-itā>, the change of <-ent- > -sti > -titc > <it- > <it-> having been carried out during the preceding period. The aspiration of the nasal in the groups ḍ = ṇṛ < -nh- >, ṇ = ṇṛ < -nh- > is lost by the middle of the 15th century. Final <ā> seems
EARLY AND LATE MIDDLE BENGALI

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

(c) Late Middle Bengali: 1500-1800.

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

Epenthetic «-u» became «-i» during the earlier part of this period, and came to modify the preceding and following «-a» and «-a» sounds, and ultimately were dropped entirely in West Bengali dialects by the close of the 18th century. Affixes like इं «-i»?, verbal or nominal, were contracted, and were gradually turned to the monophthong [i, e], written -ia?, -a, in many dialects: राखिया, राईया, राख्या, रेख्या, रेख्या, रेखा, having kept [ia>ia>ea>ea>e: raikhia > raikhia > raikhe < raikhsa > raikhsa > rekhe]. In West Central Bengal, along the Hugli River, the habit of vowel-mutation and general contraction of syllables begins, and this invades the other dialects as well. The aspiration of श «-rha» is continued till the beginning of the 17th century and then is gradually lost, Middle Bengali words like পড়ে «pārhè <pāthati> reads and পড়ে «pāre <patati> falls becoming identical (পড়ে) in Modern Bengali.

There is a great influence of Persian on the vocabulary, especially in the 18th century; and to a slight extent, of Portuguese. The loss of the final «-a» gives an impetus to a system of metre based on stress,—
tendencies towards which are not absent in the 14th century; but the
syllabic metre is perfected and holds the field in all formal poetry, the
stressed metre being confined to popular poetry, songs, lullabies, charms,
etc., and its presence and importance are recognised by learned people only
by the end of the 19th century.

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


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

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

The phonetic changes, ushering in the Calcutta colloquial as the
most advanced or progressive Bengali dialect (the other dialects remaining
true to the Middle Bengali), were mostly evident by the second half of
the 18th century: only, the close « e » , as derived from an earlier « ā »
through the influence of « i » , seems to have been more open in the
18th century than in the early 19th. There has been some influence
of the literary speech in modifying the normal growth of the dialects,
including even that of Calcutta. कपर < ph, bh > developed their spirant
values [f, f; v, v] in the standard colloquial during the beginning of the
19th century.
The enormous and evergrowing influence of English on Bengali, in vocabulary, and in some cases in idiom and in expressions, is the most noteworthy thing in New Bengali: and the influence of Sanskrit has been placed on a different footing, at least in the best writers, restricting it to borrowing of words pertaining to higher culture only, and often to coining of new words with the help of Sanskrit vocabularies, to meet the necessity of having synonyms for terms of Western life, institutions and science.

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

The dialects of Bengali have some important points of agreement with Maithili, the most noteworthy being the presence of the root «ach» to be; the speech of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur District south of the
Ganges, and Santal Parganas—the 'Chikā-chiki' area of Maithilit) and of Mithilā, tracts adjoint to Bengal proper, forming probably the basis on which the dialects of Bengali grew up in Bengal. From Aṅga, the Aryan speech (Māgadhī, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa) seems to have passed down to Rāḍha, and crossed over the Ganges to Puṇḍra-vardhana or Varṇendra, where the Aryan language might also have come overland from Mithilā. Along the Ganges, it spread from Aṅga, Puṇḍra and Rāḍha to Vaṅga. A wave of emigration and cultural influence from Mithilā joined forces with Varṇendra, and later, perhaps, from Vaṅga, and the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa was carried to North Bengal and Kāma-rūpa, and thence further east into the Assam Valley. From Rāḍha, the language spread among the Īḍra tribes of South-west Bengal, and from thence it was taken to what is now Orissa. From South-west Bengal, the Īḍra from of Māgadhī advanced westwards, in to Jhāḍakhaṇḍa (Chota Nagpur) and South Kōsala (East Central Provinces), where it came in touch with the speech of South Bihar (Magahī) and with West Magadhan (Bhōjpuriyā), as well as with the Chattis-garhī form of Eastern Hindī. With the last two, the Oṛiyā speech shows some points of agreement: e.g., the retention of singular and plural distinction in the verb forms obtains in Chattis-garhī, Bhōjpuriyā and Oṛiyā, and the affix «-man» for the plural of nouns and pronouns of Chattis-garhī is also found in Oṛiyā, as «-mānā». The Aryan speech seems to have been in two forms in Rāḍha, one of which used as a substantive auxiliary the root «thā» along with the root «ach», and employed the word «mān-, mān- < mānava » for indicating the plural of names of sentient beings, and also retained the affix «-n» < «-ānām» (the OIA. genitive plural affix) in the oblique plural (e.g., «kāru-āchāī» is doing, but «kāru-thilā» was doing: cf. Bengali কৃতিতেছিল < kāritē-chilā; «lōkā-mānē» men, «lōkāṇ-kā=lōkā-n-kā, lōkā-mānā-ṇ-kā» of men); and the other form of Rāḍha speech did not have these characteristics. From the former originated Oṛiyā, and the so-called Bengali dialect of South-west Midnapur. The other is the source of ordinary West Bengali, which, again, falls into two groups, one of the West, and the other of the East on the two sides of the Bhāgirathī.
71. The dialects of Bengali fall into four main classes, agreeing with the four ancient divisions of the country: Râdha; Puṇḍra or Varêndra; Vaṅga; and Kāma-rûpa. Râdha and Varêndra, and to some extent Kāma-rûpa, have points of similarity which are absent in Vaṅga; and the extreme Eastern forms of the Vaṅga speech, in Sylhet, Kachar, Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong, have developed some phonetic and morphological characteristics which are foreign to the other groups. A great deal of these have unquestionably an ethnic basis. The differences in pronunciation and stress, as well as in general enunciation and grammar, which are observable in the Bengali of a Manbhum peasant, and in that of one from Maimansing, are certainly connected with the fact that one is mainly Kôl (or mixed Kôl and Dravidian), and the other modified Boço (Tibeto-Burman), by origin.

An intermingling of dialects, in addition to the dominant influence of the literary language, has made the question complicated. There were also class dialects, spoken by members of the same class or caste scattered over a large area. Ever since the beginning of her history, Bengal has been receiving settlements of people from the West, from Bihar, from the Benares and Gorakhpur side, from Oudh, from the Panjab, from Gujarat, and from the South—from Orissa, and even from the Dravidian lands. Sometimes these peoples were numerous enough to form self-contained communities, which stereotyped themselves into castes, thanks to the exclusiveness of medieval Hindu society; and when they became Bengali speakers, their speeches often came to retain certain peculiarities, and merited the name of ‘class dialects.’ The speech of respectable Brahmans and others scattered all over the country would thus retain some class features, mainly in vocabulary and idiom, occasionally in phonetics and morphology, despite the approximation to local dialects. A respectable non-Brahman caste of West Bengal, for example, has some peculiarities of speech, one of which, the confusion between ः <र> and ः <र>, is noticed in and about Calcutta even now, although education is fast driving it out; and the Kaivarttas or Bûrîs, Bhûîn-mâlis or Râjbaṅṣîs, have their communal peculiarities in speech.
Communities which have exerted a dominant cultural influence, like the Brahmans, have imposed their stamp on the speech as a whole. But as this sort of communal inter-dialectal influencing has been going on for centuries, guided in some cases by notions and theories of grammar and good usage, nothing very much definite can be insisted upon it.

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

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

The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single Primitive Bengali Speech, but they are derived from various local forms of late Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, which developed some common characteristics that may be called pan-Bengali: e.g., -ila, -iba for the past and future base, rather than -ala, -aba: -iā rather than simple -i for the conjunctive; -ēra <kēra> besides -ara<kara> for the genitive; -kē, -rē for the dative, rather than -ku as in Oriyā: etc. These pan-Bengali features link the dialects together as members of a single group, and enabled them to be attached to a composite literary language as a matter of course. Taking
The materials accumulated in the LSL., Vol. V, Part I, and the monographs on Bengali dialects and dialectal vocabularies in the VSPdP. have been made the basis of the above tabulation.

1 Chakma in the dialect of the hill people of Chittagong. Mayang or Bishnupuriyā is spoken by a few people in Manipur: it is much mixed up with Tibeto-Burman, and in the LSL., it is regarded as a dialect of Assamese, but its forms show unquestionably a greater affinity with Eastern Vānga.
DIFFERENCES AMONG THE DIALECTS

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

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

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

Phonetic.

The vowel system, in general, is more conservative in Vanga and North Bengal than in Radha and other parts: Middle Bengali conditions, with epenthetic < -i- >, are better preserved in the former than in the rest. East Radha, the Standard Colloquial, has advanced more than any other dialect in effecting a total change from the Common Bengali type by introducing largely the habits of mutation, vowel harmony etc. e.g.: East Radha ক'রে, কোরে [kore], রেখে [rekhe], দিশি [difi], বিলিতি [bili] = Typical East Bengali [kōira, raikha, deʃi, bilati], respectively having done
having kept, native, European. The open ə < ə > figures as 'आ' [ə] in Rājha, but in Varêndra, North Bengal and Vânga it is found as a slightly higher sound, [ɛ]; and the close ə < ə > of West Bengali frequently becomes open [ɛ] in Vânga: e.g., Bengali ভেল oil, এক one, দেশ country, কোন why are found as [teːl, æ:k, deːʃ, klaːno] in West Bengali, but as [teːl, ɛːk, deːʃ, klaːn] in Typical East Bengali. [ɛ] is occasionally present in West Bengali as a final sound, but it is not a characteristic sound of the Standard Colloquial. The tendency in West Bengali is to turn the ə < ə > [ə] sound, as in English dot, to a close ə < ə > as much as possible: this tendency is invading other dialects, but it was foreign to these. ə < ə > and ə < ə >, derived and original, are by for the most common vowel sounds of West Bengali; and ə < u, i > are laxly pronounced in West Central Bengali, and tend to become ə < o, e >. Late Middle Bengali front [a] has merged into the central or back [ə] in the Calcutta colloquial. West Bengali ə < o >, original or derived, often becomes ə < u > in Vânga: this trait is met with in the extreme West Bengali area too. West Bengali and North Central Bengali have kept intact the original nasalised vowels; these seem to have also been maintained in North Bengali, but in the Vânga dialects nasalisation is entirely dropped: only in certain Eastern Vânga dialects, e.g., Chittagongese, nasalisation has recently developed from a Bengali intervocal ə < m > (e.g., আমার, আমার < *āmār > অমার < *ār >). The West Rājha dialect in characterised by a fondness for nasalisation, especially in the verbal indeclinable in ə < iə >; in literary Middle Bengali, this West Rājha feature is prominent in some authors: e.g., রাক্ষিয়া < râkhîya > West Rājha রাখ্যা রাখে [rakhē], in Middle Bengali written রাখিয়া < râkhiya >.

The stress system in West Central Bengali is predominantly initial, both in words and phrases. This results in the dropping of vowels in unstressed medial syllables, and thus in shortening of the forms of words (e.g., West Bengali কোষ্ঠী পাথর [koʃṭi pathor] touch stone = North and North Central Bengali কষ্ঠী [koʃṭi], from Old Bengali [koʃṭi] = MIA. < *kaʃsa-vatṭia > = Skt. < karṣa-patṭika >), and in polysynthetic expressions. (See later, under Stress System in Morphology.) The stress system in other dialects has not been properly studied; the general tendency now seems
to be to bring it to the head of the word, but non-initial stress is still present in many forms of folk-Bengali.

As regards consonants, Vanga is easily distinguished by some special features, e.g., the disaspiration of the medial aspirates in all cases: \( \text{gh, dh, bh} \) being pronounced in all cases as \( \text{g, d, b} \) and \( \text{jh} \) as \( \text{z} \); and \( \text{qh-, dh-, rh-} \) as \( \text{q-, d-, r-} \). In other dialects, it may be said that the old values are preserved initially: only \( \text{bh} \) tends become a bilabial or denti-labial spirant, \( \text{v} \) or \( \text{v} \): and mediately, there is a tendency to lose aspiration of all sorts, of the tenues as well. The palatals \( \text{ch, jh} \) are pronounced as dental affricates \( \text{ts, dz z} \) in Vanga and in North Bengal; in Rāḍha and Varendra, the old values of palatal affricates, made with the front of the tongue flattened out and pressed on the supra-alveolar region, still obtain, but Varendra has been much under the influence of Vanga in this respect, and the tongue-tip-alveolar affricates are also heard there. The latter sound occasionally is found in Rāḍha also. \( \text{q-, d-, r-, rh-} \) are pronounced as \( \text{r, rh} \) in Vanga and North Bengal; and although rarely in some of the Vanga tracts \( \text{r} \) does occur, the absence of it can be said to characterise the eastern dialects. \( \text{n-, l-} \) are interchangeable in Rāḍha; and a North Bengali characteristic is the omission of initial \( \text{r-} \), or the intrusion of it in a word beginning with a vowel (e.g., \( \text{rām} \) for \( \text{ām} \) mango, and \( \text{ām} \) for \( \text{Rām} \) like the Londoner's \( \text{h-} \)). Intervocal \( \text{h-} \) is weak in all dialects, except in West Rāḍha, where \( \text{h-} \) is often brought in to give force to a stressed, emphatic syllable. Initial \( \text{h-} \) is preserved in West Central and in North Central Bengali; but it is very weak in Vanga and in North Bengali. In Vanga it is generally dropped; and in many parts of Vanga, a glottal stop is substituted for it: e.g., Standard Literary Bengali \( \text{hāib} \) will be (3rd person) = West Rāḍha \( \text{hōbō} \), West Central \( \text{hōbō} \), Typical East Bengli \( \text{ōibō} \). This dropping of \( \text{h} \) is another peculiarity of most of the Vanga dialects. The single \( \text{s} \) of Common Bengali, derived from \( \text{s, s, s} \) of OIA., tends to become \( \text{h} \) in initial positions (and in rare cases mediately) in Vanga, and in initial and other positions in North Bengali. It is a regular characteristic of Assamese, where
the sibilant became an \( \text{x} \) (e.g., Assamese \( \text{mānu} \text{h} \text{a} \text{mānu} \text{s} \text{a} \text{bāhi} \text{bāsi} \text{etc.})\): in Assamese now it is the unvoiced guttural spirant \[x\]: but in Vāṅga this tendency was checked, and was not allowed to have full play, probably through resistance of communities speaking West Bengali dialects. \(-y-\) in a consonant nexus brings about epenthesis in Vāṅga and North Bengali, and to some extent in Varēndra; and the groups \( \text{k} \text{s} \text{j} \text{n} \text{h} \text{m} \text{g} \text{g} \text{y} \text{y} \text{m} \text{y} \text{y} \), pronounced like \( \text{kkhy} \text{gg} \text{yy} \text{my} \text{y} \), behave in the same way; Rāḍha is free now from this \(-y-\) \(-i-\) epenthesis.

Eastern, especially South-eastern Vāṅga, is remarkable for further changes in phonetics. \( \text{k} \text{p} \) initial or intervocal, tend generally to be spirantised to \[x, \text{f}\] and \[\text{f}\] frequently is reduced to \[\text{h}\] in Chittagongese. There is elision of single intervocal stops and aspirates on a large scale in South-eastern Vāṅga (Chittagong); where also the groups \(-\text{l-s-}\) \(-\text{l-z-}\), \(-\text{r-s-}\) \(-\text{r-z-}\) (where the \(-\text{s-}\) is the verb root \( \text{s} \text{ā} \text{h} \text{ch} \)), develop into \(-\text{l-g(y)-}\) \(-\text{rg(y)-}\): e.g., Standard Bengali \( \text{cāli} \text{yā} \text{cī} \text{kāri} \text{yā} \text{cī} \text{cāli} \text{yā} \text{cī} \text{kāri} \text{yā} \text{cī} \) \text{I have walked}, \text{I have done} = \text{Chittagongese} \( \text{tsāil-sī} \text{kāir-sī} \text{tsoilzī} \text{koirzi} \text{tsolgyī} \text{koirgyī} \text{tsolgi} \text{koirgi} \); Standard Bengali \( \text{ku} \text{ṛi} \text{ṛ} \text{a} \) \text{kūriyā} \text{lāzy} = \text{Chittagongese} \( \text{kūriyā} \text{kūryā} \text{kūrgyā} \text{etc.}

\text{Morphological.}

In the declension of the noun, ‘South-west Bengali’ shows its affinity to Oriyā by possessing the affix \(-\text{mā} \text{nā} \text{nā} \) for the plural, and the ablative affix \(-\text{u}\): cf. Oriyā \(-\text{mā} \text{nā} \text{u} \text{u} \). Rāḍha proper hast he affix \(-\text{ādi-} \text{ēra} \text{dērā}\) for the genitive plural and oblique plural; and \(-\text{dērā}\) is found in Varēndra also, but seems to be absent in North Bengali, and not to be popular with the Vāṅga dialects. The literary dialect prefers \(-\text{ādika} \text{+} \text{era} \text{ādi-kērā} \text{-dīgērā} \). West Rāḍha has the Common Bengali plural affix गुला < कुला in the form of "गुला-क", East Rāḍha as "गूनौ", Varēndra as "गुला", North Bengali as "गुला", "गिला", "गिला", "ला" and Vāṅga as "गुलाईन, गुन"; and East Vāṅga "-āin < -āni" is an old affix which is based on the genitive plural affix "-ānām" of OIA. Rāḍha (‘South-West Bengali,’ West Rāḍha, West Central Bengali), Varēndra and Kāma-rūpa agree in having "-kē,-kā" as the proper affix
DIALECTAL DECLENSION & CONJUGATION

for the dative, whereas the Vânga dialects prefer « -rē » (except Chakma). The locative affix is « -tē » in Râdha, « -tē, -t » in Varêndra, and « -t » in Kâmarûpa and Vânga. The post-positions are numerous, and each group shows its special predilections: e.g., Râdha would prefer सङे « sângē » with, but Vânga सङे « sâthē », and in some parts लगे « lâgē ».

As regards pronouns, West Râdha has strong forms like « mohâr̥» māhār̥ » my = Standard Bengali মাঝে « môr̤ », and North Varêndra and North Bengali show, apparently as a result of Maithili influence, forms with « h- » like « ham- » for আমি « āmî- » I etc. The Vânga dialects have the affix « -gō » which is added to the singular genitive to form the genitive plural: e.g., « môr̤-gō, tôr̤-gō, tā-gō » our, your, their. This « -gō » affix is found in Râdha as well, but employed differently: « āmā-gō, tômā-gō » our, your. In Varêndra and North Bengal, this « -gō » is apparently extended to « gō-r, ghō-r, ghar » . South-east Vânga has developed a double form for the 3rd personal pronoun: « hi-tē » for চে « sē » he, she.

In conjugation, there are some noteworthy points of divergence, specially between Western Bengali and Eastern Bengali. South-west Bengali has the affix « -u » for the second person: « tui cālu, cāl-l-u (cāl-n-u, cân-n-u), cāl-b-u » thou walkest, thou didst walk, thou shalt walk: this « -u » is found in Varêndra and in North Bengal. The affix « -i » for the first person, past tense, is found in « South-west Bengali » (as in Orijâ) and in Western Râdha: « mui di-l-i » I gave; but it is absent in the other dialects. The past first person affix « -(i)lum, -lū, -ilō » is found in Râdha and in Kâmarûpa, and obviously it existed in Varêndra as well: the Vânga form « -ilām » has been adopted in the « sādhu-bhāṣā, » and « -ilām » -ilām » has been super-imposed on most dialects, including even the West Central (i.e. Standard, Colloquial) Dialect. In the formation of the compound tenses, the progressive tenses show a difference in Râdha and Varêndra on the one hand, and in Vânga on the other: the latter formed it with the present participle in « -ite » + the verb substantive, whereas in the former, it seems to be made, not with the « -ite » participle, but with
a different verbal form + the verb substantive: e.g., literary Bengali চলিবেছ (in prose) « চলিবেছ », চলিবে (in poetry only) « চলিবে » , both meaning is walking, = Rāḍha dialects, 'South-west Bengali,' West Rāḍha, and East Rāḍha, respectively [চলিবেছ, চলিবেছ, চলিবেছ], Varendra [চলিবেছ], which are forms without « -itē »; but in West and South Vaṅga [tsoilte-se]. West Rāḍha occasionally has a past perfect with the adjective in « -l- »: e.g., গেলিল গেলিল-চিলা, for Common Bengali গীলিল গীলিল-চিলা হয়েছিল « গীলিল-চিলা » had gone. Eastern and South-eastern Vaṅga dialects are characterised by the « -r- » forms for the progressive tense: which are discussed at their proper place in Morphology.

74. Political and social reasons have brought about the present unity of speech in Bengal, despite the fact of dialects. From the time of the Pālas, the greater part of Bengal formed portions of one empire. Gauḍa and Vaṅga are frequently spoken of together, Gauḍa meaning North Central Bengal, West Bengal, and the Western part of the Delta, and Vaṅga including not only Bengal beyond the Brahmaputra, but also a considerable part of the Delta. Brahmans were settled in the country from very early times in the history of Aryan Bengal. They first established themselves in the Aryanised parts, Varendra and Rāḍha, and thence spread to Vaṅga and elsewhere; and they formed a common intellectual aristocracy for Bengal, bound together by the closest ties of social unity. The Brahmans, both of Varendra and Rāḍha, who trace their descent from a common ancestry, rendered, together with the Kāyasathas, who were partly the landed aristocracy of Bengal, perhaps the greatest service in uniting the four Bengals, the masses of which could not have any notions of kinship and union. Rāḍha and Varendra Brahmans formed settlements in Vaṅga, and those who were settled in Vaṅga kept up their marital and social relations with their kinsmen in the West, even when separated by hundreds of miles, throughout the medieval (Moslem) times down to the present day. It was an object lesson in social and communal unity for the other sections of the people. If it had not been brought about by some sort of political union under the Pālas just when the foundations of the Bengali language were laid, and
by the dispersion of a well-organised Brahman community all over Bengal, and Kāyastha participation in their efforts, the evolution of a common nationality and of one type of culture and literature among the people of heterogeneous origin in West Bengal, in East Bengal, in North Bengal, would have been extremely problematic. There would have grown up, linguistically and culturally, three Bengals—Rāḍha, Varēndra and Vaṅga,—North Bengal going to Kāma-rūpa (Assam), and the Delta being divided up between Rāḍha and Vaṅga: and each of these Bengals almost as self-contained as Orissa or Assam. In this way, Bihar has been split up into two tracts: the Ganges has its share in this division, no doubt, but the absence of political union and of a common intellectual aristocracy are among the reasons that the very slight dialectal differences between Maithili and Magahi have not been bridged over by a common literary language, and the two peoples speaking these dialects united into one.

Of all the extra-Bengali dialects contiguous to Bengali, namely, Maithili, Magahi, Assamese and Oriyā, it is the last which has the greatest sense of closeness with Bengali. Magadha lost all her ancient culture and her glory, and she gradually became a part of Hindostan. Maithili and Bengali scholars kept up an intimate intellectual communion for some centuries, but socially Mithilā Brahmans and Bengal Brahmins formed distinct communities, and when from the end of the 16th century the University of Nadiyā took up the study of Nyāya seriously, Bengal students ceased to go to Mithilā, and all entente with the ‘Tirahūṭa’ or Maithila Paṇḍits ceased. Orissa, with her independence, and her high culture, her contiguity to a great Dravidian people, the Telugus, and her openness to be influenced culturally by the Dravidian South, as well as with her developing her peculiar alphabet from that current in Bengal and all Eastern India, would have drifted away from Bengal as much as Mithilā and Assam. But the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri has always attracted Bengali pilgrims, and in this way some sort of connection with the heart of Orissa was kept up by the Bengali people; and the personality of Caitanya, who was received with as much enthusiasm in Orissa as in Bengal, served as a strong link in binding the two peoples. The Vaiṣṇava
revival under Caitanya gave an additional impetus towards effecting the solidarity of Bengal. It gave an exalted expression to religious impulses and emotions which are peculiarly Bengali; and it considerably increased the stock of national literature. The Vaiśṇavism of Caitanya spread into Orissa, where it was whole-heartedly received; and there it did not weaken Oṛiyā culture, but on the other hand gave a distinct impetus to Oṛiyā literature, which became as firmly established as that of Bengal. Through the Vaiśṇavism of Caitanya and his personality, a communion of spirit between the Oṛiyā and Bengali peoples has been established, in which the speakers of the other Magadhan speeches have no part.

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

75. With the Moslem conquest, the united tracts of Rāḍha, Varendra, Bāgarī (the Delta), Vaṅga with Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Caṭṭala (Chittagong), and West Kāma-rūpa received a common name, 'Bangālāh' or Bengal, which is merely an extension of the appellation for the people of Vaṅga or East Bengal. The various dialects of the provinces which were members of one family group did not rejoice in a common name even when a literary standard was fixed and generally adopted. These now came to acquire the common name of the 'Language of Bengal,' Bengali. The Persian-using Moslems (and following them the Portuguese) first called the language by the name which came to be applied to the whole country—« zabān-i-Bangālāh » (and « Idioma Bengalla »). The people themselves spoke of their native speech merely as « bhaṣā » or current speech, as opposed to Sanskrit or Persian: and the word « prākṛta », to mean the language of the land, was frequently used by the Pāṇḍits. The term Gauḍa, which at first referred to West and North Central Bengal generally, the tract the speech of which
was regarded as the standard form of Bengali, came gradually to be used with regard to the language. In the 16th century, Nadiya is described as being within Gauḍa-dēsa; and the Vaṅga country or East Bengal, as well as the dialect of Vaṅga, is contrasted with the land and speech of Gauḍa. The first native name for Bengali was thus « Gauḍa-bhāṣā, » probably coming into use as early as the 16th century. This name continued down to the beginning of the 19th century, nay, even later, side by side with the new name « Vaṅga-bhāṣā » or « Bāṅgālā-bhāṣā » . Rājā Rām Mōhan Rāy, the first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother tongue, called his work 'Gauḍiya Vyākaraṇa' (in English, 'Grammar of the Bengali Language,' published in 1833, but finished several years earlier). Madhusūdan Datta, the poet, refers to the people of Bengal as চৌড়-জন « Gauḍa-jana » in his 'Mēghanāda-vadha Kāvyā,' in the sixties of the last century. The Persian name for the language, « zabān-i-Bangālā », and the Hindūstānī form of it, « Bangāli zabān », were heard in the law-courts; and the name « Bangālā », in its Bengali form বাঙ্গালা « Bāṅgālā », later বাঙ্গলা, বাঙ্গীলা, বাংলা « Bāṅgālā, Bāṅgālā, Bāṅlā », became familiar to Bengalis as a name for their language. Even Hindūstānī borrowed the word again from Bengali in the form বাংলা « Bāṅgālā » the Bengali language. And the English, following the Portuguese and the Mohammedan rulers of Bengal, used no other name. In 1778, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed published his 'Grammar of the Bengal Language' from 'Hoogly in Bengal'—the first book printed in Bengali characters. Some 35 years before that, the Portuguese Padre Manoel da Assumpçām had written his 'Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla, e Portuguez' (Lisbon, 1743). In the title-page of the Serampore edition of Kṛttī-vāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa' (1804), we see the note কৃত্তিবাস বাঙ্গালি ভাষার রচিত « Kṛttī-bāhē Bāṅgālī-bhāṣāy rācīlā » K. composed in the Bengali language. The term 'Gauḍiya bhāṣā' or 'Gauḍiya sādhu-bhāṣā,' which was common enough in Bengal, gradually fell into disuse. 'Bāṅgāli-bhāṣā ' is the name given in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Naksā' (1862). বাঙ্গ(ং)লা ভাষা, বাঙ্গ, বাঙ্গলা ভাষা « Bāṅg(ং)lā-bhāṣā, Bānlā, » and in the high style, বাঙ্গভাষা « Bāṅgā-bhāṣā » are the Bengali names for the language now in universal use.
APPENDIX A


76. A. Phonetic.

(a) Retention of final «-i, -e» (and «-u») in the North-western and Eastern languages. Grierson compares Kasmiri «achi», Sindhi «akhí» = eye, with Bihari (Maithili, see p. 92) «ākhi», angor «angāru», dekhathu = eye, charcoal, let him see.

The retention of final vowels, fully or slightly pronounced, cannot be adduced as an evidence of close connexion between the two groups of speech. All IA. vernaculars at some time or other retained the final vowels. Some are conservative in this respect: e.g., Orijâ, and certain forms of Eastern Hindî and Western Hindî, which still cling to them. Others have begun dropping them, and the almost inaudible «i ū» which we find are only what can be expected during the transitional stage: Maithili and Sindhi present this stage, although in Maithili there seems to be a greater advance towards the dropping of these final vowels than in Sindhi. In others, again, the final vowels have been entirely got rid of; as in the case of Hindûstânî, Marâthî, Gujarâtî, Bengali (in the last, however, tatsuîma and foreign words ending in two consonants have a vowel after them). Bengali has আঁখ «ākñ» = eye as an archaic word in the colloquial, and আঁখি «ākñi», the fuller form, obtains in the language of poetry. Five hundred years ago, the final vowels were pronounced in Bengali. They are pronounced even now in Orijâ, in which language
they say « jālā, Gōpālā, Nārāyānā, Rāmā, » and even « sārādārā » for the Hindōstānī (Persian) « sardār ». Hindōstānī (Hindi) has dropped the final vowel « -a » or « -u » in words like « Kaśyap, sumiran, santāp, dān, bīc, ucit, sukh, puttr, anugrah », etc., but the final vowels were retained in Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā of prose) at least as late as the first half of the 17th century, as can be seen from a late Middle Hindī text (Commentary on the ‘ Śṛṇgāra-śataka ’ of Bhartṛhari; see ‘ Journal of the UP. Historical Society ’, Vol. I, No. 1, article by R. P. Dewhurst). Even at the present day, the final « -i, -u » are not absent in Braj-bhākhā and in Kanaúji, which are representative Midland speeches: e.g., in the Braj of Aligarh, we have « bātu » share, « mālu » property (from the Perso-Arabic « māl »), « sabu » all, « akālu » famine, « kaṅgālu » poor, « phiri » again, « pētu » belly, « auru » and, « dūri » distance, « naukaru » servant (Persian), « jvābu » answer (Perso-Arabic « jawāb »), « ēku » one. (LSI., IX, Part I, pp. 281-282.) Kanaúji has similar forms in « -i, -u ». In Braj, the present participle affix is both « -tu » and « -t »; and the verb indeclinable has « -i », e.g., « kari, dhari, bhari, dēkhi, jāi » = Hindōstānī « kar, dhar, bhar, dēkh, jā ». Similar final « -i, -u » pronunciation obtained in Eastern Hindī at the time of Tulasī-dāsa: there is ample evidence in his poetry, and in the deed of arbitration written out by Tulasī-dāsa (Grierson, ‘ The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan,’ Calcutta, 1889, pp. xxvi-xxvii), we find forms like « taphasīlu » ( = Perso-Arabic « tafṣīl »), « Ānanda-rāmu, Ṭōḍra-malu » and « tīrī ana » three shares, and even « hujaṭī » ( = Perso-Arabic « ḥujjat »). Modern Eastern Hindī has retained the final vowels even at the present day: e.g., in a recent Hindī drama ( ‘ Nētrōmīlān Nāṭak, ’ by the Miśra Brothers of Allahabad, Calcutta, Saṁvat 1971; Act III ) a character, speaking the Awadhi patois, employs the forms « sācu, jhuṭu, hāṭbu, dinu, agahanu = Agrahāyana, sātu, āju, hālu ( = Perso-Arabic ḥāl ), mānu, kāmu, kāju, parapaṇcu, cūru, khētu; laṛ, pahiri, bēci » etc. In Eastern Panjābī, associated with Western Hindī, an indistinct « -ə » is frequently heard at the end of words. In the Bihārī dialects, the suggestion of a final vowel occurs only in Maithili: it is lost in Magahi and in Bhōjpuriyā.
In the matter of retention of final sounds, it seems no inference can be drawn, connecting the Eastern (Magadhan) speeches with those to the west and north-west of the Midland speech. All NIA. languages which have dropped the final vowels passed through the transitional stage, which is now noticeable in Maithili and Sindhi, and also in dialectal Western Hindi.

(b) Epenthesis is certainly present in the Eastern languages, and it is specially a characteristic of Eastern Magadhan (Bengali-Assamese-Oriya). On the other hand, it is absent in Marathi and in Sindhi among the ‘outer’ languages of the West, although it is found in Gujarati, and Lahndi, as well as in the Dardic Kašmiri. In the Midland speech, sporadic cases of epenthesis do occur: e.g., in Śaurasenī Prakrit, we have \(<\text{para-kēra-taṇa} = \text{para-kāra-tvana}, \text{pēranta} = \text{paryanta}, \text{sundērā} = \text{sāundarya} >\) (Pischel, ‘Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.,’ §176). But epenthesis cannot be said to characterise Western Hindi. Epenthesis is entirely absent in Old Bengali, and it developed only in the Early Middle Bengali period. Maithili epenthesis, and that in Western Panjabi (and Kašmiri) are also admittedly late; and it would be extremely hazardous to refer the epenthesis as found in the modern Eastern and in some of the modern Western speeches to a common source in a hypothetical ‘outer’ Aryan dialect.

[The Bengali word quoted by Grierson under this head, বাগন < বাগুন > aubergine, as being from \(<\text{*vaŋga}νu\)>, is a dialectal from, = Standard Bengali বেগুন < বেগুন >, from বাগুন, বাগুন < বাগুন > (the last form found in Old Oriya as in the inscription of Nṛsiṁha IV, A. C. 1395), = Skt. < vātiṅgaṇa >: the \(<-u\) affix, as in \(<\text{*vaŋga}νu\)>, is typically Western, and not Māgadhī. The word আগুন < আগুন > fire is not from a form like \(<\text{*agana}ņu\)>, but it is a semi-tatsama, আগুনি < আগুন >, < agni > being pronounced like \([\text{aggni}]\) in the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa stage, the neutral sound of \([\text{a}]\) becoming \([\text{u}]\) in Old Bengali through the influence of the preceding velar consonant. The old tadbhava আগি < আগি, *aggiā < *agnikā > occurs in Middle Bengali].

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

(d) Change of *u* to *i* is not a characteristic of the Eastern languages, although it is found in them, as in all other NIA. speeches, more or less. It also occurs in W. Hindi: e.g., *kihilā* = beside *khuṅnā* to open, as a bud; *chieṅguli* beside *chhuṅguli* = *kʃuli*-anguli, *phislānā* = phuslānā = lead astray by sweet words. Against W. Hindi *bālā* = sand, with *u*, Skt. *vālukā*, = Bengali বালি = *bāli*, cf. W. Hindi *ginnā* = count = Bengali গুণ = *guṇānā* (*i* in W. Hindi, but *u* in Bengali, for *ā* of OIA.).

[The word *tanik* a little, derived from a Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa form *tāṇukki*, by Grierson, is not Bengali, but it is good Western Hindi, being found in Sūra-dāsa, among others.]

(e) The change of *ai* < *aī* and *au* < *aū* to an open *ē* = [e] and open *ō* = à [ɔ], is not a characteristic of the Eastern ‘outer’ speeches, although it is found in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Sindhi, Lahnda, and other Western ‘outer’ dialects. It is also a noteworthy characteristic of modern Western Hindi as well: so much so that at the present day, the English sounds of [æ] (as in man, which is a rather low kind of [e]), and of [ɔ] (as in hot), are indicated respectively by the letters *ē* < *ai* and *ē* < *au* in High Hindi: e.g., *ēṭ* = hat, मैनेजर = *manager*, हैरिसन = Harrison, डॉटर beside जादू = *daughter*, etc. In a Hindi translation, from English, of Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*, the name *Cosette* is written कोशेट. Cf. *kaḥi* > *kāi* > *kai* > *kē*; kahu > *kaū* > *kau* > *kō*; *ai*,
au<āi, aū> are ordinarily pronounced with rather low tongue position in the Western Hindī homeland: «hāj» sounding as [ɦɛː, hɛː], or even as [ɦɛː], «aur» as [ʌɔr], ɔɔr, ɔːr].

[ै «au» in tatsama words, = «āu» of Sanskrit, is pronounced [ou] in Bengali, much like the Southern English o in joke [əɡəʊk]; and of course, in tadbhava words, «āu» of Skt. occurs as ो. The Assamese pronunciation given by Grierson, «ɔxodh» for «āusadha», is a late semi-tatsama pronunciation, coming from an earlier [ʊjɔdʃə], [ʊu] changing to [ɔ]. Similarly, we have «āi» >[ɔi]> [o] in East Bengali: «āikya» = [ɔikkə]> ([[kko]>oikkɔ> okko], «āisvarya» = [ʊjfɔrʃɔ]> ofjordzo]. The Bengali ভাল «bhālā» is pronounced ভালে [bhālo], and some reformers of Bengali spelling write the word as ভালে: it comes from an Old Bengali *bhālāwā = Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa *bhallawa, bhallaa », Māgadhi Prakrit *bhallaga », Skt. «bhadra-ka », «awa » of Old Bengali changing into < ə > i.e., long < ə > in Early Middle Bengali, and then to < ो > in New Bengali. Bengali ভাল «bhālā, -o » cannot be from *bhālaʊi>bhālau », which would be a Western Apabhraṃśa nominative form: the Bengali form is the mere base; and the nominative form from Māgadhi Prakrit expected in Bengali would be either *bhāli < bhallē = bhadraḥ », or *bhālē < *bhallaɪ < *bhallage = bhadrakaḥ ».

(f) The change of «c, j » to «ts (s), dz (z) » is found only in East Bengali and Assamese, and is absent in West Bengali and `Bihārī.` The Assamese and East Bengali dentalisation of the palatal affricates is due probably to the influence of Tibeto-Burman (see p. 79); and in Parbatiyā and other Pahāri, a similar source for dentalisation can be postulated. In Southern Oriya, dentalisation similarly occurs through the influence of Telugu (LSI., Vol. V, Part II, p. 369); and in Marāthi, where the palatal pronunciation is found before the front vowels, «cē, cī, çī » and the dental before the back ones, «tsā, tsā, tsō, tsū, tsū », we have also probably the influence of the Dravidian Telugu. Even in Assamese and East Bengal, the palatal «c, j » pronunciation is not absent. The dental affricate sound in NIA. does not in any way prove specially intimate connection between those languages or dialects which have it. Grierson
himself explains some of the statements of the Prakrit grammarians with regard to the pronunciation of the palatals to mean that in Śaurasenī, the source of Western Hindi, and in Mahārāṣṭrī, IA.« c, j » had developed the « ts dz » sound. (This question has been discussed later, under Phonology—Phonetic History of IA.) Later, according to him, North Śaurasenī « ts dz » again became « c, j ». (Cf. JRAS., 1913, pp. 711 ff., 'The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals'.) So that, if that were so, Māgadhi, an ‘outer’ language, which did not dentalise, disagreed with Śaurasenī, the Midland, ‘inner’ language, on a point in which the latter agreed with Mahārāṣṭrī, another speech which is relegated to the ‘outer’ group. Further, the dental sounds are not found in the ‘outer’ speeches Sindhi and Lahndī. So that this point would prove no greater connection between the Eastern and Western groups than between the Western and Midland groups. Moreover, although full « ts dz » sounds seem to be absent in the Midland language, opinion differs on this point: Hoernle observes ('Gaudian Grammar, §11, following Kellogg) that ‘the W. Hindi palatals are rather more dental than the English; i.e., more like ts dz;’ while Prof. Daniel Jones (in the course of a private talk) regarded the Hindīstānī « c, j » as being more like pure palatal stops than affricates; and my own observation is that they are palatal affricates [ʧ, ʤ], rather than the tongue-tip alveolars ones [ʃ, ʒ].

(g) The letters ə, ə ـ ə, ə ـ ə, ə ـ ə in Early Bengali, and to some extent in Modern Bengali. These arise commonly from a single « m » between two vowels. In practice, these letters indicate only a mere nasalisation of the connected vowel: the word গোসাঙ্গী « gōsā́ñi » = « gōswā́mī » is also of written গোসাঙ্গী, গোসাঙ্গী « gōsá́i » in Bengali. Assamese গোসাঙ্গী is really [gɔxāː]. The palatal nasal, « n » [n], such as is found in French, Italian and Spanish, does not occur in NIA. W. Hindi words like « bhū, gusā́ » can also be written with ə ـ ə: this is only a device in spelling.

[The words « ṭhāw, ṭhānī », quoted by Grierson, are probably developed thus: OIA. « sthāman » place, whence Śaurasenī Prakrit «*ṭhāma » and Ģaur. Ap. « *ṭhāw »; resulting in W. Hindi « ṭhāw »;

(h) The use of <r> for <l> and <ṛ> for <ḍ> is almost as common in W. Hindi as in the 'outer' languages Sindhi and Bihārī. In the Braj-bhākhā, as in the poems of Sūra-dāsa and Bihārī lāla, and others, we find words like <bara (bala), gara (gala), jarai (jalai, jalē), pakarai (pakaṇā), larihaū (=larūgā), bigarai (=bigārē), sābhāra (samhāla-), bīrā (bīrā), kiwāra (kiwāra), pawāra (=prabhā), bijurī (bijlī), dubara (=durvāla), gharī (gharī), phari (=phalikā, phalaka), pajaryō (=prajvalita), baura (=mukula), sāra (=salya), tamōra (=tāmbūla), bahuri (=vi-ū√ghut-), jura (=jura), bhīra (=bhiṇa), sarāha- (=√slāgh-) etc., etc., instances being numerous. Lallū-lāla in the 'Rāja-nīti' has <sṛvā (=sṛgala), (found also in Hindōostānī), nikaryan (=nikālā), bēr (=vēla)>, among others.

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

(i) Interchange of <d, ḍ> cannot be called a peculiarity which is shared in common between the languages of the East and of the West, in contrast to the Midland speech. The case of the Sindhi <ḍ > = [ḍ] is peculiar. In Assamese, the substitution of alveolars for both cerebrals and dentals is unique among Indian languages, Aryan, Dravidian, and Kōl, and is undoubtedly due to the influence of Tibeto-Burman. The Eastern languages generally maintain a rigid distinction between the two classes of sounds, whatever may be the case in dialectal forms of Lahndī (Thalī) and Gujarātī (Pārsī dialect). <d > ḍ is not an uncommon phonetic change in the Midland language too: e.g., in the 'Satasaś' of Bihārī, we have <ḍiśhi (=dṛṣṭi), ḍyōṛhi (=dēhālī), ḍōṛhā (=dvyārāhaka)>. In High Hindi we find <ḍabh (=darbha), ḍāṛhā (=ḍadhia, dagdha), ḍāṛhi
(dandaṭrikā), dārim (=dāḍimba), dāndli (=dāṇḍikā), dāsnā (=√dāṇḍ),
dūlt (=√dul); cf. Hindīstānī < dērh > = Bengali দেঞ্চা < dēṛā >, 14.

(j) Change of <d> to <j> through influence of a preceding or
following palatal vowel is an extremely rare phenomenon in IA., although
change of <d(h)ṃ> to <j(h)ṃ> is a regular phonological law. It certainly
cannot be described as a characteristic common to the ‘outer’ languages,
because we have at the best only some unique sporadic cases in
East Magadhan (e.g., Bengali < jhi >, Oriyā < jhiā > = < dhītā,
duhitā >), in Marāṭhī (< nj > × < nṛd, nidrā >), in Sindhī (< ḡjīh > × < giddhu,
gṛdhrā >).

(k) < -mb- > -m- > is a change found also in W. Hindī, and < -mb- >
-b- > is found in the Eastern languages, at least in Bengali. W. Hindī has
< jāmūn > besides < jābū > (= jambuka); and in W. Hindī < nim > is more
common than < nimb > (= nimba). But cf. Bengali dialectal আব তাবা < ḍāb
(āmra), tābā (tamra) >, besides আম, তাবা < ḍamā, tāmā >; Bengali has লেবু,
নেবু < lēbu, nēbu > for the Hindīstānī < lēmb > (= nimbuka). In Early
Bengali, < -b- > and < -mb- > both are found: Old Bengali < tābola > (Cāryā
28); Middle Bengali < cumba, jāmb(h)īra, lambā > etc.

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

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

[The word মৈলাম < mailām >, quoted by Grierson as an example of loss
of intervocal < r > in Bengali, is archaic and dialectal in Bengali, and is from
< *maya + illa + amha < *mpta + ila + asma >: < mpta > maya > is a Prakritic
form, the counterpart of which is found in < muā > in W. Hindī, which
would be a case of exactly similar kind of early loss of < r >.]
(m) Change of intervocal « -s- » to « -h- » is not a specially ‘outer’
characteristic, and it is found in a few instances in W. Hindi also: e.g.,
« tasya > tassa > tāsa > tāha > tā- (tā-kō, tā-hī etc.) »; « kariṣyati >
kariṣadi > kariṣai > karihaï »; in the second instance, future « -sy-, -sy-
> -h- », the Western ‘outer’ languages preserve the sibilant: e.g.,
Gujarāti « karṣē », Rājasthāni (Jaipurī) « karṣī », Lahndī « karēṣī ». In
the numerals, the change of « -s- » to « -h- » is found in all MIA.
and NIA.: e.g., W. Hindi « igārah, bārah, cauhattar » etc., and it cannot
be determined where these forms originated: but it looks as if they are
Midland in origin (the Pali forms resemble the Hindōstānī ones most
closely, but they do not show the change from « -s- » to « -h- », which
took place in the late MIA. period). Isolated words like « kēhāri »
(=kēsarin), « pāhan » (=pāsāna) are met within Braj-bhākhā. The word
« pōhē » cattle (=paśu ?) is a good Hindōstānī word.

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

(n) « ś » for « ś, s, s » is a peculiar Māgadhī characteristic, and there
is nothing like it in the other groups of IA. This « ś » of Māgadhī is
irrespective of the connected vowel. But « ś < śś s » in Maṛāṭhī and
Gujarātī is the case of an earlier dental « s < śś s » becoming palatalised
through the influence of a palatal vowel, « i, i, ē » or of « y »: « s »
before the back vowels, and « ś » before palatal ones, being the
rule. E.g., Maṛāṭhī « dzōśī » (= jyōtiśin), « śikṛṇē » (= śikṣaṇam), but
« sakṛṇē » (<√ sak), « saṇī » (= śana); Gujarātī « karṣē » (= kariṣyati),
but « śūd » (= śabda). (Influence of Sanskrit, however has determined
some spellings with « ś » in Gujarātī and Maṛāṭhī). The MIA. ‘outer’
dialect Mahārāṣṭrī, according to the testimony of the Prakrit grammarians,
did not palatalise the sibilants, exactly like the Midland dialect Śaurāsaṇī.
AFFINITIES AMONG THE NIA. SPEECHES

(o) The tendency to disaspiration of <kh, gh, ch, jh, th, ch, th, dh, ph, bh> as well as of <rh, nh, mh, lh> is a noticeable thing in Bengali, no doubt, but it is an entirely new thing, and can be taken to present only one more coincidence with Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī-Rājasthānī, and Sindhi. In the Eastern (Māgadhī) group of speeches, disaspiration of intervocal and final stops is more or less common at the present day, but this is not more than 300 years old. Disaspiration of initial aspirates is unknown to West Bengali, and is very uncommon in the case of the unvoiced aspirates in East Bengali and Assamese, although initial unvoiced aspirates also tend to drop their <h> in some East Bengali dialects. Disaspiration and transference of aspiration are of occasional occurrence in W. Hindī as well: e.g., <bähin <bhaín <bhaíní>, cf. Oriya <bhaíní>; <nahla-duhla <nahla-dhula> bathing and washing; <ūṭha, uṣṭra> camel; <cāṭnā> lick <caṭhaanā <caṭṭhānaa <caṭtaa>; <īṭa <īṭhā <iṣṭaka> brick: <tiwārī <tiwārī <tripāthin> a Brahman surname. But disaspiration is extremely rare in the Midland language; and on the other hand, it must be admitted, aspiration is frequently noticeable in the Midland; e.g., <bhēs <bēsa <vēsa; babhūt <bibhūti <vibhūti; phin, phuni <punaḥ. This entirely opposite tendency is also found in some specially Bengali forms: e.g., केले <pēlē> throws down = Middle Bengali পেলে <pālē <Māg. Ap. <pēlê = prērayati; Middle Bengali পুকরে <phukārē> shots, cf. Hindi <pukārē; Middle Bengali পাখরু <pākhārui catch, cf. Hindi <pākur; খাবল <khabāl> handful, grasp, = Skt. <kabala>; ঝুনি <jhumā> old, dried up = <juṣṇa-, jūra>. The Panjābī change of the voiced aspirates <gh, jh, dh, bh> to <k, c, t, t, p>, with accompanying low tone making up for the loss of aspiration and voice, is something unparalleled in New Indo-Aryan phonetics.

[In the words given by Grierson, কুড়ালী <kūrālī> axe is the proper Bengali form, and not <kuṭāri>; and <bhāpa> steam is a case of transferred aspiration, from <bhāpa, bappha, bāspa>, and the word is found in W. Hindī as well. All the Bengali words quoted by Grierson
have the aspirate, or had it (in final positions) till Late Middle Bengali times.]

(p) The Eastern speeches (Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuriya, and Eastern Hindi) as well as Gujarati-Rajasthani and Marathi agree with the Midland speech in simplifying the MIA. double consonants and in lengthening the preceding vowel as compensation: only in the Eastern Magadhan area, the orthography does not ordinarily record this lengthening in the case of ś-, but always does in the case of ə-, Sanskrit orthography having interfered in the spelling of the ś-, words: e.g., भिठ्ठ for भिठ्ठ for भिठ्ठ, cf. भिठ्ठ; पु for पु त for पु for पु , cf. पु. This simplification of consonant group cum lengthening of the preceding vowel is a great point common to the Midland speech and those of the East, and the Western speeches (Sindhi, Panjabi and Lahndi) disagree with other NIA. in this matter, but agree herein with the Dardic Kaśmirī. This may show a special point of contact or affinity between Western NIA. and Dardic, but this rather emphasises the difference between the former and the 'outer' speeches of the South-west and the East.

[In the Midland speech, we have numerous instances of forms in which there has been no compensatory lengthening, although one consonant has been dropped: and a few such cases are found in the Eastern and South-western NIA. also: in fact, in all NIA. This may be due to dialectal influence from the North-western regions, first upon the Midland speech, and then, through the latter, upon those of the East, and the South-west: e.g., W. Hindi śacc, śacc besides śacc, śacc, śacc true (Bengali ścacc śacc borrowed from the West; ścacc śacc seems to be native); kāl yesterday, tomorrow for kāl; cāk district (cakra); cāk (caksu); bārhaj (vardhat); lākh sight (lakṣa); bhālā (bhadraka); sāb (sarva); nīt, beside nīt, a semi-tatsama, (nītya). Shortening of a long vowel in a weak syllable in a compound or other form is a different thing: e.g., gānā to sing; but gāwaiya singer; kājar lamp-black; but kājārautā casket for collyrium; bhāt khānā to eat rice, but bhāt-khāwā rice-eater.]
77. B. Morphological.

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

(b) Bengali ablative post-position হইতে, হেতে, হাইতে", Early and Dialectal Bengali হেতে, হেতে "হাইতে, হেতে", from "*ahītē < *ahēntē, *ahantē, < *as-ant- = s-ant", certainly agrees with the Sindhi "sandō", W. Rājasthānī "handō"; and what is more, Bengali খে, খেকে, থাকিয়া "থে, থেকে, থাকিয়া" having been as an ablative post-position is the exact counterpart of the Gujarātī "থি, থাকিং". But the use of these verbal derivatives as post-positions is certainly a new thing in IA., being not earlier than late MIA.; and the use of the substantive verb to denote case relation would only be natural in the various NIA. languages.

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

(c) A synthetic declension is said to exist specially in the ‘outer’ languages, and to be present only as relic in the Midland one, thus bringing in a point of contrast between the ‘outer’ languages and the ‘inner’ language. As a matter of fact, the old synthetic declension is preserved but fragmentally in the NIA. languages; and where one language preserves a particular case-form, another retains a different one. The persistence of one old inflected form (instrumental? genitive?) in the Midland language, as the oblique case, is at the root of the distinction we find between W. Hindi and other IA. declensional systems: e.g., W. Hindi "ghōṛē kā < ghōṛē dhi kāa = "ghōṛē + kṛta"? or "ghōṛēkā" + instrumental plural affix "hi < -bhīhi + kṛta"?: here the oblique "ghōṛē" preserves a synthetic case; but in Bengali লোড়িয়ার "ghōṛārī = ghōṛē + kara", and Bihārī "ghōṛāk = ghōṛēk + kṛta? ghōṛēk + -ka, -kka?", we apparently do not have an earlier synthetic form, which is
lost, but we have a compound formation. Not considering post-positions, we find that this is how W. Hindi, Bengali, Marāṭhī and Lakhnī (the three latter being described as ‘outer’ speeches) stand with reference to each other in the matter of preservation of the earlier, synthetic declension of MIA.:  

Western Hindi.

Nominative Singular: « ghōrau » (= MIA. nominative singular, preserved in Braj); « ghōra » (Hindōstānī base form); « gharu » (Braj neuter form). Nominative Plural: « ghōrāhi, ghōrāi, ghōrē » (= MIA. instrumental plural? with genitive influence?)  

Agent-instrumental: affix lost in nouns, but cf. « māi = *mayēna », « tāi » = *tavyēna »; and post-position « -nāi, -nē = *kānai, *karakāna ».  

Dative-oblique Singular: « ghōrāhī, ghōrē » (= MIA. genitive singular? or MIA. instrumental plural, transferred to the singular?). Dative-oblique Plural: « ghōrān(i), ghōrō, ghōrā » (= MIA. genitive plural).  

Locative Singular, rare form: « ghar-e, āg-e »; « hindōr-e » in the swing (Bihārī-lāla), « māth-e » on the head (Sūra-dāsa), etc. (= MIA. locative). Ablative Singular (rare, dialectal): « bhukhā » from hunger, in Vernacular Hindōstānī and Bāngārā dialects; « bhūkhan, bhūkhā » (Braj, Kanauiji) (= MIA. ablative + genitive plural?).  

Bengali.

Nominative: affix lost.  


[Oriyā Ablative: « -u : ghōrā-u, ghōrā-r-u » (= MIA. singular ablative?).]  

Genitive Singular, lost: except in the pronoun, where it occurs as অ| « -a > তার « tā-ra », শার « jā-ra » etc. (= MIA. genitive singular).  

Genitive Plural, as rare relics, in the affix ন্, আন, ইন « -n, -ān -in », dialectal আনি, অই « āni, āi »: e.g., োড়াওলান « ghōrā-gulān, -guln » horses; তান « tānā » his (honorific) < their = (MIA. genitive plural). [In Oriyā, this MIA. genitive plural was preserved: ghōrā-ṇ-kā of horses: see p. 137.]
AFFINITIES AMONG THE NIA. SPEECHES

Locative (merged into Instrumental): ॆ < -े > : घर < ghārē > (=MIA. locative singular). [In Assamese, base + affix < at >: < ghār-āt >.]

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

Nominative: preserved partially, in the plural.
Instrumental: preserved in Old Marāṭhī, but now obsolete.
Oblique Singular = OIA. dative: preserved.
Oblique Plural = OIA. genitive: preserved.
Ablative: extremely rare.
Locative: rare, in Old Marāṭhī.

The Marāṭhī form in < -ā-s < -ā-si >, e.g., < ghōr-ā-s >, which was explained formerly as being the OIA. genitive in < -asya >, is shown by Bloch to be really the oblique (=original dative) singular in < -ā > + the post-positional word < -s, -si > (Bloch, op. cit., § 198).

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

Nominative Singular: traces of the < -u > affix in umlaut forms only;
Plural: traces of the late MIA. < -a > affix: e.g., < jaṅgu < *jaṅga|u >, pl. < jaṅga|a < *jaṅga|a >, forest.
Agent-oblique: Singular: traces of the late MIA. genitive (?): < jaṅga| < *jaṅga|aha (?) >;
Agent-oblique Plural: < -ā: jaṅga|ā > (=late MIA. genitive plural).
Ablative, in < -ō >: < jaṅga|ō > (=late MIA. ablative singular + genitive plural?).
Locative-Instrumental: < jaṅgi < *jaṅga|i >, plural < jaṅga|ī > (=late MIA. locative singular, and locative singular + genitive plural).

Taking into consideration the nett remains of the earlier, MIA. synthetic declension, it cannot be said that Bengali, Marāṭhī and Lahndī, as 'outer' languages, are synthetic to any special degree when compared with the Midland W. Hindī. The post-positional declension of NIA., with help-words reduced to the status of inflections, is a different thing; and
it must be admitted that, through phonetic decay, certain words in Bengali and Marathi, which used to be combined with or affixed to base or oblique forms of nouns, have been worn down to mere inflections, and thus formed the nucleus of a new synthetic declension: e.g., Bengali ধারা, ধরায় < kāra, kēra = kārya>, ধরায়ের < ghōṛādēr < -ādika + kēra>; Marathi < ghōṛūcā > < -kṛtya-ka >. But the W. Hindi speech is not free from this in its declension, although it has not joined up the genitive post-position to the noun in a synthetic declension: e.g., गोरे-ने = oblique of गोरा + instrumental of कर्णा-का; the ‘outer’ speech Lahndī here agrees with the Midland form not only in preserving an analytic genitive, but also in building up a new synthetic agent and dative case: e.g., Lahndī genitive गोरे धा = oblique of गोरा + धा < < dīta-ka = datta-ka > (cf. W. Hindi गोरे का >, where का = kaā, kiā < kṛta-ka >), but agent and dative गोरे नी, -नू >, where नी, नू = oblique forms of कर्णा-का >, as in Western Hindi. In W. Hindi, in the speech-feeling of many speakers, the post-positions को < kakṣa, से < sama? sahita? >, param < upari, mē = madhya > are as much organic inflections as are the Bengali genitive and locative affixes -āṛ, ēṛ, -e, -tē > etc; and many writers of High Hindi advocate the writing of the post-position with the noun as one word. The influence of Persian (with its separate pre-positions) on W. Hindi may have been partially responsible in instilling into the minds of some speakers of W. Hindi the idea of a separate existence of the post-positions.

In any case, there is nothing in the declinational system of the ‘outer’ languages to mark them off from the Midland speech, and to bind them closely as being similar in spirit: Western Hindi and Lahndī and Sindhi agree with each other in spirit as much as they do with Marathi and Bengali and Maithili.

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

(JASB., 1895. Part I, p. 347); but some of the Assamese forms, e.g.,
< tōr ziyēr > your (non-honorific) daughter, and < tōmār ziyā, ziyērā > your
(honorific) daughter, where the affixes are < -ēr > and < -ā > or < -ērā >,
are obscure in origin. It is very unlikely that this isolated phenomenon in
Assamese is connected with Dardic: rather, this may be a case of Tibeto-
Burman (Boḍo) influence, Boḍo possessing the peculiarity found in the

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

Western group:
(Passive Construction)

\{ W. Hindi: « maï-nē pōthī paṟh-i » ~ \\
Gujarātī: « mē pōthī vāc-i » ~ \\
Marāṭhī: « mī pōthī vāc-il-i » ~ \\
\hspace{1cm} by-me a-book read (fem.). \\
Sindhi: « (mū) pōthī paṟh-i-me » ~ \\
Lahndī: « (maï) pōthī paṟh-i-m » ~ \\
\hspace{1cm} (by-me) a-book read (fem.) + by-me.

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

Eastern Group:
(Active Construction)

\{ E. Hindi: « maï pōthī paṟheū » ~ \\
Bhōjpuriyā: « ham pōthī paṟhalī » ~ \\
Maithili: « ham pōthī paṟhalahū » ~ \\
Bengali: « āmi puthi pārilām {
\hspace{1cm} (mū puthi pārilī,-lum) » ~ \\
Oriyā: « āmbhē pōthī pār-hilū {
\hspace{1cm} (mū pōthi pār-hili) » ~ \\
\hspace{1cm} I a-book read (past, 1st person).

The neuter construction, which characterises all the members of the Western group, is not present any longer, or at the best is very much obscured, in the Eastern group; and surely in this matter a grouping of Bengali and the Eastern languages together with Sindhi, Lahndī and Dardie would be hardly allowable. (The present-day formation of the past paradigm of the verb in the Eastern languages agrees remarkably with that of modern Dravidian.)
The adjectival *l* affix is an Indo-European inheritance in NIA, and occurs in the Midland speech as well: only, in the Eastern languages and in Marāṭhī, it forms the basis of the past tense, and in Gujarāṭi and Sindhī, it is regularly employed in a passive participle form. Panjābī and Lahndī do not have this as a characteristic affix, thus disagreeing with the other ‘outer’ speeches. W. Hindī instances of it are plentiful: *e.g.*, some 26 separate examples of it, like *lajīl* > *bashful*, *raṅgil* > *coloured*, *sportive*, *chaila* > *handsome*, *kaṭīl* > *cutting* etc., are found in the ‘Satasā’ of Bihārī-lāla; and it is not uncommon in Eastern Hindī as well.

78. C. Glossic.

On examining the common roots and words of Lahndī, Sindhī, Gujarāṭī, Marāṭhī, W. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali, it would be easily found that Bihārī and Bengali do not have a special agreement with the Western languages, or with Marāṭhī: the agreement with W. Hindī, which is so very close, is often forgotten, when a word not found in W. Hindī is traced to exist in common in the Eastern and the Western languages. The question of lexical affinity cannot be always insisted upon as a strong argument for a genetic relation. To take an important root, that of the substantive verb, *āch, ach*, we find that among the Magadhan languages, Bhojpuriya and Magahi do not use it now, but there are traces of its use in Early Bhojpuriya remains (*e.g.*, in a poem ascribed to Kabir—*achalaṁ mana bairāgī!* > *I was a bairāgī in (my) mind*, quoted by Jñānendra-mōhan Dās, in his ‘Bengali Dictionary,’ Calcutta, San 1323, under *āch > *āch* ; Early Awadhī (E. Hindī) shows this root, although it is not found in Modern E. Hindī; of the other ‘outer’ languages, Sindhī and Lahndī have not got it, but it is found in Gujarāṭī and in some forms of Rājasthānī, and in Pahārī. The Dardic Kashmirī also shows it. There is no trace of it in Western Hindī now, but it seems to have occurred in Śaurasēnt, according to the testimony of Vararuci (*Prākṛta-prakāśa*, XII, 19), and is found in Pali. It can be well expected that some OIA. roots and words have been preserved in common in certain widely separated dialects, and lost in others contiguous to these.
79. The phonetic grounds for postulating a connexion between the North-western and Eastern groups of NIA., as being more intimate than that between these and the Midland group, are not convincing,—as phonetic peculiarities supposed to be shared only by the ‘outer’ groups are found to occur in W. Hindi as well. Again, in certain points, W. Hindi agrees with the Eastern languages: *e.g.*, OIA. initial *v-* occurs as *b-* in W. Hindi, E. Hindi and the Magadhan languages, whereas in Gujärati Marāṭhi, Sindhi, and Panjābi it remains as *v-*; and in other points, the agreement is between W. Hindi and the Southern and Western speeches as against the Eastern ones: *e.g.*, the tendency to make *ai, au* into open *ə, o* [s, o] sounds. The ‘outer’ languages in their declinational system agree with the central language; only the circumstances of development were slightly different in Hindōstāni, the most important W. Hindi language, the speech which came under the influence of Persian more than any other. The conjunctival system, again, manifests a uniform spirit in the North-west, in the South, and in the Midland; and it is only in the East that a new construction has been evolved. It may be assumed that the dialects which were the sources of the North-western and the Eastern groups possessed characteristics which were not present in those that gave rise to the Midland speech. But that does not warrant us in assuming *two* independent groups in the earliest period, as it might also be shown that the North-western and the Midland dialects show agreement in points where the Eastern group disagrees, and so on. The evidence of the older stages of IA. is against it. The Asokan Prakrits show three varieties of speech, differing from each other in phonetics and to some extent in morphology: North-western, South-western, and Eastern. (See pp. 44, 47, 54—61.) The differences between the North-western speeches, and those of the East, were profound in the oldest period of which we have records: if the North-western and the Eastern languages were specially connected, we should expect them to show greater agreement at an early stage. But the contrary is the case. Beyond assuming the possibility of a number of popular dialects, modern representatives of which have in some cases retained, in others dropped, some of their
words and forms (§ 32), there are no convincing proofs for the categorical subdivision of IA. into (1) a Midland group, of different origin from (2) a surrounding ring of ‘outer’ speech,—the first being Indo-Aryan par excellence, the immediate relation of Sanskrit, and the second being allied to Dardic.\footnote{Cf. A. Meillet, ‘Introduction à l’Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes,’ 5th ed., Paris, 1922: ‘Il ne s’y trouve presque rien qui ne s’explique par la langue védique. Les documents du moyen indien donnent une idée du développement de la langue mais ils ne permettent pas de supposer qu’il y ait jamais eu dans l’Inde à date ancienne un dialecte qui ait différencé de celui que représente le védique autrement que par des détails d’importance secondaire.’ (Pp. 37, 38.)} From racial (anthropological) reasons, the North-western (Lahndī and Sindhi) speakers are entirely distinct from the speakers of the Eastern languages, whereas there is affinity between the former and those (at least among the upper classes) of the Midland. The division would appear to be into Western, and Eastern, the « Udīcyə » and « Madhya-dēśiya » on the one hand, and the « Pṛācyə » on the other: the outstanding characteristic in these two groups within one IA. family being in the resistance to cerebralisation and in the retention of « r » in the Western group in the OIA. and early MIA. periods; and at the present day it is in the fact that the Western group preserves the passive construction in the past of the transitive verb, whereas the Eastern has made it active: and in both the cases, it is the West which has been the more conservative.
APPENDIX B

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

80. A. PHONETIC.

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

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

(c) The occurrence of cerebrals. t, d, n, l (the last = a cerebral fricative, []) are peculiarly Dravidian sounds, and are not found in any other ancient IE. speech than Vedic and Sanskrit. In Modern Swedish, among New IE. tongues, however, q has developed out of r + d, which is paralleled by a similar cerebralisation in Old Māgadhī. (In Māgadhī, however, r always became l, and r + dental stop > cerebral
stop was in all probability a case of ı + dental stop > cerebral stop in OIA., due to indigenous influence). Then, there are cases of spontaneous cerebralisation in IA. from very early times. The pronunciation of intervocal ı⁄ -dh - as ı⁄, ıh - in NIA., and possibly also in MIA., is found in Dravidian also.

(d) Insertion of short vowels by anaptyxis (svara-bhakti, viprakarṣa) in consonant groups, which is such a characteristic feature of MIA. and NIA. (e.g., in words like ı⁄ kilēsa, sinēha, harisa, ratana, sumirāṇa, parāṇa, barāmhaṇa etc., etc.), is paralleled out in Dravidian (e.g., Kannada barāmaṇa, Tamil pirāmmana = a Brahman; Tamil śinēgam = snēha, mittiran = mitra, tiru = śrī, Kiruttinan = Kṛṣṇa, śandiran = candra etc. etc.). The general view is that Dravidian did not have consonant groups initially, and had only double consonants medially; and this trait was imposed upon the Aryan speech in the MIA. Period. But J. Bloch contends ('Les Consonnes intervocaliques en Tamoul,' MSL., XIX, pp. 85 ff., translated in the IAnt., 1919, pp. 191 ff.) that in the Old Dravidian speech of several centuries B. C., groups like ı⁄ tr-, dr- existed initially as much as in IA.: the word ı⁄ dramīla, dravidā, with initial ı⁄ dr-, being in all likelihood a true 'Old Dravidian' word, slightly Aryanised, of which ı⁄ tamil was a development in the Tamil language at a post-Christian epoch, through an intermediate form ı⁄*damīla, borrowed in Pali and in Old Sinhalese as ı⁄ dama, and occurring in a Greek transcription ı⁄*damirikē > ı⁄ damirice (Latin) = ı⁄*damikakam the Tamil land: simplification of the consonant groups was thus a phonological development which occurred parallelly in both Aryan and Dravidian.

(In the matter of simplification of OIA consonant-groups by assimilation, which gave rise to MIA., it was probably internal, as it took place also in Italic, among other IE. languages: but here IA. reached that stage at least a thousand years before Italic; contact with Dravidian, as well as the adoption of the Aryan speech by Dravidians early in the history of IA., had probably something to do with it.)

In other points of phonetics, e.g., change of ı⁄ e, j to ı⁄ ts, dz, of ı⁄ s to ı⁄ h, the voicing of intervocal unvoiced stops, the retention
of a final vowel, etc., Dravidian influence has been postulated (cf. Grierson, 'Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' BSOS., I, § 72). But in certain cases, the change was only normal: e.g., modification of an intervocal \(-k, -t\) to \(-g, -d\); but in certain tracts at least, early Dravidian influence is likely.

81. B. Morphological.

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

The declinational system of NIA., with its agglutinated words like \(<g\text{a}na; -kula>\) gul; sarva> sab; mānava>māna; lōka> lōg; sakala> etc. for the plural, and with new post-positional affixes derived from nouns etc. like \(<m\text{adhya}>\) mē, mā; kākṣa>kō; sṛṇāma> ṭhā; pārśva>pās; sahita>sē; *dita>dā; kr̥ta>kā; etc., greatly resembles Dravidian. The use of verbal forms—participles and conjunctives—as post-positions in declension (e.g., Bengali ḫāte<haitē>, lāgīyā<īgīyā>, thākiyā<thākyā>, diyā<diyā>, and similar forms in other NIA.), is a special point of agreement between NIA. and Dravidian (e.g., Tamil kattiyakkoṇḍu> with a knife, literally having taken a knife; <avau-dū>, from <ottu> touch, = with him; Tamil <inru, ninru> standing, having been = Bengali and Gujarātī thākiyā<thākiyā> and <thāki>, ablative post-position). (Cf. R. Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian,' London, 1913, pp. 252 ff.; Julien Vinson, 'Manuel de la Langue tamoule,' Paris, 1903, §§ 28, 29.)

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

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

(b) Absence of affixes in the comparison of the adjective in both NIA. and Dravidian. The OIA. affixes < -iṣṭha, -tara -tama > are lost, and comparison is denoted by employing the positive form of the adjective with the noun with which comparison is made, the latter being put in the dative or ablative or locative with some nominal or verbal post-position: e.g., Bengali এর চেয়ে ভালো > েরা চেয়ে ভালো > better than this, lit. good, having looked at this; স্বার নামে ভালো > sābāra mājhe bhālo > best of all, lit. good in the middle of all, etc. This is also the Dravidian way to indicate comparison. [Modern IE. languages
outside India have either retained the comparative and superlative affixes, e.g., Persian «-tar, -tarîn», Armenian comparative affix «-kuin < -goîn>, Modern Greek «-teros, -tatos>, Russian comparative affix «-jêjlî, -jje»; English «-er, -est»; or employed words meaning more and most before the adjective in question, as in English, in French («plus, le plus») and other Romance languages, in Modern Greek («pleon, o pleon»).

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

(d) An almost wholesale disuse of OIA. moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle forming the past, a present participle, a conjunctive, and some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present. A similar decay has taken place in Iranian. But the whole principle of phrase-building tended gradually to become nominal or adjectival from verbal, in IA.; e.g., the normal OIA. (Vedic) for he went would be «sō’ gamat» or «sō’ gacchat», or «sa jagāma»; but in MIA. and NIA., this verbal construction is changed to the adjectival: «sō gado, sō gao, ēgadē, *sī gayilla, su gau, so gaaũ» etc.,=Skt. «sa gataḥ», whence NIA. «sō gayan, gaya» (W. Hindit), «sē gēlā» (Bengali) etc.: and herein there is a possible influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian the verb has an adjectival force, it being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. (See LSI., Vol. IV, p. 295.) The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan, we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms, to the exclusion of the IE. finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit, «kartā» = a doer for «kariṣyati» he will do, «kartāsmi» I am a doer = «kariṣyāmi» I shall do, is Dravidian in principle. The compound affix «-ta-vant-», rare
in the Vedic speech, may be compared with the Dravidian (Tamil) 
< -d-avan > : Skt. < kṛta > done, < kṛta-vant- > one who has done ; cf. Tamil 
< sēy-du > having done, < sēy-d-avan > having done he = one who has done. 
(LSI., Vol. IV, pp. 280-281). The structure of the modern Magadhan 
(Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuriya) past and future verb, in 
showing the root + past or future (passive) participle affix + personal 
pronominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance 
attached to the conjunctive with the sense of having performed or finished an 
act, and its lavish use, e.g., Tamil < kōndu vā >, NIA. (Bengali) সাইরাই আইস, 
নিয়ে এস < laiyā aīsā, nī čsō > (Hindi < lao > may similarly be < le + ūo >), = 
having taken, come, to mean simply bring, is common to both Dravidian and 
NIA., and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, 
very early in the history of Aryan.

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

(e) Onomatopoetic formations on a lavish scale are a characteristic 
of both NIA. and Dravidian. (Cf. Rabindra-nāth Tagore, 'Śabda-tattva,' 
Calcutta, pp. 22 ff.; S Milne, 'Bengali Grammar,' Calcutta, 1913, 
Chap XX; Kellogg, 'Hindi Grammar²,' § 849; Khansaheb and Sheth, 
'Hints on the Study of Gujarati,' Surat, 1915, § 255, etc.: G. U. Pope, 
'Tamil Handbook²,' § 273; A. H. Arden, 'Progressive Grammar of Telugu,' 
§§ 686, 687, etc.). Vedic is remarkably poor in onomatopoetics; as we 
come down to MIA., and NIA., the number and force of onomatopoetics 
is on the increase. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, 'A Study of some Onomatopoetic 
Deśī Words,' JRAS., 1905, pp. 555-557; R. Morris, 'Pali Miscellanies— 
Some Onomatopoetics from the Jūtakas,' Transactions of the Philological 
Society, London, 1885-1887.)

[Onomatopoetic words and jingles, however, are characteristic of 
Köl as well: cf. P. O. Boddington, 'Materials for a Santali Grammar,' Part 
I, Dumka, 1922, pp. 31, 32. It may be that in this matter there is also 
Köl influence on Aryan.]
(f) Presence of ‘echo words.’ A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word), and in this way the idea of et cetera, and things similar to or associated with that, is expressed. This is found in Modern Indo-Aryan and in Dravidian. *E.g.,* Bengali বাংলা চোখা “ghoṛা-tোরা,” Maithili “ghoṛा-tোরা,” Hindostani “ghoṛা-uুরা,” Gujarati “ghoṛো-bোৃ,” Marathi “ghoṛো-bোৃ,” Sinhalese “a-swayা-bাসwayা” horses etc., horses and other animals, or horses and equipage: cf. Tamil “kudirai-kirirai,” Kannada “kudire-gidire,” Telugu “gurramu-girramu.” So Bengali জল-টোতুল “jāl-tোল” = water and things, refreshment, = Hindostani “jāl-ul,” Marathi “jāl-bil,” Tamil “taṇṇিr-kiṇṇir,” Kannada “nīru-gīru”; Bengali শঠ-শত “dāt-শত,” Sinhalese “dat-baṭ” = teeth etc. In the formation of these ‘echo words,’ Bengali takes ্ত-‘t-‘, and retains the vowel of the original word; Maithili takes the dental ́t-́, keeping also the original vowel; Hindostani substitutes ́u-́, and Marathi ́bı-́, for the whole syllable; and Gujarati takes ́b-́ for the original consonant; Sinhalese similarly has ́b-́ with original vowel; [the agreement of Sinhalese with Gujarati and Marathi in this matter is to be noted in connection with what has been postulated about the origin of Sinhalese: see pp. 15, 72-73] and the Dravidian languages substitute the syllable ́ki-́, ́gi-́ for the initial one of the original word. (These ‘echo words’ are different from compounds like কাঘড়া-চোখা “kāpārđ-cōpārđ” clothes etc., or চাটী-বাটি “cāṭi-bāṭi” pots etc., where compare চোখা “cōpārđ” with চোঁপড় “cupārđ” = basket, and চাটী “cāṭi” = earthen pot: in such compound words, one element is usually an obsolete word, and not an unmeaning echo-form, as in the cases noted above.)

82. C. Syntactical.

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

The omission of the copula is preferred by both IA. and Dravidian: e.g., Bengali এই আমাদের বাড়ী < e-tā āmāderā bāri >, Kannada < idu namma mane > this (is) our house; মানুষটি ভাল < mānuṣṭi bhāla >, Tamil < manidăn nallavan > the man (is) good.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both: e.g., use of a conjunctive meaning having said (Bengali বলিয়া < bāliyā >, E. Hindi < bōl-kē >, Marathi < mhanūn >, Sinhalese < kiyā >, Tamil < enru >, Kannada < endu >, Telugu < eni >), in the sense of as, because, recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative, e.g., W. Hindi < yah kāṃ karna >, Kannada < i kelasa mājuvadu > do this work; use of the verb to give in forming the 'imperative' or permissive mood, e.g., for Skt. < vadāni > let me say, cf. Bengali আমাকে বলিতে দেও < āmākē bālīte deō >, Hindōstānī < mujhē bōlnē dō >, Telugu < nannu ceppan-iyy >. (In connection with this, it must be admitted that a similar idiom is found in other modern IE. languages outside India, e.g., English let). IA. does not possess the above points of similarity with IE. tongues outside India, but with Dravidian;
and unquestionably herein we have the impress of the Dravidian mind on IA.

83. D. Glossic.

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

APPENDIX C

OLD BENGAL PLACE- NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS.


« Kṣudraka » Village; « Khādāpāra » or « Khāṭāpāra », a viṣaya or district. The reading « Khāṭā- pāra » would be better; the word would mean Creek-ford or Creek-ferry: « khāṭā » for « *khaṭā »: cf. New Bengali পাত্রা « khāṭi » channel; a « Khāḍi- viṣaya » in the same Pundra-vardhana bhukti or province is mentioned in the Barrackpur grant of Vijaya-sēna (§ 106); the word « khāṭikā » is found in the Khalimpur grant of Dharma- pāla (§ 90) and in the Govindapur grant of Laksmaṇa-sēna (§ 108); and « khāḍi » also, in the Tarpaṇ-dīghī grant (§ 108).


(i) 443-444 A. C.: Village « Đōngā »: [ « đōngā » a dēṣī word = high land, high, occurring as भाषा « đāngā », टू « ṭāṅ » high land. Derivatives from this word are probably Bengali भाग « ḍāgar » big, grown-up, Assamese « đāngariyā » high one, Sir, Bengali टीखिला, टीखिला « tēṅgārā, tāṅgārā » upland (as in चेंट</a> चेंट<ˈtʃɛntə> « hēṭā-tēṅgārā » low and high, uneven; cf. « tēṅkāri » in § 94). This dēṣī word occurs in other NIA.: e.g., W. Hindi « ḍūṅgār » high place, hill (cf. the words ḍūṅg and ḍōṅgār in the ‘Index Etymologique’ in Jules Bloch’s ‘Formation de la Langue marathe.’))


(v) 533-534 A. C.: Villages « Śvačchanda-pāṭaka » (cf. Bengali পাটা « pāṭa » neighbourhood; a word found in Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa),
INTRODUCTION: APPENDIX C


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

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

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


Villages « Paŋγa » and « Vāpikā »; « Paŋγa = ? paŋka » clay from bottom of tank; cf. the Faridpur village Paṅγa « Paṅγāśā » = « *Paṅγāvāsaka » abode of Panga (?).
Village "Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa" = Copper-stone district (for "Tamba-patthara-").


- Gāngi(a)nikā river = Gāngini, modern Jalangī, branch of the Ganges: found also in [4].

[Personal names: Khasōka the tradesman; Sēkya-kārā Kāliyā the engraver Kāliyā (cf. New Bengali: Sēkārā goldsmith, for which see Appendix D, Vocabulary of Bengali: Foreign Words in Bengali); Śrī-kṣi-kunḍa; the Kāyastha Dundhu-nātha; jāṭalī tree = Modern Bengali jāklī = jārul(i)].


The territory (maṇḍala) of Vyāghra-taṭā (= Bāgṛī Bāgṛī); see footnote, p. 74); the district (viṣaya) of Mahantā-prakāśa; the villages of Krauṇaśa-bhārha (cf. Haṁsā-konec in [19]), Māḍhāśāmmali and Pālitaka; the territory of Āmra-śaṇḍikā Mango-grove; the district of Sthālikkāta; Village Gō-pippali; Village Udṛgrāma; Puṇḍara-Vilvaṅgārdha stream; Nala-carmmaṭa (= *cammaṭa = chaṁḍa = camṝą = skin in New Bengali); Nāmūṇḍikā-hēsadumika (?); Vēdasavilvikā (?); Rōhita-vāți (for *Rōhia-baṭī = New Beng. Rōhīnāṭī Ru(h)ji-baṭi Carp-fish-town); Piṇḍāra-viṭṭa-jōṭikā = the Channel of the House of the Piṇḍāra (tree); Uktāra-yōta for *Uttāra-jōla Stream-crossing (?); Viṭti-dharmayō-jōṭikā; Kāṇḍa-dvipikā Blind Isle (?); Edge Isle (?); River Kōṅṭhiyā (cf. Kōṅṭo-hāḍā in § 102); Jēnandāyikā; Vesānikā-khāṭikā (= *khāḍa = New Bengali khāṭi = khāṛi = creek: see [1]); Haṭṭikā = New Bengali ḥaṭī -hāṭī market) and Tala-pataka, village quarters (cf. Tala-pataka in § 92, and Haṭṭa-pataka in § 94).

[Personal names: Dēvaṭa, Viṭaka, Bhōgaṭa, Subhaṭa (= Šubhaṭa?), Tātāṭa, Vapyaṭa (= Vappaṭa); Dēddā-dōvi].

« Hārupapesvara-pura »; « Nākka-jōši » (cf. « Nökkæ-, Nékka- » in § 105); « Avara-parvata » = Abor Hills?.

[Personal name: « Lāha(i)l-ī-jhā », according to H. P. Śāstrī, = Lāhiři Jhā = the Vārendra Brahman surname Lāhiřō « Lāhiři» + « jhā <adhyāpaka», or « ojhā < upādhyāya » (?). Words: « buṭṭika » for « * buṭia » = New Bengali ḫoḍ « buri » score; « pravista », with dental « -st- », for « praviṣṭa », showing Assamese confusion of the cerebrals and dentals as early as the 9th century.]


Villages « Tala-pāṭaka; Dara-pāṭaka; Datta-kaṭaka; Markaṭāśi-pāṭaka (= *Markaṭāvāsika-pāṭaka: Monkey-home-village?); Nava-rōpya; Paramāṭana; Dwārōdaka; Vvāra-mugguka (=*Dvāra-mug(g)ua [?]); Cāta; Jaya-karmānta-vāsaka; Ta(a?)lyōdyānī-kara-taralā (?); Kōdara-cōraka; Palaṣata; Śiva-hradikā-sogga-vargga; Śrimēta; Para-nāṭana-nāda-varmmi (?); Rōlla-vāyikā; Ugra-vöraka (= vōla, pōla field ?); Tisanāda-jaya-datta-kaṭaka ».


The word « koppam » well may be compared with Bengali কোপ « kōp » slash, dig, কোপ কুপি « kōp, kupi » a vessel.


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

« Haṭṭa-pāṭaka; Cāṭa-pāḍā; Vaḍa-gāma; Maharā-pura (= present day Māurā-pur); Haḍhī-thāna (= sthāna); Dēgāna(ma ?); Navapaṇeṇē
(= "Vara-paṃcāla", the correct reading, = the present-day Baram-cāl, Brahmacāl); Śiḍḍava; Amanāṭa; Guḍāvayika; Kāṭā-bācha (Village?); Yithāyi-nagara; Yōjlāthārka (= বোঁজা " jōrā " pair); Bālūsi-gāma; Nava-chādi; Kāḍdiyā; Savagā-nayī (= River Savagā); Ghaṭi (= ghaut); Kāṇiyānī (Kāliyā? river); Yēgamyā-gaṇīyā (?) ; Thava-sontī (arrested stream (?) :< sthāpa-srōtas + ikā »: cf. Modern Bengali া + নি = thō + sōtā < sonta [Old Bengali]<MIA. ṣonta<OIA. srōtas»); Bhāskara-ṭēṇkarī (= Bhāskara Hill? cf. § 85); Nāṭayāṇa (= thāna? Village); Ani-kāṭhi, Āḍāna-kāṭhi (< kāṭhi=kāṭhi », showing confusion between cerebrals and dentals in the old speech of Sylhet? cf. New Bengali काठी « kāṭhi » in village names, §§ 97, 109); Bhōgādatta (?) ; Sāṭa-kōpā (= Seven Springs? cf. § 93); Čedgambudāka (?) ; Naḍa-kutḷ-gāma; Haḍī-gāŋqa (gāngga: cf. New Bengali া « gāngga » stream); Dhana-kundō-ṛṇi; Pāṭhāniyā; Bhāṭa-paḍā; Chaḍhā-thānā; Hāḍīpa-grha (?) ; Piśpi-nagara; Sihādvā-grāma»: besides a number of other tadbhava and dēśī-looking names, which cannot be read properly or distinguished.

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

96. [13] Bāḷāditya Inscription of the time of Mahī-pāla: 11th year. (‘Gauḍa-lekha-mālā’)
     Village « Tailāḍhaka » = New Bengali তেলঢা « Tēḷāṛā ».


     < Mākkhiyāna-villa » = beel (marshy lake) of the Makkhāna tree (?):« Kuntavita-khambhavā (?) » ( = ? খামৰ < khām < khambhā < OIA.
skambha—, stambha— > pillar); ¼ Makutikamkhaya—hasti— (?); ¼ Kuntavita—lakkhyav ( ?) ; ¼ Kasita—pataka > Village ; ¼ Svalpadyati ( ?) ; ¼ Digumma (= dvi—gulma ?) > river.


Villages ¼ Bala—grama, Sirisa—pujja, Kutumba—palli ; ¼ Tarkari, Sivambaka >, Districts or Villages ; ¼ Sakati > river ? ; ¼ Vaijunda > tank.

[Personal names : ¼ Sahila ; ¼ Kaliyavv = Kaliparva > and Nitula >, female names.]


¼ Hastini—bhiitta, Siddhala, Vandya—ghatiti >, villages in West Bengal.

[Personal (female) name: ¼ Sangoka > .]


¼ Adhah—patana—manchala ; ¼ Kausambi—Ashtagaccha (= ¼ Atha—gachha >, Eight trees) subdivision; Village ¼ Uyali, ¼ Uppali, (= *Uppali = Upali ?). ¼ Peace Village, occurring also as ¼ Santi—pattaka, ¼ Mandara > Village ; ¼ Kauna—pala (= -pola ? Bell—metal field); Dig(h)—danji—dharar > Village ? ¼ dani—dharar = ? Holding the high road: cf. Oriya ¼ dandi > main road of a village; cf. also ¼ Lacehu—vaqaa > below; ¼ digh > = diirgha > long? or ¼ dirghikara > lake? or ¼ dik, dis = direction? or any connection with New Persian ¼ dih ? [ < Old Persian ¼ dahu = country, Skt. ¼ dasu > ], found in New Bengali as shir, shibhi ¼ dihi, dhie; Persian words were already being adopted in MIA: see later, Appendix D, Vocabulary of Bengali; see also §§ 104, 105); Village ¼ Singia—dharar = ¼ shrgika >; ¼ Lanka—vaqaa = ? Shank—ham; ¼ Konitu—vula, Konito—haca = ?; ¼ Navadharar > youthful, graceful (cf. New Bengali ¼ nadvara < navadhara > ); Villages ¼ Sira—vaqaa, ¼ Sila—guddi > (see p. 66); ¼ Jayarati—pola; ¼ Unaj—pola >


"Halāvarta Maṇḍala »; Village "Kāśṭhā (Kōśṭha ?)-giri »; Village "Campā-hitiḥti » (= Champac Village, New Bengali চম্পকি > Campāt)).


"Dhekkarit > town = New Bengali হেকরু > Dhekur »; "Piyōla Maṇḍala »; "Gālī-ṭipyaka Viṣaya » (= *Gāli-ṭipā » =? = √gal, gāl > flow, exude + √ṭip > drip); "Diggūśōḍiyā > Village (= ? > dīrgha + āvāsa + dvipaka »; for "dig-", see § 102, § 105).

[Personal name: = Nivvōka-sarmman ]


Village "Khyāti-punyā » (= khyāti + punya »?); Village "Diggōla » (for "dig-", see § 102, 104); "Pūraji Viṣaya >: "Nōkka (Nēkkā)-dēvvar-pāla (? »); "Gō-vāḍa-bhōga-ali(sa)nā (? »); Village "Khagamma » (= Reed-bank » khadgā > khagga », whence New Bengali খাগড়া > khaγγা > reed, + আলা > embankment); "Camyala-jōt » river (= cammala-jōt » cammala-jōt ? > Skin stream ? »); "Sovvaḍī > tank; "Jau-galla » river = Moltten Lac (= jau = jaũ < jatu > lac + < gala », cf. New Bengali গল > √gāl »}
flow, melt, গালা  gālā  « molten stuff, molten lac, lac-stick or -cake »;  Nékka-
dēulit  (cf. দুল  deul  « dēva-kula  temple »);  Sik (ph?) -gādī-jölt »;  Vadijjuratibhićhi (?) »;  Nékka-sarmanā »;  Avañci, -ca (?) »;  Thaisā-
Nēkka, § 91, also in an Assam Inscription);  pårati = pāṭal  pārul(i)  = pāṭali tree.

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


Village  Brāhmaṇi  in Pūndra-vardhana bhūkτi, Kōṭi-varṣa viṣaya;  Krōḍaṇci  district ? ;  Villages  Matsyāvāsa, Chātra, Pōsalī ».

[Personal name:  Khōdula-dēvaśarman ».]


« Kānti-jōnga »;  Ghāsa-sambhōga Bhāṭṭa-vaḍā » Village;  Khāḍi Viṣaya » (see § 84);  Tikṣa-hanṭa » marsh.

[Personal name — Śālādḍa (Śālādhyā ?)-nāga »].


Administrative district (sāsana) of  Khāṇḍayilla (= New Bengali খাঁদিল  « Khāṛulé »);  ibid. of  Nāḍīcā, Ambayillā, Naḍḍīmā, Jala-sōthi, Mōḷāḍandī (present-day মুড়া গ্রাম, মুড়ানৈ, মুরুন্দী  « Muṇḍī  Muṇḍī  Jala-sōthi  > « jala-
sōnti »  water stream »;  Āuḍā-gaḍdī (Āuḥāgaiḍī), Sura-kōṇa-gaḍḍā-
kiyōttarāli, Simāli, Tarāli, Kuḷambamā »;  Village  Vālla-hiṭṭā » (=বালুটি  
« Bāḷūṭi  in New Bengali);  Singaṭṭi  river.

[Personal name:  Ōvāsudēva-śarman ».]


(i) Taṛpan-dīght Grant of Lākṣmaṇa-sēna (R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 6 ff.).
OLD BENGAL PLACE- NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS 187

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

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

Village « Vēthaḍḍa » in « Paśeima-khāṭikā », within « Vardhamāna » (Burdwan) district; « Lēgha-dēva-maṇḍapī (?) » temple; « Viḍḍarasa-sāsana (?) ».

[Personal name : « Cahala-dēvasarmman »].

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


[The word « māḷāmaṇca-vāṭi » flower-garden house= New Bengali মলহ বাড়ী « māḷāṅcā-bāri »].

(iv) Sundar-ban Grant : Central Bengal (original lost: imperfect transcription in Rāma-gati Nyāya-ratna’s ‘ Bāṅgāla-bhāṣā Ō Bāṅgāla-sābitya-visayak Prastāv, 2 ’ Chinsurah, San 1294, pp. 325-327).

« Khāḍī » district in Paunḍra-vardhana (see § 106); Village « Kāntalla-pura » Village; « Śāntya-śāvi »; « Citāḍi-khāṭa »; « Mēṇḍala-grāma ».  
[Personal names : « Viṣṇu-pāṇi Gaḍālī, Kēsava Gaḍālī »].


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


INTRODUCTION: APPENDIX C

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

Villages « Aṭha-pāga; Bārayi-paḍā (= New Bengali বারীপাড়া « Bārayi-pārā » quarter of betel-vine growers); Uṇcō-kāṭṭhi (High wood); Vīra-kāṭṭhi; Piṅjō-kāṭṭhi; Nārāntapa ».


Villages « Tāla-paḍā-pāṭaka; Satrakū-dvī (=dvīpa); Sāṇkara-pāśā » (New Bengali পাঁশ « pāśa » = « pārśvaka » side, quarter, in village names); « Vāguli-vitta-gadō (?) ».

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

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

« Dāmbāra-dāma; Kāmanapauṇḍityā; Navrāpālya; Kētaṅgapālā; Mṛtaecaḍā; Bāgha-pōkhirā ». (For « Dāmbāra-dāma », cf. the town of « Dāmara », mentioned in the ‘ Rāma-carita ’: R. D. Banerji, ‘ the Pālas of Bengal’, p. 91.)

[The word « lāla » = Chittagong dialect লা « nālā » arable land.]
APPENDIX D

THE VOCABULARY OF BENGALI.

TATSAMA, 'SEMI-TATSAMA,' TADBHAVA, DESI AND 'VIDESI.'

111. Following the terminology of the Indian grammarians, and slightly extending it, the vocabulary of a NIA. language can be said to consist of 4 elements: (1) tat-sama, (2) tadbhava, (3) desi, and (4) videsi. By tatsama the Indian grammarians (of Prakrit) meant only those words, in Prakrit, which were identical in form with Sanskrit: e.g., hari, sundara, kusuma, deva, manda, cintā etc. These words, as in the earlier forms of MIA., were among those originally inherited from OIA., but they were not phonetically modified in MIA., since in their sounds they were not against the genius of the speech in the MIA. stage. In the modern employment of the term, tatsama also includes the learned words introduced from classical Sanskrit into the Prakrit speech, after the latter became characterised as NIA. The word tatsama has thus come to cover, in NIA., both the unmodified words, exactly similar to Sanskrit, which formed a part of the speech from its birth, plus later arrivals from Sanskrit as loan-words (literary and other borrowings): this is rather a loose use of the word, which is only allowable on the ground that it is used with reference to the form of a word, and not with reference to the time or manner of its inclusion or admission into the language. Thus there would be tatsamas of the oldest period, like kāla, deśa, pāsa, māna, nīca, gāna, hāsa etc., which may be described as being of the native element of the language; and these, from point of view of historical survey, should rightly come under tadbhava words, at least in certain cases. Then, there would be later tatsamas admitted at different times in the history of the language. When these later tatsamas were naturalised in the language, they also underwent changes according to the phonetic laws operating in it at the time, in addition to the slight modification in pronunciation which is bound to come when the word is introduced straight from a Sanskrit book.
It is quite possible to guess the time of admission of a *tatsama* word by noticing the change that has come to it: this change, in *tatsamas* admitted in later times, is of a different character, for instance, from that which turned OIA. to MIA., and MIA. to NIA. Thus, for example, the OIA. word *śrāddhā* *faith, devotion, desire, desire of a pregnant woman for any particular food etc.* (= *dōhada*), became in early MIA. *śādhā* (*Saurasenī* etc.), and *śāddhā* (*Māgadhī*), whence in late MIA. (*Apabhraṃśa*), *śādha* *śādhā*, and in early NIA. *śādha* *śādhā*, later *śādha* *śādhā*: e.g., Bengali *śādha* *śādhā*, wrongly written with dental *s* through fancied connection with *śādha* *śādha* *śādha*, but pronounced *śādha* *śādha* *śādha*. *śādha* *śādha* is a living *tadbhava* word in Bengali, used in the sense of *dōhada*. But *śrāddhā* has been borrowed anew in the sense of *faith, devotion, respect*, after the formation of Bengali. In Middle Bengali times, this word, pronounced as *średdhā* *średdhā* *średdhā* *średdhā*, became naturalised, and ultimately it has been vernacularised to चे डा *cheddā* *cheddā* in modern folk-Bengali. This modified form of the *tatsama*, *cheddā* occurs side by side with the genuine Sanskrit *śrāddhā*, now usually pronounced *środdhā*. Grierson and other European scholars have employed the convenient name *semi-tatsama* for these modified loan-words from the Sanskrit, which are neither part of the inherited stock of the language, nor do they preserve their original Sanskrit forms (i.e., to the extent they can do in the vernacular, and yet remain Sanskrit), but have accommodated themselves to the spirit of the spoken tongue. The same Sanskrit word, it can easily be seen, can have more than one *semi-tatsama* form in the same NIA. speech, following the time of admission, or dialect (local or communal) where they occur; thus, OIA. (*Sanskrit*) *śrāddhā* *funeral rites, funeral dinner, does not occur in its *tadbhava* form in Bengali, which would have been *śrāddhā* *śrāddhā*; but we have, in addition to the *tatsama* form चे (which is pronounced *śrāddhā*), two *semi-tatsamas*: an archaic, and rather rustic, चेहरā *cherādā* *cherādā*, found also in Middle Bengali, and a current Modern Bengali चेहराच *cherādā* *cherādā*; of which the former is earlier, being based on a pre-Bengali (*Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa*) modification, *śarādā* *śarādā* *śarādā* (or possibly with *ch* for *ś*), whence Old
TATSAMA, SEMI-TATSAMA, TADBHAVA

Bengali semi-tatsama "*charāḍha », becoming in late Middle Bengali "chārāḍa »; the latter form, "chērāḍā », would be from a Middle Bengali semi-tatsama pronunciation, "*chāṛāḍhā, chēṛāḍḍhā ».

The OIA. (Sanskrit) word "kṛṣṇa » with its modifications is another typical case. OIA. "kṛṣṇa » > MIA. "kaṇha » > NIA. "kānha, kāna », (found in Middle Bengali as kāṇ kān « kāṇha, kān » and now, with two new affixes added, as kān, kānai « kān-u, kān-ai » a pet form of the name Kṛṣṇa), shows the normal development of the word. Side by side with this tadbhava form, we have the tatsama, kṛṣṇ, pronounced in the old fashion as "kṛṣṭō, kṛṣṭyō », and in the new fashion as "kṛṣṇā »; and the various semi-tatsamas—"kaṣaṇa », now lost, in Old Bengali (Caryā 16 : « kaṣaṇa-ghaṇa gājai » = the black cloud rumbles), which is based on a MIA. semi-tatsama; kēṣṭe kēṣṭe « keṣṭā, keṣṭō », usually as the name, based on a Middle Bengali pronunciation « kṛṣṭā, ke(r)ṣṭā »; and lastly, kīṣṇ « kīṣanā », as in the name of an image of Kṛṣṇa, e.g., rākṣa kīṣṇ jī « Rādhā-Kīṣanā-jī » the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (in a temple), which is based on another Middle Bengali pronunciation, "*kriṣanā », modified by the pronunciation of Northern India: cf. Hindī « Kisan, Kisen ».

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

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

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

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

113. The vidēśi, or mlēccha, i.e., foreign or extra-Indian element is not much noticed by the older grammarians, first, because the number of foreign words was comparatively small, and secondly, because their origin was not always known. Yet words like <pika> cuckoo, <dināra> a gold coin, <dramma> a coin (= Latin <pēcus, dēnārius>, Greek <drakhmē>) were recognised as foreign in ancient times. The foreign, i.e., extra-Indian elements in the Aryan speech, before the contact of the Indo-Aryans with
the Iranians (Persians) in the Panjab after the Achaemenian conquest, are not properly known. Comparison has been made, however, between certain Vedic words and some from Mesopotamia (Sumerian and Semitic), and it has been thought that these words were borrowed by the Aryans (see p. 28, footnote). From the beginning of the 5th century B.C., when the Persians ruled a part of North-western India, there has been some sort of connection between India and Persia, sometimes intimate, sometimes distant. There was mutual influence between the two countries; and, as a result of the political and cultural influence of Persia on India, we have a number of Old and Middle Persian words in Indo-Aryan down to the period of the Moslem (TurkI) invasions in the 10th century. Words like «dipii» writing, inscription, «nipista» written, and «yöna (=yavana)» Greek (Ionian), found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, and «kṣatrapa» satrap (=Old Persian «dipi, nipiśta-, yauna, xšātra-pāvan»), belong to the early or old (pre-Christian) period of Persian influence; and in subsequent post-Christian times, we have quite a number of Iranian words in the MIA. dialects of India: e.g., «mihira» sun (=Middle Persian [Pāzand] «mihir», Old Persian «miθra» = OIA. «mitra»); «maga» a class of Brahmans (=Iranian «maga-» Magnus, priest of the Zoroastrian faith); «pusta» book (= Middle Persian [Pahlavi] «pōst» skin, skin for writing); «kunduru» frankincense (=Pahlavi «kundur»); etc. (See Berthold Laufer, 'Sino-Iranica,' Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, and other works, for the study of Iranian influence on Indian culture and speech). After the establishment of Moslem rule in India by the Turks, the Tājiks and the Afghāns, Persian was introduced into the country as the language of administration and as the culture-language of the Mohammedan courts; by that time, the NIA. languages had originated, and they came in direct touch with Persian, under its umbrage and influence. Persian had already entered upon the present New or Modern phase of its history.

Apart from Persian, Greek was the other extra-Indian language which influenced IA. (in the MIA. stage). Greek adventurers and officers in Persian service seem to have come to India even before Alexander's invasion
in 327 B.C. Intimate relations between the Greeks and Indians began from the next century, and continued down to the end of the 3rd century A. C. The Greek settlers in India, however, were rapidly Hinduised and absorbed. Greek contact with India has given a number of Indian words to the Greek language; and as a result of Greek influence on Indian culture, we have a number of Greek words in Indo-Aryan, the MIA. vernaculars and Sanskrit. (These have been studied by Weber: see I Ant., May 1873.)

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

[1] From Old and Middle Persian > MIA.

पुथि, पुथि, पूथि « pūṭhi, puthi, pūthi » book, manuscript in the old Indian style: earlier « pōthi »; MIA. « potthia »: Iranian (Pahlavi)

<pōst > skin, parchment, Sanskritised to « pusta, pusta-ka, pust-ikā ».

पाइक « pāıkka » foot-soldier, footman: MIA. « pāikka », from Iranian « pāīk ».

मूट च « mueṭ » shoe-maker, earlier « mōci », as in Hindi: from MIA.

« *mōcia »: from Middle Persian (Pahlavi) « mōcak » shoe, boot

(whence New Persian « mōzah, mūzah », the source of the New Bengali word मोजा « mōjà » boots > socks).

সেকরা « sēkāra » [sēk̩ra] goldsmith = Old Bengali « *sēkārä », found in a Sanskritised form « sēkya-kāra » engraver, for a MIA.

« *sekka-āra », in the Bhāskara-varmman (Nidhanpur) inscription of the 7th century (see page 181). The word « *sekka » is a loan-word from the Middle Persian, which had a large number of borrowed words from the Semitic (Aramaic). The Middle Persian source of « *sekka », probably a form like « *sikkah », is itself borrowed from the Aramaic « ṣykt » die for coining. (Cf. S. Fraenckel, ‘Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen,’ Leyden, 1886, pp. 192, 194. [I am indebted to Prof. Jules Bloch for the reference.])

« *sekka-kāra » therefore originally = a die-engraver, then engraver,
FOREIGN WORDS: CLASSIFICATION OF NIA. WORDS

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

[2] From Greek:

δαμ "dāmā" price, δαμिय "dāmiya" a small value, 1/12 of a piece: MIA. "damma" = "dramma" in the speech of North-western India in the Transitional MIA. period, Sanskritised to "drama" : from the Greek "drakhmē".

सेत "seti, seti" = sīwi < Indian vermicelli, = Hindustāni "sīwāj, sīwāj, sīwājyā" etc.: cf. Skt. "samita, samidā" fine wheat flour: Greek "semidalis". The Greek word, with its close "e", approaching the sound of "i", possibly gave a 'Transitional MIA.' form "simida√, whence the NIA. word.

सर्पण "surāṇga, surāṇ" tunnel : Sanskrit "surāṇga", from Greek "surins (syrinx)".

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

Classification of NIA. Words.

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

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

(a) tadbhava words;

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

(c) aboriginal borrowings, and words unexplained by Aryan roots: the dēsī words; and
(d) a few foreign words, like the Persian and Greek ones noted in § 113.

[2] Borrowed words:
(a) Indian: Aryan.
(i) From OIA. and MIA.—from Sanskrit, Classical and Vedic: a very large number of recent tātsamas and semi-tātsamas; from Pali and other Prakrit: a few very recent admissions—e.g., words like thēra, kāhāpaṇa, pāṭi-mokkha, avahaṭṭha etc., which are restricted in use.

(ii) From NIA. sister-speeches: a very large number from Hindōstānī (e.g., बानी बानी bānī making charges of jewelry = Hindī banī); कालोयā कालोयā kāloṭ musical artist = H. kalāwa(n)t; लुटिल लुटिल lucī thin wheaten cakes fried in ghee = lucūī; the affix ओला ओला -ōāla = -wālā, etc., etc.); and some from the other Aryan speeches, coming through direct contact as well as through Hindōstānī, or, in recent times, through the English newspapers conducted by both Indians and Englishmen: e.g., Panjābī sikh शिख शिख Sikh; cāhidā being wanted = चाहिदा cāhidā demand; Gujarātī haḍṭāl closing of markets = हड्टाल, हर्ताल haṛṭāl, haṛṭāl strike, closing of shops; garbā a kind of dance = गरबा गरबा, kaṇvī a caste = कुनबी kunbī; Marāṭhī pāṭil, kulakarṇī = pāṭil, kulakarṇī pāṭil, kulakarṇi village officers; Māwali a Marāṭhā tribe = माओली māoālī, माउली māulī. Genuine tadbhava borrowings from NIA. languages other than Hindōstānī are rather rare in Bengali. We have in addition a number of Sanskrit (tātsama) and Persian words coming to Bengali through the intermediacy of Modern Indian speeches: e.g., Marāṭhī nyāyādhīs judge = Bengali bicārd-kārtā; śrī-khaṇḍa a preparation of curds; bārgīr irregular cavalry man, from the Persian, = बर्गी, वर्गी बर्गी bārgī Marāṭhā raider; and a whole host of Persian words from Hindōstānī.

(b) From the non-Aryan languages of India, and from extra-Indian non-Aryan speeches belonging to groups represented in India. This list is extremely small: and a few which are recent arrivals through English, like cheroot चुरुट चुरुट from Tamil sūḷuṭṭu, should not be considered here.
CLASSIFICATION OF WORDS: TADBHAVA, DESĪ 197

(i) From the Dravidian languages: mainly caste-names, e.g., Nāmburi, Nāmbudri (= Nambudri), Pīlē (= Pililai), Cēti (= Ceṭṭi) » names of the languages—Tamil (= Tamil), Telēgu, Telugu (= Telugu), Kānāri (= Kannada), Mālayāli, -lam (= Mālayālam).

(ii) From Kōl: bōnga, bōngā, bāngā » god, spirit, godling = Kōl bongā »; hāriyā » rice-beer, cf. Santali hēre ».

(iii) From Tibeto-Burman: names of tribes; besides a few words like lāma » lama = Tibetan blama »; Burmese nāppi » fish and meat condiment = ngappe », phuŋgi » Buddhist monk = hponggyi », lungi » loin-cloth = lunggyi », cān » monastery = kyaung », etc.

(c) Extra-Indian:

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

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

(a) Portuguese
(b) English
(c) French, Dutch (a few)

Foreign words generally, coming through the medium of European languages, should be considered as European words: e.g., chá » cā » tea, (Chinese), julu » Zulu (Bantu), sāgu, sābu » sago (Malay), hārikiri » hōkōri » (Japanese), bālsēbhik » Russian, kuināin » quinine (Peruvian), māṇḍu » myājenṭā », folk-Bengali māṇḍo « myājenṭār » magenta red (Italian) etc., etc.

TADBHAVA AND DESĪ WORDS.

115. The tadbhava element is the most important one in the philology of a NIA. language. OIA. took special and definite forms in the different parts of the country, and became characterised as MIA. of the various tracts (e.g., Udīeya, Madhya-ḍēśya, Prācya; Śauraseni, Mahārāṣṭrī,
Māgadhī). But no NIA. language of the present day is the result of an unimpeded development of a particular MIA. dialect. In a country like India (which, however vast it may be, presents one whole, and where intimate communication between even the most distant parts was never absent, both through the domination of political powers and through cultural and commercial contact), there have always been influences and cross-influences in the linguistic life of the people; and this has made the development of most NIA. speeches appear complicated and irregular in some points. At times it is impossible to unravel the tangle presented by the diversity and contrariness of development, in the tadhhavāa forms found in the same NIA. speech,—a diversity which is due to the influence of sister-dialects.

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

*Tadhhavā* words are connected with every-day life, and these had to do by far the greatest amount of work, so to speak, in the language. Frequently, through phonetic decay, the Modern Bengali forms have preserved but very little of their OIA. originals. Yet this whittling down of the forms of the words is only their historical development; and the lines along which this development has occurred, after they have been found out, give the *phonological laws* of the language. Thus, the Bengali word (Standard Colloquial) এইঝা, এইঝা is all that is left of the OIA. word *avidhavā* (*avidhawā > *avidhavā > avihavā > *āihā > *āyihā >  আইহ আইহ > আইযা আইযা > আই > *) ; however, however, the *s(u)ā > [ j(u)ō ] favourite wife represents the OIA. word *subhāgā* (*subhagā > *subhāgā > *subhā > *suḥā > *suḥā > *su > suō > sō > *) ; আযাগ *Āyāg* a name in the *Kṛṣṇa legend* is all that remains of *Abhimanyu* (*abhimanyu > *abhimāṇyū > abhiyānā > *āhiyānā > আহিন্য আহিন্য > *āhiyānā > *āyānā > ); জি *jū > daughter, servant-
The study of the \( \text{dēśī} \) words is the least satisfactory part of IA etymology. We have the modern \( \text{dēśī} \) words in the various languages, from which, with the help of some of the Prakrit \( \text{dēśī} \) words, MIA originals may be reconstructed. Quite a number of \( \text{dēśī} \) words begin with a cerebral sound, and many with a palatal. In Dravidian, initial cerebral is rare, if not non-existent (see footnote, p. 38): and \( \text{dēśī} \) words with an initial cerebral would thus seem to be not from Dravidian. Quite a number of words in IA. have been traced to a Dravidian origin (see references under Appendix B; also pp. 42, 64 ff.). A great many are undoubtedly Köl or Austro-Asiatic. The new method inaugurated by J. Przyluski in the study of IA. borrowings from Köl, by comparing forms in the Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian languages, has led to some sure results in this most obscure branch of IA. etymology. (Cf. J. Przyluski in the MSL., Paris, XXII, pp. 205 ff., XXIV, pp. 118 ff.; cf. also S. K. Chatterji, 'The Study of Köl,' in the Calcutta Review for September, 1923). But in the absence of any knowledge of the Köl and other Austro-Asiatic speeches of an early period (barring, however, the Khmēr of Cambodia: cf. G. Maspero, 'Grammaire Khmère,' Paris, 1915, p. 23), nothing definite can be said. There is also the possibility of non-Aryan speeches (other than Dravidian, Köl and the later Tibet-Chinese), speeches now extinct, being present in India during the first half of the first millennium A.C., and contributing some \( \text{dēśī} \) words and in other ways influencing Indo-Aryan. In the present state of our knowledge, the \( \text{dēśī} \) words in NIA. may be considered along with
the *tadbhava* words, as forming part of the inherited element, citing an attested non-Aryan word for reference only, wherever the latter, from similarity in form and meaning with a *dēśi* word in IA., offers itself for comparison.

The onomatopoetic jingles, so characteristic of Bengali as of Modern Indian speech in general, Aryan and non-Aryan (see Appendix B, p. 176), have been brilliantly studied by Rabindra-nāth Tagore (*Śabda-tattva*, pp. 22 ff.) and by Rāmēndra-Sundar Trivedī (*Śabda-kathā*, pp. 17 ff.): the latter writer has included a number of words as onomatopoeics which have an historical development from OIA. words, and happen to agree with the Bengali scheme of onomatopoeia merely as a coincidence. The onomatopoetic *dēśi* formations do not offer any scope for comparison with non-Aryan speeches, except in noticing a general agreement in principle.

**Tatsama Words.**

116. The *tatsama* element can be dismissed after a discussion of the modifications the Sanskrit sounds undergo in being pronounced by Bengali speakers. It will be interesting to note how persistent is the Prakritic or MIA. system of phonetics in NIA., in giving a *tadbhava* look to recently introduced *tatsama* words, in pronunciation, and turning them into *semi-tatsamas* going very close to *tadbhavas*, actually existing or possible,—although the spelling would scorn to note it: e.g., बाह *vāhya*, pronounced [bajʃɔ] in the Standard Colloquial; cf. a possible *tadbhava* *bajhya*; मासन *śmaśāna*, pronounced [ʃiʃan], cf. *tadbhava* मासन *māśan*; लक्ष्मी *lakṣmī*, pronounced [lɔkxi]; पद्म *padma*, pronounced [poddo]. Words like वंसर, मंस्य *vatsara, matsya* were formerly pronounced [boʃɔɦor, moʃɔɦɔ], but now we have a new tradition in [bɔtʃɔ, mɔtʃɔ]; so जिह्वा *jihva* अह्वान *ahvāna* have yielded their old pronunciations [ʃiʃɔʃiʃa, abʃiʃiʃa], to [ʃiʃiʃa, oʃiʃa]. This sort of compromise between the *tatsama* and the *tadbhava* forms, by allowing the former to reign supreme in the written (and printed) page, and the latter, as far as practicable, in the spoken word, has been instrumental in the gradual disuse from the spoken language of a very large number of good
old tadbhavas. And this has made the Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit notoriously bad, from the Sanskrit standard, so much so that the most erudite Bengali Paññit, following the traditional Bengali pronunciation, would be understood only with great difficulty when talking Sanskrit to a Paññit from Benares, Poona or Conjeeeveram.

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

The Foreign Element: Persian.

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

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

The Turks who had settled down in North-eastern Persia and 'Afghanistan' were Persianised in culture. They ruled over the Persian-speaking Tājiks, and the Turk and the Tājik both took part in spreading the Persian language in India. Persian exerted an enormous influence in Northern India; and the speech of Delhi, the head-quarters of the Mohammedan (Turkī, Afgān, Moghal) power in India, became saturated with Persian, and ultimately came to be transformed into Urdū. In Bengal, Persian did not have much influence before the time of the Moghals, i.e., from the last quarter of the 16th century. Under the Turkī and Afgān rulers, the administration of Bengal was left mainly in the hands of Hindu feudatories, who were mostly Kāyasthas by caste, and ordinarily very little influence could be exerted on the life and language
of the people from the Mohammedan court at Gaur or Sonargaon. The Turki and other foreign Moslems who settled down in Bengal came themselves to be influenced by their subjects. At the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, we find that the Moslem king of Bengal and his lieutenants in Chittagong were active patrons of Bengali literature. But contact with the Moslems certainly brought in a number of Persian words into Bengali during the early period of Mohammedan rule. Many of the practices of the Sultān’s darbār at Gaur were adopted by the petty chiefs of Bengal, and engrafted on the old Hindu court customs and etiquette which were preserved in the independent states of Orissa (Jājnagar), Vishnupur, Tirahut, Tippera, Sylhet and Kāma-rūpa. This meant an addition of Persian terms to the vocabulary of the Bengali. The Moslem Kāzi (Qādī) or district officer, who had control over the general administration, the Āmin or governor, and in later times the Pauj-dār or military magistrate, as well as the revenue officials, brought to the people of Bengal Persian words connected with justice, revenue and general administration: and the number of such words even now in use in Bengali is quite a large one. Constant fighting in Bengal brought in a number of Persian military terms like ṭīr < tīr > arrow, kāmn < kāmān > bow, later gūn (=kamān), kātal < kātāl > execution (= qātā), kēlā < kellā > fort (= qīlah), burūj < burūj > battlement, tower (= burj), lāskār < lāskār > army, hājārī < hājārī > captain over thousand (= hazārī), fāṭeh < phāṭe > victory (= fāṭh), mūrūcēa < murūcēa > intrenchment (= mūrcēh), etc., etc. The Mohammedan preacher taught the Bengali converts and their Hindu kinsmen words like kālima or kāla < kāl(i)mā > creed, kōrān < kārān > the Koran, bhestā < bhestā > paradise (= bihišt), jahārn or dōjāk < jāhānnām, dōjākh > hell (= jahānnām, dužāx), gōnā < gōnā > sin (= gunā), pāk < pāk > holy, pīr < pīr > saint, pāygambar < pāygambar > prophet (= paygāmbār), kētāb < kētāb > the book (= kitāb), khōdā < khōdā > God (= xudā), ḥāj < ḥāj > pilgrimage (= ḥajj), sunnāt < sunnāt > circumcision, ṭōjā < ṭōjā > fast (= ṭōzāh), hārām < hārām > forbidden (= ḥarām), and bōt, bū < bōt > but, Indianised to būt < bhūt >, idol (= but), etc., etc.

In all these ways, quite a number of Persian words came in by
the end of the 16th century, as it is attested from literature.¹ In the first century of the Moslem conquest, some Moslem names were in all probability familiarised to the people of Bengal, like তুর্ক < turuk > Turk, Mohammedan (=turk), ম(হ)মদ < m(a)mmad > Muḥammad, গাজি < gāji > warrior (=gāzi), ফকির < phâkîr > mendicant (= faqîr), সেক < sēk > Sheikh (= šayx). Intimate relations between the Turki and other Moslem conquerors of Bengal and the Bengalis soon began. In the first quarter of the 15th century, the Varèndra Brâhmans of North Bengal were a power in the Moslem state, so much so that one of them, Rājā Kâns or Gaṇeśa, made himself king, and his line, which became Mohammedan after his death, continued for some time. Persian as the cultural and administrative language of the Mohammedan rulers came to be studied by some Hindus in Bengal, probably shortly after the establishment of the Turks in the land: it may be from the beginning of the 14th century. During the first quarter of the 16th century, a Bengali Brâhman was the दाबीर-खास or private secretary of the Mohammedan king of Bengal. But it was not before the 17th century that Persian came to exert any preponderant influence on Bengali. In the middle of the 16th century, Jayānanda in his 'Caitanya-maṅgala' makes Caitanya describe the evils of the Kali age, among which are the wearing of a beard by Brâhmans, their reading Persian, putting on high boots, holding a stick and a bow, and reciting 'mansari' (= maṅnavi) (p. 139, VSPd. edition). These remarks show that many Brâhmans were reading Persian and doing all these things, but the orthodox thought it was wrong. In the 18th century, however, the poet Bhārata-candra's people were angry with him because he wanted to

¹ The following rough figures will give some idea of the rate of admission of Persian words into Bengali, in the course of the several centuries. Fourth quarter of the 14th century: 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana,' about 9,500 lines, only 4 Persian words; fourth quarter of the 16th century: Vijaya Gupta's 'Padmā-Purāṇa,' some 18,000 lines, about 125 words, including some names; middle of the 16th century, Māpika Gāṅguli's 'Dharma-maṅgala,' about 17,000 lines, over 225 words; fourth quarter of the 16th century, Mukunda-rama Cakravartī's 'Caṇḍi-Kāvyā,' some 20,000 lines, between 200 and 210 words; middle of the 18th century, Bhārata-candra's 'Annadā-maṅgala,' some 13,000 lines, a little over 400 words.
read Sanskrit instead of Persian: and Bhārata-candra belonged to a good Brāhman family. The attitude apparently had changed.

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

A direct and more intimate connection was established between the capital cities of Delhi and Agra and the distant šubah of Bengal. The real ruler of the country was no longer the Hindu bhūyā or rājā,—the feudal chief or semi-independent ruler, as before; the bhūyā became the mere zamin-dār or land-holder under the Moghal, and his powers were transferred to a great extent to officers of the emperor. The average Bengali came in greater touch with the administrative machinery than before. The services of Bengalis were largely requisitioned to carry on the complex business of the state—executive and judicial, fiscal and military. Bengalis looking for preferment had to pay greater attention to the Persian language. By coming in touch with the men in the court of the Nawāb Naẓim (military ruler) and the Dīwān (civil administrator), by mixing with Hindu and Mohammedan officials sent out from Hindostan, the Bengali of the upper classes (who until recent times has always accepted the guidance of Upper India in matters of culture), became far more refined and polished, far more open in mind, and far more astute. New things—ideas and objects—freely came to Bengal, and for a time Bengal was no longer isolated, but became a real province of Hindostan. The Moghal empire united all Northern India; and the 17th century, which witnessed the zenith of Moghal power, saw also the establishment of a new lingua franca for India—Hindōstānī. In the 12th and 13th centuries, India was the battle-ground of two peoples, Hindu and Turkī-Tājik, with different sets of ideas. By 1605, when Akbar died, a synthesis
had been effected, out of which arose an Indo-Moslem culture, and the Hindōstānī speech became its vehicle. Hindōstānī made itself the inheritor and propagator of the Persian and Moslem spirit in India, from the 17th and 18th century; and it came to Bengal, and Persian words which formerly were brought into Bengali mostly directly, now began to be admitted in larger numbers through Hindōstānī into Bengali and the various other vernaculars of the land.

The result of it all was that towards the end of the 18th century, the Bengali speech of the upper classes, even among Hindus, was highly Persianised. But a turn came from the next century. A great many words which were used by the people in the 18th century continued to be employed till the middle of the 19th century, but they were not able to take root in the language (Cf. S. K. De, 'History of Bengali Literature, 1800-1825,' Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 142, 169, 279, 280, 288); although some still retain their place in the speech of Musalmān Bengalis, and have thus become class-dialect words. A few new words have been admitted, mainly through Hindōstānī, within the 19th century: e.g., বিমান = bimān > insurance, খাকি = khāki, আন্দুন = āndūn > a society, etc. But so far as the standard Bengali of the present day is concerned, the nett result of the Persian influence has been the imposition, as a permanent addition to the vocabulary, of some 2,500 words (as in Jñānendrā-Mōhan Dās's Bengali Dictionary: see § 123), which would be admitted as Bengalised words by most sections of the people: together with a few Persian affixes which have become thoroughly naturalised. (See under Morphology: Formative Affixes.)

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

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

¹ E.g. আমীর, ওদরা, উলৌর, খানদান, খেতাব, খেলাং, খাস, পাক, বাস, দরবার, দোলৎ, নকীব, নবাব, বাংলা, মীরা, মালিক, হজুর, হজরট; অলেকার, কুচ, কাওয়াজ, কাতার, কারু, খন্দর, গালিম, জখন, জিরিয়া, জামাইর, তবে, তালু, তেজে, হরদন, হরদার, না, ফোঁজ, ফোঁৎ, বাহিনী, মসলাদার, রসালা, রেসালা, লকার, লালার, সরদার, হলকা, হিন্দু।

(6) Some 30 to 40 names of foreign peoples.¹
(7) Some 500 words relating to common things and notions of life.²

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>82·3</td>
<td>13·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bengal</td>
<td>50·5</td>
<td>48·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Bengal</td>
<td>37·3</td>
<td>59·2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>30·8</td>
<td>67·5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>85·0</td>
<td>14·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>48·0</td>
<td>50·75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(including Sikhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Bihar</td>
<td>90·4</td>
<td>9·3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

¹ E.g. आंद्र, आंद्रानी, इंद्रजी, इटुरानी, इंद्री, उजवक, उजवकी, निबाती, निबाती, हस्ती, (हिन्दी).
² E.g. अमर, आंदू, आंदूजी, आंदूजी, अव-हाओया, अशमान, असाल, ईयर, ईयर, ओज, ओज, कम, कम, कांगी, कांगी, कांगी, कांगी, कांगी, कांगी, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बजर, बज.
ISLĀM IN BENGAL

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

But this large proportion of Moslems among the Bengali-speaking people did not produce any appreciable increase of Persian influence on the language: since the masses in East Bengal, inspite of their extra-Indian religion, remained culturally and mentally Hindu (or Buddhist, with a veneer of Hinduism), and carried on the native Bengali traditions in literary and other matters. The greatest Middle Bengali Moslem Poet
is Aläöl (17th century), whose Bengali version of Mälik Muhammad Jaist’s 'Padumäwatî' (see p. 18) is as Sanskritic in language as the works of any of his Hindu contemporaries. But during all these centuries, the Mohammedans of Bengal were acquiring a respectable Persian vocabulary, mainly in connection with their religion and to some extent of their social life as well.

The real conversion of the Bengali Mohammedans to Islâm began from the commencement of the 19th century, when some reform movements seeking to bring their life and thought more in accordance with the cosmopolitan Mohammedan notions took place. Urdû began to exert a greater influence from a centre like Calcutta. The Musalmâns of the old school, however, in matters literary, continued to follow the old Bengali tradition; and Musalmâns trained in schools and colleges did not seek to differentiate themselves from their Hindu kinsmen in the style of Bengali they employed. Side by side with the Hindu writers of Bengali have come forward a number of Musalmâns writers, some of whom have made a valuable contribution to the stock of national literature, and a young generation of Musalmâns poets and prosateurs are taking a part in transforming the stilted literary Bengali into a natural language, on a Sanskrit basis, and keeping true to its native spirit as a Sanskritic language. But within the last century has been established, in the hands of some Urdû-knowing Maulavis, a form of Bengali which is known as 'Musalmân Bengali,' in which a considerable literature consisting of adaptations of Moslem and Persian stories and romances and religious works and tracts has grown up. Works like the 'Jang-nâmah,' narrating the tragedy of Karbalâ, biographies of Muḥammad, legends of Mohammedan saints, Persian epic and romance like the 'Shâh-nâmah' and the 'Sikandar-nâmah,' Arab romance like the 'Amîr Hamzah' and the Arabian Nights, and a host of other works, have been rendered into 'Musalmân Bengali,' and are quite popular with a large Mohammedan Bengali audience. The 'Musalmân Bengali' employed in these works, however, is often too much Persianised; but the metres are Bengali, and a large percentage of Sanskrit words are retained, cheek by jowl with the
Perso-Arabic importations. It is the Maulavi’s reply to the Paṇḍit’s sādhu-bhāgā of the early and middle part of the 19th century. The percentage of Persian words in a typical ‘Musalmānī Bengali’ work, the ‘Bārā Dāstān Āmīr Ḥāmza’ the Great Tale of Āmīr Hāmzah, is about 31·74, as seen from computing the words in 5 pages of a folio edition from the popular Baṭtalā printing houses of Calcutta. This is to a considerable extent less than in literary Urdu: 5 ghazals in the latter language, by Dāgh, Maqbul, Zafar, Ātīf and Laṭīf, showing 235 Persian words in a total of 636, a percentage of about 40. The ordinary colloquial Bengali of the Hindu middle and upper classes of Calcutta, as in the ‘Hutōm Pīcār Naksā’, shows 7·1 of Persian words (see §123). In the language of the Hindu women of the upper classes, the percentage would be somewhat smaller; and in a Bengali Moslem home, it would rise to higher than 7·1%, it may be even 15%, but it could never be as high as 30%, even in the most preponderatingly Mohammedan parts of Bengal. One of the features of ‘Musalmānī Bengali’, which demonstrates its rather artificial character, is the frequent use of Hindōstānī words and forms (e.g., पाँ for पा pá ‘foot’, बेस bhēs ‘dress’, गोड़ा thōrā ‘for a little, मेरा तेरा mērā tērā ‘for your, तैर to mār ‘tār ‘for my, thy’, खोड़ा to wāstē khōdār ‘for goad to carapace, khōdār kārāṇ ‘for God’s sake, खद तेस तैसā aisā ‘in this way, in that way, etc., etc., which have no existence in the Bengali as spoken by the Musalmāns in the villages, within the different dialectal areas. ‘Musalmānī Bengali’ thus savours of the mixed Bengali-Hindōstānī-Awadhi jargon which is heard in the bazaars of Calcutta among Mohammedan working classes, cabmen, petty traders and others, who speak Calcutta Bengali and Hindōstānī equally badly, and unlike the Mohammedan masses in the country, have no proper dialect. Books in ‘Musalmānī Bengali’ begin from the right side, following the way of an Arabic or Persian book, although the alphabet is Bengali. The literature in Musalmānī Bengali has no merit, and some of the deathless tales of pre-Moslem Persia, as in the ‘Shāh-nāmah’, and of early Islam, have been ruined by the hack
versifiers of Calcutta and Chittagong in rendering them in this jargon. The culture which is native to Bengali village life, Hindu and Moslem, is often entirely crushed out of it; and we have still to fall back upon the songs, and folk-tales, and ballads, in the standard literary language, slightly modified by dialect, which are still current among Bengali Musalmāns in the countryside, especially in East Bengal,—to appreciate the literary tradition that yet lives among them. Educated Mohammedans of the present day have not taken kindly to this form of Bengali. The earlier Musalmān writers did not employ such a Persianised language: witness Ālāol, who may be reckoned among the greatest poets of Early Bengal; and witness the language of scores of late Middle Bengali works by Musalmān writers, as, for example, in Munshi Abdul Karim Sāhityavīsārada’s Descriptive List of Bengali MSS., mostly from Chittagong (‘Bāngālā Prācīn Puthir Vivaran,’ 2 parts, VSPd., San 1321). As an ever-increasing number of Musalmān writers of Bengali are coming to the front, the accession to the language of more Perso-Arabic words, specially relating to the Mohammedan religion and to Islāmic culture, will be in the nature of things: but this accession can very well be without interfering with the spirit of the language by introducing Urdu forms and idioms. (Muhammad Yākūb Ālī, born 1666, a younger contemporary of Alāol, wrote a ‘Jang-nāmah’ in 1699: his work as preserved in MSS. and in printed editions, shows an almost equally Persianised style as an ordinary modern work in Musalmānī Bengali of Calcutta; but it is a question how far the current recensions, both in MS. and in print, represent the 17th century Bengali of the poet, as their Bengali is modern, and has modern Urdu forms,—the latter being as yet an undeveloped language in the 17th century: cf. ‘Jaṅga-nāmā,’ by Ābdul Gafur Siddiki, in the VSPdP., 1324, No. 2.)

120. By ‘Persian Element in Bengali’ is to be meant not only native Persian words, but also the host of Arabic words naturalised in it, and also a few Turki words which the Persians received from their Turki neighbours and rulers. It does not seem as if Turki exerted any influence on Indian languages, although it was the home language of the Moslem
ruling houses in the early centuries of Moslem conquest and rule, and again in the early part of the 16th century when Bābar wrested the Northern empire from the Paṭhāns and the Rājpūts. Hindōstāni has less than 100 Turkī words (in Fallon’s Dictionary the number is about 70), and Bengali does not seem to possess more than 40. A few of these Turkī words in Hindōstāni and Bengali may have come direct from Turkī as spoken in India: but it is convenient to include them under Persian.

A few Paštō words, not even half a dozen, can also be included under Persian.

1 I have been able to find the following: अगि, 'āgā' master (Turkī 'aga'); अल्मारा, 'ālkāhālā' a loose robe (alkaliq); उनक, 'ūnka' an idiot, an uncultured fellow (Persian 'uzbāg'; Turkī 'obzak' name of a Turkī tribe); उर्दु, 'ūrdu, urdu' market, the Urdu language (Persian 'urdū', Turkī 'ordu' camp); कड़क, कड़े, kalka, kalgā aigrette ('qalga'); काँटे, 'kāntī' scissors ('qainci'); but cf. Old Bengali of Sarvānanda [p. 109]—'काटी' = 'körtakā'; काबु, 'kābu' possession, reduction to one's power ('qapu; gate, opportunity, possession, hold, grasp); कुल, 'kuli' porter ('quli' slave); कौंतक, 'kāntā' stick ('qutka'); कोटी, 'kormā' meat stew ('qawurma'); खतुन, 'khātnū' lady (xatun'); खान, 'xān' lord, prince ('xān, xaqan'); खानुम, 'xānum' lady (xānum'); गालिश, 'galicha' carpet ('qalica, galica'); चक, 'cak' screen made of finely split bamboo (Persian 'cigh', Turkī 'cīq'); तक, 'takma' badge, shield-badge ('tamga'); तबक, 'tabak' gun, rifle ('topak, topak'); ताबगर, 'tagār' trough, mason’s lime-pit ('tagār'); तुजक, 'tujuก' regulation, revinue, pomp, dignity ('tuzak'); तुरक, तुरुक, 'turuk, turk' ('turk'); तोड़ा, 'tōdā' as in तोड़ा, लड़ा, 'tora' bandh khānī feast with dishes arranged ('tornā, tornā'); तोप, 'top' gun, cannon ('top'); दार, 'dār' an officer; बड़ी, 'bakā' a surname (Persian 'baší', Turkī 'baksi' pay master); बबुरी, 'baburci' cook ('bawari'); बहादुर, 'bahādur' brave ('bahadur'); बिबी, 'bibi' a lady; बेगम, 'begum' lady, princess ('begum'); बौढ़क, 'būndoč' bundle ('būgen, būcen'); बुकाह, 'mucalaka' bond, note of hand ('mucalka'); बुक, 'bok' rak, raokār, 'ledge, raised platform ('rawaq'); बाल, 'bāl' corpse ('bālā'); सोग, 'sogāt' present; बुरुक, 'buruk' 'buruk' suruk, surūk trick, ruse ('surūg' spying); and the affix, 'cī' in some words (e.g., माझी, 'māčācī', 'torch-bearer, खजांजी, 'khajāncī' = xazāん-cī' treasurer).

2 The word गाँव = पांडी = पाँडान = फाँदान from 'Paṣṭā', is an Indianised form. The other Paštō words are तपस = taps 'search' (a borrowed word in Paštō, from the Arabic 'taphağhys'), रोहला, रोहला 'rohila' (a tribal name, Paštō 'roh' mountain), besides a few other names of tribes.
Of direct Arabic influence, there has been practically nil, although the Urdu form of Hindostani in the hands of Mohammedan writers at the present day sometimes borrows Arabic words and phrases straight from Arabic itself, and not through Persian.

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

**Portuguese, Dutch, French and English Words.**

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

organ, rather than Portuguese orgão which would give "ârgām, ârgāu" in Bengali. The following words, not noted in the above papers, are also from the Portuguese: कातन कातन a sword = Portuguese catana; खाना khāna ditch, cf. Portuguese cano; and कोप, को protestors bent double, as with age, cf. Port. cunha = wedge).

The French and Dutch words do not appear to be over 10 in number. Of course, there are numerous French words through English, but very few are derived directly from French. French speakers (and Dutch speakers) had occasion to come in touch with Bengalis at Chandernagore (and at Chinsurah). The following words are from the French: कार्तुज kārtuž cartouche, बारुश bārūš barouche, कुपन kupān coupon, इस्कातॉर iskātor escriptoire, écrivain, आन्स ānts anise (liquor); कातुर kātur quatre, सौसाद sūsād or इस्कातॉर iskātor onze, दोहो दोहो dōhō douze, and a few others, in connection with card games; and names of some European peoples, as in 18th century and modern Bengali: फरास, फरासी फारस, फारसी फारसī सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी सीसी सुससी जी
of new ideas Sanskrit (and vernacular) neologues, but these have almost invariably failed when they referred to material objects: although Indian equivalents of the English idea words and institution words, being confined to the speech of the educated, have sometimes caught on: e.g., বাসপাটি for railway, কৌতুকগার for museum have failed, the speech of the masses employing either রেলওয়ে for railway or রেজিয়া for railway or কলের গাড়ি for car; কালীরটি for magic-house, and নাচঘর for magic-house; but সংস্কৃত for editor, অধ্যায় for adhyakṣa for manager etc. are freely used in speech. Many of the English words admitted early in the 19th century have become completely Bengaliised: e.g., হাসপাতাল for hospital, লাট for lāt for lord, ইস্কুল for school, ডাকঘর for daktār for doctor, কেলাস for gelās for glass, আপিস for office, টেবিল for tēbil for table, পেঁচি for bench, মাস্টার for master, গারদ for gārd for guard, পদল for padal for prison, লাইট for lāntthān for lantern etc., etc. The presence of the English language and the spread of a knowledge of the English words in their proper pronunciation is preventing a Bengaliisation of the words admitted within recent years. A few vocables, however, have assumed a totally un-English appearance through folk etymology: e.g. municipality = মুনিশিপাল = band of clerical officers, or the officer-protecting; honeysuckle = হাইশিকল = a chain of injuries, and artichoke = হাটি-ছোখ = elephant-eye, among the gardeners and vegetable dealers of Calcutta. These popularised forms are used only among those who have no English.

The English element is bound to be of the widest extent possible. Any newspaper would show the amount of English which finds place in Bengali journalese of the present day. Trades, literature, science, art, politics, history,—in fact almost all the avenues of life and of literature are favorable for the introduction of English terms: since English is the medium through which the Bengali (and Indian) mind holds commerce with the outside world. In the early part of the 19th century, and down to the 4th quarter of it, the words adopted by Bengali were mainly names of material objects, the achievements more or less of modern science. Intimate acquaintance with European life and thought, and ideas and
institutions, and the introduction of the latter into India, are responsible for a vocabulary of culture words from English, such as is absent in early 19th century Bengali. Words like ভোট < bhôt > vote, বাল্ট < byâlšt > ballot, সেক্রেটারী < sêkréštârî >, প্রেস্টার < prištâr >, গেজেট < gêjêt > gazette, টাইমেটবল < tâim-štêb(l) > are in common use now; and even such words as রোম(1)ন < rôm(y)âns > romance, রোমান্টিক < rômântikt >, ক্লাসিক < kl(y)âsisk > classic, ক্লাসেটি, কমেডি < trâjêdi, kâmédi > (for vîyôgântâ, milânântâ nâtakâ) ), আর্ত < ârt >, ফিউচারিজম < fûchâriz(a)m > futurism, প্রায়েস্টারীয় < pri-ryâphelât > Pre-Raphaelite, সায়েন্স < sàyêns > science, প্রোটোপ্লাজম < pro tôplâz(a)m > protoplasm, প্রোটোসিন < plôstôsin > pleistocene, লোরেন্স < laur, plôt > plot (of a story), কেমিস্ট্রি < kêmîšttrî > chemistry, ফিজিক্স < phiziks >, etc., etc., are being bodily adopted at the present day. Foreign names come to Bengali through English; and even Indian names of persons and places outside Bengal. These are written in Bengali according to the English pronunciation, although acquaintance with the original sources or source forms sometimes gives us, in more careful writers, Bengali forms near enough to the original, and not two degrees removed. Thus we have প্লেটো < Plêtô >, but also প্লাটোন < Plâtôn >; but commonly it is the English forms that obtain: e.g., ইস্কাইলাস < Iskâilâs >, এগেটোল < Ergêto(l) >, ভাল্টেয়র < Bhâltâyâr > Voltaire, গোটে < Gôtê > Goethe, ভিক্তের < Bhiktar > Hiugô; and we have careful transliterations like গি-দে-মোপাস < Gî-de-Môpas > and রোডি < Rôdyâ > Rodin, টুর্গেনিয়েভ < Tûrgênièbh > and কাদুচি < Kâducci > Carducci, side by side with আইটো < Àitô > = Marquis Ito of Japan and গিওকোন্টা < Giôkôntâ > for জোকোন্টা < Jôkônta > Giocconda, টিং < Tîng > and সাঙ্গ < Sâŋ > (= Táng, Thang and Sung dynasties of China), and even পুঞ্জান < Nâjtpân > and বোঞ্টো < Bhôjkâtâ > for the South Indian নোটান and বেঙ্গুন < Naštân, Ñêjkâta >.

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

123. The latest Bengali dictionary, which is the biggest yet published, and by far the best (by Jñañendra-Móhan Dās: Calcutta, 1323 San = 1916), has, as the compiler states in the Preface, some 75,000 words and compounds. A rough survey of this dictionary showed between 32 to 33 thousand Sanskrit words (tatsamas); and there are some 2,400 Persian (Perso-Arabic) words, about 700 English, and some 100 Portuguese, with a few Dutch (not identified) and French and other foreign. The rest are either native Bengali (tadbhava and dēṣṭi), or old borrowings from Sanskrit (completely naturalised semi-tatsamas), or borrowed from cognate NIA. speeches. Taking, in round numbers, the tatsama element at 33,000, and the Persian at 2,500, and the English and other European at 1,000 (considering possible omissions, and also the fact that many tadbhava words occur in different spellings), the percentage of words, on the basis of Jñañendra-Móhan Dās’s dictionary, would roughly be—

| Native Words (tadbhavas, semi-tatsamas) and tadbhava borrowings from sister-speeches | 51·45 |
| Tatsama or Sanskrit Words | 44·00 |
| Foreign Words \{ Persian \} | 3·30 |
| \{ English, Portuguese, etc. \} | 1·25 |
| **100·00** |

Somewhat less than half is thus tatsama: and this in a dictionary which is conspicuous for the large number of common tadbhava words it has included. In a dictionary, of course, all learned words have a place, and the percentage of the various elements in a dictionary is not the true guide to that in the ordinary speech.

The native tadbhava element has been suffering from curtailment ever since the characterisation of the language as Bengali. The 47 Caryā-padas contain, including repetitions, some 2,000 words and compounds (1,957, to give something like an exact number, from Mm. H. P. Sāstrī’s lists in the ‘Bauddha Gān Ō Dōhā’). Of these, 310 are spelt exactly as in Sanskrit, but a great many of these 310 are equally
tadbhava and tatsama in form: words like "kulisa, nalini-vana, vivaha" are as much of the original stratum of the language as "baja < vajra, "dudhu = dudha < dugdha, rukha = rukha < vrika", etc. There are a number of semi-tatsamas like "niti = nitya, jautilka = yautuka, sadhi = sadhu, adhiatra = adhyatma, avida = avidya, svapana = svapna" etc., etc. In fact, of the 310 words, real tatsamas are comparatively few. Genuine tatsamas like "sadguru" (occurring 7 times), "sadbhava, vidya", padma, -artha, avadhuti, karna-kundala-vajra-dhari, sva-, sarva, sukha, duhkha, bhava-nirvanya, mauna, vak-pathatita, samjna, ista-mala, dvasa, unmutta, caryya, candali, bhava-jaladhi, raga, punya, avakasa, nauka cannot be more than 100, at the highest computation: which would work to 5% for the language of the Caryas, leaving the remaining 95% pure tadbhava and deshi words, with some semi-tatsamas, for the language of the 10th-12th centuries.

But Bengali began to lean on Sanskrit from the beginning. The old native tadbhava forms were dropped to a great extent, even from the popular speech, tatsamas and semi-tatsamas taking their place. It would be interesting to note the rate of admission of tatsama words. In Candri-dasa's 'Sri-Krsna-Kirttana,' out of 863 words (the sum total occurring in 7 pages taken at random from the printed edition of that work), 109 are pure tatsamas (at least in spelling), and the rest are tadbhava and deshi, with a few semi-tatsamas. The percentage works out at 12.5 for pure tatsamas. Thus Early Middle Bengali has a marked excess over the Old Bengali of the Caryas. Words like "saala, saara, meha, boha, naari, niada, nai" either wholly give place to their Sanskrit proto-types which most speakers of Old Bengali knew, like "sakala, sagara, mogha, bodha, nagari, nikata, nadi", or are considerably restricted in use, as archaic, poetic or dialectal forms. But still, in the 14th century, a great many tadbhavas prevail, only to be gradually eliminated in the subsequent periods: although here and there in the dialects and in place-names we find old tadbhavas lingering (e.g., Chittagong barga "bayar" = "vita-"; North Bengali basona "basoa" ox = "vasaha, vrshabha"; Bengali poetic satwar "sayarda" = "sagara"; naihatai "Nai-hati", name of a West Bengal
town, preserves তৈ "nai, naï", but every one says নাড় "nâdī" and no one would understand দৈ "nai", although তৈ is a living word in Assamese). In ordinary Middle Bengali, as in the popular legendary tales which are understood by the masses everywhere, the percentage of *tatsama* words is 33·2, and that of *tadbhava* (with *dēśī* and a few *semi-tatsama* and fewer foreign words) is 66·8, as worked out from the words occurring in 10 pages of the 'Vaṇga-Sāhitya-Paricaya' of Dīnēśh Chandra Sen, representing 5 works (2 pages from Kētakā-dāsa Kēsmānanda’s ‘Manasār Bhāsān,’ c. 1650: 78 *tatsama* words out of 338; 2 pages from Kavi-kaṇṭhaṇa Mukunda-rāma, c. 1580: 119 *tatsama* words out of 322, of which 2 are Persian; Kāśi-rāma Dāsa’s ‘Mahābhārata,’ 17th century: 147 *tatsamas* out of 336; Kṛttivīṣa’s ‘Rāmapyaṇa,’ 15th century: 89 out of 366 [the small proportion in this Early Middle Bengali work is noteworthy]; and Nārāyaṇa-dēva’s ‘Manasā-maṅgala,’ Early Middle Bengali, but date unknown: 146 out of 313: total, 579 *tatsama* words out of 1,744).

It is noticeable that the use of Sanskrit words depends a great deal on the preference of the writer; but in the Middle Bengali literary language, a third of the vocabulary had become Sanskrit by the middle of the 17th century. The Sanskritising tendency was steadily on the increase, and although the inherent grace and vigour of the language was much encumbered by the gorgeous trappings of Sanskrit, it would not be quite correct to say that the language of Middle Bengali poetry, such as in Kavi-kaṇṭhaṇa or Kāśi-rāma Dāsa, or Bhārata-candra, was or is too learned for the masses. People were steadily becoming familiar with a Sanskritised Bengali ever since the 14th century: but the language was never stilted or artificial. It was when the Paṇḍits of the College of Fort William at Calcutta began writing text-books to order, that the vicious habit of writing in strings of Sanskrit words and phrases, with a Bengali verb or particle here and there, came in, and partly paralysed the Bengali literary style (in prose) for half a century. The work of the Paṇḍits did not affect the living Bengali speech at all: their legacy to posterity was a laboured prose style, like 18th century and 19th century journalistic Johnsonese in English; and this laboured prose in the hands of
capable authors like Aksaya-Kumara Datta, Ishvara Vidyasagara, and Bankim Chandra Chatterji in his earlier novels, as well as a host of lesser names, became an admirable instrument of expression, and formed the basis of the literary dialect of the present day.

In Modern Bengali, the colloquial has a surprisingly small percentage of Sanskrit words: one of the reasons, of course, is that in the language of ordinary conversation, the range of the vocabulary is not large. Taking four works in the colloquial style, one by Bankim Chandra (his ‘Indira’—the grammatical forms in this work are the full ones of the literary language, but the style and vocabulary are entirely of the colloquial), the second by Girish Chandra Ghosh (his drama ‘Prathulla’), the third a collection of folk-tales, in a slightly archaistic but none the less living speech of East Bengal villages, retold in the literary form going close to the Calcutta dialect (the ‘Thakur-dadar Jhuli’, one of the inimitable compilations of Dakshina-Ranjana Mitra Majumdar), and, finally, the ‘Hutom Pecar Naksya’ of Kali-Prasanna Sinha (see p. 135), and counting up the words in several pages of each, and arranging them in classes, and then working out the percentage, the following figures are arrived at: 79.1% tadbhava and desii, with some semi-tatsama; 17.1% tatsama; and 3.7% foreign, mostly Persian (‘Indira,’ 5 pages = 536 tadbhava and desii + 153 tatsama + 7 foreign; ‘Prathulla,’ 4 pages, respectively 724 + 137 + 20; ‘Thakur-dadar Jhuli,’ 5 pages, 734 + 125 + 14; and ‘Hutom Pecar Naksya,’ 1st edition, 4 pages, 576 + 140 + 81; total, 2,570 tadbhava, desii and semi-tatsama, 555 tatsama and 122 foreign words). In treating a literary, political or philosophical subject, the vocabulary has to be more Sanskritic, although the treatment may be entirely colloquial. Avoidance of tatsama words is almost impossible in Bengali; and long sustained narrative, as in the Hindustani novels of Insha’ Allah Khan and Hari Audh, in which a purely native, i.e., tadbhava, desii and semi-tatsama Hindustani has been employed, without Sanskrit or foreign words (see LSI., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 103, 111), cannot be thought of in Bengali; although whole sentences in tadbhava Bengali are frequently met with in poetry, sentences perfectly natural and well-balanced. But the Sanskrit vocabulary of an ordinary newspaper
or novel of the present day is understood by all who speak Bengali. In the colloquial Bengali style discoursing of intellectual topics, the following statistics will give a general idea of the percentage of Sanskrit loan-words. In Rabindra-nath Tagore’s discourse on Bengali metre (in the ‘Sabuj Pattra’ for Caitra, 1825), a most admirable treatment of an intricate subject entirely in the colloquial, 4 pages, presenting a total of 860 words, show 482 tadbhava, 352 tatsama and 26 foreign words: i.e., a percentage of 56·0, 40·9 and 3·0 respectively; and 4 pages of a paper on a political topic by Pramatha Chaudhuri (Mr. Chaudhuri is an active champion of the use of the colloquial in literature), a paper named ‘Rāyatēr Kathā,’ or the Tenant-farmer’s Standpoint (‘Sabuj Pattra’ for Phālguna-Caitra, 1826), an aggregate of 857 words shows 495 tadbhavas, 247 tatsamas and 115 foreign words (Persian and English): a percentage of 57·7, 28·8, and 13·4 respectively. So that in Modern Bengali as used in literature by the best writers, the percentage of Sanskrit words does not exceed, generally, that of Middle Bengali. The early 19th century tradition of the Paṇḍits is not dead, but the language cannot be said to suffer from it any more. Some of the early works in the Sanskritic Bengali will always remain classics in style; and the best writers of the present day have passed through the discipline of the « sadhu-bhāṣā ». Percentage of words of various kinds from 5 pages of the ‘Kādambart’ of Tārā-Śankar Tarkaratna will give an idea of the amount of Sanskrit in this kind of Bengali: 5 pages = 670 Sanskrit words and compounds + 328 tadbhava forms + 2 Persian, respectively 67·00, 32·8 and 0·2 per cent.

The percentage of the Persian element may be briefly reviewed. The proportion in Bengali, as in Jñānendra-Mōhan Dās’s Dictionary is less than 4·00 (see p. 218). In Rai Bahadur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyānidhi’s Dictionary (VSPd.), the number of Persian words is less than 1,450: the total number of words in this ‘Śabda-kōṣa’ does not seem to exceed 18,000, on a rough computation; and as these are mostly folk-words, the percentage of Persian words in the popular Bengali of West Bengal and West Central Bengal, as presented in this dictionary, would be about 8%. This is slightly higher than what we find in the living Calcutta colloquial of the
'Hutūm Pēcār Naksā': in 15 pages of this book, taken at random, containing some 3,000 words at the rate of 200 words per page, 213 Persian words occur: the percentage is thus 7.1 for the speech of educated Hindus of Calcutta over 50 years ago; and this would seem to hold good at the present day as well. The percentage, 13.4, as in the article by P. Chaudhuri mentioned above, is due to the nature of the subject discussed, the land-tenure and law vocabulary of Bengali being mainly Persian. The percentage in Musalmānī Bengali, and in the ordinary language of Bengali Musalmāns generally, has been discussed before at p. 211.
APPENDIX E

BENGALI ORTHOGRAPHY.

124. The Bengali language has always been written in the Indian alphabet. The history of the origin and development of the Bengali alphabet has been treated in detail in 'the Origin of the Bengali Script' by R. D. Banerji (Calcutta University, 1919), and Mm. H. P. Śāstrī’s paper to the VSPdP., Vol. XXVII, No. 1, ‘Bāṅgālār Prācīn Aksar,’ is also to be mentioned. The story of the development of the various letters in their present-day forms is a complicated one, but the general pedigree is clear. The Bengali alphabet is derived from an Eastern alphabet current in what is now Eastern United Provinces, Eastern Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, and Bengal and Assam, from the 6th century onwards. This Eastern Alphabet is a variety of the Gupta script (400-550 A. D.), which is a sort of cursive development, through the intermediate Kuśāna writing, of the primitive and monumental Brāhmī, the mother of all the national Indian alphabets. In the early and later history of this Eastern Alphabet, there was some influence of the script current in other parts of Northern India (except Kashmir) from the 8th century onwards, a script equally derived from the Gupta Alphabet, which later became the Dēvanāgarī. This western North-Indian script, which may be called ‘Proto-Nāgarī,’ was characterised in the Gujarat-Rajasthan and Midland tracts, and it seems to have spread into Eastern India and modified the local alphabet; and this might be noted in connection with what has been said about the spread and influence of the Western (Śaurāṣṭrī) Apabhraṃśa in Eastern India (Bihar, Bengal), at pp. 91, 113 ff. The earliest graphic documents in Bengal are the Susunia Rock Inscription, end of the 4th century (see pp. 75-76), and the Gupta inscriptions, of the 5th century. From the 8th century onwards, we have a fair number of inscriptions in Bengal. It seems that there was in Bengal a cursive hand
which differed from the more formal and archaic inscriptive alphabet; the latter showing greater western influence. MSS. written in this cursive form of the Eastern alphabet, dating from the 7th century, the MSS. preserved in the temple of Horizu in Japan, have been found. This cursive Eastern alphabet is the immediate source of (1) Bengali-Assamese, (2) Maithili and (3) Oriya alphabets. (1) and (2) are practically identical: almost all the forms in (2) are found in old MSS. written in (1). In fact, Sanskrit MSS. in Maithili characters used to be read quite easily by Bengali Pandits, to whom these characters were known as तिरुत् = tirahuti = Mithila. In Magadha, the same alphabet was in use as in Mithila and Bengal, and numbers of pre-Moslem MSS. written at Nalanda and Vikrama-sila in Magadha have been found preserved in Nepal. But the Moslem conquest put an end to the indigenous learning of Magadha; and in later times, after the land had come under the influence of Hindostan, the cursive or short-hand form of the old Deva-nagari style of the Indian alphabet which prevailed in Northern and Western India (as has been said before) from the 7th century, namely, the Kaithi script, came to Magadha by way of the Bhajpuriyā tract; and this Kaithi alphabet has held the ground till now. Kaithi because of its simplicity has spread to Mithila as well, where only the Brāhmans and other upper classes keep up the old Maithili character. The latter has never been printed from types; and Deva-nagari, strengthened by the spread of Hindī, and by its special association with Sanskrit at the present day, is now employed in printing Maithili. In Orissa, the old cursive alphabet of the East changed as early as the 15th century into the Oriya alphabet as current now, with its characteristic top-loops and its minute essential parts. The peculiar form of the Oriya letters, and their deviation from the Bengali-Maithili norm, is due primarily to the writing materials used in Orissa, viz., palm-leaf and an iron stylus, whereas the reed pen and ink and paper have kept up the angular shapes in Bengal and Mithila. It is probable that the Oriya script has unconsciously followed the model of the neighbouring Telugu alphabet, in which the absence of angular shapes is
a noticeable feature: the culture of Andhra or the Telugu-land has influenced that of Orissa in many ways.

The inscriptions and other early documents give us valuable hints as to contemporary habits of pronunciation. In the 7th century, the characters, for <b> and <v> (= ณ, ณ of Dēva-nāgarī) are confused, and evidence is not wanting for their loose use in the 5th century. After the 8th century, only one letter, that for <v>, is used for both, showing that in the pronunciation of the eastern area, these two sounds had fallen together; and from the state of things in the 'Bihārī' speeches, and in Oṛiya and Bengali, it can be seen that in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa of the 8th century, and perhaps earlier still, all initial <v> of MIA became <b>, and medially only the <v> or <w> sound occurred, merely as a euphonic glide. In later times, distinction between <b> and <v, w> was sought to be indicated in Bihārī and Assamese by means of diacritical marks on the letters for <b> (Kaithī <b> = <b>, <a> = <w>); Assamese <b> = <b>, and <w> = <w>; but in Maithili, <w> = <w>, <bh> = <b>). Misspellings of Sanskrit words, which are not infrequent, show vernacular pronunciation of the former: e.g., <ri> for <ṛ>, indiscriminate use of <ś, s, s>, use of <kṣ> for <kh>, in one instance at least (Manahali Grant of Madanapāla-dēva, c. 1118)—<liksi> for <likhita>, showing the <kkha> pronunciation of <kṣ> in the 12th century: and we are thankful for these mistakes. The occurrence of the anunāsika (candra-bindu = ·), as distinguished from the anusvāra (° = Modern Bengali ৷), is an indication of a nasal pronunciation in the eastern languages at least from the end of the 11th century.

In Bengali, the spelling has been influenced by Sanskrit to a very great extent during the 12th century. In Middle Bengali, too, this influence was present, and it prevented a tradition and a system for the tadvr̥va words from growing up. Scribes were careless, and they were careless even with regard to the Sanskrit words. There was no uniformity, the same word being written differently in the same page and even in the same line. Under the tutelage of the Panḍits well acquainted with Sanskrit, whose influence was great at the beginning of the 19th century,
when the modern literary style was established for prose (and when printing was introduced), a rigid adherence to the correct orthography for Sanskrit words naturally came in, and brought in a needed uniformity for tātsama words, in the place of the chaos which reigned before. But the scholastic tendency went beyond its legitimate area, and sought to model the spelling of vernacular tadbhavas on their Sanskrit prototypes and on theories of orthography: e.g., जे, जाह, जिनी, जत, खाओ, जी, जाह, जी, जाह, जाह, जाह, जाह, etc. came to be written with य < j > , instead of ज < j > , because of the Sanskrit यद > and याः; कार्या > काज > काज > was written कार् < कार्य > , य > pronounced as ज > , and not काज < काज > , as before; and the ष < ष > of Sanskrit was restored to काष = कान > कान < कान > = कान > , and was brought in unjustifiably to राणी, = राणी < राणी < राणी = राणी > , etc., etc. The old group अ < अ > for < wā > , without the intervening, unnecessary य (याः < याः > ), was given up as barbarous. Some sort of system was attempted in this way: but in the matter of writing the tadbhavas, especially the verbal and other forms which figure in the colloquial, Bengali orthography is still lamentably backward and ununiform. The old spellings of the MSS. are of very great help in tracing the history of the sounds, as they are frankly phonetic, when the scribes were not troubled by the ghost of Sanskrit.

According to Middle Indian notions, which form the basis of the mystical treatment of the akṣaras in the Tantric works, the number of primary letters or radical signs (क माथ्रकाःकाः) in Sanskrit, and following that, in the vernaculars, is 50,—16 vowels and 34 consonants. In this enumeration, there is both scholastic theorising and popular misconception. The former added न < ् > to the list of vowels, although it is not found in any OIA. word or form (क < ् > is recognised by the 'Kātantra'), to bring about symmetry; and anusvāra न (भ) > and visarga न > are classed under vowels—which may be justified. The latter is probably responsible for the inclusion of 'kṣ' in the list of radical characters. Inclusion of 'kṣ' among simple consonants is as old as the 'Lalita-vistara' (Chap. X), the romantic biography of Buddha in mixed Sanskrit, which goes back to the 1st century after Christ. This may have
been due to the differentiation, in the written form, of this consonant group from other consonant groups with « k », aided by some modification in its pronunciation in Sanskrit (which might have been that of a « kkh », or of « kkhy », or of the palatal stop and aspirate sounds of [ceh]). A modification of the pronunciation of the group « kṣ », in Sanskrit words, from « k + s » [kʃ] to something else, in early MIA. times,—to [kʃ], in all probability,—is at the basis of the Middle Bengali value of « kṣ » as « kkhy » (in tattva forms); and this is perhaps not unconnected with the representation in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet of « ch » when derived from OIA. « kṣ » by a separate letter from that used for an original OIA. « ch » (cf. A. M. Boyer, 'Inscriptions de Miran,' JA., Mai-Juin, 1911, pp. 423-430). In any case, the medieval Pāṇḍits of Bengal had some justification for regarding « (k)khy » = « kṣ » as a special consonant, because of its « y » element. The ligature « jū » which came to obtain the value of « (g)gī » in medieval Sanskrit, ought to have been recognised as a separate aksara in MIA. or early NIA. times, in a similar way. In Early Bengali, writers always speak of the '34 consonants,' and a class of composition, called चौतिश < Cautiśa > (= catustriśatikā), was very popular, in which consonants in their order, from « k » to « kṣ », would be used in successive verses for alliteration or for the head word.

The Indian alphabetical principle of aksaras, i.e., of words being divided into syllables which were not closed by a consonant, was a result of the system of writing. This idea of aksaras for a long time dominated the Bengali theory of versification. (See below, under Phonology: Accent.)

125. There has never been any attempt on a large scale to make the Bengali language adopt a different kind of writing from the one in which it was born, so to say. In the 18th century (and it may be earlier), some Musalmāns in Chittagong employed the Perso-Arabic script in writing Bengali. A number of these Perso-Bengali MSS. have been found (cf. Munshi Abdul Karim Sāhitya-viśrāda, 'Praecīn Bāṅgāla Puthir Vivaran,' VSPd., Part I, No. 1, MSS. No. 87, 99, 124, 211, 278, for instance). But Musalmāns in other parts of Bengal knew of no other script for their mother-tongue than the national one, and consequently
the likelihood of the language being divided by the script has been averted. The language of these Perso-Bengali MSS. is good Bengali, with special Mohammedan religious and other terms. The spelling of the Bengali and Sanskrit words is phonetic, so far as the Arabic script would allow it, but Persian and Arabic words, naturally enough, follow their original spellings. Through the courtesy of Munshi Abdul Karim, I have been enabled to obtain specimens of this Perso-Arabic writing for Bengali. They are highly interesting, and are valuable for East Bengali dialectal phonology. A few specimens are given below.

From the 'Yoga-Kalantar.'

аб атш хафт бад армар мақам
« аъоб атас хак бад е сари мақам »
(= ааб атеш жак вад а дари мокаба)
« аъоб атас хак бад е сари мокама »

Water, Fire, Earth, Air: these are the four abodes:

« мён диъа суну ках бар жаро ил ным »
" мён диъа ныму ках бар жаро ил ным »

Listen attentively, I tell the name of each ....

тате фереста асэ 'азра'il pihri
« тате фереста аш азраил пихри »
(= татте фереста аш азраил пихри)

There abides as watch-man the Angel 'Azra'il:

« багър акар сёди дхарвой мурати »
(= баъзер акар сей дхарвей мурат)

A tiger's form is the figure he bears.
Doors there are to it,—these two ears....

From the 'Nasiyat-nāmā.'

Thinking him even before the Lord, know the husband to be great.

A woman serves (should serve) her lord, enduring sorrow and pain,

If the husband were to come home from somewhere,

Leaving all works, O Woman, you should run.
When a woman walks towards her husband,

(= পাতিকে উদ্দেশি নারী করিলে গমন।)

"পাতিকে উদ্দেশি নারী করিলে গমন।"

"mākkah uddēsī zēnō jāye hājī-gōn >"

(= মক্কাই উদ্দেশ্যা দেন যায় হাজিগণ।)

"mākkā uddēsiyā jēnā jāye hājī-gānā >"

(= মক্কাই উদ্দেশ্যা দেন যায় হাজিগণ।)

"mākkā uddēsiyā jēnā jāye hājī-gānā >"

(= মক্কাই উদ্দেশ্যা দেন যায় হাজিগণ।)

"mākkā uddēsiyā jēnā jāye hājī-gānā >"

(It is) as if Hājīs go towards Mecca.

She performs regularly the nafl (extraordinary prayers) and the namāz (prescribed prayers);

(= নাফ্ল নমাজে ছই নিয়ত বাদরে।)

"nāpushlā nāmājē dui niyātā bāndhāyē >"

(= নাফ্ল নমাজে ছই নিয়ত বাদরে।)

"nāpushlā nāmājē dui niyātā bāndhāyē >"

She performs regularly the nafl (extraordinary prayers) and the namāz (prescribed prayers);

If the husband were to call the woman at such a time,

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"

If the husband were to call the woman at such a time,

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"

If the husband were to call the woman at such a time,

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"

She performs regularly the nafl (extraordinary prayers) and the namāz (prescribed prayers);

"nāpushlā nāmājē dui niyātā bāndhāyē >"

The woman will give a reply, leaving her namāz.

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"

The woman will give a reply, leaving her namāz.

(= হেন সময়ে পাতি তাদি নারীকে ভাবতে।)

"hēnō sămē pātī jādī nārīkē ḍākāyē >"
From the 'Okāt Rasul.'

With Jibrā'il, the lord of the death (= 'Aṣrā'il) has gone to Muḥammad:

Seeing him, the high-souled prophet asked:

Tell me, brother Jibrā'il, the true words:

Who is that person I see in your company?

Some lines have been given at length to show the nature of the orthography. Spellings like निसाय for निसाय for "nissa'iy" for निसाय for "nīscāyāy" certainly, पुस्व = पुहें = "pushē" asks, सारिया = छारिया "chariya" having left, बाॅल = भाई "bhai" brother, पराबु = परबु = "prabhu" = master, बाक्को = बाक्को = "bakko" = "bākyā", indicate
the typical East Bengal pronunciation; and Middle Bengali জিজ্ঞাসিলেন্তা = "jiggyâsilentā" asked (honorific). *pirtimbi* for পূর্বী "p̌thibī" give folk-pronunciations of *tatsamas.* It would appear that in the spelling, there was not much of a rigorous system which was followed, 才干 being represented by ɛ̄, ɛ̑, and ɛ̆, *j* by both ʐ̌ and ʒ, and ʄ by both ǩ and k̑ as well as by ʃ—the latter, however, indicating the dialectal Chittagong pronunciation. There was not much attention paid to the genius of the Bengali language, in the adaptation of such a different alphabet as the Perso-Arabic for it. But vowel quantity is ignored: and herein there is an agreement with the habits of early and present-day Bengali: the signs ē and ĝ are used for ɛ and ɛ̄; and ɔ̆ are used for ɛ̄, ɔ̄. But on the whole, the system lacks consistency, and compared with it, the orthography of Urdû is a scientific one. The Perso-Bengali script of the Chittagong MSS. now only remains as a curiosity—the outcome of a belief in the sanctity of an alphabet.

126. The Portuguese employed the Roman alphabet in writing Bengali books. We have evidence that Portuguese missionary activity began in Bengal from the third quarter of the 16th century, and before 1599 a translation of a Christian tract and catechism was made by a Jesuit Padre named Dominie Sosa, who “indiuoure to leerne the Bengalane language,” and this work was taught to Christian children at school at Siripur (‘Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes,’ Glasgow, 1905, Vol. X, p. 205†). A Christian literature in Bengali, probably in the Roman charac-

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1 See J. J. A. Campos, 'A History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919, pp. 100-101. Nikhil-Nâth Rây, in his 'Pratāpâditya,' Calcutta, San 1313, has given (pp. 463 ff.) the original Latin letter of 1599 from the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Francisco Fernandes to Nicolas Pimenta, Visitor of the Society of Jesus, narrating the work of the Portuguese mission, including that of Sosa (de Souza), in Bengal, at Siripur and elsewhere: cf. also S. K. De in the VSPdP., No. 3, pp. 180-181. (For the reference to the passage in 'Purchas,' I am indebted to Dr. S. N. Sen.)
ter, thus seems to have grown up. Towards the end of the next century, we have the mention of another work in Portuguese-Bengali. Two at least of these Bengali works in the Roman character were printed, the Crepar Xaxter Orthbhed (see p. 136), and the Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Portuguez (Lisbon, 1743), both by Padre Manoei da Assumpção, and both are in existence. (S. K. De, 'History of Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, 1800-1825,' Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 69-76). The Kôṅkaṅ dialect of Goa was similarly written in the Roman character: but Portuguese-Roman Bengali did not take root.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed in his Bengali grammar (Hugli, 1778) framed a scheme of Roman transliteration for Bengali on an English basis. There are MSS. of French-Bengali vocabularies (1781-83) by Augustin Aussant, the romanisation following the French values of the letters ('Catalogue sommaire des Manuscrits indiens etc.' par A. Cabaton, Bib. Nat., Paris, 1912, pp. 106-107; S. K. Chatterji in the 'Bharat' for Jyaiśha 1830, pp. 136-137). Gilchrist's 'Oriental Fabulist' (1803) gives the fables of Æsop in several languages, including Bengali, in the Roman character, the system of transliteration being on the basis of English. At subsequent periods, in the 19th century and in the 20th, there have been sporadic attempts at making the Roman alphabet come into current use in Bengal (as well as in other parts of India), but so far they have not been successful.

127. In the border districts of Bengal, a number of alphabets allied to Bengali have been used to a small extent in writing the language, through contact with peoples using these characters: e.g., Oriya in Midnapore, Dēva-ṇāgarī and Kaithī in the extreme west of Bengal, and Maithili in the north (in the Siripuriyā dialect). In Sylhet, a kind of modified Dēva-ṇāgarī, called 'Silēṭ Nāgarī,' has a restricted use among the local Musalmāns, and this use of Nāgarī in distant East Bengal, and among Mohammedans, too, is explained as being the result of the influence of early colonies of proselytising Moslems from Upper India who wrote their vernaculars (Eastern and Western Hindī dialects) in Dēva-ṇāgarī—Persianised Hindī (or Urdu) being not yet in the field—and taught it to the local con-
verts: a tradition in employing this alphabet was thus established and has continued down to our times. Recently this alphabet has been used in printing. (Padma-nāth Śarmā, ‘Silēt Nāgari,’ VSPdP., 1815, No. 4.) In Chittagong, the Chakma dialect of Bengali, spoken by Bengalised Maghs or Aracanese and other Tibeto-Burmans who are Buddhist by faith, is written in an alphabet which is a modification of the Khmēr-Mōn (Burmese) system of writing, based ultimately on an ancient South Indian alphabet (LSI., V, Part I, pp. 321 ff.).

The use of these various characters is a relic of the past, and the prestige of the native alphabet of Bengali has never been seriously assailed.¹ The language has become intimately associated with it, and Bengali speakers, like people everywhere, consider the alphabet as part of their language. It forms a great link with the past, with Prakrit, with Sanskrit: the phonetic history and the story of the development of the language are, howsoever imperfectly it may be, embodied in its alphabet and orthography.

¹ While admitting and appreciating all the arguments in favour of the Indian system of writing, I remain a believer in the Roman alphabet for all Indian languages, because of the simplicity of the symbols of which it consists, because of its true alphabetical nature is not subordinating the vowels, because of its manifold advantages in teaching, and in printing, and because of its wide use in the civilised world. The Roman alphabet, modified, supplemented and arranged according to the scientific scheme of the Indian one, would be a desideratum for India. But under the present conditions of the country, the idea cannot be taken up in earnest now for popular acceptance. Sentiments are stronger than convenience, and the sentiment in favour of the national script, which is natural enough among any people, here has something real to stand upon. The cause of the illiteracy of the masses is certainly not the so-called complicated nature of the Indian system of writing, as some missionaries and others fondly imagine. The use of the Roman alphabet in India will remain for a long time a matter of scientific and academic interest only. There must be fifty years or more of bilateralism, after literacy in the current alphabets has sufficiently spread among the masses, before the romanisation idea can filter down among the people from the more educated classes. But all that is rather remote; and abandoning the Roman alphabet as an impracticable thing for India at the present moment, I would strongly advocate the unity of our country in the matter of script through that truly national script of all India—the Dēva-nāgari, as the next best thing.
PHONOLOGY
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

PHONETIC HISTORY OF INDO-ARYAN

Old Indo-Aryan Sounds.

128. The OIA. Sound-system may be said to be represented by that of the Vedic speech, and it was the following:

VOWELS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close (High)</td>
<td>u:</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Close (High-Mid)</td>
<td>o:</td>
<td>(ə)</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Open (Low-Mid)</td>
<td>(? o: ?ʌ)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(?ːː)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open (Low)</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>aːu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Vocalic]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[rː r, ɾ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Cacuminal (Retroflex)</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ʈ</td>
<td>ɖ</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate Stops</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The symbols in the tables above are those of the International Phonetic Association.¹

129. Of the above, it may be noted that—

[oː, eː], as in bone, bane in Northern (Scottish) English, were pure vowels, originating from earlier, pre-IA. short diphthongs [uʊ, oʊ] through

¹ Our materials for the reconstruction of OIA. Phonetics are the following: (i) Modern pronunciations in the various parts of India and Ceylon, which have preserved a great deal of the old pronunciation through a line of uninterrupted tradition for some 3000 years; (ii) Ancient theory and practice, as in the Śikṣās and Prātiṣṭākyas, and in Sanskrit grammatical treatises, representing faithfully the actual state of things in late OIA. times; (iii) Evidence of the Greek transcription of Indian words and names, and of Greek vocables into Indian speech, throwing a flood of light on Indian Phonetics of the end of the 1st MIA. and Transitional MIA. periods. (Chinese transcriptions, later than Greek, are practically of no value; and those in Iranian and Kuchean, as well as Môn and Khmër, Siamese, Tibetan and Burmese, Jāvānese and Malay, Mongol, and Arabic, are on rare occasions helpful for medieval Indian pronunciations); (iv) Evidence from the phonological development of MIA., and of the NIA. languages; (v) Evidence from that of cognate IE. languages like Avestan and Old Persian, Greek and Gothic, Church Slav and Latin: all these checked by (v) the Principles of General Phonetics, and phonetic development of Speech in general.
an intermediate stage of [ɔ, ɐ:]. Ancient Indian grammarians were fully conscious of this diphthongal origin of [o, e:], which were called «sandhyakṣara» or combined syllables. [a + u, α + i] regularly became [o, e:] in Vedic and in Sanskrit; but the relation of [o, e:] with «av, ay», i.e., [aw, aj], or [aũ, ař], was quite patent, in groups like «śrō-tar: śrav-as, ē-ti: ay-ana». It may be quite reasonably presumed that in the earliest OIA. period, [o, e:] had the lower, more open sounds of [ɔ, ɐ:], like the sounds of Southern English aque, ere; and, at that period, they might even have retained the original short diphthongal values of [aũ, ař > ař?] which obtained in Indo-Iranian.

[α; a, ɐ, ə]: the short «a» originally had an open, «vivṛta», sound, low back open [a], and the long «a» was the same sound with long quantity, [a:]. But it is not impossible that the slightly close, «samvṛta», and withal back sound, traditionally = the u in Southern English but, originated already in the early OIA. period; it certainly did, at least dialectally, at the time of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.), in the North-western speech. In an unaccented position [α], or [A], seems to have been pronounced as [ə], like the a in English along, as can be seen from elision in sandhi («te’ alaŋkṛtāḥ > te’ laŋkṛtāḥ»), and from cases of apophthegm and syncope in early MIA., e.g., Pali «laŋkāra < alaŋkāra, numati < anumati, okka < *ukka < *utka < *ud’ka < udaka» (cf. E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' London, 1884, § 7; W. Geiger, Pali Grammar in the Grundriss der Indo-Ar. Phil. u. Altertumskunde, § 20).

[α, ǝ] were low back sounds; and although the short «a» [α, ǝ] has been raised in most MIA., there has never been noticeable any tendency to front it to [a]1: the typical NIA. representatives of the OIA. [α, ǝ] being all back vowels, e.g., Northern Indian [ǝ], Bengali [ə], and Marāṭhī [v], the last being an [o] with spread lips.

1 But possibly in the old Prācyā speech, which changed OIA. ‘-as, -aḥy to ‘-ō, [-] before the visarga was fronted to [a, ə] before passing into ‘ō: cf. the IA. change of Indo-Iranian ‘*-az’ to ‘-ē’ (*mzdha- > Skt. ‘mādhas,’ Avestic ‘māzda-’; *azdhi > Skt. ‘ēdhi,’ Avestic ‘zdī,’ etc.)
The long diphthongs [aːə, aːi (≡aːi?)] had their first elements long in the Vedic period, but later, immediately before the MIA. period, they seem to have become short, and converged towards [aː > oː, aːi > eː], to be ultimately merged into original [oː, eː] in MIA. The quality of the <ā> vowel in ṛ <āi> it may be presumed, was fronted from the back [aː] to the front [aː] in connection with the palatal [i] forming the second element of the diphthong. The medieval and modern Sanskrit values of these diphthongs do not make the first element long.

130. As for the consonants, the glottal sound of [h] is the visarga, which is voiceless h, as in English hand, happen, occurring in OIA. only finally after a vowel, and after the unvoiced stops in aspirates ([kh, th etc.]); and [ɦ] is the fully voiced sound, the normal Indian ṛ <h>, which is found commonly in an intervocal position in English, in words like behind, perhaps: [ɦ] is found in all positions except the final in OIA., and it occurred also in the voiced aspirates ([gɦ, dɦ] etc.).

[k kh, g gɦ] are well-known sounds; [ŋ] is the velar nasal; [x], the jihvā-mūliya sound, that of ck in German ach, occurred only as a variant of [h] before [k]: <tataḥ kīm> = [tatax kīm].

The palatal stops and aspirates [c ch, ṛ ṛɦ] were made with the front of the tongue striking against the hard palate, above the teeth-ridge; there was very little of a spirant off-glide, and the sounds were rather different from the NIA. (and MIA.) affricates with a pronounced sh or zh element, into which they developed: they resembled ky, gy, or rather, were more like ty, dy sounds, than anything else; and in early MIA., in most of the dialects, <ty, dy> fell together with [c, ṛ]. [ɲ] is the French and Italian gn. The palatal fricative [ɕ] was originally pronounced, as its frequent interchange with [k] and [c] would show, like the ch in Standard German ich. Later, it developed, during the OIA. period, the sound of a forward kind of sh, [ʃ], such as is found in Bengali; and this can be seen from numerous cases of interchange with [s] in Vedic and Sanskrit; but in most MIA., [ɕ>ʃ] was reduced to the dental [s].

The retroflex or cerebral sounds, [ṭ ṭh, d ḍɦ, ṛ], were produced by striking the curled tongue-tip well against the dome or the highest point of the
palatal arch. The retroflex sibilant, \( \dddot{s} \) \([\mathfrak{s}]\), an \( \mathfrak{s}h \)-sound, seems to have been produced exactly in the same way. This would result in a sound approaching the velar spirant, \([\mathfrak{x}]\); and it seems in certain forms of OIA., the \([\mathfrak{x}]\) sound was actually the one employed for \([\mathfrak{f}]\), as we can infer from a medieval pronunciation of \([\mathfrak{f}]\) as \([\mathfrak{k}h]\), which still obtains—\([\mathfrak{k}h]\) being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional \([\mathfrak{x}]\). Cf. \([-s->\mathfrak{f}, \mathfrak{f} \rightarrow \mathfrak{x}]\) in Slav: \(<\text{snǔx}, \text{synǔx} >\) = Skt. \(<\text{snuśa}, \text{sūnuśu} >\) etc.: compare also the dialectal Paśṭo pronunciation of \([\mathfrak{f}]\) or \([\mathfrak{f}]\) as \([\mathfrak{x}]\). In the MIA. vernaculars, \([\mathfrak{f}]\) fell together with \([\mathfrak{j}]\) or \([\mathfrak{s}]\). The retroflex laterals \([\mathfrak{l}], \mathfrak{lf}\) seem to have occurred dialectally only, in the speech which formed the basis of the Rig-Veda dialect; they were from an original \([\mathfrak{d}, \mathfrak{d}f]\) in intervocal positions. Sanskrit does not use the \([\mathfrak{l}], \mathfrak{lf}\), but Pali does.

\([\mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{th}, \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{df}],\) according to the evidence of the \(\text{Prātiṣākhyaś,}\) were \(<\text{dantamūlīya} >\) or alveolar sounds (like \(t\) or \(d\) of English), and not interdental (like the Italian sounds), which they are now. \([n, l]\) have always retained their alveolar sounds. The vocalic \([\mathfrak{l}]\), as in the second syllable in the English word \(\text{little}\) (without its guttural quality), was an exceedingly rare sound, and Vedic preserves it only in the root \(<\text{k}p\>). \([\mathfrak{f}]\) was an alveolar sound: it is described in the \(\text{Rk-prātiṣākhyā}\) as being produced in the \(<\text{varta} (=\text{barsva}) >\) \(\text{teeth-ridge}\) region. It is also described as a cerebral sound, owing probably to its influence in changing dentals to cerebrals in certain forms of early MIA. Probably it was, as in NIA., a slightly rolled alveolar sound, of about two flaps of the tongue initially, and medially a sound of one flap only. \([\mathfrak{r}]\) was also vocalic or syllabic, occurring both long and short: \(\dddot{\mathfrak{r}}, \dddot{\mathfrak{r}} [\mathfrak{r}\, \mathfrak{r}]\). The \(\text{Prātiṣākhyaś}\) describe the \([\mathfrak{r}]\) as being made up of a very short \(<\dddot{\mathfrak{a}} + \mathfrak{r} + \dddot{\mathfrak{a}} >\), forming \(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} = 1\) \(\text{mora} \,[\mathfrak{r} = \mathfrak{a}a]\). This gives a sound like the Avestan \(<\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{a}\>\), an Iranian equivalent of IA. \([\mathfrak{r}]\): it was evidently a sound of one flap of the tongue, when it was short vocalic. When it was long, \([\mathfrak{r}]\), it was in all likelihood a fully trilled sound. \([\mathfrak{r}]\) has been described as a guttural sound by the \(\text{Rk-tantra-vyākaraṇa}\): perhaps it was due to the back sound of \([\mathfrak{a}]\) figuring in it \([\mathfrak{a}a]\).

The bilabial sounds do not require any note, excepting \([\mathfrak{r}]\), which is the sound made in blowing out a candle, and is a very common phone in
NIA. speech. In OIA. it was found as a modification of [h]—the
< upadhmāṇiya > sound—before a [p]: < punah punah > = [punapunah].

The semivowels were [I] and [ũ]: they preserved the vocalic character
well in the OIA. period; but by the time of Pāṇini, [ũ] became a
spirant, a denti-labial [v], in the speech which is treated in Pāṇini's
grammar; and a bilabial spirant value, [v], quite a common IA. sound
of the present day, seems to have been present in late OIA. [I] became
a spirant, which developed into a frank sḫ-sound, [ḡ], in Early and
Transitional MIA.

The vowels in OIA. could be nasalised; and the nasalisation was in a
peculiar way, by bringing in a nasal glide, < anusvāra >, after a pure
vowel: ः ृ ः < aṁ (am), in (im), uṁ (um) > being [a-, i-, u-], which
practically resulted in [â, î, û]. Long vowels under certain conditions
could be < anusānika > or nasalised properly: e.g., महा चिं = [maha: asi]; so
रामीरिव, सूर्यावन्वत् [račmīr iua, sunū:īuānīu: ut]. (Cf. W. D. Whitney,
'Sanskrit Grammar,' §§ 209 ff.: also §§ 70 ff.) In the case of [r], it was
evidently a question of a simple nasalisation following the sonant [r],
the vowel basis of the nasalisation being an [i, u, e, a]: e.g., नूर चिं =
[nūr: r abhi]. That the < anusvāra > in OIA. was not a mere nasalisation,
but a nasal continuation of, or a nasal glide following a pure vowel, is
borne out by MIA., and also by the traditional pronunciations of
Sanskrit in different parts of India, which have altered [-] of OIA. to a
definite nasal [ŋ, n, ʰ]: e.g., OIA. [sa-skṛta, saāskṛta], in Bengali
pronunciation [joy(o)krito], Northern Indian [sanskrit], Western Indian
[sawṣkṛt].

Changes of the OIA. Sounds in Middle Indo-Aryan.

131. The Sound-system of OIA. was modified to a great extent
during the First and the Transitional MIA. stages.

[γ, r, l] were dropped, pure and simple vowels taking their places.
[a:u, a:i] were altered to [o:, e:], and the fortunes of these were joined to
those of the original [o:, e:]. A short [o, e] developed before double
consonants.
Among the consonants, [h], the «visarga», was dropped, and also its modifications, which, however, left traces: e.g., «duḥkha» = [duxkha], whence Pali «dukkha»; «punah punah» = [punar punah], whence Pali «punappunā» etc. [ʃ, ç > ŋ] fell together with [s] in the Midland; in the East ŋ alone was retained; and in the North-west, all the three continued side by side till the Second MIA. stage.

The consonants of the palatal and alveolar groups came to acquire a slightly more advanced articulation. The alveolars were possibly established as interdentals during the Early MIA. period. By the end of the Second MIA. period, the palatal stops had been advanced and modified into palato-alveolar affricates, made either with the front, blade or the tip of the tongue: [c, ʃ] changing to [ç, ʃ] [ç̆, ʃ̆], or [t̆, d̆]; and there was a further advancing of these affricated palatals in some forms of NIA. to the dental affricates [ts, dz] and the dental sibilants [s, z].

MIA. AFFRICATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE PALATAL STOPS.

132. The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early MIA. period, and in all likelihood originated first in the Prācya area. Greek transcriptions of Indian words refer to the conditions obtaining in India mainly in the Transitional MIA. period; and from the Greek rendering of Indian «e, j» by «s, z, ss, ts, t̆» and «z, d̆» («Candra-gupta=Sandrákuptos; candana = tsândanou; Pańcálah = Pássaloi [paćeala: ?], Pażáloī [paţáloī: ?]; Caştana=Tiastanos, Tiastánës; Ujjayini, Ujjëni=Ozëné; Yamunā=Jamunā = Diamónæa; cf. J. Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, § 119), we can conclude that the affricate value (denoted by «s, z, ts, ss») and the stop value (= «t̆, d̆») both obtained in Western and Northern India in the centuries immediately after Christ. The indiscriminate use of «kh» and «ch» after «i» in the Transitional MIA. (Midland dialect ?) equivalent of Sanskrit «bhikṣunī»— «bhikhuni», bhichuni» etc. at Bharhat and Sanchi (cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 7), show in all probability a palatal stop pronunciation of «ch», not far removed from a «kh» made after a palatal vowel. The name «Citā», in a Buddhist inscription of the 2nd
century A. C. from Kathiawar, if it really is an Indian transcription of a Germanic (Gothic) name Hilda [xilda], would give us something like a \( \text{\textlt{ky}} \) value for \( \text{\textlt{c}} \) (cf. Sten Konow, JRAS., 1912, pp. 379-385).

The use of the ligature \( \text{\textlt{ky}} \) for a palatalised \( \text{\textlt{k}} \) in some of the Brāhmī inscriptions of the East (as at Kalsi and Ramgarh) shows that in some at least of the Eastern (and Midland?) dialects, \( \text{\textlt{c}} \) had lost the stop pronunciation and had become an affricate by the 3rd century B. C.; otherwise there would not have been any necessity for using a digraph \( \text{\textlt{ky}} \) for a fronted \( \text{\textlt{k}} \), mainly when the latter occurred after \( \text{\textlt{i}} \). Prakrit grammarians, from Vararuci downwards to Mārkanaḍeya (17th century), imply or mention a twofold pronunciation of the letters of the \( \text{\textlt{c}} \) class in Second MIA. Grierson takes their statements to mean that a palatal affricate pronunciation obtained in the Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī areas (\( = [\text{\textlt{cf}}, \text{\textlt{fi}}] \)), and a dental one (\( [\text{\textlt{ts}}] \)) in the Mahāraṣṭrī and Saurasenī tracts; and he holds that later, in the North Saurasenī area, the clear, palatal sound \( [\text{\textlt{ç}}, \text{\textlt{fi}}] \) was revived, and it ousted the old dental one of \( [\text{\textlt{ts}}] \), so that the latter does not obtain any longer in Western Hindi. (‘The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals,’ JRAS., 1913, pp. 391 ff.). But it seems that the not very clear remarks of the Prakrit grammarians may be taken quite in another way. Vararuci, our oldest Prakrit grammarian, explicitly states that in Māgadhī the palatals were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full (‘Prākṛta-prakāśa,’ XI, 5: ‘ca-vargasya spaṣṭatā tath’decaranah’). Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be characterised as \( \text{\textlt{a}-spaṣṭa} \) or indistinct, and which evidently obtained in Saurasenī and Mahāraṣṭrī: and such an indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather, an elided pronunciation, in Saurasenī and Mahāraṣṭrī, as Basanta-Kumār Chatterji has rightly contended (in noticing Grierson’s article in the VSPdp. for San 1320: ‘Ca-vargiya Varṇa-samūhēr Uceśāraṇ,’ esp. pp. 201-203). At the time of Vararuci, who described MIA. of the second period, Mahāraṣṭrī had already dropped its intervocal stops \( \text{\textlt{k}}, \text{\textlt{g}}, \text{\textlt{c}}, \text{\textlt{j}}, \text{\textlt{t}}, \text{\textlt{d}} \), but Saurasenī and Māgadhī retained them as voiced stops, and these voiced stops were really fricatives in the Northern Indian dialects. (See
INTERVOCAL PALATALS IN MIA.

A simple stop pronunciation of the palatal sounds is easier to voice and to turn to an open sound, and thus elide it, than a compound affricate one, well-advanced with a prominent [ʃ] or [z] glide: [c > č, čj, čs] is commonly retained, or at the worst simplified to [ʃ], or to [s < ts]; but [c > ź > j > zero], where [j] is an open sound, would be an easy process. And according to the Prakrit grammarians, intervocal -c-, -j- in Māgadhī are never elided, whereas they are elided in Mahārāṣṭrī, same as -k-, -g-, -t-, -d-; and in Śaurasēṇī, apparently the unvoiced stop -c- became voiced to -j-, and this derived -j- and the original intervocal -j- both became open, i.e., the voiced spirant [j, ʒ], and were elided: this can be seen from specimens of Śaurasēṇī in an old drama like the ‘Mṛcchhakatika’; e.g., < bhōana = bhōjana; pūjjanta = pūjjyyanta = pūjjāmāna; pūḍ = pūjā; vāni = vānīja; vaṇa = vacana; rā (Māgadhī lāja) = rāja; vāčdu = vāčayatu; mōaisasi = mōcayisya, etc.; also from Modern Western Hindī forms like baṇḍ = vacana; raiṇā = raiṇī; gaṇḍa = gajēndra; bī = bīja; sū = sūcikā, etc. It seems genuine Māgadhī words in Bengali retain the intervocal -c-, -j-, e.g., पूडल < pādā = Sanskrit < pādāra; विज्ञान < bijānī = fon = vyajānikā; but such words are exceedingly rare, and non-Māgadhī forms with elided -c-, -j-, like राई < rāi = mustard = rājika, राय < rāya = rājan are largely found in Bengali. (See below, under Phonology: the Palatals in Bengali.) In the North-western dialect, -c-, -j- both became spirantised, as in Śaurasēṇī, during the Transitional MIA. period; and as can be seen from Kharōṣṭhī documents, this spirant pronunciation in the North-western speech was indicated by y: e.g., < ayariya = ācārya; viyaa = vijaya > (see p. 84); < puṣya = puṣyajā > (Taxila Vase Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 296); < suyi, suyi = suci; gōyari = gōcarē; ṣōyati = ṣōcantē; ya(y)ēya = yajēyya, yajēta; pūyitō = pūjitaḥ; vayati = vrajati; payēti = Pali pācenti > (‘Kharōṣṭhī Dharma-pada’: see p. 86). The Aṣokan spelling < majulā (Kalsi), majulā (Dhauli), majura (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) = mayūra- (cf. mōrā, Girnar), showing -j- for -y-, implies the presence of a fricative for the stop -j- in the 3rd century B.C. Vararuci does not give any rule for the treatment of -c-, -j- in Śaurasēṇī: apparently
the rule for Mahārāṣṭra (.....prāyō lōpaḥ , II, 2) held good here. For Māgadhi, Vararuci lays down the rule (XI, 4) that single <j> becomes <y> both initially and intervocally: <yānadi = jānāti, viyalē = vijala>. This would imply a spirant pronunciation for <j> in Māgadhi as well, for there is ample evidence that <y> had a value like ṣk [j, Ȝ] during the Transitional MIA. period (see §133). Hēma-candra also notes <y> for <j> ('Siddha-Hēma-candra,' VIII, 4, 292). But initial <j> did never become a spirant, any more than the other initial stops. Vararuci and Hēma-candra in this case are to be supplemented by Mārkaṇḍeya, who apparently follows old authority when he says that in Māgadhi <c, j> have a <y> before them—<yē, yj> (<c-ja-yēr upari yas syāt>: XII, 21). The ligature <yē, yj> is undoubtedly a way of indicating a 'clear,' palatal affricate pronunciation, with the spirant glide, here represented by <y>, properly identified, but placed before the letters denoting the original stop sounds. The affricate pronunciation later came in no doubt in Śauraseni. One can compare the device employed in the Śāradā alphabet to indicate the palatal affricates of Kaśmirī, by <cy, ṭy>, to which Grierson draws our attention, after the original <c, j> developed the dental affricate values of <ts, dz> in that language (Grierson, JRAS., 1913, p. 395).

To sum up: it would seem that the OIA. palatal stops kept their stop pronunciation in the Midland and in the Western tracts of Āryāvarta at a time when these became pronounced affricates in the East. After the IA. speech was well on the Second MIA. stage, when Vararuci wrote his grammar, Mahārāṣṭra and Śauraseni preserved, at least dialectally, the old stop values initially, and medially they were dropped or were reduced to a weak <y>-like sound; but in Māgadhi (dialectally at least), the clear affricates were heard, and to Vararuci as an easterner, this affricate articulation appeared as being decidedly clear and well-enunciated beside the stop palatals of the other areas with their uncertain acoustic effect; and Māgadhi affricates were not elided intervocally. But, from the evidence of Greek transcriptions, the affricate sounds seem to have developed, dialectally probably, in the Śauraseni and other Western areas.
as well, in the Transitional MIA. stage; and in the late MIA. period, these became universal. Through the influence of the Midland speech, forms with elided intervocal palatal stops characterising Śaurāśeni (and Ardha-māgadhi) of the Transitional and Second MIA. stages were accepted in the younger forms of Māgadhi—Proto-Bengali etc. But the palatal affricate pronunciation of c, j had gradually spread over all IA.; and under new conditions, the palatal affricates further were dentalised in some of the NIA. dialects—Assamese, East Bengali, Southern Oriyā, Marāṭhī, and dialectal Gujarātī.

133. The intervocal cerebrals ɖ, ɖh were changed to l, lh in the basic dialect of the Vedic speech. Pali also has this peculiarity. Sanskrit, except in the dialectal pronunciation followed in the South of India, retains the ɖ, ɖh sounds. In all Indian speech, single ɖ, ɖh have become the so-called 'cerebral r'—r, rh. This sound is made by curling up the tip of the tongue and bringing it to the point of articulation for [ʈ ɖ], and then quickly making the tongue to move forward and strike against the teeth-ridge with the underneath side, and then lie flat. This modification possibly came in during the First MIA. period, if not earlier. Greek transcriptions like Larih = Ἴδα-, Ἴτα-, karuophallon = kaṇḍa-phala, kaṭuka-phala; Saraganos = ᾱδα-ganha, ᾱτα-karpi- (cf. Hala < * Sāya < * Sāta < Sāta-), belonging to post-Christian times, show evidently a r pronunciation of intervocal ɖ.

u y, a semi-vowel in OIA., [i], became a pronounced fricative by the 3rd century BC; e.g., Aśokan North-western Prakrit (Shahbazgarhi) badya = * badaļa, for *bādaśa = dvādaśa. Epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period fully establishes the [ʒ] pronunciation of the letter for y. (Cf. 'Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscription,' F. W. Thomas, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 135 ff.) The ya-sruti of Jaina orthography for Ardha-māgadhī, found also in the epigraphical remains of the Transitional MIA. period, stands equally for some sort of spirant value of y (see p. 85). It was this spirant value of y that apparently brought about the creation of the ligature ōs for z in the Brāhmī alphabet, to write the z sound in the (Iranian) Śaka language from the 1st
century A. C.: 〈Yśāmōtika=Zāmōtika, Dāmayāsada=Dāmazada〉; East Iranian (in Brāhmī) 〈yśāra=zāra〉 thousand, 〈balyās=balza〉 Buddha (originally=priest). (Cf. H. Lüders, ‘Die Šakas und die “nordarische” Sprache,’ Sitzungsberichte der kön preuss. Ak. der Wissen., 1913, XXIII, pp. 406 ff.; cf. also E. Leumann, ‘Zur nordarischen Sprache und Litteratur,’ Strassburg, 1912.) In the Kharoṣṭhī ‘Dharma-pada,’ 〈y〉 is also used for the spirant representative of OIA. intervocal 〈c, j〉 (e.g., the examples quoted at p. 247).

[ĭ > j > j > ẑ] became the stop 〈j〉 or the affricate 〈ʃ, ʣ〉 in initial positions in the Second MIA. period, and in this way fell together with the original OIA. 〈j〉 〈ʃ, ʒ, ʃ, ʒ〉: e.g., OIA. 〈yōga〉, Early MIA. 〈yōga〉, Transitional and Second MIA. 〈jōga=jōga, jōa〉. This spirantised 〈y〉 changed also the groups 〈ty, dy〉 to 〈cc, jj〉 = [cc, ʃ, ʒ, ʃ, ʒ] in the Midland and in the West during the First and Transitional MIA. stages: [tĭ > tj > ʒt > ce > cc > ʃ, ʒ]; ści > dj > ḷj > ʒ > ʃ, ʒ, ʃ, ʒ; dd? (?)]; but in the East, 〈ty, dy〉 had a different development during the First MIA. period: 〈ty, dy〉 tiy, yy respectively.

The bilabial semivowel 〈ũ〉 [ũ] seems to have developed different values in the different dialectal areas—a rounded-lip bilabial semivowel 〈ũ=w〉, a spread-lip bilabial spirant 〈v〉, and a denti-labial spirant 〈v〉,—which one cannot very well find out now. Greek transcriptions give for the MIA. 〈ũ〉 the following: (i) 〈ou (= u), o〉: 〈Ouindion = Vindhyas; Sōastes = Suvāstu; Peukelaotis=Pukk(h)alāvatī, Puṣkalāvatī; Imaos = Himavān; Deopalli = Dēvapalli; (ii) 〈b 〉: 〈Bidaspēs = *Vidastā, Vitastā; Bibasis = *Vivāsā, Vīpasā; Erannoboas = Hiraṇya-vaha〉; and (iii) 〈hu 〉, initially: 〈Huphasis = Vīpasā〉. The characteristic NIA. pronunciation is that of a bilabial spirant. In the Gujarat area, from Girnar Aśokaan forms like 〈dv- 〉 db; 〈tv 〉 tp. beside 〈dm 〉 tp, one can surmise that the 〈ũ〉 was a strong bilabial fricative in the First MIA. period, which became a stop in the 3rd century B.C., and assimilated the preceding dental to itself [dũ = dw > dv > db > bb = Gujarātī b, Sindhi b'; tũ = tw > tv > tr > tp > pp; tm > tũ > tv > tr > tp > pp].
UNEXPLODED STOPS IN CONSONANT GROUPS.

134. The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops, the change of intervocal \(-d-\) to \(-r-\), the spirantisation of \(-y-\), which have been noticed above, and the later change of the stops \(-k\,g\,t\,d\,p\,b-\) to open consonants (noticed at pp. 83 ff., also in § 132), came in only gradually. The most important characteristic of MIA. is the assimilation of dissimilar consonantal combinations into double consonants; and this characteristic primarily marks off MIA. from OIA. This change was due mainly to the first consonant in a group of two stops like \(-kt-, -pt-\) being pronounced without explosion, so that it was reduced to a mere stop or closure, and its position was shifted to that of the next stop: thus \(-lip-ta, bhak-ta-\) became in late OIA. \(-bha^k-ta, lip-ta-\) \([bh\text{\it ak}, ta, lip, ta]\), which then became assimilated to \(-bha^t-ta, lit-ta = bhatta, litta-\). Final stops, unvoiced, were similarly pronounced without explosion, as in \(-vidyut, marut, pari\text{\it sat}, dharm\text{\it at}, sy\text{\it t}, dhik, man\text{\it ak}-\); and the final unexploded or implosive \(-t, k-\) were duly lost in MIA.: \(e.g.,\) Pali \(-vi\text{\it jju, maru, pari\text{\it sa}, dhamm\text{\it a, siy\text{\it a} (assa), dh\text{\it i, min\text{\it a}-}\). The 'Prātiśākhya' have noted this characteristic in (late) OIA. pronunciation (R. Gauthiot, 'La Fin de Mot en Indo-Européen,' Paris, 1913, pp. 91-92). In the NIA. languages, in consonant groups resulting from the dropping of intervening vowels (as, for example, in Bengali बापके \(-b\text{\it ap\text{-}k\text{\it e} > b\text{\it ap\text{-}k\text{\it e}}-\) to the father, थाक्ते \(-th\text{\it ak\text{-}t\text{\it e} > th\text{\it ak\text{-}t\text{\it e}}-\) to remain), Hindōstānī अप-का \(-\text{\it a}p\text{\it k\text{-}a} > \text{\it a}pk\text{\text{-}a} of self, सकता \(-\text{\it sa}k\text{\it at\text{-}a} > sakt\text{\text{-}a} is able), there is complete explosion of the first stop, and this is helped by a consciousness, vague it might be, of the fact that the forms consist of essential or radical parts, and affixes. This method of fully articulating the first stop of a group, except in the case of the same stop 'doubled,' now obtains in the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit and of tatsama words in the of vernaculars: \(e.g.,\) सा\text{\it k\text{-}ti, ab\text{-}da\text{-}\): but this is merely an extension of the vernacular habit of pronunciation. The unexploded stops of late OIA. thus brought in their train their complete assimilation in the next period.

This assimilation was accompanied by other simplifications in connection with the liquids and nasals, and sibilants. Possibly a habit of
speech which preferred an open syllable to a closed one also manifested itself. A great mass of IA. speakers, at the commencement of the MIA. period (at least in the East, to start with) probably had lost the sense of distinction between root and affix. Thus what were «dhar/ma, sah/ya, šuk/ra, yaj/ña, ak/śi, * spṛś/ta > spṛś/ta, šus/ka » in the speech-feeling of the earlier generations in the OIA. period, became, after the speech had spread among peoples of different tongues, «dha-rma > dha-mma, sa-hya > sa-jjha, šu-kra > su-kka, ya-jña > ya-ũña, a-kṣi > a-kkhi (a-echi), * spu-ṣṭa * hpu-hṭa > phu-tṭha, šu-ška * su-hka > su-kkha ». The principle of the Indian alphabetical system in having only open syllables was apparently based on this sort of syllabic division.

STOPS AND SPIRANTS IN MIA.

135. Open or spirant pronunciation of the single OIA. stops «k, g, t, d, p, b » intervocally was established by the close of the Transitional MIA. period. This has been described before (pp. 83 ff.). After the assimilation of compound consonants, this was undoubtedly the most important change in the history of the IA. sounds. But owing to the NIA. languages having largely replenished themselves by borrowings from Sanskrit (or Perso-Arabic, as in the case of Urdū) and by new formations, the full significance and importance of this change in the history of IA. is not usually recognised. (Cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathé,’ §§ 14, 81.) In Second and Late MIA., intervocally there were no single stops, only single spirants and double stops: and these spirants, too, were dropped from pronunciation, quite early in a dialect like Mahārāṣṭrī, and later in other dialects like Śaurasenī and Māgadhī; and the elision had taken place in words inherited from OIA. long before beginning of the NIA. period. The Indian graphic system continued to employ the letters for the voiced stop sounds of [g, d, b] (generally however, « v » was used for the last) where the corresponding open sounds or spirants were undoubtedly used in speech. The epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period, and the traditions of Prakrit spelling, with their hesitancy in using « g, d, b (v) », or omitting them, or substituting « y » for them, coupled with our knowledge
of what has happened or is actually happening in other languages, are enough to establish that. Conservatism in spelling is a common thing in languages with a long history, and letters are retained even when they have dropped from pronunciation. In Modern Spanish (Castilian), « agua, abogado » etc. are pronounced as [aũa, aosoado], the latter word even becoming [aosoao]. The OIA. « dyũta-, dvığuṇa-, śuka-, tāpa, hṛdaya, dīpa- », sāba » passed into typical NIA. « jūa, dūnā, suā, tā, hiā, dīa, chā » through an intermediate MIA. stage « jūda-, diquṇa-, suṇa-, tāda, hiḍaa, diḥa-, chāba »: and this stage is that which was arrived at during the Transitional MIA. period. The rules of Prakrit (Second MIA.) grammar in this matter are inconsistent, and the examples in Prakrit literature for dialects like Saurasenī and Māgadhi are not always reliable. Even the very spirant sounds are not recognised by the Prakrit grammarians: any more than a Modern Bengali grammarian would ordinarily notice the under-articulation of consonants which obtains in Bengali (e.g., ठाकुरदादा grand-papa [ṭhakurdadā] is frequently pronounced [ṭhagurdādā], and is even reduced to ठाउँदा ठाउँदा [ṭhau(r)dːa]. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji, 'A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetistics,' London, 1921, § 31.) We can see, however, that in genuine tadbhava forms in all the NIA. speeches, the single intervocal stops of OIA., « k, g ; t, d ; p, b » , are not preserved. The intervocal palatal stops of OIA. « c, j » were likewise elided in tadbhava words in some forms NIA., but were retained in others; and the intervocal cerebral stops « ō, ʒ » have in all NIA. been reduced to « -d- = r » Wherever a NIA. word agrees with its corresponding OIA. (Sanskrit) form in retaining a stop, voiced or unvoiced, or an aspirate, such a word is not a genuine, inherited tadbhava. OIA. stops in the body of a word are as a rule preserved in NIA. only when they are preceded by a nasal, and when they were doubled by assimilation in MIA. The intervocal single aspirated stops of OIA., through a similar process of spirantisation in the stop element in Transitional MIA., became a mere aspiration in Late MIA. and NIA.: e.g., « mukha > mughha > mughha > muha; laghu> laghu > lahu; kathayati > katheti > kadhēdi > kadhēdi > kahēi, kahē; vadhu-> vadhu-> vahu, bahā; śopālikā > *śēbāligā > *śēbhāligā >
PHONOLOGY : CHAPTER I

*śchālia > Middle Bengali শিলী śihali > New Bengali শিলি śiuli; gabhīra > gabhīra > gāhīra, etc. « ch, jh » are rare as intervocal sounds; and « ṭh, ḍh » normally became « -dh- = ṛh » in all late MIA. and NIA. In MIA., an aspirate occurs in the body of a word only after its corresponding stop or nasal (and in NIA. tadabhava forms, only after a long vowel, simple or nasalised).

The state of things with regard to the stops and aspirates in Typical MIA. of the Transitional and Second MIA. period, e.g., in Śaurasena of c. 200 A. C., was something like the following:

Initially only: < k- g-, c- j-, ṭ- ḍ-, t- d-, p- b-; h-; kh- gh-, ch- jh-, ṭh- ḍh-, th- dh-, ph- bh- ».

Medially: < -g-, -y- (= [ũ]), -d- (= [r]), -ś-, -b-[v]; -h-; -kk(h)-gg(h)-, -cc(h)-jj(h)-, -ṭṭ(h)- ḍḍ(h)-, -tt(h)- dd(h)-, -pp(h)-bb(h)-, -ṭk(h)- ṭg(h)-, -ṅc(h)- ṭj(h)-, -ṅṭ(h)- ṭṅ(h)-, -nt(h)- nn(h)-, -mp(h)- mm(h)- ».

The double consonants of MIA. derived by assimilation continued till NIA.,—to be simplified to a single consonant, with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel: and this resultant single consonant of NIA. has persisted generally.¹

But in one dialect of MIA., the Ardha-māgadhi of the Jains, in texts which from their language apparently go back to the Transitional MIA., we meet with a few cases of elision of the normal MIA. double consonants—the group « tt »: e.g., « āyā = attā, ātman; pāyya = patta, pātra; gōya = gotta, gōtra; ṛāi = ṛātri (ṛādi also, in Mahārāṣṭri); saẏāri = sattari, saptatī; cāri = cattāri, catvāri; cāyālisa, cālisa = catvāriṇāsat etc. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 216-217.) This sort of elision of double « tt » is entirely against the spirit of MIA. phonology, and the reasons for it are not known. Possibly a case like « ṛāi < ṛādi » is to be referred to an OIA. « * rā-ṭi », occurring side by

¹ In certain forms of Bengali, however, we have a further elision of these resultant single stops: e.g., 'ṭhakkura, ṭhakkura,' Standard Colloquial Bengali ठाकुर thākur 'thāur' beside ठाकुर 'ṭhākura'; ठेन 'ṭhān' for ठेन्कुरणी 'ṭhākurā,' honoured lady; 'vappa, bāpa' father, Chittagong Bengali = बाप 'bāp.'
side with « rā-tris, rā-trī »; « cāri », for « *caśāri », found in all NIA., may be from analogy of forms like « catur » > « cauī » (cf. J. Bloch, op. cit.); but the early forms in most NIA. being « cīari » (see p. 106: see also later, under Morphology: the Numerals), we may have to postulate the influence of Middle Persian in Late MIA.—Pahlavi « cahār », Pāzand « eihār » (= New Persian « eēhār, cār ») possibly having something to do in the use of « cīari » for « cattāri » in Late MIA. and NIA. (cf. « sahassa » of Late MIA., ousted by the Persian « hazār »); « cāyālisā » for « catvāriṇīsat » is an extension of this to the numerals for the 40-group; and « sayāri » for « sattāri » may well be on the analogy of « *cāyāri, cīari » for « cattāri ». The other words remain obscure—« āyā, pāyā, gōyā » 1. Can it be that « āyā » is a blend of the tadbhava « attā » and a semi-talsama « *ātama » * ādamā > * āyavā »?

There seem to have been some cases of simplification of double consonants to a single one with compensatory lengthening, mainly of sibilants, in Transitional and Second MIA.

136. Phonological development of MIA. from OIA. is a subject apart, its study belonging properly to that of Pali and other Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśa. In the late MIA. period, some further modifications of the OIA. Sound-system became prominent. The Transitional and Second MIA. tendency to elide single intervocal stops of OIA. continued and manifested itself in specifically late MIA. formations as well; single « -m- » intervocally became « -w- », which was reduced to a mere nasalisation of

1 In Bengali, there are the words বা(৩) ' dā(৩) ' chopper, bill = ' dātra'; পি(৩) ' gā(৩)' = ' gātra,' beside a regular tadbhava'গাট ' gata' < ' gatta' = ' gūtra' in Middle Bengali, and an old semi-talsama গাতা ' gata' from ' gātra', and পো ' pō,' Oriya ' pua,' beside পুত ' pūta' < ' putta, putra.' The last form may have been influenced by ' pūta,' which would give ' pō, pō' in NIA. পা, পাও, পুর, পুর ' gā, gāo, gāy, gāś may be an analogical formation, after ' kāya' = ' kāa'; ' dā' is explained by Grierson as being from a form ' drāta,' attested from Kāśmirī: it is found in Hindi as ' dāw, daa,' bill, sickle, and the occurrence in Skt. of the forms ' dāti' sickle, scythe, ' dāta ' moven, cut off, ' dār' moving, mover shows that the source of the NIA. word is not ' dātra,' but rather some form like ' dār ' (although the Kōl word ' datrom' sickle, evidently an old Aryan borrowing, would show that ' dātra ' was quite a popular OIA. vocable).
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER I

the vowel in most cases in NIA.; and this modification probably appeared sporadically quite early (cf. *yamunā-*yāwanā - Greek transcriptions *Iōbarēs* ). Intervocal sibilants single or double became *h* in some cases: a change also noticed in a few early instances (cf. *kārśaṇa* = *kahāṇa* in Pali); its origin and scope in MIA. is not known.

MIA. kept in close touch with Sanskrit, and especially in later times, when it had the disadvantage of having a large number of homophones through phonetic decay. Thus, *ākāra, āgāra, ācāra* would all be reduced to *āṭar*, *suta, śuka* to * su&a*; and it was necessary to introduce fresh blood, as it were, into the system of the speech, in the shape of new words and forms. Tatsamas were being brought into MIA. from the time of its differentiation as MIA. The phonetic changes which modified these newcomers were to some extent different from those which characterised original MIA. When in these tātsamas there was a nexus of a stop + liquid or nasal, MIA. no longer went in for assimilation, which characterised its phonetics in the formative period, but anaptyxis (vipra karṣa), which is a habit of pronunciation occasionally found in OIA. (in the *svara-bhakti* of the Vedic speech), came in: thus *dharma* > dhāma > dhāma is a *tadbhava, dharma > dharama* is a semi-tatsama; so *sarṣapa* > *sasappa > sāsava: sarisapa, sarisava*; *varṣa > vassa > vāsa: varisā*; *krṣna > kāṇha: kasaṇa*; *rātana* ought to have a *tadbhava* > *ratta* > *raṭa* (cf. *sapatni > savatti, NIA. saut*), but already in Pali we find the semi-tatsama *rata* (Bengali *rataḥ* > *rataḥ* ) is not from this MIA. form, which would have given only *radana > rataṇa > rana > rāwaṇa > rāṇa > *rāṇa* > *rāṇa* > *rāṇa* > *rāṇa* > *rāṇa* > *rāṇa*; it is a new semi-tatsama; but cf. *ādāri* > semi-tatsama in Early MIA. *ādaraṣikā* [instead of the proper tadbhava *ādāṣikā* which would have become *āśi *āśi* in Bengali]; *ādaraṣikā > ārāṣia > ārāṣia*). Sanskrit words in MIA. also had to conform to the phonetic habit of MIA. which would tolerate only double stops in the middle of a word, and not single ones, as single ones would be voiced and spirantised: thus *eka > ēka* , as in Assamese *ō-zān* = *ēka-jana*, tadbhava; *ēka*, reintroduced in MIA., became *ekka*, whence a Common NIA. *ēk*.
137. The phonetic system of the native (i.e., of the old *tañbhava* and *dēśī*) element in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, the source of Bengali, was in all likelihood the following:

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>u: u</td>
<td>i: i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Close</td>
<td>o: o</td>
<td>e: e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Open</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>α:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasalised forms of the vowels also occurred.

**Consonants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velär</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td></td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td>p, b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aspirates</strong></td>
<td>kh, gh,</td>
<td>th, dh</td>
<td></td>
<td>th, dh</td>
<td>ph, bh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ch, cf,</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>ɲ, ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laterals</strong></td>
<td>(?-l-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flapped</strong></td>
<td>-r, -ṛ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>h, (?-g-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(s ?)</td>
<td>(-v-) ō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-vowels</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-j- (ɛ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-w- (ø)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
About the sounds of the above system as reconstructed, the following points are to be noted.

OIA. short <æ> [a] seems to have been changed to the slightly higher sound of [o], as in Southern English <cot>, which in Middle Bengali (of post-14th century times) became [ɔ], the normal sound of the New Bengali অ; in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and in Old Bengali it was sufficiently near [ə:] to be interchangeable with it. In other words, <ā> [o] in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali was slightly lower in articulation than the New Bengali অ <ā> [ɔ]. The New Bengali sound is pronounced with the lips very slightly rounded, and this gives it its definite quality as a distinct vowel from অ <ā> [a, ə]; the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and Old and Early Middle Bengali equivalent was in all probability not rounded.

[ŋ, ŋ, u] possibly occurred for <g d b> in intervocal positions under certain circumstances. [ŋ] occurred before [ŋ], and ‘doubly’ in the middle of a word [ŋŋ = ɲː]; and possibly it was also the modification of [m > ɱ] before palatal vowels. [ŋ] seems to have existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, as can be seen from the evidence of Oriya and of Old and dialectal Bengali, although it now no longer exists in Bengali-Assamese and in ‘Bihārī.’ It is not known for certain whether Māg. Ap. possessed [l], which is now found only in Oriya, where it represents an OIA. or MIA. single intervocal <l>: in all likelihood it did exist intervocally.

Evidence of Bengali and Oriya would show that [r] was present in the source-form of these speeches. Probably there was a restoration (or rather importation) of [r] in Eastern Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa through Sanskrit and Northern Indian influence. Genuine Māgadhī forms would be expected to show [l] for [r] of OIA.; and that is what we find in an Old Bengali word like লাঙ্কা < lāccha = lācha (= rathyā)), as in Sarvananda’s glossary, in Middle Bengali লাছ, নাছ < lāccha, nāccha >, and in a Modern Bengali word like পা঳িল < pākli > = < prācira >. But [r]-words are plentiful, even in common roots like কর < kār >, ধর < dhār > etc. The Central and Western Magadhan speechies in this matter are more uniform, having a tendency to reduce all laterals and r-sounds to [r]. (See p. 96.)
MODIFICATIONS IN OLD BENGALI

Palatal \( \text{ś} \) = \([\text{ʃ}]\) was the only inherited sibilant in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa: but it is not unlikely that the dental \([\text{s}]\) sound was also present, among the masses of non-Aryan (Kōl and Mōn-Khmēr) origin, and among Upper Indian settlers within the Magadhan area; but from the later history of the Magadhan speech in its eastern branch, it may be seen that there at least the proper Māgadhī sound resisted all \([\text{s}]\) influence, and remained \([\text{ʃ}]\).

The semi-vowels \([i, w]\) were glides to prevent hiatus, and were the half-close vowels \([e, o]\) used as consonants, which would be dropped or brought in according to option. In transliteration, these \(\text{ṣruti}\) sounds could be written \(\check{\text{y}}, \check{\text{w}}\). The semi-vowels never occurred initially: OIA. \([\text{i}, \text{ũ}]\) in initial positions had become \([\text{j}, \text{b}]\) in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, before its split into the Modern Magadhan speeches. OIA. \([\text{i}]\) after dental stops, in \(\text{tatsama}\) words, no longer palatalised the latter—\(\text{nitya} \rightarrow \text{nittī} \rightarrow \text{[nitt(ə)p]}, \text{vidyā} \rightarrow \text{[uddī]} \rightarrow \text{[biddī]}, \text{etc.}\)

OLD AND EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI.

138. Some important changes ushered in the NIA. period. Excepting in the North-Western and Western (i.e., Eastern Panjābī, Lahṇḍī and Sindhi) areas, double consonants of MIA. were simplified to a single consonant, and there was compensation for this loss of quantity in the consonant of the syllable (a ‘double’ consonant group means only a ‘long’ consonant) by lengthening the preceding vowel: \(\text{e.g., patra = patta > pāta, putra = putta > pūta, camma = camma > cāma, anya = anna > āna} = [\text{pat}:\text{a} > \text{pat}:\text{a}, \text{put}:\text{a} > \text{pu}:\text{t}:\text{a}, \text{c]:\text{am}:\text{a} > \text{c]:\text{a}:\text{mn}, \text{an}:\text{a} > \text{a}:\text{nn}].\) Nasals preceding stops or aspirates were first ‘shortened’, and then ‘dropped,’ compensation coming in by lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: \(\text{e.g., canda > cāda} \rightarrow \text{[c]:\text{an}:\text{da} > [c]:\text{a}:\text{ndn}, [c]:\text{ddn}].\) Final long vowels were weakened, and assimilated to preceding vowels, in most cases: \(\text{rādhikā} \rightarrow \text{rāhia} \rightarrow \text{rāhī}.\) Euphonic glides of \(\text{y} \) and \(\text{w} \) became more prominent between \(\text{udvṛttā} \) vowels, after the dropping of intervening stops: \(\text{e.g., vāta > vāda, vāda > vāa > bāwa, bāya [ba:ə, ba:ə] = [bā, bə][bā, bə].}\) In later times, these glides weakened and were dropped.
In Bengali, a shifting of the stress system to the initial syllable came in during the formative period: this led to the dropping of unstressed long vowels in the middle of a word, and to lengthening of $<\ddot{a}>$ to $<\dddot{a}>$ initially. The $<\ddot{a}, \dddot{a}>$ sounds in their normal historical relation to each other in Old and Middle Bengali may be thus indicated:

Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa short $<\ddot{a}>[\ddot{a}] >$ Old Bengali $[\ddot{a}] >$ Middle Bengali $[\ddot{a}, \dddot{a}, \dddot{a}]$;

Māg. Ap. $<\text{āwa} >[\ddot{a}v]\ddot{a}>$ Old Bengali $[\ddot{a}v, \dddot{a}] >$ Middle Bengali $[\ddot{a}, \dddot{a}, \dddot{a}]$;

Māg. Ap. $<\ddot{a}>[\ddot{a}]$ before two consonants $>$ Old Bengali $[\alpha, \alpha]$ $>$ Middle Bengali $[\alpha, \alpha]$;

Māg. Ap. initial $<\dddot{a} >[\ddot{a}]$ $>$ Old Bengali $[\ddot{a}, \dddot{a}]$ $>$ Middle Bengali $[\alpha, \alpha]$;

Māg. Ap. long $[\alpha] >$ Old Bengali $[\alpha, \alpha]$ $>$ Middle Bengali $[\alpha, \alpha]$, through loss of stress $[\alpha >\dddot{a} = \ddot{a}]$.

The open $[\ddot{a}]$ pronunciation of $<\ddot{a}>$ probably became the partially rounded $[\ddot{a}]$ by the end of the Early Middle Bengali Period: $[\ddot{a}]$ developed a long quality, and interchange with $[\alpha:]$ was no longer in the nature of things in Middle Bengali and New Bengali. The MIA. vowel $[e:]$ in initial syllables became open in Middle Bengali, $[e:]$, and possibly also in Old Bengali: cf. $<\text{dekkhai} >$ $\ddot{\text{dekh}} \text{ai} [\ddot{d}k\ddot{h}i]\ddot{a}] >$ $\ddot{\text{dekh}}, \text{dekh} [d\ddot{sk}h\ddot{d}, d\ddot{sk}h] >$ $\text{dekh}, \ddot{\text{dekh}} [\ddot{d}k\ddot{h}e]; e\ddot{k}k > \ddot{e}k [\ddot{e}k]\ddot{e}] > [\ddot{e}:k:] > [\ddot{e}:k]:$ and $<\dddot{y}a> >$ after a consonant, in $\ddot{\text{tas}}\ddot{m}a$, became $[\dddot{e}a:, \dddot{e}a:]$, later $[\dddot{e}]$ in New Bengali: $<\text{tyåga} >$ $\ddot{\text{bo}}$ $\ddot{\text{ga}} [\ddot{t}\ddot{a}:\ddot{g}n, \ddot{t}\ddot{e}a:gd] > [\dddot{t}e:gd]$. Post-consonantal $<\dddot{a}>$ in $\ddot{\text{tas}}\ddot{m}a$ similarly became $[\dddot{a}a:] > \dddot{a} > \ddot{a}:$ (see later, under ‘the Origin of the New Bengali Vowels: $[\ddot{a}]$’). In connection with $[i]$, in Early Middle Bengali, the back $<\dddot{a}>[\alpha, \alpha]$ received a frontal articulation $[\alpha, \alpha]$, which later became $[e]$ in the Standard Colloquial (see p. 133; also later, under ‘Vowel Mutation,’ and ‘the Origin of New Bengali Vowels: $[e]$’). $[I]$ after a vowel grew weak, and there was epenthesis. Nasalisation of the vowels was fully developed; also vowel-harmony came in quite early in the history of Bengali as a NIA. speech.
The consonants remained much the same, but the spirant pronunciation of intervocal voiced stops was no longer present, except in the case of \(-p\-> which still obtained as \([v]\) occasionally in Middle Bengali; and \(-k-> intervocal was voiced sometimes in Middle Bengali; \(\text{-}l\-> seems to have been merged in to \(\text{-}l\-> in Old Bengali; but \(\eta\-> probably continued, at least dialectally, in Early Middle Bengali. \([\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\)] was once more re-established as the sole sibilant, although it was written \(\text{\'}s, s, s\->.\) Intervocal \(-h-> [\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{\'}\text{
PHONOLOGY : CHAPTER I

�ामार्थे चातुलि सानकम पटिम।
["dhamārthē 'cāṭulī 'sānakam patai: ]
For the sake of Dharma, Cāṭila builds a bridge:

पारगानी लोक निवर तरइ॥
["pāragaṇī 'lo:k ni:var tari: ]
Men going across (can) cross with full reliance.

कांडहर रूपा गट पोष जोड़िम।
["kāndhara 'rupa gata poṣa jogā: ]
Having split (=cut down) the tree of Ignorance, he joins the boards:

अद्वी दिती तादी निवणेन कोहिन॥
["a:dvi 'diti tādī ni:vaṇe kohiṇi: ]
With the strong axe of Advaya (=monism) he strikes (?) at Nirvāṇa.

सांपत्रिता चात्रिले दाहिण दाम नं होम।
["saṃpatrī 'ṭarilē dāhīṇ dāma: pan: ho:mi: ]
After having mounted on the bridge, turn not to the right or the left.

निमान्ति बोहिं दर नं जाय॥
["ni:man:ti bōhiṁ vara: n∧n jai: ]
Bōhi (=Supreme Knowledge) is near, go not afar.

चूमें तुमें लोखे चोर होइय पारगानी।
If, O (ye) men, ye will goers across,

पुष्टक चातुलि अनुत्तर सामी॥
["pāṣṭaka 'cāṭulī 'anuttara saami: ]
Ask thou (=ye) Cāṭila, the peerless Master.
(Caryā 33): टालत मोर दर नाहि पड़वेही।
On the high place (?) is my home, there is no neighbour.

हारीत भात नाहि निति आवेही॥
In (my) pot there is no rice, (yet) daily I come in.

बेण संसार बड़हि जाय॥
["beṇ:sa: 'samsāra 'bada:hi jai: ]
This cripple (this frog), the world, too much wavering (hopping) it goes.
EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI PRONUNCIATION


The milk that is milked off, does it go back into the teat?

["bo:lo:do bi(ə)a:(ə)i:lo | "gən(ə)i(ə)a: 'bɔ:i ʃi:he: ]

An ox has made a barren cow to bear:


A pail (full) is milked of three evenings (=three times a day).

["ʃo: ʃo: ("ʃe: ʃe:) 'budhi: | "ʃo: (ʃe:) dhoni 'budhi: ]

The understanding which is that (understanding), indeed is a praiseworthy understanding.


He that is the thief, he indeed is the honest man.

["ni ti ni ti 'ʃi(ə)a:la | "ʃihe ʃɔːn ʃu'ʃi:nd(ə)i: ]

Day to day the jackal fights with the lion.

["dheu:duh:i:pa:(ə)ən | gito "birlə: bu'ʃi:nd(ə)i: ]

(This) song of Dhenukhana-pada one understands all alone.

It would be seen that in the above extracts, verbal forms like « garhəyi, taraï, jāyi, jūjhaï » (where in ordinary speech the final affix « aï » probably became a diphthong, « āi » to be changed into « -e » of later Middle Bengali) had the euphonic « ŋ » glide = [ə], which would come in when in verse the affix would be pronounced as two syllables; and for metric reasons, the final « -i » would be lengthened whenever required.

EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI: 'ŚRI-KRĒṆA-KIRTAN' (See P. 128).

[ŋ] seems to have been pronounced in the West Bengali of this work. ə « a » = [ɒ] was perhaps not yet [o], but it is likely the higher back vowel was pronounced in groups like [ɒi = ôi], and in other cases.
The basket of curds, by Yamuna's bank having put down,

The milkmaids raise a shout, having looked at four sides.

At dawn we have come here, the period is long.

In how long a time shall we go to Mathura's strand?

Do take to the other side my basket of curds.

For the sake of a boat went Candrawali Radhikā.

Behind her, all the other milk-maid friends.

After going some distance, a boat is seen.

Going to its place (=near it), the Milkmaid Radhikā says:
কেহ মনে পার হরিব ছোট নাস্ত খানী।

"কেনত মনে 'পার হরিব | "ধোত না(ে) প 'খানী।"
In what manner shall we cross? the boat is small.

একে একে পার হাই। যাইব মধুর।

"সেক(ে) সে পার হরিব | "সেক(ে) বির্মা মুথুর।"
Crossing one by one, we shall go to Mathurā.

সন্নাই চকেলে নাস্ত না সহিব ভাট।

"সন্না(ে) চেষ্ট(ে) না(ে) যো | "সন্না(ে) বির্মা ভাট।"
If all were to get into the boat, the weight will not be borne.

হরিব ভাটী নাস্ত চাপাতিবার ঘাটে।

"হরিব গহাত(ে) না(ে) যো | "গহাত(ে) গহাতে।"
Hear, O ghaut-keeper! having brought your boat to the ghaut,

সন্না পার কর যাইব মধুর হাট।

"সন্না পার 'কন্দা গহাত(ে) যো | "মথুরাধন 'গহাতে।"
Make us all cross over, let us go to Mathurā’s mart.

রাধার বচন শুন যো ঘাটের মধুর হাট।

"রাধার বচন বোডন জুনি | "গহাত(ে) গহাতে।"
Having heard Rādha’s words, the ghaut-keeper smiles.

বাসনী শিবে বিংশ গাইল চণ্ডীদাস।

"বাসনী শিবে বিংশ গাইল | "গাইল গুন্ধি দাজ।"
Adoring Bāsali with his head, Candhibāsā sang.

(Page 294): কে না বাশী বান বড়াই কালীর নই কুলে।

"কে না বাশী বান বড়াই বল | "কালীর না কুল।"
Who is it, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute on the bank of the Kālindī river?

কে না বাশী বান বড়াই এ গোল গে কুলে।

"কে না বাশী বান বড়াই বল | "গোলাক্স গো কুল।"
Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute among these pastures and herds of kine?

অকুল শবর মেরে বেআকুল নন।

"অকুল জর মেরে বেআকুল | "থেকো অকুল মেরে।"
My body is all disordered, my mind is agitated.

বাশীর শবরে মেরে আউলাইলে। রাজন।

"বাশীর জরে মেরে আউলাইলে। রাজন।"
At the sound of the flute I disarranged my cooking (= domestic affairs).
Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute, what man indeed is he?

"ke nā baṣi 'ba(ê)e boraï | "fe nā koṇa 'jñāna"

Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute in (his) heart's joy?

"ke nā baṣi 'ba(ê)e boraï | "caitṟeṇu hindre"

At his feet, O Grandmother, what fault have I done?

"tārṇ pa(ê)e 'bra(ê)i mā | "kaṇṭō koṇa 'doso"

At the sound of the flute, O Grandmother, I have lost my life.

"aṟiṟṅaṟṇ ārṇ'ra(ê)e mōr | "na(ê)ṇeṇe paṇi"

The son of Nanda plays on (his) melodious flute.

"bāṣja(ê)e jū'jord baji | "nāndera nano'dono"

I am not a bird, that I might fly and fall near him.

"pakhi naño 'tārṇ ṭhā(ê)i | "uri poṛi 'rā(ê)a"

Let the earth open up, that having gone in I may hide.

"medon bi'dam de(ê)u | "p̄ṇ(ê)ṣa lū'kā(ê)ā"

The forest burns, O Grandmother, everybody knows it:
THE SOUND SYSTEM OF NEW BENGALI

140. In Middle Bengali of times post 14th century, certain other phonetic changes came in (e.g., epenthesis), which have been touched upon before (see p. 133). The development of one modern dialect in particular can be taken up in discussing the history of Bengali: and the dialect par excellence for that purpose is that of West Central Bengal (the Standard Colloquial). The phonological history of this dialect through Middle and Old Bengali has been attempted in the chapters that follow, side by side with that of the literary speech; and a survey of the phonetics of Late Middle Bengali is hardly necessary here.

The sounds of New Bengali, in the Standard Dialect as spoken by the educated people of Calcutta and West Central Bengal, have been described in 'A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics' (by S. K. Chatterji, London, 1921: originally in the BSOS., London, Vol. II, Part I; specimens of dialectal Bengali in the phonetic script have been given in the same journal, Vol. II, Part II. See also the LSI., V, I). Below are given in tabular form the sounds of the Standard Colloquial.

Vowels.

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### Consonants

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</table>

Of the above sounds, it may be noted that [o] is the sound of English *ave*, occurring in Bengali both long and short, and [æ] is very nearly that of Southern English *a* in *hat*, being somewhat lower than the English sound; and [A] is found only in foreign words not naturalised. There is a large number of diphthongs, some 25, although the script recognises only 2; and there are some triphthongs also.

The retroflex [t, d] are no longer the cerebrals of OIA. (such as are still found in the Dravidian languages, and in Panjábi for instance among NIA. speeches), but they have advanced forward considerably towards the palato-alveolar region, so much so that to a Bengali there is no difference between the so-called cerebrals of his language and the *t, d* of English, alveolar sounds. [n, l] when before the retroflex
sounds, have a retroflex colouring, and [n] is also slightly palatalised before the palatal affricates. [s] is practically a variant of the [ʃ] phoneme under certain conditions; and [z] occurs in foreign vocables, and, rarely, as a modification of the native [ʃi]. [f, v, r] are commonly substituted for the aspirates [ph, bfi] of careful speakers. [h] is the sound occurring in the unvoiced aspirates, and is found by itself, in a final position, in interjections. [e, ə] occur only as intervocal glides.

Length in vowels is not of significant importance, but the length (or doubling) of consonants is important. The stress in predominantly initial, and word-stress yields to sentence-stress, or to the dominant stress in the sense-group.

The more important sounds of dialectal Bengali may be noted.

[ɛ]: half-open front vowel, intermediate between [e] and [ə] of Standard Bengali, is found in the East Bengali dialects, as well as in the Bengali of the extreme West (see p. 142).

[a]: low or open front vowel, like a in English man as pronounced in the North of England: found in most Bengali dialects, but it cannot be said to characterise the speech of Calcutta and the surrounding area, where it is occasionally heard as subsidiary form of [a]: e.g., Dialectal Bengali কাল = কল [ka:l] yesterday, to-morrow (besides কাল, কাইল [ka'i:l, kail, kail], from Old Bengali কাইল [kali]), and কাল [ka:l] time, death: but Calcutta Bengali, both the words = কাল [ka:l]; Dialectal Bengali আজ, আজ, আজ [a:fi, a:dz, a:z; ai'dz, aidi, aif]; aidz, aif] to-day (from Old Bengali আজি [a:fi]), but Calcutta Bengali আজ [a:fi].

[ts, dz]: dental affricates, which are the common East and North as well as North Central Bengali equivalents of the Standard Bengali [ʧ, ʃ]. [z] is frequently found for [dz]; and [eʃ] becomes [s] outside the West Bengal area.

[ŋ] occurs in Bengali of the extreme West, but it is rather rare.

[ʔ] the glottal stop = the Alif Hamzah of Arabic, is found in some forms of East Bengali for [fi], in initial positions (see page 143).

A kind of bilabial [r], in which the lips are much more widely separated from each other than in the case of the Standard Bengali
[ph > r], with the acoustic effect of [h] to the unaccustomed ear, is the East Vaṅga equivalent of a single [p, ph] of Standard Bengali.

[x]: the velar fricative, unvoiced, is found for [k, kh] in East Vaṅga, and in some forms of West Vaṅga as well.

[ğ, ö, ü] also occur in most forms of Bengali owing to the underarticulation of intervocal stops, which is a common enough Bengali habit (see ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ § 31); and [~v] or [w] is similarly found for intervocal [m].

Percentage of Frequency of New Bengali Sounds.

141. Standard Colloquial Bengali has thus the following sounds, viewed historically, with reference to the language as a whole:

Seven vowel sounds: [i, e, æ, a, o, o, u]; and the rare foreign vowel [A]. All these, except the last, are capable of nasalisation, [~n].

Eight stop sounds: [k g, t ð, t d, p b];

Two affricates: [č, ž];

Ten aspirates, stops and affricates: [kh gh, čh žh, ðh dh, th dh, ph bh]; (besides, the aspirated [r̥] is found, as well as [n̥h, m̥h, l̥h]);

Three nasals: [ŋ, n, m];

One lateral: [l];

Two flapped sounds: [r, r̥];

Four fricatives: [h, f, s, s]; (the fricative sounds of [f v, v v] and [z] are not used by all speakers, and [ph, bh] and [ž] respectively for these would be quite normal).

Two semi-vowels: [ę, ą].

Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar (§ 75) has given an average of percentage of frequency of each sound in Sanskrit, which may be regarded as holding good for OIA. in general. I have tried to find out the comparative frequency of sounds for New Bengali, as in the colloquial speech in the educated Calcutta pronunciation. Taking 6 passages from

1 These 6 passages, presenting an aggregate of over 9,900 sounds, were from the following works: from Kāli-Prasanna Sinha’s ‘Hutōm Pōścār Naksā’ (see p. 135), over 4,600 sounds; Bankim-Chandra Chatterji’s ‘Kapāla-kūṇḍalā,’ some 1,200 sounds; Madhusūdan Datta’s ‘Mōghanāda-vadhā Kāvyā,’ about 900 sounds; Girish Chandra Ghosh’s ‘Bilwa-
as many writers, I transcribed them phonetically, and counted up the total numbers of sounds, individually and collectively, and then worked out the percentage. The results are given below: and for comparison with Sanskrit (OIA.), Whitney's figures are quoted side by side. The order is that of the Indian alphabet. The Bengali diphthongs have been split up and included under the simple vowels making them up. Long (or the so-called 'double') consonants have been computed as two consonants, following general usage.

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bengali</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>अ [o]—6.63 ;</td>
<td>&lt; a &gt; [a, ā, o]—19.78,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आ [a]—11.32 ;</td>
<td>&lt; ā &gt; [a: ]—8.19 ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ, ई [i]—6.77 ;</td>
<td>&lt; i &gt; [i]—4.85, &lt; ī &gt; [iː]—1.19 ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ, ऊ [u]—3.08 ;</td>
<td>&lt; u &gt; [u]—2.61, &lt; ū &gt; [uː ]—0.73 ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए [e]—8.96 ;</td>
<td>&lt; ē &gt; [eː, ëː ]—2.84 ; &lt; ē &gt; [œː, ōː]—1.88 ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऐ, 'आ' [aː]—0.98 ;</td>
<td>&lt; āi &gt; [aːi, aːi]—0.51 ; &lt; āu &gt; [aːu]—0.18 ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ि'—0.58.</td>
<td>&lt; ō, ū &gt; ['ि']—0.63.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bengali</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>क [k]—4.15,</td>
<td>क [k]—1.99,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ख [kh]—0.88,</td>
<td>[kh]—0.13,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग [g]—1.59,</td>
<td>[g]—0.82,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घ [gh]—0.17,</td>
<td>[gh]—0.15,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ङ, 一起装修音 in 0.59 ;</td>
<td>[g]—0.22 ;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'maṅgal,' a little less than 1,000 sounds; from Mm. Hara-Prasad Śāstri's Presidential Address to the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, San 1321, about 1,000 sounds; and from among the recent poems of Rabindra-nāth Tagore, some 1,200 sounds.
In the above comparative tables, certain points are interesting, showing the result of transformation from OIA. to NIA.

OIA.  ə became [ə] as well as [a; ə] in Bengali through compensatory lengthening in connection with the simplification of double consonants (groups), as well as [o] in New Bengali times: hence the decrease in ə [ə] and the increase of ə [a] and ə [o] sounds in Bengali. The large percentage of [e] in the Standard Bengali Colloquial in due to the habit of umlaut in that dialect, which has transformed many an [a] and [i] into [e].
In literary Bengali, the [e] would present a smaller figure. On the whole, vowel sounds in New Bengali are slightly in excess of what the case was in OIA. as presented by Sanskrit (46.17% and 44.15% respectively).

The excess of [k] and [kh] in Bengali is due partly to the doubling of these sounds before y, r, l, v in tatsama words; and to some extent, the increase of [kh] is due to the modifications of Sanskrit kṣ. [ŋ] has developed from OIA. [ŋ], [ŋg], as well as from anusvāra: hence the excess over Sanskrit.

The substantive verb-root aek is partly responsible for the percentage of frequency of the [q'(h)] sound. The palatal affricates have been largely due to the assimilation of the dentals with y. [q'(h)] and [ʃ] acoustically are the most prominent sounds of Bengali.

The excess in the cerebrals is noteworthy—and it is just what can be expected from a descendant of the Māgadhi form of MIA.

The dentals have kept close to the OIA. figures, but the decrease of [t] is to be noticed. [t] was a common OIA. sound; it has been dropped in intervocal positions in NIA. (as, e.g., in the present verbal forms in -ti, and the passive participle in -ta); and besides, it has been in many cases cerebralised or palatalised. The [n] sound in Bengali has been re-inforced by the cerebral and palatal nasals.

Bengali [ph] in many cases is due to the aspiration of [p] in connection with a sibilant, which took place in MIA. All initial v-s have become [b] in Bengali, in tadbhavas, and intervocally in tatsamas also: hence the increase in [b]. The weakening of [bh], one of the most characteristic sounds of OIA., to [f], is partly the reason of the decrease of the sound in Bengali: we may note that -bh- figured in some common inflections of the noun in OIA., which have been lost. The loss of final -m-, so common in Sanskrit, and the transformation of intervocal m to a mere nasalisation, has led to the decrease of that sound in Bengali.

The semivowels of OIA., [i = j] and [u = w], have been changed respectively to [ʃ] and [b] when initial; and in the interior of a word, they have been either assimilated, or reduced to zero. Bengali started afresh with its own semi-vowel glides [ə, ɔ], which are optional intervocal
sounds only; and hence this low percentage in Modern Bengali with its large number of diphthongs not admitting a pronounced glide.

Some common suffixes of Modern Bengali—the plural and the genitive—have <r>: this certainly has helped the high frequency of this sound in the language. It will be seen that [r] is the most frequent consonant sound in Bengali, as [t] is in Sanskrit. ([r, r, r], combined, however, come second in Sanskrit).

[l] was quite a popular sound in the dialects of the East; and the Bengali verb has its simple past form, as well as a conjunctive indeclinable, with an [l] affix. These are the reasons of the discrepancy between Sanskrit (representing OIA., of the West) and Bengali.

The sibilants have become curtailed to some extent, owing to their assimilation in groups like <śc, śt(h), śn, st(h), sp, śk, sp, šk> etc. In Bengali, [ʃ] takes the place of [s] of Sanskrit, the [s] sound being of rare occurrence; and [ʃ] is lost.

[ɦ] shows a slight excess. But the weakening of intervocal [kh ɦ, th ɦ, ph ɦ] to [ɦ] in MIA., would make us expect a bigger figure for this sound in Bengali. A great many intervocal [ɦ]s are dropped in New Bengali.

[h] was lost in MIA., and the sound is of independent development in Bengali where it occurs only finally in interjections.

The history of the development of the sounds of Modern Bengali from OIA., is now proceeded with from the next Chapter.
CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS.

ACCENT SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOWELS.

Stress Accent in Indo-Aryan.

142. The MIA. vowel system was transformed into that of NIA., but there were certain losses, and changes in quality and quantity in NIA., which are remarkable; thus, an OIA. (Sanskrit) word like « utpātayati, utpātayatī » became in MIA. « uppāti, uppaṭī, uppatī, uppaṭāi », which was transformed into New Bengali উপাড়ে > উপড়ে, উপড়য় < উপাড়ে, > উপায়, উপায় »: here we see the loss of the long medial vowel « ā » of OIA. Similarly in OIA. word « bhrātiyā »=late MIA. « * bhāν.-jāa, bhāujja » = Bengali ভাজ্জ > ভাজ < bhāujā > bhājā », we see the loss of final and medial vowels in NIA.; and in a case like Bengali উণুন < unun > oven=OIA. « * uṣṇāpanikā », we see not only loss of final vowels, but also change of « ā » to « u ».

All these modifications were due in the first instance to the accent system obtaining in the Aryan speech, specially during the transitional stage between MIA. and NIA., and to the subsequent operation of special phonetic habits which were developed in the various NIA. speeches (e., Vowel Harmony and Vowel Mutation or Umlaut in Bengali).

The kind of accent which was attended by the loss apparently of weak syllables, by concentrating on a particular syllable most of the effort required in pronouncing the whole word and thus neglecting the other ones, was undoubtedly an accent of force, a respiratory accent, or stress accent. This stress accent is often intimately connected with the raising or lowering of the tone of voice, or pitch (cf. Daniel Jones, ' An Outline of English Phonetics,' Leipzig, 1922, p. v); and in some cases, stress, or pitch, or both, means increase in the length of the syllable. Stress and pitch are both present in all languages, but each language has its
predilection one way or the other, either making stress the dominant speech attribute, subordinating pitch or musical tone to it (as for instance in English), or *vice versa* (as in the Old Greek). This pitch is with reference to the syllable in individual words,—apart from intonation or modulation of voice in connected speech, which is present in all languages in a more or less pronounced way.

In the oldest form of IA., as preserved in the Rig and the other Vedas and in the 'Brāhmaṇas,' pitch or musical accent was the predominant one; and the ancient Indian grammarians in explaining accent in Vedic have only thought of pitch or raising and lowering of the voice in the different syllables (udātta, anudātta, svarita), and not stress. We have no indication as to how far the stress accent was present in OIA., or how strong it was. But it has been assumed by some scholars (preëminently H. Jacobi) that there developed in the Indo-Aryan speech a pronounced stress accent, in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. (i.e., in the First and Transitional MIA. stages), which was distinct from the earlier, preominantly musical, accent of OIA.; and this stress usually was on the first long syllable from the end of the word, and there was a secondary stress on the first syllable. This new stress accent roughly corresponded in place with that obtaining in classical Latin. (Cf. H. Jacobi, 'Üeber die Betonung im klassichen Sanskrit und in den Prakrit-Sprachen,' ZDMG., XLVII, pp. 574-582.) In the medieval and modern pronunciation of Sanskrit, when verses are simply read and not chanted to a set tune, it is this stress accent that obtained and still obtains now (cf. G. Bühler, 'Leitfaden für den Elementarcursus des Sanskrit,' Vienna, 1883; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 254; also the paper of H. Jacobi); and Grierson accepts this view of the presence of a 'Latin' stress in Early MIA., which formed the basis of the accent system of the NIA. speeches (G. A. Grierson, 'On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JRAS., 1895, pp. 139 ff.). Against Jacobi's view is Pischel's, who differentiated between the various MIA. dialects in their accent systems, and thought that certain dialects (like Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhi, Jaina Māgadhī, poetic Apabhraṅśa, and poetic Jaina Śauraseni—in short,
dialects originating in the South-western IA. area, or employed, as in the case of Ardha-māgadhī and Jaina Śauraseni, by people of the South-west) preserved the Vedic (OIA.) accent, at least with regard to the place where it occurred in the word; but other dialects of MIA. (like Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Ḍhakkī [=Ṭakkī, a North Panjab speech; see p. 88] ) developed the new arrangement of stress which is preserved in classical Sanskrit. This theory of Pischel’s, of two systems of accentuation prevailing in MIA., is supported and developed by R. L. Turner, who notes the difference between Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī (the former having a definite stress which differs in acoustic effect considerably from the absence or weakness of any stress in Marāṭhī), and seeks to establish that the original Indo-European accent as preserved in OIA. (Vedic), did not change its place, although it became a stress from pitch, and was carried on in Marāṭhī, a descendant of Mahārāṣṭrī, but it was the new stress system of MIA. (Śauraseni etc.) that was continued into Gujarāṭī and the rest. (R. Pischel, ‘Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,’ § 46; R. L. Turner, ‘The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī,’ JRAS., 1916, pp. 250-251.)

Jules Bloch is sceptical about the speculations as to the presence of a stress accent in MIA., and does not think that the NIA. speeches possess a stress either, and believes that the rhythm in NIA. is mainly quantitative; but he admits that accent is not a stable phenomenon in speech, and that in India the Aryan speech, in its development in the various parts of the country at different times, underwent different modifications with regard to the accent, through contact with different non-Aryan tongues which have given place to it (J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ §§ 32, 36; ‘l’ Accent d’ Intensité,’ in the Bhāṇḍārkar Comm. Volume, pp. 359-364).

The question of accent (stress accent) in IA. is indeed a complicated one, and the absence of sure evidence in this matter for OIA. and MIA. leaves room only for a hypothesis about its existence in the earlier phases of IA. In NIA., a stress or expiratory accent does exist, at least in some forms of NIA., e.g., Standard Bengali, Hindūstānī, Sinhalese; and my impression is that it is found in all forms of NIA., although it is frequently associated with length. This side of NIA. phonetics, however, has
not been fully enquired into. The loss of unstressed vowels, initial, medial and final, in a breath group of a single word or a group of words, as we can see from most languages, is generally the result of a strong expiratory stress. Witness the development of the Romance languages from Latin, witness cases of contraction like English [ˈbɒʊsn] from <bát+sveinn>, [ˈhæzif] from <hūs-wif>, Parisian French [titˈmɛʁ] = <petite mère>, Bengali দের্কɽ [ˈderk(h)ɔ] wooden lamp-stand from <*dīwa-rākh-ūṇā (= dīparakaśa+u̯ka-)>; Hindostāṇī [dubˈlaː] from <dubbala-, durbhala->, ['pjɑː] from <piya-āra, priya-kāra>; witness also cases in Bengali like নেলগো [ˈneʃɡo] for নিয়া আসিসি গিয়া যা <niyā āsis giyā jā> = go and get, do (lit. having taken, come, having gone, go).

In OIA., the loss of unstressed syllables is found, but is rather rare: e.g., <ānu vartisyē > án-vartisyē>; <su-vārṇa > svarṇa>; <jānu+bila > jām-bila>; <sn-nu-mās > su-n-mās>; <sūnara > *sūnra > *sundara> sundara>; <*avīs > vīs > bird, cf. Latin <auis>; <tila-pūja > til-pūja> ; Vedic <tmān > ātmā>: etc. (A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' § 18; the article by Jacobi in the ZDMG., XLVII; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 53). Cases are on the increase in MIA., as in Pali and the Prakrits of the Second MIA. stage; as well as weakening of unaccented syllables: e.g., Pali <jaggati <*jāgrati <*jāgarati <jāgarti>, <dhitā <duhitā>, <daka < udaka>; <kīnāti < kriṇāti>, <kāhāpāṇa = kāṛṣa-paṇa>; <dānīm = idānīm>; Prakrit (Ardha-māgadhī) <lau = alābu>, <rahaṭṭa = araghāṭṭa>, <sanakha-pada > *sanakhāpada > saṇapphaya>, <katta < kalatra < kalatra>, <popphala < pūgapalā = pūgaphala>; <utkhaṭa = ukkhāa>; <sāhāyya = sāhījja>; <surabhi > *surbhi > subbhi>; <dhilla < sidhila = sīthila>; <sīra > <sīra>; <pōśaha = upavasatha>; <hau <ahakam, aham>; <ōkkhala = udbhala > udōkhala>, cf. Bengali উথ্তলি < ukhāli> etc., etc. The presence of a strong stress accent in

1 Cases of loss of a syllable as a result of low pitch are found, but are extremely limited: e.g., London English [ŋkju, kju] for a conventional thank you [ˈθɛŋkju], where the high pitch in which the second syllable is pronounced makes the preceding one almost inaudible, although normally it is the stressed syllable in this sense group. Here pitch is more powerful than stress.
MIA., a new development in the Aryan speech which was brought in after the decay of the old tone, at least in the Northern Indian plains, can thus be very well assumed.

**Accent in Old Bengali.**

143. The general lines of NIA. vowel phonology, as a phenomenon connected with stress, have been laid down by Grierson (‘On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,’ JRAS., 1895; also cf. R. L. Turner, ‘The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī,’ JRAS., 1916). The Northern IA. languages, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, Rājasthānī Gujarātī, Sindhi, Panjābī (Eastern and Western), Bhōjpuriyā, Maithili, and Magahi, seem in the main to agree with the stress system which characterised all Aryan speech, except perhaps in the South-west (the Marāṭhī area). The stress system of Modern Bengali, however, presents a striking contrast with other NIA. speeches. All Bengali dialects, however, cannot be said to possess a uniform system of stressing: the accent habits of the various dialectal areas have not been studied, and only some general remarks can be made about the Standard Colloquial Speech. In this form of Bengali, the stress is dominantly initial; and word-stress surrenders itself entirely to sentence stress, the initial syllable of the first important word in a sense-group having the stress, and the other words losing their stress if they possess it when isolated. Learned Sanskrit words not fully naturalised, however, frequently retain a non-initial stress, which is generally on the first long syllable or closed syllable from the end. (S. K. Chatterji, ‘Bengali Phonetics,’ op. cit., § 58.) The main point of difference between pan-IA. accent and the Bengali Standard Dialect accent therefore consists in this: Bengali accent is initial, and a Bengali phrase, or breath-group, or sense-group, has only one stress, an initial one. The history of Assamese and Oriyā, the sister-speeches of Bengali, in this matter is not known; but Oriyā in the 15th century seemed to possess a non-initial stress, on the ante-penultimate syllable (cf. p. 107); and in Modern Oriyā, the stress is not initial, unlike that of Standard Bengali. Early Assamese seems also to have possessed a non-initial stress like
Oriyā (see p. 94), but the actual conditions have not been studied; but it seems that in Modern Assamese, although we find plenty of initial stress, the general speech habit is not such as we meet with in Standard Bengali, in favouring a dominant initial stress, verbal and phrasal.

Non-initial stress is now found in some of the dialectal forms of Bengali, e.g., in the dialects of the extreme West, and it seems also in the Western Vāṅga dialects. As it frequently happens, stress is confounded with length and with pitch. This matter, however, has not been investigated at all, and opinion cannot be safely given about any form of Bengali except the Standard Colloquial. But a strong initial phrase stress seems to be present in most forms of Bengali. This might be due to a recent influence of the West Central Dialect, the dialect par excellence for initial stress. But judging from the general trend of pan-Bengali phonology, it seems that a strong non-initial stress was prevalent all over Bengal, in the formative period of the language, and gave to Bengali as a whole some of its distinctive features in vowel phonetics. The rule of the short antepenultimate in Maithili (Grierson, ‘Maithili Grammar,’ ASB., pp. 16 ff.), or a similar shortening of long vowels through lack of stress in Western Hindi (cf. S. H. Kellogg, ‘Hindi Grammar,’ § 84; see also before, p. 160), turning a borrowed Persian word like <jān-waɾ> animal to <jānāwar> in Hindōstānī, is a phonetic habit more or less common to most forms of NIA., which has been inherited by NIA. from MIA. But this has been discarded by Bengali entirely. The oldest Bengali, judging from forms actually preserved, was only in partial agreement with its sister and cousin speeches by not wholly doing away with the vowel and stress system inherited from MIA.

In fact, it seems that during the formative period of Bengali, there were two systems of accent which were both current in the language,—(1) the pan-Indian system, which by preference placed the stress on a long penultimate, and (2) the peculiarly Bengali system, which sought to bring all stress to the head of the word. Examples of the first system are furnished by the following forms of names from the inscriptions: <Hāḍī-gāṅga> = हाढी+गंगा <Hāḍī+gāṅga = Ḥāḍīka-gāṅgā> (see p. 183);
TWO SYSTEMS OF STRESS IN BENGALI

< Lācehu-vāda (p. 185) = *Lācha-vāda > for < * Lācha-vāda >, which would give a New Bengali *nāṇḍa * Nāchāra (cf. *ghāta = ghaṭṭa >, with simplification of MIA. double stops, in the same inscription); < Jaṅgalla < *Jaṅ-galla > (p. 185); < AmbayIllustr for < *Ambayilla > (p. 186), compare < Khāṇḍayilla > in the same inscription; < Nica-ḍahāra > for < *Nica- > (p. 187); < Cita-ḍi- > for < *Cita- > (p. 187); < Aṭha- > in a compound form, for < aṭha- > (p. 188): compare < Sāta-kōpa > at p. 183.

One can compare also the form < kāṇa-mōtika > for < *kāṇa-mōdia > (p. 180): here < kāṇa > evidently is for a MIA. < kaṇa- = karṇaka > edge; and the simplification of the double consonant, with compensatory lengthening weakened to short quantity, is remarkable for the early date of this inscription. In the Caryā-padas, there are a number of forms showing, from the arrangement of vowels, the normal NIA. stress : it is quite likely that from the fact of the MS. of the Caryās having been written in Nepal, the characteristic stress and quantity of Northern NIA. have insinuated themselves in these cases. Still, the following forms are noteworthy : < avanāgavana > (Caryā 7: āgamana-ca-gamana-, New Bengali आनागोना अनागोना); āhāriu (19, 26 : = āhāritam); bhātāra (20: *bhātāra = bhartṛ); kāla (21: kāla-); āpānē, āpānā (22: appaṇa- = ātman); ādhā-raṭi (2, 22: artha>addha, ādha-raṭi); bāpā (32: bāpa<vappa, vapra, father); gāvīa (33: gāvi-); mai āhārila pāni (35: maayā+ēna *abhārita+ila pānīya-); pātāvala oar (38: patra>patta, pāta+pāla); hāthā (41 = hātha-, hasta-); ādasā (46: semi-tatsama, =ādarśa); sāmāya (40: =sāmāyati enters : but cf. sāmāya, in 33>); etc., etc. From Sarvānanda’s ‘Tīkā-sarvasva’ (see p. 109), we can note < pāgāra > (prākāra) in New Bengali, this word has preserved the short < a > in the initial syllable—पगार < pāgar > ditch; < āmbāḍa (āmrāta); sānkrāma = sā(η)kāma (sanākrama); jhāmpāṇa = jhāpāṇa litter (= yāpya-yāna, New Bengali ज्ञापन < jhāpāṇa > ). With the above forms, showing in general a stress scheme ā or ā, ā or ā, or ā, or ā, or ā, or ā, we can compare the following, from Old Bengali as well: < Kāliyā (p. 181); Kāṇa-dvipikā (p. 181); Kāṭa-bācha, Sāta-kōpā, Bhaṭa-paḍā (p. 183); Śānti-vāda (also Śānti-vādā) (p. 184); Kānti-jogga, Ghasa-sambhośa Bhāṭṭa-(= Bhāṭa-)vādā (p. 186); Khāṇḍayilla, Vālla-hiṭṭā
p. 186); Bārayi-paḍā, Vīra-kāṭṭhī (p. 188); Sāṅkara-pāśā (p. 188); Bāghapokhirā (p. 188). In Sarvāṇanda we have also the following: <bāṣa-hara > (≡vāsakṝ̣ha) = Middle and New Bengali bāṣāra > chamber to which a wedded couple retire (a non-initial stress would have given a New Bengali *bāṣāra ; *kālaja, kālēja > (kālēya), cf. Western Hindi kālēja > borrowed into Bengali as kālajja, kālijja > kālijja ; kāhara > (kārhgrha, *kārhāra); <dāḍha-kāka >—New Bengali dāḍhakāk <dāḍh-kāk > jackdaw; and <cāmāṭhi > (carma-yaśṭi). The Caryās give us <Kāmaru (Caryā 2 : Kāmarūpa), sāṅkama = sākawa (5 : sāṅkrama) = New Bengali sākā <sākō >bridge; <kācchhi > (kācchikā); cānda-kānti (31 : candrakānti); Jālandhari (36 : cf. W. Hindī Jālandhāri); pāṇḍitācāryā (36 : pāṇḍitācārya); pāṇi > (pāṇi-ya); bāsasi (15 : vasasi); hāu (10, 18, 20, 25 : *hau, ahakām = aham); kāma-caṇḍālī (18 : karma-caṇḍālikā); āhāra (21 : āhāra-); bālāga (26 : bālāgra = kēsāgra) , etc., etc.

From the above instances, it might be inferred that there were two systems of stress in Old Bengali, and also in pre-Bengali, and neither of these could be said to have been finally triumphant, to the entire exclusion or suppression of the other, during the Old Bengali period. But the initial stress had the victory ultimately, and by the end of the Early Middle Bengali period, it is very likely that it was active in West Central Bengali and in most Bengali dialects, thus giving to Modern Bengali words their typical forms. The following examples will illustrate the case:

Old Bengali | Middle Bengali | New Bengali
---|---|---
< āmbāḍa, *āmbāḍā (āmṛataka) : āmbārā, āmārā | āmārā āmārā |
< pāḍiyēśi (pratīvēśin) : pārīśi : pārśī |
< *tāmbōlī, *tābōlī (tambulika) : tāmulī : tāmulī |
< *akhāḍā (aṅśa-vāṭaka) : ākhārā : ākhārā | ākhārā ākhārā |
< *kumbā(ā')dā (kuṣmāṇḍa-) : kūmārā : kūmārā | kūmārā kūmārā |
< *pakāhālaī (prakṣālayati) : pākhāle, pākhāle : pākhāle pākhāle |
< Campā-hīṭṭī > (as in inscriptions, a village name) : čampaṭṭi < Cāmpāṭṭi >

*a surname.

In Old Bengali, forms with initial stress seem also to have occurred side by side with those quoted above. In the Early Middle Bengali of
the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kṛttana,' there are indications that initial stress obtained: e.g., the initial अ = ा [a] occurs as ा [a: a] in this work—a tendency, although controlled by tatsama forms, which has persisted even at the present day: e.g., आरुधि = अबुधि (abuddhi), आँधि = असुखा (a-), आनल = अनाल, आनुमति = अनुमति, आनुपाम = अनुपाम (anupama), आलक = अलाक, etc., etc. Also in tadbhavas—आईण = आईण (Abhimanyu), आार = आार (apara); cf. also आई = ाइ (avidvā). Compare also बाखान = बाखान (śākhyāna: W. Hindi bākhān); काली = काली (cf. Old Bengali কালী, [Sarvānanda], = New Bengali काल = काल) jack-fruit; काल = काल (Krṣṇa: cf. W. Hindi Kānhāi, Kānhajīta, New Bengali কাল = Kānāi; পাল = পালী (pāla = palai); বাঞ্জা = bāja (vādya + -apatai); সাত = sāt (sāta = sātā); বাঞ্জা = bājhā (bandhāpayati: cf. Cāya 31, bāndhāvā); পাঞাই = pāṣhā (prasthāpayati); সাত = sāt(b)ā = (sātā); etc., etc. Middle and Modern Bengali forms with long vowel in initial syllables demonstrate sufficiently that of the two systems of accentuation which can be noticed to exist side by side in Old Bengali (and possibly also in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa as spoken in Bengal, during the closing centuries of the MIA. period), the system which may be called pan-Indian, preferring the accent on a long syllable from the end, had to yield to that which was peculiarly of Bengal.

It may be presumed that the agreement in matters of stress with the sister-speeches of Northern India was a point which characterised the Proto-Bengali speech (as well as Māgadhī Prakrit, as brought by settlers from Bihar and Upper India who introduced the Aryan speech into Bengal), and that the initial stress habit was the indigenous one which was imposed upon the language as it became the speech of the masses, who were originally of non-Aryan race and language. It may be that the two systems of accentuation at first characterised class dialects: Sarvānanda in his glossary makes a passing reference to nicōkti or vulgar speech, apparently in contrast to a respectable dialect. The initial stress might originally have characterised the speech of the lower classes—at least in certain districts. It is quite possible that even in the pre-Bengali period, the initial stress had already become established, but in writing the words of the language,
the earlier tradition came out in the spelling. But in any case, it can be
legitimately assumed that the indigenous habit got the better of the Upper
Indian one, originally belonging to the Aryan language, and shaped the
forms of Bengali. These two cross influences, together with the fact of
dialects, have helped to deprive Bengali of a regularity in its phonology.
The languages which were replaced by the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa in Bengal
were Dravidian, Kōl and Mōn-Khmēr (Austro-Asiatic), and Tibeto-Burman.
It has been presumed that in Primitive Dravidian, the accent was on the
initial or root syllable (K. V. Subbayya, IAnt., 1909, p. 161); the Tibeto-
Burman (Boḍo) is said to have a strong initial phrase stress (cf. J. D.
Anderson, 'Accent and Prosody in Bengali,' JRAS., 1913, pp. 857 ff.);
and as for Austro-Asiatic, nothing definite seems to have been established.

Accent and Versification in Bengali.
Origin of the Bengali Syllabic Metres.

144. Nothing is known about sentence stress in OIA. and MIA.
The position of the pitch accent of OIA. with reference to the sentence,
however, is partly known (A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' §§ 109,
110, 111). The sentence accent of Old Bengali—the West Bengali dialect
from which the modern Standard Colloquial is derived, at least—can possibly
be guessed from the development of Bengali verse. Old Bengali (and
also Eastern Magadhan) verse had a special course of its own, differentiating
itself from that of Central and Western Māgadhī versification (and from
that of other IA. speeches), by substituting a syllabic cadence for one
on a moric basis. Late MIA. and Early NIA. possessed the mātrā
or moric rhythm in verse, in which each half or quarter of a couplet
consisted of a fixed number of instants distributed among long or short
syllables of which the number was immaterial. The Upper Indian mātrā
metres were apparently introduced into Bengali and into other Eastern
Magadhan dialects during their formative period, as a literary imposition,
but they were never naturalised in the East,—in Bengali, Assamese and
Oriyā. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Hindī and Maithili influences
revived the Western (Apabhraṃśa) traditions in versification in Bengali,
Assamese and Oriya, but these local speeches, which had by this time found themselves metrically, as it were, refused to take up the matra-vratta metres; and the matra metre had to use the artificial Braja-buli dialect, with its Maithili basis, as its vehicle in the East. There seems to have been present a system of indigenous versification, based on Proto- and Pre-Bengali speech rhythm, and possibly non-Aryan in origin, in Bengal, of which we have no knowledge, but which apparently altered the general character of Eastern prosody. Bengali-Assamese and Oriya developed some common metres, which may be an inheritance from the Eastern Magadhan Apabhraśa: e.g., the ‘Payār’ metre (Bengali পায়ার pāyār, Assamese পাড়া, pāyār, pāwār, Oriya পায়ার pāyār), which is entirely syllabic, in its purest form. This metre takes the place of the ‘Dōha’ and the ‘Caupāi’ of Northern India in popularity. The ‘Payār’ is a rimed couplet of two lines, each consisting of 14 syllables; and there is a pause after the eighth syllable. The <ā ē ō ū> vowels of common IA., and vowels which were long by position (i.e., when they occurred before two consonants), did not have any prominence over the short <ā ē ō ū> in the line, and neither did the diphthongs. This sort of levelling in verse implies the loss of vowel quantity as a significant element in speech. We have also to consider that verses in Old and Middle Bengali, Assamese and Oriya (and even at the present day in these languages), were chanted, and the tune made an adjustment of irregularities in the shape of absence of or excess over the requisite number of syllables. In the Payār as used by Bengali-Assamese and Oriya during their oldest periods, we cannot tell for certain how far the stress accent played a part. In the Payār as read or chanted now in Bengali, there is a stress on the first syllable of each line, generally followed by a stress on the fifth syllable, and then comes the pause after the eighth syllable, the second part of the line commencing with the stressed ninth syllable, and the thirteenth also has a stress, which is quite strong, as it is frequently accompanied by length. Examples from the ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana’ have been given at pp. 250-254. This stress system is a noteworthy thing in the Bengali Payār: and although in the Modern Bengali Payār, or in the Bengali blank verse based
on the Payār, the stress arrangement becomes much more varied, the basis commonly remains as follows:

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  * * * * | * * * * || * * * * | * * *
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In Assamese and Oriyā, too, the arrangement of the Payār is exactly as in Bengali, the pause being after the eighth syllable, and the thirteenth is always a strong syllable, but the stresses on the other syllables—namely, on the first, fifth and ninth, are not so strong as in Bengali: but nevertheless, some sort of stress does exist on the first and the ninth, which can be easily distinguished when the Assamese and the Oriyā Payār are chanted: and the great point common to the Bengali Payār and those of Assamese and Oriyā lies in the division of the line into two parts of 8 + 6 syllables respectively, and in the thirteenth being a syllable which is stressed or made long, i.e., in some way or other made more prominent than the rest. Specimens of Oriyā and Assamese Payār are given below.

Oriya:

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  sādhu-jānā- | mānē ṣuṇā || ēkā-mānā | kāri ||
  bicitrā dē | uḷā tuḷā || kāhibi bis | tāri ||
  kāhā māhā- | muni mōtē || sē āpūrbā | ltā ||
  kē kēmāntē | Jagannāthā- || deuḷā tu | ṭilā ||
```

Listen with one intent, ye good people:

I shall describe in detail the wondrous Raising of the Temple ....

Tell me, great sage, that marvellous gest:

Who raised the Temple of Jagannātha, and how. (From the ‘Dēuḷā-tōḷā’ or ‘Śrī-kṣetra-māhātmya,’ Contai edition, p. 3).

Assamese:

```
  bihānē bā | jāilā khēri || khēlābārā | tārē ||
  bhai gailā bi | yālā putā || ābhō nāilā | ghārē ||
  Jāmūnārā | tīrē tīrē || phīrē Nāndā- | jāyā ||
  bhaiḷā acē | tānā sātī || Kṛṣṇākā | nā-pāyā ||
```

He went out at dawn to play his games:

It has become afternoon, yet (my) son has not come home.

The wife of Nanda wanders along the banks of the Yamunā:

The good wife became senseless not having found Kṛṣṇa. (From the ‘Cōradhārā Nāṭ’ of Mādhava-dēva, edited by Bāṇi-kānta Kākti, p. 8.)
It is quite possible that the Payār metre when it was formed did not have the stresses which characterise it now—it was only a question of quantity. But the total disregard of Common IA. quantity is surprising. In the 14th century Early Middle Bengali of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kṛttana,' in the 15th century remains of Assamese, and in the 16th century specimens of Oriya, the Payār is in a perfectly developed form. We have evidence of literary culture and of song-craft and verse-making in Bengal in the 10th-12th centuries. The Payār can only be expected to be a 14th century development of a metre in use in vernacular poetry of the 10th-12th centuries. In the specimens of Old Bengali as in the Caryaś, we have no Payār, but we find that a 16 moric metre is quite popular. In its pauses, it agrees with the Payār, and often in the number of its syllables too, 14. This we can see also from the songs of the 'Gīta-gōvinda.' This 16 moric metre is the 'Pādākula,' which evidently was introduced into Bengal during the late MIA. period. It has become the 'Caupāi' of Northern India, from the Panjab and Gujarāt to Bihar. (Cf. 'Prāṅgala,' pp. 223-224; Kellogg's 'Hindi Grammar,' p. 578.) All sorts of arrangements for the 16 morae were possible; but the type which was preferred in Bengal was the one in which each line of the couplet was divided into four feet of 4 morae each, which could be arranged in one of the following ways—(i) --||, (ii) - - , (iii) - - , (iv) -- , (v) --- , the second scheme being preferred in the fourth foot. There was usually a pause after the second foot (i.e., after the 8th instant). The bulk of the Caryaś are in this metre (see pp. 250-251). It may be that here there was the influence of a 15 moric metre, arranged into four padyas of 8 and 7 instants, in the fixing of the pause in the 16 moric one. In Old Bengali, however, the OIA. and MIA. quantity is lost, and vowels which historically ought to be long are pronounced short. A common type of Pādākula, which thus seems to have been specially liked in Bengal, and in the Eastern Magadha area, is this:

--|--|--|--|--||--|--||--|--

Jayadeva had a fine ear for music, and in writing his padyas (whether in the vernacular, i.e., Old Bengali, or in Western Apabhraśa, or in
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER II

Sanskrit—see pp. 125-126), which were unquestionably meant in the first instance for a Bengali audience, he frequently arranges his 16 moric lines according to the above scheme: *e.g.,*

< vīharati Harihi | sarasa-vasantē || | (Song 3, refrain);
< rāśe Harimiha | vihita-vilāsam ||
smarati manō mama | kṛta-parihāsam ||
(= ?* sumaraï maña mama | kia-parihāsam ||) > (Song 5, refrain);
< sarasa-masṛnamapi | malayaja-paṅkam ||
pasyati viṣamiva | vapusi sasaṅkam ||
svasita-pavanamanu | pama-pariṇāham |
madana-dahanamiva | vahati sadāham ||3|| > etc., etc. (Song 9);
< pasyati diśi diśi | rahasi bhavantam |
tadadhara-madhura-ma | dhūni pibantam ||1||...
< madhu-ripurahamiti | bhāvana-śīlā ||4|| > etc. (Song 12);
< dalita-kusuma-dara | vilulita-kēśā ||1||...
mukharita-rasana-ja | ghauna-gati-lōlā ||4||...
śrama-jala-kaṇja-bhara- | subhaga-śarīrā | 7 | > (Song 14);
< janayasi manasi ki | miti guru-khēdam ||6|| > (Song 15).

The arrangement, ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., ..., 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SENSE GROUPS AND STRESSED METRE

VERSIFICATION IN BENGALI: STRESSED METRE.

145. The tendency to divide the line into sense or breath groups of four instants (which became four syllables, normally, as in the Payär metre, as developed out of the 16 moric Pādākulaka), is a noteworthy one, and it savours of an initial sentence stress such as characterises New Bengali. There is another common Eastern Magadhan metre, the <tripādi> or <lācārī, lēcharī (<rathāyā>), which is also on this basis of four instanced or four syllabled breath-groups. Specimens of it we find as early as the 12th century, in the 'Gīta-gūvinda,' e.g.,

< rati-sukha- | sārē || gatamabhi | sārē
madana-ma | nōhara- || vēsam > || (Song 11);
< samudita- | madanē || ramaṇī- | vadanē ||
cumbana- | valitā || dharē || > (Song 15).

Also lines like < vadasi | yadi | kiñeida | danta-ruci- | kāumudī ||
harati | dara- | timiramati- | ghōram || > (Song 19),
would seem to be based on the principle of breath groups detached from each other by initial stress; and such lines, the quantity apart, would be perfectly natural in Bengali. The speech habit of Bengali in dividing the sentence into a number of convenient sense or breath groups of about equal length, with a dominant initial stress; is responsible for the development of the stressed metres of Bengali. The syllabic principle of a fixed number of akṣaras no doubt came into operation, but the general history of Bengali versification implies the presence of a strong initial phrase stress in the language. The theory of akṣaras, however, became rigid, and influenced all versification in formal literature in Late Middle Bengali times, and prevented the principle of stress in metre from being recognised for a long time. The habit of chanting verses also was responsible for this to some extent.

In Bengali, at the present day, three different systems of versification obtain. These are: (1) the <mātrā-vṛtta>, or the old moric metre; this

1 The most systematic study of Bengali versification, hitherto published, is by Prabodh-Chandra Sén, in a recent series of articles to the 'Pravāśi' (Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna and
remains more as an exotic versification, the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics in Braja-buli having familiarised the people with it. In it, all diphthongs and closed syllables or syllables followed by two consonants, are long. (2) The « aksara-vṛttā », or syllabic metre, which started from a fixed number of aksaras or syllables, but the elision of vowels in these aksaras brings about a decrease of syllables, which is compensated by lengthening the syllable preceding the vowel elided, and by a rhythmic adjustment of the line; and the fixed number of aksaras can be increased by adding fresh aksaras with quiescent vowels. It thus can be described as being in principle a moric metre; but it differs from the proper moric metre in not necessarily increasing the quantity of a vowel or a syllable, because it is a diphthong or because it is followed by two consonants. Thus, in moric lines like the following—

ललाते | जय-टाका || प्रहन- | हार गले || चलने रे | नीर चले।
से कारा | नहे कारा || जेनानेन | तैरव रे | रुद्र- | शिख जले।

[ lolate | लोहो-तिका || प्रफ़ीनौ- | फ़ौर गोल || \( \ddot{\text{g}} \)ौले रे | बिऱ \( \ddot{\text{g}} \)ौले।
के कारा | नोहे कारा || फ़ैक्हाने | बसौरोबा || रूद्रऽ | फ़ैक्हा फ़ौले।]

Mark of victory on his brow, wreath of flowers on his neck, he goes, oh, the hero goes;

That prison is not a prison where the terrible flame of Rudra flashes
(from Kāzī Nazrul Islām),
each foot consists of \( \text{3} + \text{4} = \text{7} \) morae («ā, ē, ū, ō» of Sanskrit as a rule not having length, except in lines frankly on the Sanskrit, Prakrit or Brajāboli model), and the diphthong [oe] and the closed vowels in [hi:ɾ, bi:ɾ, rud:ɾ=ruddɾ] are equivalent to 2 morae. Or in lines like—

Caitra, 1329 San, and Vaiśākha, 1330 [=1922-23]), which clearly distinguishes between the three types of metre in Bengali, and classifies them on a scientific basis. Some of the examples quoted above are from Mr. Sūn’s articles. The most suggestive papers of Rabindra-nāth Tagore (in the ‘Sabuj Pattra’ for Jyaistha and Śrāvaṇa, 1321, and Caitra 1324), and of the late Satyendrā-Nāth Datta (the article ‘Chanda-Sarasvati’ in the ‘Bhārati’ for Vaiśākha, 1325) are other important contributions in this line; as also the articles by Śaśānka-Mōhan Sēn (‘Bāṅgāla Chanda,’ in the ‘Pravāsī’ for Āśāda, 1321) and Bijay-Chandra Mazumdar (‘Bāṅgāla Chanda,’ ‘Pravāsī’ for Agrabāyaña, 1322).
'MĀTRĀ' AND 'AKŚARA' METRE

Setting at naught the Ocean, in its dance of destruction,
Whose boat it is, oh, that speeds on, fearless in mind? (from Kāzi Nazrul Islām),
each foot except the last has four morae, the diphthongs and the closed syllables being long. A certain amount of stressing is inevitable, as New Bengali has strong stresses, but that is not absolutely necessary. But in « akśara-vṛtta » lines like—

Slowly, towards the Sea, wetted with tears,
They march, filling the land with the sound of lamentations (from the 'Mēghanāda-vadha' of Madhusūdan Datta),
there is no question of quantity as the basis of versification, but of a rhythm which holds itself within the limits of 14 syllables or instants; and in counting these instants, [fīndfū] and [osru] are as much two instants as [dfīre] and [titi], and the rhythm requires the lengthening of [deʃ] and [biʃød] to make up for the loss of final [ɔ] which counted as a syllable.
And, similarly, lines like

A most difficult doctrine, filled with terrible scholarship (an example given by Rabindra-nāth),

and

In the woods, the flower-buds all have burst open (Madan-Mōban Tarkālāṃkāra)
are equally regarded as good Payār lines, of the same value.

(3) The third type of metre is the stressed one, «svara-vṛtta», as it has been happily named. The pivot of this metre is stress: a line divides itself into a number of feet, in which the quantity or the number of individual syllables is of secondary importance, although the whole foot takes up a certain length, and each foot has one stress, mostly initially, and only one. The preponderance of closed syllables in the colloquial, i.e., in the actual, living Bengali, which alone is suitable for this metre, gives it a force and a swing which is totally absent in the other metres which are based on the tamer movement of Early Middle Bengali (which did not, from the fact of final and medial vowels being not as yet dropped, have closed syllables, except in Sanskrit tātsamas). Thus, for example,—

```
| সামনেকে তুই | ভাব করেছিলে | || পেচ্ছ তোমার | গিরবে, ||
| এদের কি তুই | ভাবা-হারা ? || ছুঁড় বে বাধন | ছুঁড়বে ! ||
| 'তামনেয়ে তুই | 'ভাবো করেছিলে ! || 'পেচ্ছ তোরে | 'গিরবে, ||
| 'তোমরা কি তুই | 'ভাবো হুঁরা ? || 'গিরবে বাধন | 'গিরবে ||
```

`Thou art afraid of the front! and the rear will surround thee!`

_Art thou so luckless? (Thy) bonds will break, (sure) they will break_ (Rabindra-nāth),

where we have this arrangement:

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|x|x|x|x|x|x|x|x|x|x|
```

This is on the basis of the Payār, only the verse has abandoned itself to the stress as the dominant principle, and the division of the line into breath groups forming the feet is essential; whereas in the syllabic Payār, the first eight syllables may be arranged without bringing in a break after the 4th; the stress on the 5th can be done away with; and the number of syllables (or instants) for the whole line must not exceed 14. In the common syllabic Payār, the whole line can be looked upon as one unit. But not so in the stressed metre. The foot is more or less a self-sufficient item there, as it confines the sense: _e.g._

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| মুক্ত বেণির | গঙ্গা যেখান | মুক্তি বিতরে | রঙ্গে, ||
| 'মুক্তো-বেণির | 'গঙ্গা যেখানে | 'মুক্তি বিতরে | 'রঙ্গে, ||
```
Where the Ganges of the freed plains (i.e., with its numerous branches, which is the freeing of the tributaries received in Upper India) spreads salvation in merry glee,

We Bengalis live in that boon-giving, holy land of Bengal...

Waging war with the tiger we remain alive....

With one hand we have checked the Magh (Arakanese), with the other the Moghal;

The Lord of Delhi had to fall back at the command of Când and Pratâp.

(From Satyendrâ-Nâth Datta).

In the above extract, where there are more than four syllables in the foot, they are pronounced very quick, some of them being almost slurred. The remark of the "Prâkṛta-Paiṅgâla," that two or three syllables when quickly uttered are to be taken as one (Bib. Ind. edition, p. 11), is to be recalled.

On the whole, however, the stressed metre prefers feet of four syllables. New Bengali has recognised this metre, and its possibilities are immense, as has been seen from experiment. It certainly originated in early Bengali speech rhythm: in all probability, in the Old Bengali period. But the practice of chanting verses, and the theory of aksaras, as has been said before, prevented it from coming to its own. Old Bengali of the Caryâs preferred feet of four instants, as we have seen before: and to read these feet with initial stress, as in the lines quoted at pp. 261-263, will not be to go counter to the rhythm. We have also seen that initial stress was asserting itself in words in Old Bengali. Lines from Middle Bengali,
like the following, seem to be equally of the « aksara-vṛttta » when chanted and of the « svara-vṛttta » when read like normal prose:

कोण स्थङ्गे | कंश तैरे | मृथे उठे | हसे |
नाहि जाणे | एवेत तैरे | आपणारे | नाशे |

[ 'kōṇa ūkhe | 'kamīna toro | 'mukhe (e)uṭhe | 'nājō ? ||
'nāhi ḫāṇo | '(e)ebē tō | '(e)apāṇa | 'nājō ||]

Through what joy, O Kāṅsa, there rises a smile on thy face?

Thou dost not know now of thine own destruction. (ŚKK., p. 3);

पणा-तुरे | द्रवङ्गिणा | चतुर्दिगे | चारे |
राजी-काल | हिलं ओळा | गुरुलक ते | गायः |......

[ 'gōṇga-tīre | 'dāra(e)i(e)ā | 'oṣṭurđige | 'ca(e)e ('oṣaše) ||
'rājī-rial(a) | 'ūnī(ā)(e)uṇā | 'ūñīlo to | 'tha(e)e ||
'malī ḡati | 'ōṣhīlo purbe | 'malonī(ē)e | 'khanā ||]

Standing on the bank of the Ganges, he looked at the four sides.

It became night time; the Ojhū (scholar, 'clerk') slept there...

Formerly, people of the gardener’s caste used to live, and here (was) a flower-garden. (From Kṛttivāsa, 15th century: VSP., I, p. 889).

In the above cases, of course, too many open syllables make the cadence tame and weak beside that of the New Bengali lines quoted immediately before. Instances like the above are extremely frequent in Middle Bengali, which undoubtedly possessed the stressed metre. The loss of final, and frequently of intervocal vowels, in bringing about which the initial stress system had some hand, gave to the Bengali language a greater number of strong or closed syllables, and the stressed metre obtained a greater scope. (This loss is treated in the next section.) It continued to be freely employed in a mass of popular literature, in proverbs, in riddles, in charms, in ritualistic and other verse current among the women, in poetic contests in which the conversational style was supreme,—in fact, everywhere in Bengali—except in formal poems on classic or religious themes, which used the « aksara-vṛttta », and in the Vaiṣṇava poems in Braja-buli, which preferred the « mātrā-vṛttta ». 
From all that has been said above, in §§ 144 and 145, the conclusion may be drawn that initial phrase stress, to which the stress in individual words was subordinated, characterised one form of Old Bengali, or East Magadhan Apabhraṣṭa, as much as did initial stress in individual words. Breath groups of four syllables were preferred in it. The moric metre of Northern India had to yield to a metre based on this grouping or dissection of a line into bits or breath-groups of fixed length, bearing a dominant head-stress. The Modern Standard Colloquial, and the Middle Bengali literary language, which are both based on West Central Bengali, show these characteristics. And it is quite likely that the source form of the Payār metre (and the stressed metre) was in this Pre-Bengali or Old Bengali dialect of West Bengal, and thence it spread into Orissa and Assam. In these last two tracts, initial stress was not the rule, and the development of a stressed metre (the presence of which can be postulated in Old Bengali from Early Middle Bengali examples) consequently did not take place there.

**Metrical and Other Evidence for the Dropping of Final and Medial Vowels in Middle Bengali.**

146. In later Bengali, the Payār continued as a 14-syllabled metre, when it was regular. But from the 15th century onwards, we notice irregularities—Payār lines showing occasionally less than 14, and frequently more syllables, or aksaras—15, 16, 17 or 18. When the number was less than 14 (as it is at times in the ŚKK.: see pp. 264, 265 etc.), there would be dwelling upon a suitable syllable for a sufficiently long period to make up for the wanting syllable; and when there were more syllables than 14, as in post-14th century Bengali, the extra ones were dropped by the elision of final and medial vowels. This elision was certainly present already in the spoken language of the 15th century: and it was undoubtedly the result of a strong stress on the initial syllable.

In the 14th century Bengali of the ŚKK., we find Payār couplets with more than 14 aksaras, but these extra aksaras consist entirely of the vowels <i, u> forming only the weak finals of diphthongs. A case like the following, however, is exceptional in the ŚKK.:
From his hands there will be the destruction of the demon Kaṁsya, would appear irregular—to the eye; but really it is not so—the word tāhāra unquestionably being pronounced in reading and chanting as tārā—tārā hāthē | hāibē kāńsā|surērā bilnāśe || .

Final syllables were not as yet dropped in the 14th century. Rimes like the following are conclusive that the final -ā was pronounced in the 14th century in nouns and adjectives as in verbs: e.g.,


The final -ā was thus retained in the pronunciation in the 14th century as much as the long -ā [ɔ] derived from earlier -ā, -āhā (see p. 260). But finally and medially, the epenthetic as well as the original i (as well as u) had become weak, and formed a diphthong with a preceding -ā, -ā, so that the two aksaras, āi, āi, āyi, āyi would form a diphthong āi, āi. The aksara principle was thus modified in this way in 14th century Bengali: e.g., in the ŚKK,

�ােণ পুনে অতি তোর পাইলে। দরখাঁ।

< bhāgē punē āji tōrā | pālō dārāsānā > (p. 16),

Through luck and through merit today I have obtained thy sight: we have 15 aksaras, but < pālō > = < pāy-lō > is a word of two syllables.

আয়র মানায়িবো। করী আশে জগতি।

< āyārā mānāyibō (= mānāybō) kārī | āsēsā jugāti > (p. 13),
And I shall make (her) consent, using no end of device.
"AKṣARA" METRE AND ELISION OF ‘-A-, -A’

See also page 265, last line of Bengali text, and p. 266, line 17.

Barring the above cases of apparent irregularity, 14th century Payār is quite regular, as the final and medial vowels remain. But from the next century, we find remarkable breaches of the rule of the 14 akṣaras. For instance, in Kṛttivāsa’s ‘Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa’ (in the VSPd. edition based on a MS. of 1580), we have lines like the following:

Uttara Kāṇḍa, p. 31b:

bhāi'ēr bhāi'ēr bhā'ēr dhanē nāhi bhāi'ēr bāṭa

There is no sharing, O brother, in a brother’s forces and a brother’s wealth.

This was evidently pronounced as

[ ‘biś(ō)ēr (‘biś(ō)ēr?) bōle | ‘biś(ō)ēr (‘biś(ō)ēr?) dhōne || ‘nōhi
biś(ō)i | ‘bāṭa ||].

Ibid., p. 30b:

kośirō (‘kośirō?) tore | ‘tōmar (‘tōmar?) bāpe || ‘kośirō kon:sa’dān ||

For whose sake your father made a gift of his daughter.

Ibid, p. 30b:

‘dure thaikē | ‘prāfostō || ‘kubere nī:vē | ‘matha ||

Remaining after, Prahasta bowed his head to Kubēra.

Ibid, p. 43a:

‘raḥōn-rağgar | ‘jana tōpor || ‘baner tēṣe | ‘kaṭe ||

He cut the corset and the helmet of king Rāvana with the force of (his) arrows.

From other Middle Bengali works:
Vijaya-gupta's 'Padmā-purāṇa,' (end of the 15th century: VSP., I, p. 191):

हिन्दुआनी हुल राजा तोमार किसे काज। (16 ākṣaras)
पेनात। पाइक विभ आचे शीत कोरा साज। (16 ākṣaras)

[ 'hīnduānī | 'huľ | rājā | 'tōmā rājā | 'kā:ʃ | ('kā:ʃo) ||
'pa:da | pa(ː)ik | 'ʃōto | aːhe | 'ʃiːro | kori | 'ʃaːʃ | ('ʃaːʃo) ||]

It has become the regime of Hinduism, what business have you now?

All the footmen and soldiers that be, get ready quick.

Sri-Karaṇa-Nandi's 'Mahābhārata': beginning of the 16th century (VSPd. edition, based on MS. of 1663)—

p. 72a—कुक्षेंद्र नन्दन नीर रूपिल। येहेन प्रचुर || (17 ākṣaras)
[ 'kruːʃeːnḍra | 'nanda | 'nīr | rūpiːl | ||]
The hero, the son of Kṛṣṇa, angered, so fierce.

p. 83a—न पायिन कदाचित बालन मारिते ताहाक। (16 ākṣaras)
[ 'na | pariːbo | 'koːdaʃit | 'bāna | mairte | 'tak̐ | ||]
Shall never be able to kill him with an arrow.

'Mayanāmatīr Gān,' 17th century (Dacca SPrd. edition):

p. 9—अजुनेव बोलें वईन ग पतन। सोनर। (16 ākṣaras)
[ 'aːjuna | boːl̐e | 'vai | g | patn | son̐ | ||]
Adunā says, 'O sister, beautiful Padunā, the wit of seven clerks (Kāyasthas)
is within my body.'

Examples like the above can be culled by the hundred from Middle Bengali literature. They show that the earlier M.B. poets were guided not by the eye, but by the ear. If in a tattvam word, a vowel with two consonants after it did not make any difference, for metrical purposes, then it was recognised in the 15th century, after the medial and final vowels had dropped off from pronunciation, the same thing could happen in tadbhava words: कृष्ण < क्रष्ण > and नन्द < नंद > were two ākṣaras of equal value in metre, and so could be कुक्षेंद्र < क्रष्णेंद्र > and नन्दन < नंदन >, with quiescent < -a >. But with the later poets, during the 16th-18th and 19th centuries, the magic word ākṣaras seemed to have exerted an influ-
ence, and the system of writing was brought to bear upon the versification: akṣara was taken in its wrong sense of a written character, the syllabic value of which might be zero, and not of a syllable. As a result, the tendency grew not to allow too many akṣaras with mute « -ā = -ा », and to avoid the diphthongal use of the vowel ई = « -i », which became in late Middle Bengali orthography the " -y " subscript: हैल " हाइल " वास = हल " हाल " = हाल " वास " ; पाइल " पाइल " obtained = पाल " पाय " = पाल " ; करिया " करिया " having done = करा " कारा " = कार " ; जानी " जानी " वान " वान " = जानी " वान " = जानी " वान " etc., which made a line to appear to the eye as one of 14 akṣaras or letters, and 14 only. This cannot be said to have been detrimental to the Payâr, this attempt to make it rigid and to avoid too many diphthongs and closed syllables in the line. But the undue influence of the graphic system disguised the true nature of Bengali versification, and prevented an early recognition of the stress principle in orthodox literature.

From a study of Middle Bengali versification, therefore, it can be seen that the dropping of the final « -ā », and of the medial vowels (under certain circumstances) was well established from the 15th century.

147. Another evidence for the dropping of the final « -ā », and occasionally of the medial « -ā- », is the early Roman transcription of Bengal names in European works and maps dating from the middle of the 16th century. Thus, for instance, João de Barros (middle of the 16th century) in his 'Da Asia' has given some Bengal names, and we find the following in the Lisbon edition of 1777 ff.: in the map of Bengal in that work, IV, 9, p. 451, we have « Fatiabas = Fateh-ābād, -ābāz ; Betor = बेतूर बेटार ; Bernagar = बर्नगार बर्नगार (= Varaha-nagara ?) ; Mandaram = मंदरार मांदरार ; Noldii = नॉली नाली-दी (< Nala-dvīpa) ; Nazirpur = नाजिरपुर »,—place names showing loss of final « -ā » in the 16th century: at p. 454, we have « Caor », which is काओ < काओ� (< kāwar < kāma-rūpa) > (cf. Map 2 in 'Delle Navigatione e Viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, etc.,' Vol. I, Venice, 1606). Compare these with « Gouro = गोउर गौर », a word showing retention of final « -ā » in pronunciation, in De Barros' map. Forms like « Comotah = कानता कानता »; « Cospetir,
Gaspatii = গাজপতি gājā-pāti »; Noropatii = নরপতি Nārapati »; Pipili-patam = পিপলী Pip(i)li- », in De Barros, show that internal unstressed vowels were not yet dropped in all cases in 16th century Bengali: cf. in Ralph Fitch (1583-91: ‘Purchas,’ X, pp. 181 ff.): Couche = কোচ Kōč; Suckel Counse = সংকল (সংক) কোচ Sukāl Kōč; Satagam = সতগাম Sāṭ-gā; Serre-pore = শিরু শিরু শিরু; Bacola বাকল = Bakālā », which indicate similar conditions.

The loss of medial vowels can only have been due to strong initial stress in Middle Bengali. In this respect, Bengali was in advance of its sister IA. speeches: Western Hindī, for instance, kept its final vowels (ृ, ृ, ृ) as late as the 17th century, and Oriyā does it even now, preserving a ‘Middle NIA.’ stage, whereas Bengali shed off the final ृ, which formed by far the most common final vowel, by the middle of the 15th century.

The initial stress of Bengali in individual words has given us contracted forms of common taddhāva words which are rather removed from those of Hindōstānī, which may be said to preserve the NIA. norm: e.g., Bengali বোনাই, বুনাই, বুনাই = bōnāi, bunōi, bunui = Hindōstānī = bāhānā (bhaginti-pati); dialectal Bengali নায়ের = nāyēra father’s family (of a married woman) = Hindōstānī = naiharā (jāti-gṛha); কষ্টী = kāṣṭī touchstone = Hind. = kasaṇṭī (kāsa-paṭṭikā); রাখলি = rākhula herdsman = Hind. = rākhulā (rakṣā-pāla); পারে = pāre puts on = Hind. = pahira = (paridhiyate); কাক = cākā = Hind. = cakāvā (cakravāka); পাহল = pāylā first = Hind. = pahilā (pratha-illa-); etc., etc.

The changes of OIA. vowels to MIA. in the formation of Bengali are discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

[A] OIA. AND MIA. VOWELS IN BENGALI

[I] Final Vowels

148. Final vowels of OIA. were continued down to Late MIA. and Early NIA. times. The long final vowels 「-ã, -ĩ, -ũ」, however, were shortened to 「-ã, -ĩ, -ũ」, and 「-ē, -ō」 were weakened and shortened to 「-ē, -ō」 in late MIA. (Apabhraṇḍa), and these shortened vowels 「-ã, -ĩ, -ũ」 fell together with original short 「-ã, -ĩ, -ũ」. All NIA. inherited these short vowels, but in later times in Bengali, during the Middle Bengali period, they were all dropped, or assimilated: except 「-ĩ, -ũ」 where they were preceded by vowels of a different quality.

The anuvāra which followed a final vowel in Late MIA. was possibly a very weak nasalisation, which did not in any way affect it in its development into NIA.

(1) OIA., > MIA. 「-ã, -ũ」.

[a] OIA. 「-ã」.

149. OIA. 「-ã」 > MIA. 「-ã」 > OB. eMB. 「-ã=ã-」 > NB. 「-ã」, or zero. Examples: आउ 「āṭa」, MB. आउ 「āṭhā」 (āṭhā, āṭa-); अब 「ābā」 「ābhā」 「cloud」 (abhra), cf. Standard Coll. आब्ज 「ābā-chā」 「hazy」; अम, अक 「āma」 「āma」 (amba, āma); एक 「ēka」 (MIA. stṣ. ēkka < ēka); कक «ककाण्ड」 (kaṇkaṇa); कम 「kamā」 「karma」; कृष्ण 「kuṭhā」 「kuṣṭha」; कृष्ण 「kṛṣṇ」 「kṛṣṇa」; गाछ 「gachā」 「tree」 (gaccha); गाम 「gāmanā」 「sunshine」, 「sweat」 (gharma); टांड 「candā」 「candra」; चिन 「cina」 「cina」; छाँद 「chānda」 「chanda」; जाँड 「jaṭa」 「cold」 (jāṭya); OB. जां 「jāmā」 「jamma, janma」; तांत 「tānt」 (tānta); बेल 「bāl」 「bāla」; MB. थान 「ṭhāna」; नात 「nāta」 「danta」; पात 「patā」 「patra」; भुल, बोल 「baulya」, 「bōla」.
(baūla, mukula); बीम् < bīṣṭ (eMIA. [Pali] viṣāṇu, OIA. *viṇṣat = viṇṣati : cf. triṇṣat, etc.); माष < mājha (madhya); हंस, हंव < hāvā, hāṅḍa > being (bhavana); हां < hāṭa, MB. हां < hātha > (hasta); etc., etc.

Examples are quite common.

Loss of final < -ā > by assimilation with a preceding vowel (see also post, § 172, 'Vowels in Contact'):

(i) MIA. < -ā >: normally, this becomes a single < -ā > in Bengali, pronounced [o] or [o]. Unelided final अ < -ā > in tadbhava words and forms, commonly pronounced [o], comes from a MB. < -ā > [ə:] derived from an earlier group like < -ā = āvā, āhā >: the phonetic change here is really that of contraction, the nature of which is not seen at once. अ' < ṣā > (ṣāa, ṣata); ज' < jā > measure of length (jaa, yava); चल < cāla > you walk < MB. चलह < cālahā (= OIA. calatha); तेर < tērā > < OB. < *tēra > (tēraha, trayōdaśa); बान, बालो < dānā, dānō > ghost, spirit < OB. < *dāṇāwa > (OIA. dānava); भाल, भालो < bhālā, bhālō > < MB. bhālā (bhallawa, bhallā = bhadraka); etc.

(ii) MIA. < -ā > becomes < -ā >. Late MIA. < -ā >, from OIA. < -ākā > etc. (i.e., आ + consonant + ā >), gave OB. < -ā >, NB. < -ā >, as a common affix: also < -āha > -āa > in MB., through loss of < h >: e.g., ओञ्ज < ोञ्ज > (uvajjha, upādhyāya); कृत < kārā > (kaṭāha); च < ghā > blow, wound, sore (ghāa, ghāta); छ < chā > (śāba);  ❖ < jā > (jāta); त < tā > (tāpa); न < nā > (nava = nā); प < pāla > (*palāwa, prabāla); च < pā > (pāda), also *pāo > pāo < MB. pāwa >; ब < bā >, also बाण, बां < bā, bād < *bāya, *bāwa > (vāta); बिः, MB. stā. बिभ < biyā, bibhā > (vivāha); एक < ekā > (ekka, ēka), but एक < ekā > alone (*ēkkāka = OIA. *ēkāka, cf. Ṇkākin); काल, काला < kālā, kālo > black (kālaa, kālaka), but काल < kālā > the black one (*=kālā, *kālā); OB. < tā > his (tāha, tasya); etc.

(iii) MIA. < -ā, -ā > became < -i > in OB. = < -i, -i > in NB. : MB. आग < āgi, āg > (*āggiā = *agnikā >; the feminine gender for this word in Hindi etc. is a proof that it is not from MIA. < aggi > = OIA. nominative *agniḥ >); अर०ति < ērāti > (ērātrika); OB., MB. करी, करि < kāri, kāri > (MIA. karia, OIA. < kārya = -kṛ-, t-ya = kṛtvā >; MB. kātī < kātī >, cf. Assamese < kātī > (kārtti), the name of the month, now ousted by the
OIA. FINAL VOWELS IN BENGALI: 'A'

303

ts. form; লী, চি, খী, খিই = (ghia, ghṛta); MB. মূথি "muti" = NB. মূথি for মন্ত্র "mōti" through Hindōstānī influence (mōtti, māuktika); eMB. sts. অবশে "āvasi" (*āvasiya, *āvasia = avaśya); etc., etc.

The OIA. passive participle in "-ita", = MIA. "-ia", similarly became "-ī > -i" in Bengali: see under Morphology: "the Past Base." The common NIA. adjectival affix indicating connection, "-i", is derived in this way from OIA. "-iya, -ika": cf. the non-feminine forms পাচাঙী, সায়া, আটাছ পাচাঙ্গি, সায়া, আটাছ etc., from *pañcamika, *saptamika, *aṣṭamika etc." (and not from the feminine *pañcamī, saptamī, aṣṭamī etc.).

(iv) MIA. "-uā, -uā" became "-ū" in OB. = "-u" in NB., in some cases turned into an epenthetic vowel: also MB. "-ubhā > -uā": e.g., OB. কামাঙ্গী, কামাঙ্গী, MB. কামাঙ্গী = kāmā (Kāma-rūpa); গোড়া "gōra" cattle (gō-rūpa); MB. ছামু "chāmu" (*chāmu, sanmukha); নেবী "nebū" (nimbuka); মূ "mu" (mula, mukha); etc.

(v) MIA. "-ē, -ē" > OB. "-ē(ā/y)a" > NB. "-ē": also MB. "-ēhā > -ēhā": দে "dē" a surname (deva); MB. দে "dē" (dēha).

The affix for the instrumental, এ, এ "-ē, -ē", can be considered here; only the loss of "-a" took place in MIA. of the Third Period: e.g., OIA. hastēna > Māgadhī MIA. hasthēna, Apabhraṅga hasthēna, hasthēn > OB. hastē, hastē > NB. hastē. In মূ তারী = mui, tui > I, thou, from OB. and MB. *mōnē, mōyē, moē, *mōī, māi, muñi; tōnē, tōyē, tōtē, *tōī, taī, tunī etc. (= *mayēnā, tvāyēnā, i.e., maya, tvayā+ēnā), the influence of the "-y-" in the OIA. and the MIA. compounded form helped to alter the vocalism of these words to "-i-".

(vi) MIA. "-ē, -ē" > OB. "-ēwa" NB. "-ē": ঙী "jā" (jā, yōga); cf. ঙী "rō" (rōmā, rōma).

Final অ "-ā" in Tatsamas.

Tatsama and Sami-tatsama words as a rule drop the final অ "-ā": e.g.,
দ্বারন, দ্বারন "dār(ā)sānā"; রতন "rātānā"; নায়ন "nāyānā"; ক্যাসিক, "phāṭikā" (sphāṭika); অধীর "ādhārā"; পরস "pārāsā" (sparśa); গৃহস "gārāsā" (grāsa); etc., etc.
But in the case of *tas*. and *stas.*, there are certain exceptions, when
the final « -ā » is retained in pronunciation, and these may be noted:

(i) Bengali Phonetics does not allow two consonants to end a word:
there must be, in the absence of an anaptyctic vowel, a final vowel, to
prop up the consonants, as it were: *e.g.*, पूर्व = पूर्वा = (pūrva), or पूरं
पूर्वाण; चंद्र = चंद्रण; चंद्रण = चंद्राण; वीरवं = वीरवाण = (vīratva);
सत्य = सत्याण = (sātya, E. Beng. sātya); न्याय = न्यायाण = (nājakriya);
सुर्य = सूर्याण = (jirīka); द्वित = द्विताण = (bijā); हास = हासाण = (hāsa);
हृष = हृषाण = (duḥkha); प्रस = प्रसाण =; धार = धाराण =; etc., etc.

(ii) « -ā » after « -h- », in a final syllable, is retained: सह = सहाण
(beside thus. नेह = नेहो); दह = दहाण (cf. MB. ṭbh. « dé »); बिहाण = बिहाण
(तbh. « biya »); अनुग्रह = अनुग्रहाण; बिहोण = बिहोण =; etc., etc.

(iii) Adjectives:

(a) the ts. « -ta-, -ita » affix retains the « -ā »: पूलकित, गीत, गत, नत,
अनुतित, स्थायित = पूलकित, गीत, गत, नत, अनुतित, स्थायित = पूलकित,
गीत, गत, नत, अनुतित =, etc. The « -tā » forms, when used as nouns, drop the « -ā »: गीत, नत, बिरित,
निकित = गीत, मात, बिहित, निचित =, etc., etc.; and a few adjectives which
are commonly used also drop « -ā » optionally: *e.g.*, चलित, गहित, बजित
< कलित, गारित, बारित > etc.; cf. पालित = पालित =, adjective, but « पालित »,
a surname.

(b) the ts. affix « -yā » retains the vowel: श्रेष्ठ, पेय, देव, विदेश
< स्रेष्ठ = (sṛēyas), पेय =, देव =, बिदेश > , etc.

(c) the ts. affixes तर तम « -tārā, -tāmā ».

(d) the ts. forms in ढ < -ṛha = -ṛha >.

(iv) Ts. words, which are not naturalised, as a rule can be pronounced
with final « -ā »; the tendency would be to drop the « -ā », but usage differs.
The following cases are noteworthy. Words of two syllables with « ṛ, āi,
āu » in the first syllable, keep the « -ā » as ts. forms: रूप, रूथ, तू, मूर, तैल,
शेल, मोन, गोप = ब्राह्म, क्रस, त्रान, माग, ताल, शाल, मान, गाँ =;
(but note the semi-tatsama forms—more heard in pronunciation than seen in
writing—शई, तैल, लौन, गुज = शई, तैल, मान, गाँ =). Words
ending in « -न्त » optionally retain the « -ā »: क्रान, गण, नण = द्रोण,
ब्रान, गण, नण =.
The retention of the final ā, or otherwise, depends upon the extent to which the ts. word has become naturalised; e.g., নগ < nāgā > hill, নব < nābā > nine, new, সম < sāmā >, শম < sāmā >, যুব < yubā > youth, মম < māmā > my etc. retain the vowel. Ts. words occurring in a compound as its first part as a rule do not drop the vowel: e.g., রন্ধলা-মুখো < -mukhā > facing, going to the fight; পাদেলা < pādā-sēbā >; জানাত্মা < jānā-tāntrā >; দানবীর < dānā-bīrā >; চিকুকারার < cikurā-bhārā >; ভারবাহ < bhārā-bāhī >; etc.: the dropping or retention of the -ā is, however, determined by the rhythmic consideration of the whole line.

The rules (i) and (ii) for ts. words also obtain in foreign words: e.g., Persian < mard > man > মরা < mārā > or মর < mārā, mādā >; < সাহ < sah > > শা < šā > or শাহ < šāh >; English box > বাজ < bāksā >, inch > ইঞ্চি < ীচি >, etc.

[b] OIA. -ā.

150. OIA. -ā> MIA. -ā(-ā) as in nominative, -ā as in oblique, IMIA. -ā > OB., eMB. -ā > NB. -ā, i.e., zero. Examples: আশ < āśā > (āśā); উক < ākā > (ulkā); গ্রীস < gōs > dew (avaśyā); কল < kālā > machine (kālā); কাঠ < κάθι > wall (kanthā); খাট < khāṭa > (khaṭā); খেল < khelā > (khēlā); গাছ < gās >, গায় < gāya > (gāya); বিং < bhīn > (ghrṇā); জাং < jāṅg > (jāṅghā); জিব, জিভ < jib, jibhā > (jibhā, jihvā); পিয়াস < tiyāsā > (trāsā, trānā + pipāsā); ধার < dhārā > edge (dhārā); নথ < nāthā > nose ring (nastā), possibly an old borrowing, ultimately from a Panjab dialect, in post NIA. times in Bengali; নানা < nānād > (nandā); হাদ, হাড, হাড < nindā, nīdā > (nindā, niddā, nirdā); পরাঞ্চ < pārākha > (parikhā); পাঙ্গ < pāchā > (pacehā, pašcā, paścā); পিয়াস < pīyāsā > (pīpāsā); পান < pāna > as in আমাপানে < āmā-pānē > towards me, looking at me, recognising me (pañā, pražna [?]); ফন < phānā > (phanā); বাত < bātā > (vattā, vartā); বান < bānā > (vanyā); বাঙ্ক < bājha > (vandhyā); 1 MB. ভাষ < bhāṣā > (bhāṣā); ভিং, ভিং < bhikha > (bhikṣā); ভূখ < bukhā >

1 Cf. ন দেখে বাজ। ন দেখে বাজ। 'jô acho bānīkh, sô dêy sāmbāj'—Let her who is childless (in the family) light the evening lamp.
bhūkhṛa (bubhukṣa); māj as in māj kāth māj-kāth heart of timber (mājā); māl, mainly in compounds (mālā); mich, cf. mīc, etc. (mīc-kāunē = mīc-kāhāniya = mīc-kāhāniya liar (mīthā); MB. mūḍā ring (mudrā); mēlā (mēlā); rāṭa rāṛa (ranḍa); lā lac (lāhā, lākṣā); MB. lāhā, lāchā, nāchā (rathya); lāj (lājā); nālā, nālā nālā nālā (nālā); nālāsā (nālāsā); shāl in compounds, e.g., hāṭhāshāl elephant-stable: cf. guhā cil. gō-haśāl cow-pen (śalā); sil sīlā (śilā); sējā (sayyā); sājā (sajjā); sājā (sajjā); sājā (sandhyā); *śdā = šā (śraddhā) see p. 190; sān gesture, as in hāṭhāsān gesture with the hand, also hāṭh-cha hāṭh-chān gesture (saṅga, saujñā); hāludā (haridrā); etc.

The plural affix of OIA. -ā, -ā, nouns, -ā, in eMIA. -ā, was similarly reduced to -ā in Apabhraśa, and lost its force in OB.: e.g., dērā dērā dērā vātā vātā bātā. New plural forms had to be built up for the nominative with the help of the genitive and instrumental plural, as well as by adding nouns of multitude, as a result.

In the OIA. affixes -ānām, -āsām, *-ēsām, -ēhām in the MIA. period, there was pre-Apabhraśa weakening of -ā to -ā; *tānām, occurring beside tēsām, gave early MIA. -ānām, tēnā and -ēsām, *tēsām, Late MIA. -ēnā, tēnā, tēhā, whence the NIA. forms—Bengali tān tān his (honourific, their), tē- tē- = oblique of honourific singular 3rd personal pronoun, tei, tēhā, tēhā he (honourific, they); Assamese tēo he (honourific); Oriya tā(hā)n = oblique of 3rd pers., plural > honourific singular; Maithili tan-i-k his (honourific), Magahi and Bhōjpuriyā tinh = oblique of 3rd personal pronoun plural; Awadhī ten(h)-, 3rd person plural obl.; Hindīstāni tīn-, 3rd pers. pl. obl.; etc., etc.

Tatsama words do not drop the OIA. -ā vowel, and in many cases, the ts. forms occur side by side with the tāhs., like kēlā, kēlā; sīlā, sīlā etc., quoted above. A sts. like rekha rekha, or sīmā (sīmā), drops its -ā.
LOSS OF 'Ā' BY ASSIMILATION: 'I, -I'

Cases of loss of OIA. final «-ā» by assimilation (see later also, under 'Vowels in Contact'):

(i) OIA. «-ā, -ā + cons. + -ā» > Late MIA. «-āā,-āa, -aa, -ā» > OB. «-āā, -āā, -āa, -āwa» > NB. «-ā, -ā»: एक «ो», from «१०» = MB. आन्तरिक ( avidhvā); रा «म», + मा «माक» < OB. मावा (maa, māta); शाला «साला» (salaka); in NB. भाज «भाज», MB. भाज़ «भाज़», the loss of the final «-ā» had taken place before the Apabhraṃśa stage (bhrāṭr-jāyā > bhāu-jāa, *bhāuṣjā > *bhāuṣjā > OB. «-bhāuṣjā»); so शाला «साला» (syālaka-jāyā); etc.

(ii) OIA. «-ikā» > MIA. «iā, -iā» > OB. «-i» > NB. «i, -i». Examples: आज, आजि, आंज < आज > grandmother (āryikā); कार्हिन < kārhini > (*kathinikā); NB. गी < gī > OB. (Sarvananda) < ghwī >, brains (*gṛṣṭikā); चूर < euri > (*cūri, caurya + ikā); चूर < churi > (kṣurikā); चूर < chēlt > goat (*chayaliā, *chagaliā); चूर < jūri > pair (*yōktrikā); बाढी < bārī > (vātikā); बाली < bālī > sand (*bālikā = bāluka); मै < mai, mai > ladder (madikā); नौ < mātī > (mṛtikā); कौ < ruṭtī > (rōtikā); लृ < lūṛi, nurī > (*loḍhiā < *loṭhiā = *loṭṭhikā, *loṭṭikā); OB. सेज < seji > (*sejī) (*sayyikā); etc. Examples illustrating this dropping of OIA. «-ā» in feminine forms in «-ikā» are very numerous, and this «-ikā» > «-iā» > «-i» gave the most common feminine and diminutive affix of all NIA., taking the place of the OIA. feminine affixes «-ā» and «-i». The vowel was originally long, «-iā» = [iː] becoming [iː]; it remains long in most NIA., e.g., Hindostānī, but in Bengali, absence of stress made it short, even from the OB. period.

(iii) OIA. «-ukā, -upā» etc. > NIA. «-u, -u»: see below, § 172, under 'Vowels in Contact.'

(2) OIA. «-ī, -ī».

151. (i) OIA. «-i, -i» > Late MIA. «-i» > OB. «i» > (MB. epenthetic «i») > NB. zero, in the Standard Dialect, when occurring after a consonant.

Examples: अज < ākh > (*aṅkhi, aṅkhi, aṅṣi); अज < āc > flame (*aṅci, aeci, arcī); आज, अज, अज < āji, āj, āj, āj> (MIA. *ajjim = adya); so
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

कालि, काल, काल < kāli, kāi, kā'ī, kāl > (MIA. kallīm = kalya); गाँठ, गाँठ < gānt, gāntḥ >, गाँठ, गाँठ < gānt, gānt ṭ > (ganthi, granthi); पाँचन, पाँचन < gābh(h)in > big with young (garbhini); चाँच, चाँच, चाँच < cānr, cāir, cār, cār > (cāri = cattāri, catvāri); चूंच < chūc > (*chuñcī, *suñcī, súcī): also सुच < súc >; जुङ < jūnt > convenience, advisability (yukti); जांठ, जांठ, जांठ < jāin, jāin, jān > (jākini); ताल < tāl > (tāl); तात < tāt > (tantri); तिन for तीन < tīn > (tinni, trinī); तेंतुल < tēntul >, OB. (Caryā 2) < tentali > (*taināli = tintidi); पाट < pāt >, MB. < pāti > (panti, paṅkti); पारल < pāral >, OB < pāral > (see p. 186) (pātali); बर्न, बर्न < bēyān, bēhāin > (*vaihāhin); बोन, बोन, बैन, बैन < bōn, bāin, bāin >, OB. (Caryā 2) < bhānni > (bhagini); भित < bhit > (bhatti); मृत < mūth > (muṣṭi); रात, राइट < rāt, rāit >, OB., < rāt > (rātri); राह < rās > (i) zodiacal sign; heap, mass, (ii) briedle (in this sense probably influenced by the Perso-Arabic < rās >) (rāsi; *rāsī = rāsmi); लहार < lāhār > wave (lahari); नाट, नाइट < sāt, sāt > (saṭhi); संस < sāt > as in संस < sāt-mā > step-mother (savattī, sapatnī); संस < sātār > (saptati); शिख < sīdh > breaking through a wall (*sindhi, sandhi); etc., etc. The OIA. feminine forms in -inī, as in the instances given above, would become -in in NIA., with the dropping of final -i, but in Bengali there was from MB. times an influence of the full ts. form.

In a number of sts. words as well, the final -i, -i is lost; e.g., अत, अत < ad, aid > (ādi); जात, जात < jāt, jāit > (jāti); जुं < jūnt > as in जोरे जुं < cōkherā jūnt > sight of the eye (*juti, jyōtī); जुं < gānt > device < OB. sts. *jugiti > (yukti); पिरित < prīt >, MB. पिरितित < prītī > (prīti); मृत < mūrāt > (mūrti); रात < rāt > (rātri);...; but cf. दितित < dhiiti > (dṛṣṭi), with -i preserved, which remains an archaic, poetic (MB.) word. But ts. words keep the final -i, t, i.

(ii) OIA. -i, -i > MIA. -i, -i > OB. -i, -i, retained, when it occurred after a vowel in OB. and MB.; e.g., कई < kāi, kāi > a fish (kavayt); है < chāi, chāi > thatch, thatched cabin of a boat (chadis); हामी < jāmī, jāmāi > (*jāmati = OIA. jāmatr); नह < nāi, nāi > (i) ninety (also = nābi < nābbaī >), (ii) नह < nāi, nāi >, MB. नह < dā(h)i > (dadhi); बाड़ < bārāi > (vardhakin); टाह < bhāi > (*bhāti = OIA. bhrāt); टाह < sāi, sāi >, MB.
<i>i</i> in Old and Middle Bengali

<sā(h)i> (sakhi); also in the word <i>-pati</i> -paï, -vaï in compounds, e.g.,
বলাই, বলাই <i>dālāi</i>, দালুই <i>a surname</i> (dalapati), ননাই <i>nandāi</i> (nanandī-pati),
বোনাই <i>bōnāi</i> (bhagini-pati: see p. 300); OB. and eMB. বোনাই, করাই, চলাই
বোলাই, করাই, চলাই <i>bōlāi</i>, করাই, চলাই etc., verbs of 3rd person singular, where the final <i>-i</i>
remained,—to be assimilated with the <i>-ā</i> preceding to <i>-ē</i>. OIA.
instrumental plural <i>-bhīs</i>, MIA. <i>-hi</i>, and the locative <i>*-dhi</i> -hi,
reduced to <i>-i</i> in Proto-Bengali, also underwent assimilation, but in some
cases it is found in MA. : e.g., আমি, তুমি <i>āmi</i>, <i>tumi</i>, OB. <i>āmhē</i>, <i>tumhē</i>,
Oriya <i>āmbhē</i>, <i>tumbhē</i> (=<i>*amhahi</i>, <i>*tumhahi</i> [or -ēhi]: asmābhīs, yuasmā-
bhīs). This <i>(h)i</i> affix seems to have attached itself to the genitive
plural form, in forming the new nominative (honorific) of pronouns, etc. :
see under 'Declension of the Noun,' and under 'Pronouns.' In আস্তি<i>aśti</i>
(aśti), there is assimilation of <i>-i</i> with preceding <i>-i-</i> in the MIA.
form <i>aśti</i>.

In MB. সুন্ধি<i>sundhi</i> = <i>sugandhi</i>, the <i>-i</i> is probably for
<i>-ika</i>, with assimilation of final <i>-a</i> as under § 149, p. 302: সুন্ধি<i>=sundhi</i>
<i>sundhi</i> <i>+</i> <i>*sondhi</i> <i>*suwandhi</i>, <i>suandhi</i> <i>*sugandhika</i> : cf.
NB. সোধা<i>sodhā</i> = <i>sōdh</i>-<i>ā</i> <i>foetid</i> (= sugandha-); নানা<i>nāna</i> is
from <i>navanīta</i> rather than <i>navani</i>. In the eMB. of the ŠKK.,
we have <i>ts</i>. and <i>st</i>. words, like <i>ānumāti</i>, <i>ākhī</i> (= <i>aksi</i>), আতি
(ati), <i>āratī</i> (ā-<i>ratī</i>), <i>ābudhi</i>, <i>gātt</i>, <i>gīrt</i> (stuti), <i>thīt</i> (sthiti), <i>dādhi</i>
(dadhi), <i>dhuni</i> (dhvani), <i>nīdi</i>, <i>pāti</i>, <i>pātī</i> (paṅkti), <i>bihī</i> (vidhi), <i>buddhi</i>
(buddhi), <i>bhākāti</i> (bhakti), <i>mānti</i>, <i>mātī</i>, <i>muni</i>, <i>yugātī</i> (yukti), <i>yutī</i> = <i>jutī</i>
(jyōtiṣ), <i>rātī</i>, <i>sāngātī</i>, <i>sāndhi</i>, <i>siddhi</i> (siddhi), <i>bārtī</i> : with long <i>-ī</i>: this
lengthening is possibly a reminiscence in orthography of a stage in OB.,
when original <i>-i</i> from OIA. <i>-i</i>, <i>i</i> was tending to be lost, and the
presence of a large number of words in <i>-i</i>, from <i>-ikā</i>, <i>-ikā</i> etc., served
to make the long <i>-i</i> the more common form of the <i>-i</i> sound in a final
position.

Words and forms in OB. with original <i>-i</i> (i.e., final <i>-i</i> derived
from Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa) in many cases fell together with the <i>-ā</i>
words. The nominative form in <i>-i</i>, which seems to have characterised
Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, has entirely dropped out of Bengali, as well as the

(3) OIA. « -ū, -ū »

152. (i) OIA. « -ū, -ū » > MIA. « -ū, -ū », Late MIA. « -u » > OB. « -ū » > MB. epanthetic « -ū, -i » > NB. zero, when occurring after a consonant. Cases also occur, where « u » has become « -ū ». Examples : আখ, আুখ « akh, aukh » (*akku < *aksu = iksu) ; আশ, আুশ « aś, aś » jibre (aũśu) ; খোুস « khūs » < খুুস « khāus », OB. (Sarvananda) « khus » jitch (*khaeu, kacchu) ; ছোুখ « cē » < ছোুখ « cāuc » (caucen) ; জান « jām » (jambu) ; তাত « tāt » (tantu) ; দাদ « dād » < দাউ দাউ « dāud » (daddu, dadru) ; পাহ « pās » ashes (pāśu) ; ফাঙ « phāg » (phalgu) ; OB., MB. বাহ « bāhā » (bahu) ; মাছ « mōch » (mhaechu, śmaśru) ; সাহ, সাহ « sāś, sās » in compounds (śvaśrū) ; সাহ, সাহ « sā, sāh » merchant (sadhū) ; হিঙ « hiṅ » (hiṅgu) ; etc., etc. In st. words also, « -u » is frequently dropped : ধাত, ধাত, ধাত « dhāt, dhāit, dhāut » (dhatu) ; ধাল « dāyāl » (dayalu) ; etc.

Ts. words preserve the final « -ū, -ū ».

(ii) OB. « -u » is retained in NB., when in OB. and MB., the « -u » was immediately preceded by a vowel : e.g. অু, also আু « āu, āi » (āu, āyuṣ) ; বু « jāu, jāu » (jatu) ; বাউ, বাউ « jāu » (jāvāgū) ; বাউ « jhāu » (jhābu ; also jhābu-ka) ; বু, বু « bāu, bāu », MB. « bā(h)u », OB. « bahu » (vadhu) ; বাউ « bāu » (vāyu) ; বাউ, বু « māu, māu », MB. « mā(h)u » (madhu) ; বাউ « lāu » (alābu) ; etc. The affix « -u » for the imperative 3rd person, = « -tu » of OIA., remained in OB. and MB. ; but in MB, it was lengthened by a « -kā » , and became medial, and was dropped after a vowel : e.g., MB. দেু, দেু, হোু, হোু, চেু, < *deu, jau, hōu, kāru, cālu > beside « deu-kā, jau-kā, hōu-kā, kāru-kā, cālu-kā » = NB. দিক or দিক, দিক or দেক, দোুক (হোুক) or হোুক « diukā, dikā ; jāukā, jākā ; hōukā, hōkā » and কানু, চালুক < kāru, cāluk >.

Some exceptional cases : বাউ « kāu » (kāka) is through vocalisation of a MB. « kāwa < kāa » ; পার « pāraśu » = OB. « parasū » = OIA. « para-svāh » ; « -śu » represents a Māgadhi < * śvē », (cf. Pali < suvē »), in Māg. Ap. < * svī », which ought to give an OB. < * suī », which is
not found isolated in NIA. ; <śu> in <pāṛṣu is> probably due to the reduction of the expected final <-i> to <-ā>, giving a Māg. Ap. form <*śuva>, which was normally simplified to <śū, śu>. MB. पहुँ, पहुँ <pāṛu, pāṛu> (prabhu) is not found in NB., where it would occur as <*pāu, pāu>: the nasalised form is noteworthy; बृह <bādhū> friend, lover (bandhu-ka); गाढ <khāru> bracelet, पाढ <gāru> pitcher, टाि <chātu>, टाि <tāku>, लाज <lāru>, जाह, इत्य <(h)āt(h)u> = OB. <aṇḍu> (?) knee, seem to show assimilation of <-ā>, coming respectively from MIA. <khaḍku, gāḍku, sattu = saktu-ka, tākku = takru-ka, laḍku, *aṇḍu-ā? (but cf. aṣṭhī-vant- knee) ; cf. §149, (iv).

Words like the following—ibhs. दुध <dudhu> (dudgha), मित <mitu> friend in affectionate address (mitra), उर <ub(h)u> (ūrdhva); stss. like धृत <dhuttu> (dhūrta); tss. like चृ <dusṭu> (duṣṭa), have an <-u> affix, derived ultimately from <-u-ka>. (See under Morphology: ‘Formative Affixes.’) The literary influence of the Western Apabhraṃśa brought in a number of <-u> forms into Bengali; and in the 16th century MB., the <-u> affix also sought to enter into Bengali through Braja-buli and through Braj-bhākā (see p. 103); e.g., forms like OB. (Caryūs) <kīu, ahařiu, tasu> etc. (p. 115), MB. षू, षू <jāchu, tāchu>, षू <mājiu> to me, of me, अबू <āju < ajhāru> tears, लाज <lāgu> fixed, etc. But this Western <-u> < MIA. (Śauraseni, Mahārāṣtrī) <-ī> did not take root in Bengali.

(4) OIA., MIA. <-ē>

153. OIA. <-ā, -am, -ē > MIA. (Māgadhī) <-ē > Māgadhī Ap. <*-i> > OB. (?) <-i>, but mostly reduced to <-ā> > eMB. <-ā> > NB, <-ā > or zero.

The Māgadhī affix for the nom. sing. and for the loc. sing. of <-ā> nouns would come under this: <dēvaḥ > dēvē > *dēvi > OB. *dēvi>; <dēvē > dēvē > *dēvi > OB. *dēvi>; but in OB., the <-i> for the locative is occasionally found, but that for the nominative is almost entirely lost, relics possibly only being found in a few forms (which are discussed under Morphology: ‘The Noun: Inflections, Nominative’). The representative of <*dēvi> in OB. is <*dēwa> = MB. <dē>. For the locative, the <-ē,-ē>
affix ousted the old « -i »: this new « -ी, -ē » of OB. being from « -ahī, -ahi; aī, aī » of Late MIA. (See under Morphology: 'Inflections: Locative.') The following cases, among others, show loss of OIA. « -ē » > Early NIA. « -i » in the locative: आस-पास « ās-pās » *around («āsi-pāsi: asṛ pārśvē: cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 57); पार « pār » on the other side («pāri, pārē»; पर « pār » after («pāri, parē»; घर-घर « ghār-ghār » in every home («ghari ghari, gṛhā gṛhē»; etc., etc.

OIA., MIA. « -ō » was extremely rare in Māgadhī, and we have no sure case in Bengali. The Oriyā ablative affix « -u » probably represents the MIA. « -tō » = OIA. ablative « -tas ». « -ō » does not occur in the base form of any OIA. word, any more than « -ē ».

154. The above in general show the apocope of final vowels in Bengali. In many cases, however, ts. forms with the final vowels have been reintroduced, or made to influence the tbh. ones, by restoring the final vowels—the unmodified tbhs. being found as archaic words in poetry: e.g., आश « āśā », beside आश « āśā »; माल « mālā », beside मāl « mālā »; मिछ « michā » for « michā », influenced by « mithyā »; so मात « mātā », but cf. OB. « māa » = « māwa »; छाय « chāyā », frequently pronounced as छाओ « chāo », shows imperfect influence of the learned form « chāyā » on a tbh. without the final « -ā » and with the euphonic « ā »—OB. « chā, chāwā »; NB. « chāṅā, chāṅā »; बांक « bāṅkā », see, p. 305 (vandhyā) : here however, there may be the NIA. « -ā » affix, cf. सूत « sūtā » from « sūt » (satya); काठ « kāṭhā » (kanthā); etc. The cases of restitution for « -i, -u », e.g. उठित « muṭhi » for मुठ « muṭh » , are in the nature of reversion to archaic forms, and MB. epenthesis of « -i, -u » prevents it to a great extent: and the language here prefers the full ts. forms, rather than palpably false forms.

[II] VOWELS IN INITIAL SYLLABLES.

155. These have generally been preserved in Bengali. So long as the stress was on non-initial syllables, in Apabhraṃśa and in Old Bengali, there remained the likelihood of an original initial long syllable being shortened, or of a short syllable being dropped. Instances of such weakening of original long syllables in Bengali have been given in § 143:
and dropping of initial vowels through absence of stress is not unknown to MIA. (see pp. 241, 278). Bengali has inherited a few words which underwent this apheresis in the MIA. period: e.g.,

(i) «ā-»: তিসি «tisi» linseed (*atisi, atasi), «a-» dropped in the OIA. or eMIA. period; so MB. পিণ্ড » pindha (api-nah, api-naddha); হিলান, হিলান «hilān, hēlān» to lean (? abhilagna), apheresis in the lMIA. period; রৌঁটা «rūṭā» soap-nut (arīṣṭa-); ভিজ «bhij» to moisten (abhyaṇī̄); ভিজার > ভেজার «bhijāy, bējāy» closes the door (? abhyajyatē); ভিত্তর «bhitār» (abhyantrā); OB. ঈউ for ঈু «hau<haū» (hakām, abhakān = aham), apheresis in Early MIA.; হিলে, হেলে «hilē, hēlē» leans (abhilagati? abhīlīyatē?), a Late MIA. case; লাউ «lāu» (alābu); and সাদ্রুর «saṝār» horseman, an eMIA. borrowing from Old Persian «asa-bārī» = Skt. «aśva + bhṛ», later strengthened by the New Persian «swār».«ā-»: inherited forms with loss of initial of «ā-» not found.

(ii) Loss of initial «i-» is not seen in any word in Bengali: in the word চিল, চিলা «chilā, chilā», generally connected with «*śithila = śithila < *śr̥th-ila», however, there seems to be loss of an initial syllable with «-i-».

(iii) Apheresis of «u-»: বুমুর «cumur» (udumbara); বইসে, বৈসে, বেস «baisē, baisē, bāsē» (uvaśa̱i, upaviśati), a Late MIA. case; পানাই «pānāi» (upānaha-), apheresis in eMIA.

(iv) «ē-, ō-»: no case in Bengali, except রেঁই «reṅi» (ṛaṇḍikā).

A few cases of Bengali apheresis are also found: OB. «antarē», eMB. আন্তরে «antarē»: NB. তরে «tārē» for the sake of (dative post-position); NB. «jābālā» (ajā-pāla); NB. ছিল «chilā» wax, beside. আচিল «āchilā»; MB. ছিলে «chile» to be for the sake of «āchē» (aech, āch); MB. সির, সিরি «siā, siā» for সির, এঁ «āsiyā, -iñā» having come (a-vis); NB. ধার «dhāra» loan < MB. উধার «uddhārā» (uddhāra); NB. Ds. পারে «pārē» upon (upari); NB. হেন «hēnā», MB. এহেন «ēhēnā» such, so like (through analogy of কেন < কেহেন «kēnā, kēhēnā», বেন < বেহেন «jēnā, jēhēnā»).

(1) Initial «ā-», and «-ā-» in Initial Syllables.

156. (i) Initial «ā-».
OIA. and MIA. <ā-> followed by a single consonant, seems to have become <ā-> in eMB., through initial stress: e.g., अजल, अजुली <ājālī, ājult> a foolish boy and girl (*aju-<ṛju-); अशी <āśi>, cf. Orīyā <āśi> (aṣṭiti); अर <āṛ> < eMB. अर्ष <ārā> (avara, apara); अलत <ālātā> (alakta-); एव <ēō> < MB. एवेह <ēihā> (avidhvā); अयां <Āyānā> < MB. अयांर <Āyārā> (Abhimanyu); असर <āsurā> (asura); अलस <ālāsā> (alasa); MB. अमित <āmiṭa> (amṛta-); etc. In the Early MB. of the ŚKK., ts. words almost invariably show <ā-> for <ā->: अनुमति, अटि, अपार, अपमानाः, अधिगति, अधिपति, अचवार, अबाता, अलप (ālapā) (sts.), अर्ष (ārsha), अपराध (āparādha), अभिसार (ābhisārā), etc. The privative affix <ā-> became <ā-> in MB. in tbbh., stss., and tss.: e.g. stts. अवंगी, नब. अवंगी <ābhāgī, ābhāgi> (abhāgīya+iṅka); अौसी, अवृंशित (ābudhnī, ābuddhiyā) fool; अष्ट्र (āṣṭukhā); अष्ट्र (āṣṭhā); अव (ābhāya); आमूर <āmūrā> tbbh. (amūlya); आमूर <āmūrā> for <ālōnī> (alavanika); अनसव (ānasamāna) uneven. The MB. intensive prefix <ā-> equally became <ā->: अधेस <āghora> (=ghora), अदेस <ābhātā> (vrtha), अरुकार <ākumārī> (kumārī), अर्ण: <ārṇgā> coloured (ranga-), अविद अर्जितārा > vicious (chidra ?), etc., etc. In eMB., through an increasing influence of Sanskrit forms, this <ā-> fell into disfavour, and <ā-> became supreme in ts. words; and some tbbhs. also took up <ā->. But here and there we have the <ā-> forms lingering in NB., commonly in pronunciation, and at times in orthography as well: e.g., in addition to the tbbh. words given before, we find अवभास <āvabhāsā> plight, distress (avasthā); अथात <āsthā> eight, अवागी <āvāgī> (abhāgīya+iṅka), अर्ण (ārṇa) <ārṇdhā{nā}> 'no cooking' (a feast-day when people eat things prepared on the previous day) (arandhana), अचान, अचित, आचमक <ācāmba, acāmbita, acāmāka> suddenly (?; cf. Hindūstānī acambha); अवपद <āvapādā> (*āvapādhā = spardhā), अचेसवतेष <āṣṭव-वास्ते> (asta-vyasta), etc.

The initial <ā-> of Persian loan-words similarly became <ā->: e.g., आजान (ājān) > आजान <ājān> call to prayer; <āmīr > आमीर <āmīr> prince, dignitary; <ānār > आनार <ānār> pomegranate; <āwāz > आवाज, आवज <āwāj, ābāj > sound; etc., etc.
SHORT ‘A’ + SINGLE CONSONANT 315

157. (ii) Consonant + <ā> + consonant.

The <ā> in this case remains <ā> in Bengali: e.g.,

काळा <काला> as in काहल गोळ <काला गोळ> (kapila-); काल <काल> (iron) bracelet (kaṭa); काळु <काळु> (kaṭuka-); कालौ <कालौ> (kaphōni-);
कालेक <कालेक> (karaī, karōti); कालेक <कालेक> (kathayati); कालेक <कालेक> (khanitara-); गुरु <गरु> (garuda-); गाली<गाली> (gala-pāsika); ग्रह <ग्रह> (gara, gṛha); ग्रह <ग्रह> (calati); ग्रह <ग्रह> जात, जात <जात> (jatu);
जन <जन> (jana); जल <जल> (jala); राध <राध> (cf. jhatikā); टाल <टाल> (tāla); टाल <टाल> fear (dara); M.B. तार <तार> (tāta); ताल <ताल> (sthalā); ताल <ताल> दात, दात <दात> (dadhi); दात <दात> (dala); दात <दात> body, torso (*dhaṭa, dhṛta); दात, दा <दा, दा> (bāṭṭura) नाइ<नाइ> बाचुर <नाइ बाचुर> heifer
calf (navikā); नाइ <नाइ> (nānandā); पाित <पाित> (pavitra-); M.B. पाित <पाित> (pātikā-); जलेप <जलेप> (patati); जलेप <जलेप> = पान <पान> (pānah) पार <पार> (pār) पार (pār) (patiha); पार <पार> पाल <पाल> (prataha); पार <पार> पाल <पाल> (pāla); पाल <पाल> (*pāla, prāla-); क्ल <क्ल> (phalā); वाल <वाल> (phalāhāra); वाल <वाल> (vāla); वाल <वाल> a surname (bhaṭa, bhṛta); वाल <वाल> (vāla); वाल <वाल> (madhu); वाल <वाल> (*marati, mriyate); वाल <वाल> a large snake (mahākāla); वाल <वाल> (śvasāna); वाल <वाल> (vāla); वाल <वाल> (śvasāna); वाल <वाल> (vāla); वाल <वाल> (śvasāna); वाल <वाल> (vāla); वाल <वाल> (śvasāna); वाल <वाल> (vāla);

The following cases, and a few others, at first sight look irregular, but they seem to be from <ā> forms: e.g. हलक <हलक> (lāghu: lāghava, *lāhaa, *hālaa+kka); शाहाज <शाहाज> (śāmī: *śāmika); and बंधिय <बंधिय> (vāni: vāniya-), probably extra-Māgadhī in IMIA.

Perso-Arabic words also retain the <ā->: कम <कम> little (kam); खबर <खबर> news (xabar); गजल <गजल> a poem, a kind of composition in verse (gazal); जबान <जबान> speech, word (zabān); नामज <नामज> prayers (nāmāz); रफ <रफ> settlement (rafā), etc. Hindōstāni pronunciation of <ā> as [A], however, frequently influences the <ā- > <ā- > in becoming the frank <ā> in Bengali, especially in recent admissions from the Persian.
158. (iii) OIA. and MIA. «a» in initial syllables, followed by two consonants.

In words which were originally of two syllables, or three or more syllables with a weak or short penultimate or second syllable, «-a-» is lengthened to «-ā-» and one of the consonants is dropped; and if it is a case of nasal+consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalisation of the lengthened «-ā-», and the following consonant too is often reduced to its corresponding nasal. E.g., ऋक «ākṛ» (an्नका); नाग «ākār» (akṣara); धार, धार «ākhi» (*aṇkhi, akkhi, aksi); अग्नि «āgni» (āgi, aggiā, agni-); त्रि «āc» (*aṇci, arcis); अच्छ «āchē» (aceha, OIA. *acehati); त्रि «āj» (ajjim, adya); आट «āṭa» (aṣṭa); त्रि «āthi» stone of fruit (asthi-); त्रि «āṭa» (antra); काङ «kākā» (kaṇkaṇa); कथ «kāchā» (kakṣa); कौन «kāduṇā» (krandana); काध «kādhā» (skandha); कान «kāṇi» (karna); कां «kām» (karma); ताज «kāhura» (kharjura); आट «khaṭa» (khaṭvā); चाड «khaṭa» (khaṇḍa); बाज «khaḍa» a sweetmeat (khaḍya-); गाह «gadhā» (gaddaha, gardabha-); भाज «gaṇj» (garjati); गाल «gāli» abuse (garha-); धाम «gām» sweat (gharma); चाँद «cāul»; म. भाँज, ताजल «tāulā, tāru» (taṇḍula); चाक «cāk» (cakra); चात, चाँजल «cāṭā, cāṭāla» (catvara); चाँद «cāḍa» (candra); चाँप «cāp» (campaka-); छात «chāṭ» roof (chatra); कौ «chāṭa» style, fashion (chanda); जात «jāta» (yantra-); जाम «jām» (jambu); म. भाज «tāj» (tarjati); ताक «tāk» (tarkayati); तात «tāta» heat (taptta); तात «tāta» (tanta, tantra); धाम «thām» (stambha); दाप «dāp» (darpa); दाम «dāma» price (dramya, Greek drakhmē); नाच «nācē» (nacai, nṛtyati); पाथ «pakhā» wing, side (pakṣa); पांस, पांस «pāla, palaṇkā» (pallāṅka, paryaṇka); बार «bār» (vajra); बारू, बारू «bārāi, bāru» (vardhakin); भाल «bhālā» (bhadra-); माकड «mākāra» (markaṭa); धार «ākāra» (ṣaṅkha); धार «ākāra» substance, fleshy part of fruit (*samsa, *saśsa = sasya) etc., etc.

In words of more than two syllables, the «-a-» in initial syllables, although followed by two consonants in MIA. (one of which is dropped in NIA.), remains as «-a-» without being lengthened to «-ā-», when a following syllable, the penultimate or the ante-penultimate generally, was a strong one (i.e., long, or stressed, or both). This seems to have been
due to the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa habit of stressing, before initial stress asserted itself in Bengali: and OB. forms like अंधारा (andha-kāra), बांधाला (Caryā 49: vaṅgāla), bhāṭāra (Caryā 20: bhartṛ, *bhättāra), kāpāsa (Caryā 50: kappāsa, karpāsa), kūṭhābhāla (Sarvānanda, *=kṛṇha-hāla, *kṛṇta-āla), bāndhāvaī (Caryā 22: *bandhāpayati), sāntāra (Caryā 37: sāntāra), bākhaṇa- (Caryā 37: bakhāṇa=vyākhyāna), sāŋkrāma (Sarvānanda: saṃkrāma), āmāda (Sarvānanda: āmrāta), Aṣṭa-pāga (grant of Viśvarūpa-sēna, see p. 188: aṣṭa-) etc., show <ā> for an expected <a> through something like the law of the weak ante-penultimate obtaining in some form of Bengali in the OB. period. (See ante, pp. 280-82.) MB. also shows, in words like पखले, पखले <pakhāle:pakhāle> (praskhālayati), पलायन <pālāy, pālāy> (palāyati), a hesitancy between the <a> and the <ā>. In NB., the initial stress has made the <-ā-> before a simplified double consonant group an <-ā-> as a regular thing, no matter if a succeeding syllable was strong: e.g., बाधार <ādharā>, <OB. अंधारा > (andha-kāra); काटारी <kāṭāri> (kartaṅkāri), ef. Hind. <kāṭāri> ; काकल, -ी काकल(1) > waist, spine (kaṅkālikā); भाटार <bhāṭār> (bharta-), cf. Hind. <bhāṭār>; काटाल <kāṭālā > jack fruit (kaṅṭāla), cf. Hind. <kāṭār>; पाठय <pāṭhāy> (paṭṭhāvēi, prasthāpayati); साधार <sādār>, MB. साजां <sāja> (*sajāpayati); काछारी <kācchāri> > office (kacca-haria, kṛtya-grha-) cf. Hind. <kac-hari>; गामार <gāmār> > barn (kambhāra, skambhāgāra); साभार <sābhār> > a place-name (sabhya-gāra); गाबरट <gābārṭa, gāb- > lintel-wood (garbhāgāra-kāṭhā); बाक्खान <bākhaṇa> (vyākhyāna); etc., etc. OB. also shows this sort of lengthening: this has been discussed before. In certain cases, however, in NB., we find no lengthening: possibly these are relics from the age when dialectally in West Bengal the non-initial stress āmūṃ absence of lengthening obtained: e.g. घन <jākhānā> when (jakkhaṇa, yat-kṣaṇa) so तन <tākhānā> then (tat-kṣaṇa), कन <kākhānā> when? (kakhaṇa, *kat-kṣaṇa); जान <jaṇjālā> (jaṇjāla); stts. दक्खिन <dakhīn> > south (dakkhīna, dakṣina), but cf. the ādān. धाहिन <dāhin> ; the numerals पन (panāra, pānāra) (paṇṭara, paṇčada), सतेः, सत <sāṭērā, sāṭārā > (sattara, saptada), but cf. आठ <aṭṭhārā > (aṭṭhāra, aṣṭāda); पचीस <pačiś (paṇcawīsa,
pañca-viśati), but cf. Sātāśa < sātāśa > (sāttawisa, sapta-viśati), Oriyā < sātāśa >, etc.

Words with the < -ā, -ī (<īkā) > affix at the end, serving to modify the original form in a special manner (or even when employed pleonastically), seem to have been stressed on the < ā > in Māgadhī Aparabhruśa, as can be surmised from the evidence of Oriyā and other Magadhan (see ante, pp. 94, 96, 280). OB. also shows words without lengthening of < ā > before a simplified consonant group of MIA., through this stress on the final syllable: e.g., < hāthā > (Caryā 41 : hattha-), bāpā (Caryā 32: bappa-), cākā (Caryā 14: cakka-), pākhā (Caryā 4: pakkha-), etc.: cf. Oriyā < rājā, cākā, gācha >, etc. In MB., these forms with short < -ā > were reduced to those with the normal < -a >, though here and there the < -ā > forms have survived: e.g., chakāla, chakā < cākāla, cākāla > slice, beside chakāla < cākāla > district (cakra-); kāparā < khāparā >, besides < khāparā > sherd, tile (kharpata-); bādhānā < bādhāna > pitcher with spout (vardhana-); kāsi < kāsi > line, under-lining (karṣikā); etc.

Absence of compensatory lengthening of < ā > to < ā >, after the loss of one of two following consonants, is a phonological puzzle, which is found in a number of words (apart from the cases noted above, where we have the question of stress) in Bengali, as well as in other NIA. languages like the other Māgadhān speeches, and Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, Rājasthāni and Gujarāti, and Marāṭhī. All these languages normally drop one consonant in a MIA. double consonant group, and lengthen the preceding vowel; or nasalise and lengthen the vowel, and in this way assimilate the nasal in a MIA. group of nasal + consonant. Thus, the normal development is along this line: < garva : gābā < gāba > vanu ; < adya : ṛaḍja, ṛaḍja > ; < sarpa : sāpa > ; etc. But cases like kūḍ < kācu > (kacvi); ḍal < khāḍ > apothecary’s mortar (khalla); bhak < thāk > be at stand-still, beside ḍak < thāk > (stabh-ka); ṣhak < chakṣ < chess-board (ṇaṭ-ka); ṣaṭ < nāṭha > nose-ring (nastā); MB. ḍaṭ < nāṭhā > beside NB. nāṭ < nāṭ < nāṭ(ḥ)ā > (naṣṭa); bāṭ < bāṭ > remain (cf. Bhājpuriyā < bār >, from < vaṭṭ, vart = vṛt >); lāṭ < lāṭhā > notice, see (lāṣ); ṛaṭi < ṛāti > a minute weight with the red guṇjā berry (raktikā); sābā < (sarva) > ; etc., appear irregular. Some of the
above instances can be explained as being due to the literary influence of ‘Prakrit’ in the Early NIA. period (e.g. थक «ङ्ख स » influenced by « थकक »), or as being forms borrowed from other NIA. (e.g., रति « रति » > Hind. « रत्न »), or the Hind. forms themselves being based on, or influenced by, Panjabi ones, Panjabi being a NIA. speech not showing simplification of double consonants with accompanying vowel length); or again, as in the case of the word सब « सबा » = « sabba, sava », there is in all likelihood the influence of the stress. Thus, « sabba » would mostly come in composition in MIA., in forms like « sabba-jaña, sabba-kala, sabba-desa, sabba-lo(k)a, sabba-manussa, sabba-mahārāja », etc., etc.; and in such compounds, the initial syllable would lack the stress in Common MIA., so that the word « sabba » could be shortened to « saba- » in compound forms like these even before the NIA. stage, and passed on to NIA. as « saba »,—a wide employ of the word as the head-word of plural-indicating compounds preventing a normal « *saba < sabba » from developing in NIA. The form « saba » is found in all Aryan India, from the Afghan frontier to Assam, and « *saba » is unknown: and the frequent use of « sabhā », also occurring as « sāmhā, sāmā », side by side with « sābā » all over the NIA. area, indicates the influence of the ts. « sabhā » assembly, mass, in making « sabba > saba » preserve the « sā- » and not change it to « sā- » in Early NIA. But still, a number of forms with « a » do present a difficulty: e.g. « vartatā > vaṭṭati > baṭṭai > bē ṭaṭe » for « *baṭē » (bē < baṭ > remain is a defective verb in Bengali: cf. bē < baṭe > pounds, crushes (as spices for cooking) = « vartayati, vaṭṭeti, baṭṭei »: can it be due to a sort of sense of relationship between the causative bāṭe < baṭe > with « a » and the neuter form, on the analogy of चले < caḷe > causes to move : चले < caḷe > walks, पड़े < pārē > falls etc. [for which see Morphology: ‘the Verb, Roots’]—that the « a » vowel was brought into bē < baṭe » for « *baṭē »?); लेख < laṅkha » (lakṣatā), etc. (Cf. J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 65).

« a » after MIA. < p-, b-, m- >, labial sounds, is found as « o » in Bengali, in पोहाल « pōhāla », cf. OB. « pōhāli » (pahā-illa-, prabhāta-); MB. पोहाळ « pōhāla, pōhāla », (pavāla, prabāla); MB. पों « pōn »
Monosyllabic words in NB. (Standard Colloquial) frequently prefer [o] for < -a- >: this tendency may have been very old in Bengali: e.g., বন < বাংলা > [bo:n] (vana); মন < মানি > [mon:] (manas); জন < জানি > [j6:n] (jana); থন < ধানি > [dha:n] (dhana). Generally these words are closed with a nasal, but we have রথ < রাণি > [ro:n], not [ro:n] (raṇa); cf. বল < বাঁধ > [bo:l] (bala), মাত < মাতি > [ma:t] (mata), etc.

(2) Initial < a- >, and < -a- > in Initial Syllables.

159. (i) OIA. < a > before a single consonant in an initial syllable has normally remained < a > in Bengali: e.g., আইল < আইল > (aīla + ila); আইস < আইস > (avīsa); আইল, আইল < আইল >, cf. আলুখালু < আলু-থালু > dishevelled (dikula); আইশ, আইশ < আইশ > আইশ > (asū); আইশ < আইশ > (kvātha); স্তর, নাথ > কাহা > (kāgā, kānā > (kaka); নাথ, নাথ > নাথ > (kācā); কান্ত > কান্ত > (kātā); গাঁ > (khā); গাঁ > (khātā); গাঁ > (khā); গাঁ > (grāma); গাঁ > (ghā) sore, blow (ghāta); গাঁ < ghānti > oil-mill (cf. < ghrānaka >, Siyadoni Inscription, Lalitpur, U. P., Ep. Ind. I, p. 169 ff.); হুর < হুর > ashes (ksāra); জাগ < জাগ > (*jagga, jagurti); জাড় < জাড় > (dēsi, jhāta); ঠাঁই > (sthāman); তা > (tāpa); তাল > (tāl); দাড়ি < দাড়ি > (daṭimba); দানের < dānā > (dānava); ধার < ধার > (dāvati); না < nā > expletive (nāma); না < nā > boat (nāva = nā); পা < pā > (pāda); পর্ল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālā); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pāl); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pālayati); পাল < পাল > (pাল); < mappati < māpyatē > is measured > measures [?]); রথ < রথ > shout (rāva); রথ, রথি < রথি > (rādhi); রথ < রথি > (rājikā); রথ < রথি > (rājan); রথিং < রথিং > (? rāja-putra; ? st. < rāja-dūta); MB. রথিং
< rāulā > (rāja-kula); ṁai < sāī > (svāmin); nāḍā < sārdī > (sāṭīkā); nāla < sāla > (śāla-); nāṭā < sāññāna > (śrāvāna); nāṇa < sāññalā > (śyāmāla); MB. ṅāc, ṅaṭ < ṣāṭ > (śāṭa); nāḍār < sāyārdī > (śāgara); nāhe, nāṭ < nāhe, nāṭe > (nā Hải, nāṭe); ḥāne < hāne > *strikā (hānayati); etc., etc.

In Late MIA., < ā > of OIA. before one consonant became weakened to < ā > through absence of stress: cases are found in OB., MB., and NB.: e.g., *ākṣa > (Caryā 50: ākāsa), *bhātāsa > (vāta-); *nāvāra > bāyārī > (vāta-); *sāpār < pāgārī > (prākāra); bhāna < bānārāsī > (vānastiya); ṛ̇ta > thālī > thālī > thālī > jāla (sthālikā); ṛ̇tkā > jārāk(h)ā > lattice (jālakkhā-, jālakṣa-, jāla-gavāṅka), cf. Hindi jā̇hārōkha >; MB. rājput < rājā-putā > (rājā-putra), NB. rājput < rājā-putā >; āmā < jāmāi > (jānāṭṛ) might have been *jāmāi > in Old Bengali, dialectally. Evidence of OB. and NB. forms, however, shows that the < ā > in long words also remained as < ā > (or was restored back from < ā > to < ā >) through initial stress, primary or secondary: e.g., ṛ̇k < bāṣā > < OB. bāsā-hara > (vāsa-grha); ṛ̇k < nāyērā > (jānāti-grha); OB. kāhara > (kārā-grha), etc. (see pp. 281, 282).

160. (ii) OIA. < ā > before two consonants.

The change was to < ā > in MIA., and this < ā > followed the fortunes of OIA < ā > > MIA. < ā > before double consonants in Bengali. E.g., ānā < ādā > (ādra-ka-); āmā, āvā < āmā, āvā > (āma, āmra); kāj < kājā > (kājja, kārya): MB. kāṭī < kāṭi > (kānti, kānti); kāṣa < kāṣa > (kānsa-, kānsya-); ṛ̃ka < jāru > cold (jāḍa, jāḍa); ṛ̃ka, ṛ̃kā < tāmā, tāmbā > (tāmba, tāmra-); ṛ̃ka < bāḡa > (bāggha, vyāghra); ṛ̃ka < bājē > (bajjai, vādyate); ṛ̃ka < bāṭa > (vārta); pāṇ < pāṇā > (*pāsā, pār̄va); bāmūn < bāmun > (bārmana, bārmana); ṛ̃ka < bhārā > (bhāṛa, bhāṛa); ṛ̃ka < māṅgē > asks (māṅgṛi, *māṅḡe = māṅgayati); ṛ̃ka, ṛ̃kā < māṣā, māṣā > (māṇsa, māṇsa); la < lāsā > (*lāśa, lāṣa); ṛ̃ka < sāthā > with, in company (sāṭtha, sāṛtha); ṛ̃ka < hāsā > (hāśa, hāṣya); etc.

Occurrence of OIA. < ā > < MIA. < ā > as < ā >, after loss of a consonant, is also found in OB.: e.g., kāpāsa (Caryā 50: kār̄pa), bākhāpa- (Caryā 37: vyākhyāna); ambāda (Sarvānanda: āmrāta), etc. In NB. we have < ā >: kāpāsa < kāpāṣa >, bākhāpa < bākhaṇa >, āmāra < āmāra >.
161. In connection with a nasal, Bengali <ा> in initial syllables, when followed by <ā> in the next syllable, has a tendency to be advanced from its ordinary back value of [a] to a frontal [ā], which becomes a frank [ā] or [æ], in both standard and dialectal Bengali. The colloquial of Calcutta is specially noticeable for this. E.g., কাকল [kākal, kēkal] spinal cord, waist (kanḍāla); কাটাল [kāṭal, kēṭal] jack fruit (kaṇṭāla); কাপায়ি [kāpi, kēpi] (kāpi, kēpi) rupee (taṇka-): cf. South-eastern Bengali টেটা <টেটাঃ > for [ṭāka]; পাকল [pakal, pēkal] a fish (paṇkāla); বাক [bāka, bēka] (baṇka, vakra); ভাটা [bhaṭa, bēṭa] a ball (*bhaṇṭa-); ছোটা [bākha, bēkha] couch-bracelet (saṇkha-); পাঁটাং [pānt, pēnt] friend (saṅga-); etc., etc. This change of [a] to [æ] is frequently indicated in spelling by c <े- > or j <-ya > (বেক, বেক < বেক, বেক). 

162. The difference in quality between <ा> and <ā>, which was existent from Late OIA. (as [a, o] and [æ, o]), and became further prominent in MB., when <ā> = [a, o] became [o], has been instrumental in keeping <ा> and <ā> distinct from each other in Bengali; and this distinction of <ā> from <ā> by quality enables us to form some idea of the <ā, a> in relation to each other in OB. But in the case of the <i> and <u> vowels, there has never been any difference—at any rate, any remarkable difference—between the qualities of their long and short forms. Length of vowels early became immaterial in Bengali, so that a historically long or short syllable no longer could retain its proper spelling when scribes were careless in their writing. In addition to these root causes, there was the influence of Sanskrit orthography in unsettling the proper indication of length in writing. Bengali spelling thus from OB. times has been most unsatisfactory in the matter of length for <i> and <u>, and is not at all a sure guide to the early pronunciation. For the expected *νιথি <diṭhi> (diṣṭhi, drṣṭi), *চীন <cīn> (cihna), *নিধির <niṭhūr> (niṣṭhura), *রূপ <dūkha> (dukkha, duṇkha) etc., we find দিশি <dīṭhi>, চিন <cīn>, নিধির <niṭhūr>, তির <tīn>, যুর <jūjhe>, উর <uttāre>. Words like <iṣṭa > ইষ্ট, ইষ্ট < ḫ, ḫ >, <bhitti > ভিত্তি, <ṣuṣka- > শুষ্কা
<śukhā>, etc., are not written with the long vowel—unlike the case of original <ā> under similar circumstances, for which we have normally <ā> in Bengali—because quantity does not matter at all in Bengali speech, and because the Sanskrit prototypes on which the spelling is mainly modelled have short vowels; cf. दीघि <dīghi> = (dīrghikā), ऋत्रा <sūtra> (sūtra-), where the long vowels are on the model of the Sanskrit prototypes. Maithili, Awadhi, Hindīstānī and Gujarātī, etc., are much more careful, and this carefulness is due to the very nature of their phonetic character in which length of vowels is an important thing.

Old spellings in MSS., and modern spelling and pronunciation both may ignore vowel length for <i> and <u>, but it may be surmised that in OB., and in Māg. Ap., the line of development of <i> <u> (as well as of <e, o>) was similar, as in the case of <ā, ā>: i.e., long <I, ū> occurred in the oldest Bengali before a simplified consonant group, although there was weakening of <I, ū> to <i, ū> through absence of stress.

In MB. and NB., the rules of Vowel Harmony modified [i, u] sounds to [e, o]: this is discussed later. There is a certain amount of interchange of [i, u] in root (i.e., initial) syllables in some dēśī and tīh. forms, for which see below, under 'Origin of the NB. Vowels: [i], [u].'

(3) Initial <ī-, i->, and <ī-, i-> in Initial Syllables.

163. (i) OIA. and MIA. <ī, i> in initial syllables, followed by one consonant, retained its quality in Bengali. Following the Bengali habit of length, monosyllables have the vowel long, and polysyllables short. The quantity is ignored in writing.

कि, की <ki, kī> (kim, kim); किन <kīnē> (kīnaī, kīnāṭī); किल <kilā> (kila); कित्ता <kitē> (kitē-); कीन <kīnā> (kīna); कीर <kīrā> (kīra); कित्ता <ktā> (ktā); MB. गिम <gimā, gīwā> (grīvā); गिल <gīlē> (gilati); गी <ghi> (ghia, ghṛta); गिन <ghinā> (ghiṇā, ghṛṇā); गी <gīnā> (gīna-); Chinese (cīna-); OB. चिरायत <cīrāyītā> (Sarvānanda), NB. चिरा, चिरा <cīra< (cira-), cīrātā, cīrētā> (kīrāta-tikta-); की <ji> (jīva); की <jhi> (dhītā, duhītā); MB. तिरहूट, तिरहूट > tiṁrī > tiṁrī (with three lumps for the pot) (trīrp-ikā); तिरहूट <tiṁrī> (trīrp + pipāsā); थिर <thīr> (sthīra);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

(ii) 1 of MIA. followed by two consonants  < 1, 1, 1 > in OIA.

ỉ�, इँत < इँत, इँत > (*iśa-, *iśha, iś(h)a = iśa-ka); MB. इँति < िठरा < (iechita-ila); ैदर < इदर (indura); इद्रा, इद्रा < इद्रा, इद्रा > masonry well (indrāgara-); *किष, कैंत *किष, कैंत > *kiṣću, kēći > earth-worm (cf. kiṣću-la-ka); चक < cakānā < fine, thin (cakana); चिन < chin (cina); चिल < cilā > (cilla); *चिंत < िठित < (cina); तिन < tin (tīni, trīni); MB. तीख, तीख, तीख < तिख, tīkkti, tīkkhā > (tīkṣa-); तिस < tisā > in ैद्रित < chāttisa etc. (triṣāt), restricted by the stks. तिरित < िठित < (tīni, trīni); MB. तीख, तीख, तीख < तिख, tīkkti, tīkkhā > (tīkṣa-); तिस < tisā > in ैद्रित < chāttisa etc. (triṣāt), restricted by the stks. तिरित < िठित < (tīni, trīni); MB. तीख, तीख, तीख < तिख, tīkkti, tīkkhā > (tīkṣa-); तिस < tisā > in ैद्रित < chāttisa etc. (triṣāt), restricted by the stks. तिरित < िठित < (tīni, trīni);
(4) ‘ū, ū > Initial, and in Initial Syllables.

164. (i) ‘ū, ū > followed by one consonant remain ‘u’ in NB, except where altered to ‘o’ by Vowel Harmony. The NB. ‘u’ is long in monosyllables. उपास < upaśa > sts. (upavāsa); MB. उर, उॆ < uē > (udēti); उनिस < uniśa > (una-vinśa); OB., MB. उन्नाम < uārī > adorned palace or pavilion, as in बार-उन्नाम, बारोन्नाम < bār-uārī, bārwārī > festivity in a pavilion erected by public subscription: cf. उन्नाम or वन्नाम, place-name in Dacca district (upkāra, -ika); उर, उरत < urutā, uratā > (*uṛu-vant- = ūru: cf. ūrv-asthi-vant- thigh and knee; or? ūru-asthi thigh-bone);

उत्तिचिया, उच चुरु; कुंयाक, कुच a fish, like the eel (kuśika); कुल < kul > (kula); MB. कुशा, कोल, कोला < kuśāra, kōśāra, kōśāra > (kumāra);

कुम < kuṃ > (kupa-); कुर, कुर < khura > (kṣura); औ < gu (= gū) > (gūtha); गुर < gu > (guvāka); चुं, कुह Qu, kuch < cuṣa > (cuṣati):

चुं < chūc > (suc); चुं, कुह < chūc, chōy > (MIA. chuvaï = spṛṣṭa); कुज < juā > (dujāta-); कुव, कुव < tūṣa, tūṣa > (tūṣa); तुम < tuṣtā > (*turanta: *tvar-ant-);

दुह侥幸 < dhūṣā > (dhruva-); दुह侥幸 (dhūṇāi, dhūṇōti); पुप < pūp > (pūtpā); पुप < pūre > burns (puṭati); पुप< pūranā > (purādana-); पुर < pūre > (pūrayati); पुप < phurē > (phuṭati); भुख < bhūkha > (bubhukṣa);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

(ii) OIA. *u, ū* before two consonants = MIA. *ū* > Bengali *u, ū*; *ūk* (ulkā); *ukār* (ulkā); *uχē* (ukkhāδāi, utkhātayati); *ugār* (udgārayati); *ūr* (ūneca, uceca-); *ūjāy* (ud-yāti); *uvād* (uvād); *tṝṣeśa, vaste* (?ud-jhāta); *udhē* (ut-sthā-); *ud̄̄̄r* (uḍḍēi, uḍḍayatē = uḍḍiyatā); *ud* (udrā); *ul* (uthād) > *overflow* (utsthala); *ūn* (ūṇā) (urnā); *ūnā* (ūnā); *ūnā* (ūnā) > *oven* (*uṇśaṇāpikā*); *ūnā* (ūnā); *ūbhā* (ubhā-, urdhva-); *umāy* (umāy) > *shimmers* (uśmāyatē); *ūllasē* (ūllasati); *kūk* (kūk(ū)rā) (kukkūta-); *kumār* (kumbha-kāra); *kumīr* (kumbhīra); *kūci* > *bristle, hard broom* (kureikā); *kūckī* > *kūckī* > *groin* (kuṇc-); *kus̄* (kus̄māṇḍa); *kūd* > *a flower* (kunda); *kūdē* > *jumps* (kurdati); *kūja* (kūja) (kubja-); *kūra* (kūra) (kulla = kṣudra + tāta); *kud* > *broken rice* (kṣudra); *guyārātō* (gurjara-trā, Beng. *< rastra*); *cumē* (cumbati); *cukā* > *mistake, fall* (cukka, eyut-kr); *cūnā* (cūnā); *jhunā* > *old, dried-up coco-nut* (? jūra-); *kua* > *ehutārā* (*sūtra-kāra = sūtra-dhāra*); OB. *kua* (Carvā 9) > *kua* > *chudha* > *ehutā* > *impurity, the touch of which is pollution* (? kṣudāha: infl. of *chu-touc*; *kua, kua* > *juhē* (yudhyatē); *tūtē* > *truitī* (truitī); *dumur* (udumbara); *dubē* > *sinks (dēsā buḍḍāī)*; *dud̄̄̄ra* > *seeks (dēsā dhanḍhaī)*; *tumi* (MIA. tumhē); *tutiya*, *tuτē* > *tutiya, tutē* > *tutiya, tutē* (*tūtthā-); *dūriya, dūriya, dūriya* > *quarrelsome* (*dundā-, dvandva-); *dudhā* (dugilā); *dūth(h)ura* (dhūstura-); *puτ* > *pūrī* (puṇḍra); *puṇḍra*; *Puṇḍra, Puṇḍra, OB. *pukhīrī* > *pukhur(i), pōkhiri* (puṣkariṇī, puṣkariṇī in the ‘Divyavādāna’); *puτ* > *puτ* (puchaī, puṭeṣṭi); *putā* > *putra*; MB. *puṇiṇa* > *puṇiṇa* (puṇiṇimā); *puṇ* > *puṇ* (pūrva); *phuτē* > *bursts* (spehityatē); *bujuhē* (budhyati); *burā* > *burā* (budhē-, vṛddha-); *bud* > *bud* (*bunu, bindu*); *mug* > *mug* (mudga); MB. *mudñā* > *ring* (mudrā); *muhā* > *muthā* (musta-); MB. *ktha*
MIA. ‘E, Ė, O, Ō’ IN INITIAL SYLLABLES

< ruṭḥa (ruṣṭa); ṣuṣka (ṣuṣka); ṣuṛ (ṣuṇḍa); ṣuṭḥa (ṣuṇṭhi); MB. šuṇ < ṣuṇḍ (ṣuṇya); etc., etc.

OIA. < i, I, u, ū > occurred as < ē, ō > in MIA., before two consonants: the reason for this lowering of the high vowels of OIA. is not clear (see Pischel, ‘Gramm. der Prakrit-sprachen, §§ 119, 122, 125). NIA. retains the < ē, ō > vowels in some words inherited from MIA. In Bengali, instances are bel < bēḷa (bēḷa, bilva); bōṭ < bēṭha (bēṭha, itthā); OB. bōṭ < benṭa (Caryā 33: = bāṭa?) (vōṭa, for *vinṭa = vṛnta); kōṭh < koṭhā (*koṭhā, cf. kūksi); gōṭh < gōṭhā (gōṭha, for guecha = *gṛṇa); bōṭ < chōḍa (*chōḍa, chidra); tōṭ < ṭōṭa (tōṭa, tintidal); mōr < mōṛa (mōṛa, mūṛa); MB. gōṭ < pōṭhā (pōṭha, pustaka); OB. gōṭh < pōṭhi (*pōṭhira, puśkara); MB. mōr < mōḷa (mōḷa, mūḷa); cf. also MB. bōṭ < kēṛa (kēṛa = kēṛa, kīḍa = kīḍā); OB. tābōla < tābōla (tambōla : tāmbulā).

(5) MIA. < ē, Ė; ō, Ō >.

165. MIA. < ē, Ė > and < ō, Ō > < OIA. < ē, Ė, ay > and < ō, ōu, av >, remain in Bengali, except where they are modified in post-Bengali times by Umlaut or Vowel-Harmony. From Early Middle Bengali times, it would seem that < ē > in initial syllables, with a low position, became the open < ē > = [ε]; this occurs in New Bengali as [ε] or as [æ]. It is possible that < ō > similarly tended to become the open < ō > = [ɔ], but in New Bengali this is not a noticeable feature, although in the Bengali of the extreme West this broad pronunciation is at times heard.

(i) OIA. < ē > before one consonant > MIA. < ē > Bengali < ē > [e, ë, æ]: e.g., aī < ē > this (ēa, ētad); gār < ēgārā (Late MIA. ēgārāha, for ēgāraha = OIA. ēkādaṣa): ēga > a Late MIA. sts. from ēka (eṣa, eṣa, eṣe); ēj < ēj (a late jvāra); kēry < kēry (flower bed (kēdārika)); kōṛ, kēra < kēṛ < kēhō (*kēvō, *kēvi, *kēpi = kāh api); kēṛ < kērya > ferry (kēpā); kē < kēi > thread wound round (kṣēpa); kēl < kēlā > (kēlā); cēl < cēla > [cryaka] (cēlāka); cēr < cērī > (cērikā); cē < cē (cēda); cēt, cēṭ < cēcē, cēcē > (*šeṣcayati, śēcayati); MB. cē < dē >
(dēha, dēva); ḍēor < dēor > [dēor] (dēvara); MB. dēya < dēyā > sky, cloud (dēva-); dēvaliya > dēwaliya > dēulē > pauper (dēval-kulika-); MB. dēharā < dēharā > (dēva-grha-); dēy < dēy > (*dēti = dāti, dadāti); *dēdāti > dēwāri > dēuri (cf. Skt. dēhāli); MB. dēvasi < dēvasi > priestess (dēval-vāsini); nēh > nēi < nēha > nei > (snēha); nēuchā < *nēuchā > (nēpathya-); pēčā < pēcha > (pēcaka); pēra < pēra > (pēraka); bhēla < bhēla > (*mheḍa-, *mēha-ḍa-, mēsa-); bhēla > bhēla > (bhēlaka); MB. rēha < rēha > (rēkhā); hēyāli < hēyāli > riddle (hēmālikā); sēti < sēti > a flower (sēvanti); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. < e > before two consonants > MIA. < e > before two consonants > Old Bengali < e > before single consonant = NB. < e >; [e, e, æ]. Also MIA. formations, sts. or dēsi, or otherwise, with < e > before two consonants.

Examples: ek < ekā > (MIA. sts. ekka); et < etā > (MIA. ēttia-); ēbe < ēbe > (MIA. ēmba-); ēkha < (h)ēkha > (MIA. ēkha-); ṇēkha < khēkha > (kṣētra); MB. gēkuṇā < gēruṇā > (MIA. *gēndu-); ēkha < jēkha > (jyēkha-tāta); ēkha < dēkha > (dēkka, drk-.); nēu < nēru > (dēsī lēṇḍa); nēt < nēṭā > fine cloth (nētra); MB. pēma < pēma > (pēmma, prēman); pēla < pēla > casts, throws down (pēllaï, prērayati); pēta < pēta > (dēsī pēṭta); bēta < bētā > son (bētta- < ? vētra-; cf. vaṇśa family); bēt < bētā > (vētra); bēr < bērā > (vē dhā, vēd̐ha, vēṛtha, vēṭa-); kha, kha < sējā > (sējja, sāyā); sēl < sēlā > (sēlla, sālā); sēṭ < sēṭā > (sēṭhis, sēṭṭhin); hēt < hēṭā > (hēṭṭha = ? *adhīṣṭāt; Sanskritisation, in the ‘Mahā-vastu,’ hēṭṭā); etc.

(iii) OIA. < āi > > MIA. < e, e > > Old Bengali < e > > NB. < e > [e, e, æ] also OIA. < ay- > > MIA. < e, e > > Bengali < ē >. ēkha < gēruṇā > (*gāruṇā); MB. čen < cēḵāna > (cāntanya); tē < tē > in compounds (tray-); tēl < tēlā > (tēlla, tālā); MB. bēj < bējā > (vādya); bēhāi, bēhāi < bēhāi, bēyāi > (vāivāhika); sēyāla < sēyāla > (sāivāla-); etc.

Dēsi words like čen < dēṣṭā > much (cf. MIA. dēṣṭi dahrā, Beng. dahrā deep), čēki < dēkāi > husking machine, čēdās < dēkās > a vegetable, ‘lady’s fingers,’ čēdāi < dēdāi > an ear-ornament, čēku < dēkāurā > belching, čēk < dēkā > a push, etc., are of uncertain origin.
(6) MIA. «ō, ō».

166. (i) OIA «ō» before one consonant remains in Bengali: e.g., MB. কোইল, কুইল < kōlā, kuilā > (kōkila-); কোল < kōl > (krōda); কোন < kōna >; কোল < kōla > (kōsā-); গোলাস < goalā > (gōpāla-); গোর < gōru > (gō-rūpa); গোসাই < gōsāi > (gōsvāmin); গোহ < ghorā > (ghōtā, dēṣī); জো < jō > opportunity, chance (yōga); জাতার < jāy > is supplied (yōgāyate); জোড়ে < tōre > (trōtayati); জোলে < tōle > (tōlayati); জোড়ে < thōre > (stōka-da-); জোলে < dōla > (dōla-); জোলে < pōla > (pōta-la-); পোঙ্গ < pōṣa >; জোড়ে < phōrā > (spōta-); MB. বো < mō > (mōha); বোরা < mōra > (mōca in Pali: dēśī); চীর < rō > (rōman, lōman); বোণ < rōy > (rōpayati); MB. বোঠে < šōhē > (śōbhatē); বোল < sōla > (śōḍaśa); বোলতা < sōtā > (śōnta-, sōtas); etc.

(ii) OIA. «ō» before two consonants > MIA. «ō» before two consonants > Bengali «ō»: e.g., MB. দৃঢ < othā > (ōttha, oṣtha); কোটাল < kōṭāla > (kōṭta-pāla, kōṣtha-pāla); কোত < kōt > কোল, non-Aryan people (MIA. kōlla); গোধ < khōpā > (MIA. khōmpa- < ?); গোড় < gōṛa > fleshy navel; a non-Aryan tribe (MIA. dēśī gōndā); গোত < gōṭa > (gōṣṭha); গোশ < gōṣṭa > (gōtra); গোল < ghōla > (MIA. ghōlla = ghūrṇa-?); গোক < gōphā > (*gōmpha, gumpha); গোল < gōphā > cave (*gōppha-, gumphā < ?); গোল < jōt > (yōktra); গোঠ < jōndā > shell fish (MIA. *jōnga-da-, dēśī, as in OB.); জেনাকি < jōnā-ki > moonlight, as in Assamese, = fire-fly in Bengali (jōnha-, jyōtna); টোপ < tōpā > helmet, bridegroom's tinsel crown (MIA. *tōppa-ra-: dēśī); টোপ < dōmā > (dōmba); গোল < dōla > drum (MIA. dhōlla-: dēśī); পোথা, পোথী > পোথা, pōthi > puthī > (pōttha < *pōstaka, Skt. pustaka, pustikā); পোঠ < bōrā > a snake (bōḍra-); পোঠ < jōt > (yōtra); পোঠ < lōdhā > (lōdhra); etc.

(iii) OIA. «āu-, āv-, āv-, uv-» before single and double consonants; also OIA. groups «am-, up-, etc.» «av-, uv-», Late MIA. «ō-, uv-» before single consonant, «ō» before two consonants > Bengali «ō»; e.g., তোরা < ojha > (ōjjha, uvajjhaa, upādhyāya); তোরা, তোর < or(h)aṇa > (ōḍhana, *ōvēḍhana, ava-vēṭana); তোর < oṣṭ > dew (*oṣṣa, avasāyā); তোরা, তোর্ণ < oṛiyā > uriyā (ōḍdiya-, aṇḍriya-); কোত, কোত < kōcā, kōcā > a North
**PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III**

*Bengal tribe ( réserve: cf. Sanskritisations kuvaca, kambōja );*  
*गोरा < gorā > (gūra-);*  
*चोर < cōr > (cūra);*  
*चोट < chōṭ > (MIA. chūvai = sprāśati-);*  
*छोट < chōṭ > ( *sōnca, sūnca);*  
*छोट < thōy > (thāve, sthāpayati);*  
*दना < dōnā > leaf-cup (damanaka-);*  
*दोबा < dōbā > (√ dhāv; -b-?);*  
*न, लो,*  
*लोह < nō, lō, lōhā > (lāuha-);*  
*दोन < sōnā > (suvarṇa-);*  
*सोह ग < sōhāg > husbands’ love (sāubhāgya);*  
*MB. लो, लुन > लोन < lōn, luna, nān (lānā);*  
*म, तो < mō, tō > (mama, tava);*  
*सोव < sōv > (suva, svapitī);*  
*पूर < pōr > ā (pāvaa, *pāḍga, pādaka); etc., etc.*

Cases of interchange between < i > and < ē > and between < u > and < ō >, which characterise Bengali phonology, are treated later, under Vowel Harmony.

[III] **VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.**

**(1) Vowels not in Contact in MIA.**

167. Elision of vowels in the middle of words through absence of stress occurs sporadically in the earlier forms of IA. Examples have been adduced at p. 278. Elision of whole syllables by haplology sometimes occur in OIA.:  
*e.g. Vedic * tuvīra(va)vān, ir(ad)hyāī, ma(dhu)-dughā, śṛṣa-(sa)kti >, etc. (Cf. Maedonell, ‘Vedic Grammar for Students,’ p. 19.) But a regular tendency to drop unstressed vowels in the interior of words manifested itself only as late as the 15th century in Bengali, as we have seen before (pp. 295 ff.). It would be seen that the preference which Bengali has developed for words of two syllables, or morae, is responsible for the loss of a medial vowel: this loss commonly takes place when a primitive word (primitive so far as Bengali is concerned) is extended by the addition of an < -ā > or < -ī > affix. This is the dimetric or bimoric (dvi-mātriika) principle operating on length in Bengali words (see ‘Bengali Phonetics,’ § 55).

Loss of vowels in the interior of words through lack of stress, in MB. and NB.:—

**(i) Loss of OIA., MIA. < -ā - >: e.g., अगाल < āgrālā < guards (argalayati); *आट्टो, आट्टिस < āṭṭir(is) > (aṣṭa-triṇsāt);*  
*द्व, < ṯran > veil (ava-vēṣāna-);*  
*विश < uniś > (una-viśati);*  
*म, रा, < kāra, kānn >
(karaṇa-), and similar cases of the verbal noun in «-ana-», like धरणा (dharaṇa-), कल्ला (kāḷā), कृत (kṛt), etc., etc.; काण्ड (kāṇḍa) लंब (laṅba), कलंक (kālā), काइ (kāi), cut (cut), etc.)

In the affix «-tavya-», giving the future (and verbal noun) affix of Bengali, -ইব- «-িব-», there is loss of «-া-»: কাবর- (kāribā) (kāribba, kariabba, *kariavāya, kartavāya); শিব- (diabā) (*diabba, *diavāya═dātavya); চিন্ন- (cālibā) (*cālibba, calitavya, cf. kartavya); শিব- (nība) (*niabba, nētavya), etc., etc. This loss of course, is of Vowels in Contact (q.v.), and is pre-Bengali. Also in the past and adjectival affix ইল-«-ইল-»: সুতি (suttāla) (*suttilla, sutta-illa, sutta-ila); পাকিল (pākila) (*pākilla, pakka-illa, pakka-ila); etc.

(ii) OIA., MIA. «-a-»: loss in Bengali, in Late MB. and NB.

times: অবড়- (ākhāra) (akṣa-vāتا-); অবর- (aṅgara); উচ্ছড়, উচ্ছড়- (ukhārē, ukhārāē) from উচ্ছড়, উচ্ছড়- (ukhārē, ukhārāē) (utkātayati); so উপড়, উপড়- (upārē, upārāē) (otpātayati); OB.
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

<kāhāra> (kāra-grha); কুমড়া < kumāra > (kuśmāgra-da-); Calcutta Bengali গভর < gauvara > = গোলায় < gaujāa > (gōpāla-); গান্ধীট < gauḍāra > (garbha-gāra-kāśṭha); বালাল < bāla > (vaṇgāla-); etc. Cf. Standard Colloquial forms of names, with implication of contempt, like রাক্ষসা < rakṣa > from < rākṣa > a personal name (= rakṣā-pāla-), গোপা < gopā > sts. (= gōpā-la-); etc.; and 'কোংকোং' < kōjāācā > = কোং যাইতেছ < kōthā jáitechā > where are you going?, কোংকোং 'kōttēkē' = কোং ধাকিয়া < kōthā thākiyā > from where? etc., etc.

Unstressed original < -a- > and < -a- > -a-, when flanked before or after, or on both sides, by a high vowel (preferably an < i >), are changed to < -u- > in Late MB. and NB. The intermediate stage of this change was an [o] sound: [ o > o > u ]. This is due to Vowel Harmony which characterises Bengali phonology; see next chapter.

(iii) OIA., MIA. < -i-, -i- >. Between consonants, the < i > vowel in the interior of a word in Bengali is reduced to < ā >, as it is found in MB. and NB. orthography, and it is not dropped in NB. Possibly in Late MB. the elision of the < i > vowel characterised the pronunciation; although the orthography, by not using the virāma in the place of the elided or quiescent < i >, suggests the presence of, and it seems, even helped to bring in, an < ā = ā > pronunciation. Examples: কুটিনী < kutinī > bawad (kutṣinī); কন্তুর < kanta > (khanitra-); বরীল < ghār(ā)ni >, OB. < gharinī > (ghṛinī); চাদনী, চাদনী < cādini < cādinī > moonlight (*candrīnīa); পার্থ < pārakhā >, পার্থ < pārākhā > (parikśā, pariksā); পালী < pāli < pālīa, pāhālā, pāhila > (pahilla, pratha-ila-); পালিকা < pālīka > from MB. পালিকা < pārē > from MB. পালিকা < pārē >, পালিকা < pārē >, পারিহী < (pāriha, paridhiyatā); পারী < pārī > from MB. পারী, পারী < pāri, pārā >, OB. < paḍīyēṣi > (prativēsin); পারী < pārāṣe > serves food, OB. < pārāṣeṣa > (pārivēṣayati; cf. Hindī prōsai); পারী < pārāṣe > watery (pāni, pānya-); পিপ্পুর < pīpur > MB. পিপূর্ণা < pīpurā >, OB. < pimpiṭā > (also < pimaḍa >), as in Sarvananda (cf. Skt. pipiṭkā)

বড়ী < bār(ā)si > hook (baḍiśa-); মিসুর < minṣa > fellow, man (in contempt) < *minisā, munisā >, cf. *munisā < munisā > day-labourer (Aṣōkan Prakrit munisa = manusya); সারা, সরিয়া < sārā, sārisā [jorīja] (sarisa-, sarṣapa-); sts. form like পেটনী < pētnī > (prētini); colloquial forms of names,
contemptuous, like বিপনে, রস্কে, ফুটকে < bipnê, raskê, phâtkê > etc. (vipina + iya, saphāti + iya, rasika + iya); etc., etc.

In NB. compounds also: চিরু-জাতী < cirun-dâti > comb-toothed from চিরুন < cirun > (=*cirâwan) comb; পান-ফল < pān- phâl > for পান-ফল < pān-phâla > water chestnut; পান-কাঁড়া < pān-kârî > a water-bird (pānî + kârî, cf. kukuḍâ, kukuṭa-); পাখ-মার < pâkh-mâr > a bird-killer (pâkhî + mâra-); গাড়ান < gâr-ān, gârānâ > cab-man (gârî + wânî), etc.; সে-দিনে < se-dîne > on that day > colloquially 'সেদিনে' [jîde], etc. Intervocal < -i-, after < -â-, -â- >, is the most common Bengali vowel to have been dropped in the development of NB. from MB. The vowel < i > wherever possible underwent epenthesis in MB.; and the epenthetic < i > was weakened and dropped in West Bengali, altering the quality of the contiguous vowels, although this epenthetic < i >, full or weakened, still remains in East and North Bengali. (See under 'Epenthesis'.)

There is loss of < -i- > in the formation of the past and adjectives base-ইল < -ilâ > of Bengali: and this loss is pre-Bengali: e.g., চাঁল < cālilâ > (*calilla-, *calia-illa, calita-ila-); আবিন < anilâ > (*anilla-, cf. Ardha- māgadhī aniliya; *auâ-illa, ânîta-ila-); রাখিল < rakhilâ > (rakkhilla-, rakkhi-illa, rakṣita-ila); etc., etc. (See later, 'Vowels in Contact'.)

(iv) OIA. and MIA. < -ū-, -ū-. Between consonants, this vowel behaved like < i > in Bengali—although the < â > pronunciation of < -u- > is not so common. Examples: আঁটি < ântî > ring (âgusṭha-); ভালী < âkā > pole-hook for gathering fruit (âkukṣikâ); উচ-কাপাল < uc-kâpâl > high browed (term of abuse among women), cf. উচু < ucu > high; কুকুড়ি < kükûdi > (kukkuṭa-); কুঠুরী, কুর্মিং < kûrmî, kûrmî > a caste (kuṭumbin); ঠাকরন < thâkran > honoured lady (MIA. *ṭhakkurânt); বাবল < bâblâ > acacia (barbula-); MB. নির্গু < nihur > return (ni-gît) is found as নির্গু < nihur >; similarly, বাহর, বাহর < bāhur-, bāhar > return (vi-â-ghuit); বিজলী < bij(â)li > from বিজলী < bijlî > (vijju, vidyut-); familiar forms of names, like 'ওলে' [oltô] for ওতুল, ওতুল-ও < âtulî + uâ >, etc. Cases of loss of < -u- >, however, are not so common as that of < i >.

Through epenthesis also < -u- > is lost. In Late MB., and in most Bengali dialects, this epenthetic < -u- > became < i >, and fell together with it.
(v) MIA. -ē- , from various sources in OIA., is rarely lost in early Bengali. It is weakened to -i- in some cases, when followed by -i- in the next syllable, and to -ā-. E.g., OIA. ākhēṭika ( < ?) = OB. āhēṛī hunter; MIA. āmēhi, tumhēhi > Bengal āmē, tumī; OIA. pratihēṣi > MIA. *padivēṣi > OB. padveśī *padavēṣi in MS. = *pariḍēṣi > MB. pariśi > NB. pariśi; OIA. parivēṣayati > Late MIA. *parivēṣéi, -āi > OB. *parivēṣai, *parivēsaī > MB. *parīsē, parīse > MB. *parīsē, *parīsē > NB. parīsē; OB. bahēṇēc > NB. bācē < a fruit; OIA. bahēṭaka (cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' 115) > MIA. baheḍaa > OB. baheḍā, bahaḍā (Sarvananda) > MB. bahāṛa; OIA. bāyṛa [boṛṛā]; MIA. kāṛavėlla, kāravėllā > Late MIA. karavėlla > MB. karēla, karēla kār(a)lā > a vegetable; sts. sand a > OB., MB. *sandaha > (sandēhā); etc. Cf. Bengali ādhāla adhāla a half piece, Hindōstānī adhēlā .

The MIA. form in -ē- for the causative is lost to Bengali, having followed the simple verb form: OIA. cālayati > Late MIA. cālēi > cālai > Beng. cālē; MIA. kārāpaya = kārayati > Late MIA. kāravṛ, karavai > B. karav kārē > etc.

In NB., following the bimoric principle, -ē- is commonly dropped in familiar forms of names, like 'Varānḍa- > bāren bāren; bārnā, Gaṇeṣa- : gauṣa, gauṣā, Narēsa- : narūsha, narāsha, etc.

(vi) MIA. -ē-, -ē- , from various sources in Bengali. MIA. tambōla > NB. tāmī lī (tāmbulika); Alunī < Alunī ālunī *ālōnī , occasionally álōnī (*alōñja, alavanika); NB. dāmṛa, cf. OB. dāmbōḍa (Sarvananda) (damya-); pārōl, pārōl, pārōl pāṛōlā pāṛōlā (patōla-); etc. Cf. NB. gāmcha < gā gā + močā towel, lit. body-wiper.

Like -ā-, -ē- -ā- of Bengali flanked by high vowels, -o- in the interior of a word becomes -u-: this is treated under Vowel Harmony.

168. Interior vowels remain in Bengali when they occur (through loss of original MIA. or OB. final vowel) in the last syllable of the word in NB., and are closed by a consonant.
RETENTION OF ' -ā -' 335

(i) -ā -: आचल (ācalā) (aṅcala); अशेख, अशेख (āśāthā, āśāthā) (asvattha); औजल (ujālā) (ujjvala); कादन (kādānā) (krandana); केभु, केभु (kēthā, kēthā) (kahatā, kāivarta); गाड़ल (gāḍḍālā) (gaḍḍala); धार, धार (ghārālā, ghārālā) (ghāta-la); चर (cārā) (caraṇa); चाम, चिंग (chām, ching) (chādana); चाम (chāmā) (*chandana); चीत (chītā) (jivana); ताम (tāmā) (sthag); तातल (tātalā) (tapta-la); देव, देव (devarā, devarā) (dēvara); नाय (nayā) (nāgara); निय (niyā) (nigaṇa); नेच (nechā) (nēcchā, nēcchā); पाजर (pājāra) (pājara); पिच (pīchā) (pīcha-la); तित (tītalā) (pītalā-pītā-la); फौर (phūrā) (sphūtana); भाश (bādhanā) (bandhana); लाल (lālā) (lālasā); शाब (śābālā) (śarvalā); साप, साप (sāyā, sāyā) (sāgara); हान, हान (hānā) (bhavana) (sahana); etc., etc.

In a few words, -ā - occurs as -i- : the reason of this change is not clear: अन (ān (g)ānā), besides अन (ān (g)ānā) (āngana); काह (kāhā) (*kačhiwa, *kačchiva, *kaśīpa < kaśyapa > kačchapa); चातिम (chātim), MB. चातिम (chātim), MB. चातिम (chātimā) (chattavaṇṇa, chattivaṇṇa [Vararuci, II, 41] sapta-parṇa); OB. पुक्ता (puṇkara, puṣkariṇi, also puṣkariṇi, as in the 'Divyāvādāna'); कुड़ (kūḍ) (phārī (g)ā) (grass-hopper) (MIA. phāṛīṇa, *paṭiṇga, paṭaṇa); etc.

In the present participle affix -anta- < -a, -ita (ita), ite- we have a regular change of -a- to -i- in Bengali: e.g., चित (cālit) (calenta, calanta); गॉला (jāit) (jāenta, jāenta-yant); खाल (khaśt) (khāenta, khāanta, khādant); Turt (turant, *turtant, *turtant), etc. It is not unlikely that here there is the influence of the past and future bases in -il-, -ib-. The 3rd persons plural affix -anti became in MB. एन (entā), now एन (enā) in NB. करेन (kārenta) < करेन्त (kārentā) (karanti, kurvanti): it is a case of Umlaut in Early MB. Change of -a- to -o- through influence of a -w- glide, is found in a few instances given above. This, and cases of change of -a- to -u- from this -o- through influence of a high vowel -i, u- in the word, are treated under Vowel Harmony: see later. -ā-
becomes « e » in Bengali through contact with the « ý » glide: a few examples can be found above.

In certain cases, « -ा- » occurs as « -ा- », both before one consonant and two consonants of MIA.: e.g., करात् « kārāṭa » (MIA. « kara-vatta », OIA. « kara-patra »); cf. Marāṭhi, Gujarāti « karvat », Hindi, « karant, karōt »); छड़ह « cārāi » sparrow, beside छड़ « *cārui », छड़ « *cārāi » (caṭaka, *caṭakikā); MB. नयान « nāyaṇ » (nayana); MB. बयान « bayān » (bāyāna, vadana); चब « sāyā » (sakala); MB. पारा, पाद « pārā(hā) » (paṭaha). Instances are not very many.

(ii) « -ा », = MIA. « -ā, -ā- »: अनाज « āṇāj » (annājja, annāyda); OB. « ācāya » (ācāyya, ācārya); उज्ज « ujāč » (ud-yāti); एगार « ēgārā » (ekādaśa); छड़ह, छड़ « kārāi, kārā » (kaṭāha); केरानी « keśā » (kēśākā); काप « kāpās » (karpāsa); गोहल « gōhāl » (gōsālā); गोहल « gōhāl » (gōpāla-); छिड़ल « cārāl » (caṇāla); चित्र « cārāl » (caṇāla); देश « dē-dhānī » (dēva-dhānya); भोह « nēhāi » anvil (*nīdhāpikā); MB. भोहल « nīhāl » (nihālayati); MB. नासार « nīsār » music (niṣāvā); MB. निसार « niśār » (niṣāśa); पाली « pācāl » a kind of verse composition (paṇcālikā); परम्पर « pāyāsthān » (pada-sthāna); भोल « bāg(g)āl » (vāngkāla); बाल « bākhān » (vākhānya); बोर « bērāl » (viḍāla); बोर « bērāl » (viḍāla); बोर « bērāl » (viḍāla); MB. भोह « mēhār » (*mayālaya, mahālaya; mahāgāra ?); मोह « māsān » (maśāna); मोह « māsān » (maśāna); मोह « jānā » (yāma, yamānika); सत « sātārā » (santāra); तिथिन « sīthān » (śiras-sthāna); तिथिन « sīyāl » (śīgāla); तिथिन « sōhāl » (śābāgya); तिथिन « sūhāl » (śītalā); etc., etc.

(iii) OIA « -i-, -i- »; MB. अशिन « āśīn » (āśvina); अश्वि, अशिन « āthira, āthira » (asthira); अशिन « āshā » (āshā); अलीप « ālipān » decorative designs painted on the floor with rice-paste (ālimpana); अशिन « āthira » (āthira); कांच « kāhina » (*kathinikā); कुमृर « kumāra » (kumbhīra); MB. कप « kāpār » (karnīkāra); गोहल « gōhāl » (garbhīla); गोहल, गोहल « gōh(ī)l » (garbhīni); चरिर « cāris » (catvāriśat); तित « tān » in the kānas « bāritis » etc., OB. « bartā » (-triśat); गोहल « jāmīr » (jambira); गोहल « dāhinā » (dakṣiṇa); गोहल « dāhinā » (dakṣiṇa);
"-U-, -Ü-, -E-, -Ö-
IN MEDIAL SYLLABLES

*dārīmaṅ*, डालिम < dālimaṅ > (dālimba); नातिन < nātin > (*naprint*); पाटिल < pāḷi > (prēira); MB. परेहार < pāřehār > (pratikṣaka); बहिर, 
बोहित, बूहित < bāhīta, bō-, bu- > (vahitra) (see p. 319, bottom); MB. बाहिरजार < 
bānjījāra > (vānījya-kāra); बाहिर, बेबन < bāniyā, bēnē > (vānīja-); बाहिर < 
bāhir > (bāhira, bahir); MB. मदिर < mādirā > (mandira); हरिण < hāriṇ > 
(hariṇa); हरियाल < hāriyāla > (hārita, harit-āla); etc., etc. Cf. also MB. 
-ि- < i- > in passive forms, from MIA. -ि-: करिरें < kāriyē > (kariai, 
kiyate); काटें < kātiyē > (kaṭṭiai, kṣtyate); देखिए < dēkhiē > (dekhiāi, 
*dṛksyatē = dṛṣyatē*); etc.

(iv) OIA. -ु-, -ू-, < अकुरी > (aṅkuśa-); अकुर < aṅkur > 
(aṅkura); इघर < idura > (indura); MB. कापुर < kāpurā > (karpūra); 
कुकुर < kukura > (kukkura); खाजुर, खेजुर < khājurā, khējurā > 
(kharjura); 
गार्द < gārdu > (garuda); चोधुर < caudhura > a title 
(eaturdhurika); जारुल < jāru l > (jatula); MB. तारुल < tārula > (tandula); MB. दादुर < 
dādura > (dardura); दोवचु < dochut > two pieces of cloth, dhōti and chāda 
(dvisūtra); MB. पाहुन < pāhuna > (prāghura); निटुर < niṭhura > 
(niṣṭhura); 
निजुर < niṣjur > (niṣpta); बाहुर < bāhuri > (vadbuṭ); वाष्पुर < bādhuli 
(bandhuka-); भारु < bhāsurā > (bhrāṭṛ + śvasura); मालु < mālūṣā 
(manusa); माउर < māur > < महुर < māhuri > (madhurikā); MB. राशु < 
rāshu > (raktula); रावत < rāvat > (rāja-putra); शारु < sāru > 
(svasrū + ṭ-); शशु < sidura > (sindura); MB. शापुर < sāpurā > (samputa-); 
हिंसू < hin(g)ula > (hin culpa); नेउर < neur > (nūpura); etc.

(v) MIA. -ॊ-, from various sources in OIA. (ॊॊ, ॊॊ, etc.): एक < 
-ॊ- genitive affix (kēra < MIA. *kāira < karyā); ओवेल, ओवेल < ṛdhē, 
āḍhē > plentiful (*āḏhā-ēlla, āḍhya + ila); OB. < ahēr > hunter (ākhētika); 
MB. उडेश < udēśa > (uddēsa); OB. < uēkha > MIA. *upēkha 
(upperka); गाँव < gānēṣa >; OB. < sābeāna > (Caryā 26: samvedana); etc.

(vi) MIA. -ॊ-, from various sources in OIA. -ॊ-, occurs as -ॊ- 
through Vowel Harmony. *ākōṛ > (aṅkōṛ); कोही < *kōhī 
< kānu < *kānuhi > (kaphōni); MB. अमोल < āmola >, NB. अमुल < 
āmula > (aṁolla, amūlya); MB. बिचो < bichōhā > (vikṣobha); MB. हिलो < 
hilōla > (hillōla); OB. < kiñeōhi > (Sārvananda), NB. कोही, कोही < kōhī, kōhī > 
earth-worm (cf. kiñeulikā); अमोल < sājō > arm (raṁyōga-); etc.

43
(2) Vowels in Contact.

169. OIA., at least in prose, did not allow hiatus, and vowel groups except the diphthongs \( \dddot{a}i, \dddot{a}u \) were unknown to it. In MIA. of the Transitional, Second and Third periods, with the loss of the single intervocal stops, OIA. separated vowels became MIA. vowels in contact (udvṛtta, uddhṛtva or ṣeṣa vowels: cf. Pischel, §164), except where a glide sound, \( \dddot{y} \) or \( \dddot{w} \), intervened. In Late MIA. (Apabhraṅśa) and Early NIA., there was a threefold treatment of the OIA. vowels brought into entire or partial contact (i.e. contact with intervening \( \dddot{y}, \dddot{w} \) glide) by the elision of stops. (Cf. J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ § 53 ff.) The three kinds of treatment were—

[a] the retention of the original OIA. vowels as separate vowels, by inserting a euphonic \( \dddot{y} \) or \( \dddot{w} \);

[b] the udvṛtta vowels were turned into diphthongs;

[c] they were contracted into a single vowel.

[a] Insertion of Euphonic Glides.

170. Insertion of glides was brought in (at least in some dialects like Ardha-māgadhi, to judge from the \( \dddot{y}a-śrutā \) in spelling) at a period when the spirant pronunciation of the original intervocal stops was dying out, but was not entirely dead. (See before, pp. 85, 252.) At that stage, when its memory was not lost, there was a consciousness in the speaker that there was a consonant between the vowels, even when it existed no more; and the time taken up by the original stop, or its later spirant modification, in pronouncing the whole word, was now utilised in passing from one vowel to another. This sort of deliberation, so to say, between the resultant detached vowels, when the tongue position changed from one vowel to another, resulted as a matter of course in the production of intermediate vocalic sounds, or glides. In a rapid passing from one vowel to another, the glides would not be audible; but during the Transitional and Second MIA. stages, the effect of the historical presence of the old intervening stop was still in force in the IA. speech, and the glides were quite audible
sounds, taking the place of the original consonants. The glides were very short vowels; and whether they tended to be a front or back sound depended on the character of the preceding or following original vowels. In this matter, there was no reference to OIA. and Early MIA.: \(-p-\) \(-v-\) becoming \(-w-\), and then \(-y-\), through influence of preceding vowel; also an original \(v\): e.g., \(d\dot{\text{ipa}}\) \(\text{diva}\) \(\text{diwa}\) \(\text{NIA. diyā}\); \(\text{āviṣati}\) \(\text{āviśaĩ}\) \(\text{NIA. āyiśē}\) (see p. 123). In the Transitional MIA. stage, and also in the Second MIA. stage, there was undoubtedly some difficulty felt in representing the glides when they were heard. The letters \(v\) and \(u\) could not very well be used, since at that time they had spirant values \([\tilde{g}, \dot{r}]\) and \([v, v]\). The \(\text{yā-śruti}\) in inscriptive Prakrit of the Transitional MIA. stage is in all likelihood for a spirant pronunciation, which was traditionally carried on in the later Jaina Ardhama-gadhi orthography (see pp. 83-85). The use of \(u, v\) on a large scale for the vocalic glides could come in only in the Second and Late MIA. stages, after the complete passing away from the Aryan speech of the spirant articulation of stops and of the original semi-vowels; for then only could \(u, v\) be free to represent the semi-vowel sounds of \(-y, v-\) once more. Second MIA. (‘Prakrit’ and Apabhraṣṭa) orthography normally does not indicate the glides, although they certainly occurred between the vowels, as can be seen from NIA. pronunciation and spelling, and phonology. Here the old tradition was strong in the orthography. The orthography with \(-y-,\) favoured by the Jainas, seems to have some influence. The use of \(u, v\) for the glide sounds seems to have gained in favour from the Apabhraṣṭa stage, and in the Early NIA. period: but usage differs in the different NIA. languages; and spelling is a very capricious thing in the Indian literary languages based on the vernaculars. Typical examples of NIA. glides can be given from Western Hindi: OIA. \(\text{sūkara}\) \(\text{MIA. sūgara, sūgara, sū(\text{w})ara}\) \(\text{Hindi sūcrap, sūrap, sūwar}\); OIA. \(\text{dīpā}\) \(\text{MIA. dība, dīha, di(\text{w/y})a}\) \(\text{Hindi dība, dīya}\); OIA. \(\text{kātara}\) \(\text{MIA. kādara, kādara, kā(\text{y})ara}\) \(\text{Hindi kāṣṭar, kāṣṭar}\); OIA. \(\text{rājan, rāja}\) \(\text{MIA. rāja, [rāja], rā(\text{y/w})a}\) \(\text{Hindi rānap (rānap) rāy (rāw)}\); OIA. \(\text{sūcikā}\) \(\text{MIA. sūjīga, sūjīgā}\)
sū(y)i(y)a → Hindi सूँ इ = *sūyī or *sūyō [su:yi:] or [su:yi:] ; OIA.  
< bāḍa → MIA. < bāḍa, bhē(ə) → Old Hindi बध < bhēwa ; etc.

Forms with the glides were also inherited by OB from the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. But as seen from the Early MB. of the ŚKK., they were mostly diphthongised, or contracted, by the beginning or middle of the 14th century at the latest. This is treated in the next two sections. The glide sounds in Bengali were, normally, the half close vowels [ə, ɔ] : see pp. 257, 259, 269. They were represented by ब (y = ə), ब (w = ɔ) in Old Bengali, and Pre-Bengali as well; and frequently they were unrepresented in orthography : e.g., OB. < bādiya > (Sarvāṇanda) = NB.  
बादिया, बेर बादिया, bāḍa > snake-charmer ; maha, mahu > (ibid.) for *mabhā, mahuwa = NB. महा महु (madhuka-) ;  
< piwa > (Caryā 6), cf. MB.  
पिया (pia, pibati) ; < avanagava > (Caryā 7 : āgama-gama-) ;  
< niyāḍa > (Caryā 5), ni Macedonia (Caryā 7) ;  
< dōy (= dey(?)) > riming with ho (hō, hō) (Caryā 17) ;  
< chēva, bhēva > (Caryā 45) (chēva, bhēva = chēda bhēda) ; etc. The  
use of ब for the < w > glide, however, quickly became obsolete in  
Bengali writing. ब was used for the sound of b, initially or in the  
interior of words ; ब was used for j ; and ब y was left free for one  
of the glide sounds. Instead of devising a new letter exclusively for the  
< w > glide, as Assamese, and Maithili, and Kaithi, did (see p. 226),  
Middle Bengali either left unnoticed the < w > glide, the same thing that  
Oriya did, or employed the letter ब < y > . It seems that a confusion  
between ब and ब as letters for the intervocal < y, w > glides occurred in  
OB. orthography itself: बवेड़ि (Caryā 33), for instance, stands for  
< *bāyiṣi > whence MB.  
बवेड़ि, बविस < aisi, aisi (= -si) > (aishāmi) :  
cf. the old Tibetan transcription < ayiṣa > (p. 123, ante). The use of  
the letter ब = ब < y > for the < w > glide, as much as for the proper < y >,  
is of extremely common occurrence in MB. and NB.; e.g. अभय, अभय  
< āyārā, ārā = *āvarā > , NB. अर < ārā >, cf. Assamese < āru < *ārā >  
and (avara, apar); MB. कार < tāruvarā = tāruvarā > (ŚKK. : = taru-vara);  
साधु = साधु < sāthūya, sāthu = sāthuwa > companion, NB.  
সাথা < sāthā, sātha > (sāth + -a : sārtha-) ;  
হুন = হুন < dhūya, dhūna =
THE LETTERS ॐ, ॐ, ॐ FOR THE INTERVOCAL GLIDE 341

dhūwa ≈ refrain (dhrūva-); mōṣa = mōṣa « mōṣa, mōṣ = mōṣa» (mōdaka-); etc. In later Middle Bengali, the letter ॐ « ॐ » was often used: e.g. ha, ha, ha, ha = ha, ha, ha, ha = ha, ha = being, been; dha, dha, dha, dha = dha, dha = eating, eaten. Bengali orthography in Late MB. and NB. times looked upon with disfavour the juxta position of vowels, as Sanskrit did not allow it: hence spellings like ।ु, ।ा, ।ो, ।ा; खा, ।ां, ।ां where the vowel ॐ « ॐ » was treated like a consonant, with the ः vowel added to it. The use of ॐ (ॐ) on a large scale as a letter avoiding hiatus was thus fully established in the standard form of Bengali, from Late MB. times: thus, ।ु, ।ा, ।ो, ।ा. Further ॐ (ॐ) had become a colourless letter, a mere vowel-carrier, in MB. It is thus we have the establishment of the group হ্যু « হ্যু » for the simple sound of « ॐ » before ॐ, ॐ in NB. In Late MB. and NB., after intervocal ॐ « ॐ-» had become quiescent, a vowel glide came in between two vowels, but the ॐ continued to be written; and the letter ॐ « ॐ » came to be used occasionally to indicate the glide sounds in other words, where it historically ought not to come. Occasionally this resulted in a « ॐ- » pronunciation being established: thus, Bengali बां (बां) « baḥānna », also pronounced « baḥānna » (dvāpañcāsat), but Oriya « baḥānna », Maithili, W. Hindi, Gujarāti « bāwan », Marāṭhi « bāvannā », Panjābi « bawānjāh »; बंह (बंह) « Bihula, Bēhula », for बंह « Bi(ψ/γ)ulā » = Skt. विपुला « Vipula », the name of the heroine of the Manasa legend.

In ordinary NB. pronunciation, there is not much of a deliberation, or slow enunciation, and the « y, ॐ » glide is not ordinarily an audible sound, except between low vowels (e, o, ò, ò). There has been thus a tendency towards diphthongisation and contraction,—words like MB. शिहाल « sī-ya-la » being reduced to जिय, जिय, and शेल, शाल [ʃi:l, ʃi:l], and सार, सार « sā-ya-ra, sā-ya-ra » [ʃaːr, ʃaːr] to सारे [ʃaːr, ʃaːr] or to [ʃaːr, ʃaːr], and युक्त « sū-ya-ra » [ʃuːr] to शुय, शेर [ʃuːr, ʃeːːr], etc. (NB. may be said, however, to prefer the « y » = [ʊ] glide). Thus vowels which were detached from each other in OB., and in Early MB., by the glide sounds representing the old stops of OIA., have become vowels in contact in Late MB., suffering from loss of glide, and have become
diphthongs in NB. Only in final syllables, in final positions in some archaic forms, and in the altered quality of the connected vowels (as well as in slow and deliberate pronunciation), that traces of the Late MIA. glides are found in Bengali. The original OIA. * -v- has fallen together with the glides, frequently altering its character to *-y- from *-w-, as noted before.

(i) *-y- glide in Bengali:

केकारी * केदार (kēdārika); केश * केश (kēshaka), cf. केशव * केशव, also in Hindi, and in Marāṭhī; खेत * khēत (kēpā); MB. दिशरी * bītālī, NB. Standard Coll. दिवली < biūlī < *bīlī, *biūlī > cleaned pulse (vida-līta); हायत * chāyāt (chāa-da, chāyā); जीव * jīve (jivāti); देश * déśa-cloud (dēva); MB. बाय * bāy (vāta); माय * māy (mātā); राय * rāy (rāja)—an early borrowing from North India? cf. Māgadhī Pkt. लाजा; सान * sānā (sāgara); MB. कुळ * kūlā; NB. कूल * kūlā (kōkila); पीर * pīrī, NB. पारी * pyāri = [pāri] (priya-kārikā); MB. हिया * hiyā (hīa, hṛdaya); खेत * khāyār (khudira); MB. उप * uyē-unwe? (udēti); बायन * bāyanā (vadana); चाय * roy < rōwe (rōpayati); कूल * kōlā, also diphthongised to कूल | kālā, < *kaūlā > a black cow or heifer (kapila); बाय * bāyī < *bāyīsa > (dvēvinā); MB. अय * aicē < *āyica > a surname (āditya); etc.

(ii) *-w- glide in Bengali, commonly written in: केशव * kēswā < *kēswā (kēswa-); मोव * mōvā (mōvaka); चाव * chāvā (chāvā); सत * sat for छाव * chāvā = Skt. chāvā (chāvā); धुव * dhūvā (dhrūva); कुव * kūvā (kūpa); द्वुव * dvūvā (dhu-vā); चाव * chāvā (chāvā); बाव * bāv < OB. *bāwa > (vāta); MB. माओ < māo < OB. *māwa > (mātā); MB. शाओ, शाओ < *bāo, *śāo (śāpa); also अउल * āula < *āula (ākula); बौल * bāula < *bāwula (vātula); राउं < rāuntā < *rāuntā (rāja-putra); MB. माउल * maulānī < *māwulānī (mātu-lānī); etc., etc.

[b] Diphthongisation of Vowels in Contact.

171. Diphthongisation and contraction of contact-vowels went hand in hand in the few cases where they are found in the earlier stages
of MIA., before the wholesale dropping of intervocal stops. This diphthongisation, of course, is of vowels of different quality, and not the simple assimilation of similar vowels. As early as the 3rd century B.C., we have in the Aśoka inscriptions forms like «thairā» (sthavira), «traidasa» (trayōdaśa), «mōra < *maura, *maura» (mayūra) (Girnar), and «tēdana» (trayōdaśa), «ujē» (ujjayinī) etc. (Dhauli). These changes, however, are of the character which changed OIA. <āi, āu, aya, aya > to <ē, ō>. In cases like Second MIA. <kēla> (*kaila, *kaila, *kaila = kadala) = NIA. (Hindi) <kēlā>, <cō> < «cau, cau» (catur-), «thēra» (thairā, *thairā, *thavira, sthavira), <bōra> Bengali বোরা <bōra> (*baura, *baura, *badura = badara), etc., similarly there was diphthongisation before contraction took place. (Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt. Sprachen,' § 166.)

In the development of Bengali, we see that diphthongisation on a large scale took place from early times. Diphthongisation of the <ā+i> and <ā+u> vowels in contact occurred to a certain extent in OB. and in Māgadhī Apabhṛṣṭa, as spellings like «jau» = «jaū» (jatu: see p. 185), «nai» = «nāi» (naī: p. 185), «cāū» = «caū» (catur-: p. 185) in the inscriptions, and like sts. «jaūvāna» (yāuvana), beside «jāutuka» (yāutuka), and «tāilē» (trāilōkya-) for «*tāilē» in the MS. of the Caryā, would show. So in forms like «gaa-illa», gaya-illa > গেলা, গেল *gai-lā, gēlā>, cf. 'Bihārī' 'gail' (gata+ila-), «kāya-illa» > কৈলা > MB. কাইলা > MB. কাইলা is a new formation (kṛta+ila), «māya-illa» > মেল > *mai-lā > (mṛta+ila-) (or «gaa-illa» > «ga-illa» > ga-illa>, whence «gaēlā»; so «kaēlā», which occurs also in OB.); «*cha̱yāla- > *chāila- », cf. MB. েছনি, েছলি > goat (chagala, *chagalika), «*cha̱yāna- » > *chāi-na- » > NB. ছেন >充na > caseine (chagana), «*paitthāna » > *paitthāna » > MB. পৈথানা > paithāna > foot of bed (padasthāna), we find the presence of a diphthongisation in Māgadhī Apabhṛṣṭa or Old Bengali. The alphabet had letters only for the diphthongs «ai, au»; possibly the speech actually had other diphthongs,

1 These have restricted the genuine Māgadhī forms 'kaḍa, maḍa, gaḍa,' <Old Māgadhī 'kaṭa, maṭa, *gata' (=*kṛta, mṛta, gata —the last by analogy), which have been noticed by Vararuci (XI, 15): Bengali কড়, মড় 'kaḍ, maḍa' are found; গড় 'gaḍ' occurs in the ŠKK.
like «ēu, ōu, āu, āi, iu», etc., which could be represented only as «ē-u, ō-u, ā-u, ā-i, i-u», by means of two separate vowels. Final «-aï» of verbs (calati < calaî) became a diphthongal vowel (calai), probably during the 13th century in Bengali, to be simplified to the simple vowel «ē» (cålê) in the 14th century; and a form like খাই < khâi similarly became a diphthong খাই < khâî, to be reduced to খায < khây in Late MB. and NB.

Examples of Diphthongisation in Bengali.

In addition to vowels brought together by loss of OIA. stops, the loss of intervocal «-h-» of MB. has given rise to new contact vowels, which have been diphthongised in NB.

MIA. «aï, awi», OB., eMB. «ahi», > MB. NB. অই, এই, ঐ, এ < «āi, āi, ē», also অ < «ā» in some cases: কাইলা < kāîlā, kāîlā» dark, e.g., কাইলা গোল (kapilā); কহি < kāi, kāi > a fish (kavayaI); কহি < kāi, kāi > where (MB. kahi = MIA. kahi, OIA. *ka-dhi); OB. «*kāivana > MB. কেহন < kēhena, কেঢ় < kenhâ > > MB. কেন < kēnâ > why?; হই < khai > (kādikā); চই < cāi > (cavikā); ভই, ভই < chāi > (chadis); জই, জই < jāi, jāi > oats (yavikā); তই < thāi > depth, bottom of a sheet of water (*staghikā); দই < dāi > (dahi, dadhi); নই, নৈ < nāi > (i) river: cf. নৈহাটি < Nāi-hāṭi > a town (nāl); (ii) a heifer (navikā); (iii) ninety (navati); MB. পইসে, NB. পেস, MB. পাইসে, পাপ্সে > (praviśati); পইতা, পেতা < paitā > sacred thread (pavitra-); পইথা, পেথা < pāthā > masonry steps at the base of building (pratiṣṭhā-); বৈসে, বস < bāisē, bāsē > (*bāisā, upaviśati); ভেই < bhāisā > as in the adjective ভেই, ভেই < bhāisā, bhāysā > (mahiśa, cf. Pali mahiśa = mahiṣa); সই < sāi > (sahi, sakhi); etc.

MIA. «aŭ, awu» > OB. «au» > MB. NB. «au, ō»; also OB., MB. «ahu» > NB. «āu, ō»: কেবে < kānōjā > (kanaūja, kannaūjja, kānya-kubja); কেও < kōnd > < eMB. কেও < kōnd > (kānā, kauṇā = kā+h+ punah); তৌ, দৌ < cāu, cō- > (caū-, catur-); জৌ < jāu > (jāū, jatū); পৌস্ত < pāucā, MB. পৌস্ত < pāucāh > arrive (MIA. *pahuṇca, pahuceh[ha]a, = OIA. *pra-bhūcheha, IE. *pro+bheū+sko- [?]); বৌ < bāu > (vadhu); মৌচক < māu-cākā > honeycomb (madhu-cakra); MB. মৌদ < rāūdā > NB. মৌদ, মৌদ < rāūdā > (MIA. sts. raūdda, rāudra); শূল, শোল শোল < śaulā, śāilā > a fish (šakula); MB. শোল < hā > in verb forms, 1st person = OB. «*haū, hāu» (ahakaṁ, aham); etc.
DIPHTHONGISATION & CONTRACTION

Late MIA. «aya, ava» in some cases became «āi, āu» in Bengali, apparently through «samprasāraṇa» by dropping of the «-a-» in the syllable «-ya, -va»: e.g., पैथाना («payatthāṇa, padasthāna»); MB. (ŚKK.) नौहरी «bāuhāri» daughter-in-law, wife («bavahārī < vyavahārikā female slave»); MB. (ŚKK.) नौहरी «māuhāri», elsewhere «mōhāri, mōhārī» a kind of flute («maṷa-hāra, maa=mada- [?]»); दौड़ «dauṛū» («dauṛū, dava-ḍa, drava-ḍa»); MB. sts. नौतुन «nautunā», NB. नौतुन, नसुन «nōtunā» new (nava-); etc.

The other diphthongs which originated in the eMB. period were «āi» and «āu», from earlier «āi, āu». There was also diphthongisation by epenthesis. E.g., आइस «āiśē» (āviśati); नाइश «naiyā», NB. नेश «nēyē» (nāvika-); आउल «aulā», NB. एल «elō» dishevelled (āula, ākula); जाकु ज «kaṃ» (kāka-+uka-); MB. माउलन «maulānī» (maulānī, mātulānī); राइट «rāit» < राति «rāti» (rātri); साउथ, साइथ «sāuthā, sāithā» < सात्त्रा «sāthuṛā», NB. सेथ «sethō» companion (sarrtha > sātha+uka-), etc. Diphthongs with the high vowels «i, u» forming the second part, like «iu, ui, ēi, ēu», may have originated early in the MB. period; the diphthongs ending in low vowels, excepting «āē, āō», in words like बा «bā» (bāya, vāta), शाव «sha» (shaوها, šāpa), where we have vocalisation of «y, w», came in Late MB. and in NB. The change of MB. «-ā-» to «-ō-» <«u-» give rise to a number of diphthongs in MB. and NB. (See later, under ‘Epenthesis,’ ‘Vowel Harmony,’ and ‘Origin of the New Bengali Diphthongs.’)

[c] Contraction of Vowels in Contact.

172. Cases of MIA. contraction of «udvṛtta» vowels, where they were «ā» followed by «i» or «u», have been noted in §171, in examples like «kēla, tēraha, bōra, möra», etc. Contraction of «udvṛtta» vowels by assimilation is quite a common phenomenon in Second and Late MIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 165 ff.); and Bengali inherited a number of these MIA. contracted forms: e.g., OB. «khāi» (khāāi, khādati); MB. धाश «dhāē» (dhāāi, dhāvati); पाक «pāikā, pāikī» («pāśikka», sts. < «pādatika»; but more probably a Persian borrowing); अधार «ādhārā» (andha-āra,
andha-kāra); OB. < kaśāla > (Caryā 13: = *kaśāla, *kaṅśāla > ? : cf. MIA. < kaṅśāla- = < kaṁsyā-tāla >); raút < rāutṛ (rāauta, lāutta = rāja-putra); dēula < dēula > (dēula, dēvakula), etc.

But in a large number of cases, the < udṛtta > vowels were not contracted by assimilation in MIA. They were generally retained as distinct syllables in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa and in OB., being preserved by the glide < w > or < y > which came in. The contraction habit, however, had manifested itself in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa; it was not uncommon in OB., and seems to have been widely operative in Bengali in the 13th century, during the transition from OB. to MB.; and it had finished its work by the end of the 14th century.

(i) The group < āā (āwā) > of Late MIA. and OB. This was contracted to a long < ā > [ə] sound, which may be represented in transliteration by the symbol < ā >. (See p. 260.) The aspirate, < h >, between vowels was dropped in MB., and the group became < āhā > āā >, which also was contracted to < ā >. OIA. < āmā > Late MIA., OB. < aúwa > similarly became [ɔː] in MB., and this was represented by ɔ < ā >. The < ā > fell together with original < ā = ā > in Late MB. In final positions, this < ā > optionally has the [o] pronunciation, in the Standard Colloquial, the same as original single < ā = ā > (as in ts. and other forms).

< āā, āwā > ā > ā > in the initial syllable. Examples: MB. अथान्तर < athāntārā >, beside MB., NB. आथान्तर, आश्चर्य < athāntārā, athāntārā > bad plight (awathāntara, avasthāntara); कल < kālā > plantain (kālā, kawalā-, kaala-=kadala-); कई < kāi > a fisa (*kāi, kavayī); कड़ < kārā > cowry shell (kārā, kawarā, kavadā-, kaparda-); MB. गान < gānā > way (gawāṇa, gaṇāṇa=gamana). OB. गान < gānā = [gə:nÀ] (Caryā 35 :< gawāṇa, gaṇāṇa=gagaṇa); तक < cākā > (*cavakka = catuṣka); चड़ < càṛī > slap (*cavaḍa = *caṇṭa, cf. capēta); धनी < cấti < cāti > inu, serai (OB. cavaṭi = name of village; pp. 67, 13, 185); जी < jā > measure (*jauva, yāva); MB. धर, NB. धल < dhālā, dhāla > (dhavalā-); न < nā > (nava); sts. नर < nādhāra > plump, buxom (navadhara); नगुण < nāgunā > nine-fold,' a Brahman's sacred thread (nava-guna); नय < nāi > (navati); नवीर, नजे < nādiyā, nādē > Nadiyā city (nava-dvīpa-); ननी < nānī > (nāni, navanīta); sts. नर < lāngā > (lāngā
lavaṇga); ॥ < sā > (śata); MB. অ, স্ত্রা < sāt, sātā >, cf. সমূ < sāt-mā > step-
mother (savattī, sapatnī); ॥ পুৈ < sāpē > (sāppē, samapayati); etc.

Cf. also পর < pārā > (pahara, prahara); গম < gāmā > wheat (*gahama,
gadhama, *gandhama ?= gōdhūma); নহ < nāh > = n + *ah < nā + √*ah- as in নহিন, নহিনে < nāhilē, nāhibē >, etc., negative forms of the verb হ< hā > to be (na + √as); etc.

< aa, aś, aśa, aha > আ > a, o > in interior and final syllables. MB. আইহ < āihā > (aviha, avidhava); আঘার < aṭhārā > (aṭhāra, aṣṭādaśa);
উন্নাশ < unānāsha > beside উন্নাশ < unāpaṇeśa > (una-paṇeśat); উনাস <
unā-nās > (una-navati); কালে < kāda > kādo > (*kādaśa, kardama), beside
কলে < kālo >; এগার < egraya > (egāra, ekādaśa); গোস্ত < gōkaš >
(gō-kaša); NB. sts. সুভাষ < sūkṣa > a surname (cakravartin); চৌল, চৌল
< coddā, cūddā > (cauddaha, caturddā); MB. শার্ল < jāyati > horoscope
(jāyawatti, jāta-patrika); তের < tērā > (tēra, troyādaśa); নালাই < nala-
< dāli > a surname (dāla, dalapati); বাণ < dāśāra > (daśahara);
বাণ, বাণে < dāna > dānō > (dānava); নরন, নরনে < nārūn(1) > (*naraharaṇī,
nakha-haraṇa-); পাল, পালে < pāla > pālo > pounded flour from the roots of a
plant (pallava); পুরান < purāṇā > (purūtana); পনের < pānēra >, পনে
< pānāra > (panara, pana-daśa); পলাশী < palaśaṇḍ > place-name (palaśa-
vana); বার < bāra > (bāra, bādaśa); বাসির < bāsārī > (bāśa-hara, vāsa-
gṛha); বুড় < buḍā > (budhā, vṛddhaka); ভাল < bhāla > (bhalla, bhadraka);
ধন < māna > in Hajong Dialect (māna); MB. (‘Śunya Purāṇa’) sgs.
ভূগোল <ভূগোল > bhāgaṭā = bhōgaṭā > (bhōgavatī); ভরা < bhāra >
reliance, trust (bhara-vaśa); মাসর < māsāra > monthly stipend (māsa-hara-);
মাসরের < māsāra > place-name (mandāra-vana); মালক < mālānca >
garden (mālānca, mālā-maṇika); ভাসী < *rāsui < *rāsāl > cooking
(rasavati kitchen); লাঙ্গ < lāṅ(g)ātā > (*laṅgāwaṭṭā, liṅgapaṭṭa); সংকো
< sākɔ > sākọ > bridge (saṅkawā, saṅkrama); বল < sōla > (sōla, sōdaśa);
সত্র, সত্র < satērā, sātāra > (sattaraha, saptasa); sgs. হিন্দু, হেন্দু
< hinaśtar > henast(h)ā > (hina-avasthā); sgs. অপচ < apācā > (*apācā, apacaya); etc., etc.

In verb forms: e.g., indicative and imperative 2nd person plural > NB.
2nd person singular or plural, indicative and imperative: OIA. < -ata,
-atha > MIA. *-aa, -aha > OB, eMB. -aa, -aha, -h > NB. -a, -o, -o : e.g.,
NB. kar < kārā > MB. kar, karah < kārā, karāhā > (Skt. kuruta, kurutha);
chali, chala < cālī, cōlo > you will go (precative future) < MB. chalih
< chalihā > (calihaha, calisyatha); làh < kāhā > MB. làh < kāhāhā
(kāhaha = kādatha); in the past and future bases ɪl, ɪb < -ilā, -ibā >, as
contrasted with the North Bengali and Bihari forms without the final -ā:
< e.g., chali, cālā > (*cālīlaa, calita + ila + ka), karib < kāribā > (*karibbaa,
kartavya-ka); in the past habitual or conditional īt < -ītā > : chalīt < cālitā
(calanta + ka); and in verbal nouns or passive adjectives in an, anā,
-ānā, -ānō : karanā < kārānā, kārānō > (OIA. -āpana-ka, -māna-ka).

aa > a is the rule in Bengali. But in a few cases, we find -au instead of -a:
the -au development seems to be exotic, and is due
to the influence of the Western dialects: e.g., kōtā < kārāi >, beside kāra,
kōtā < kārā, kāra > (kaparda-); sōp < sā-p >, beside sāp < sāp > (samarp-);
ṭīk < cāuk, -cāuk > beside čārk, čārk < cāmāk, cašak, *cāk > startle
(camaquka-); sōp < dāur > run may be an old form in Bengali, through
< samprasāraṇa >, of which a few cases are known (see p. 345), but it
may as well be a borrowing from the West, the genuine native Bengali
root for running being, as in Orīya, ṭha < dha > (dhāv).

The final -ā of OIA. and MIA. drops in Bengali. It is final -āā which
is retained as -ā, 0 in NB. Where in NB. we have -ā finally,
the Late MIA. form does not seem to have ended in two syllables with short
-āā, but unquestionably there was a long -ā. MIA. kāla black can
give only *kāla, *kāla in NB. But we have ordinarily kāla = kāla = kāla,
and kāla = kāla ; and we have kāla < kāla >, with elided final -ā,
possibly in a compound form like kāla-śirā < kāla-śirā > black vein, 'black
and blue' (mark of a blow). The first can come only from a basis like kāla,
kālawa, kālā = OIA. kāla-ka >, with the pleonastic -ka affix; the -ā in
the form kāla < kāla > is an affix giving a definite force, = the black one ; and
this can only be from some affix like -ā-ka >, with a definiteness that came
to be associated with -ā : cf. ḍōṛātā < ḍōṛā-ṭā > horse-that-big-one = that
horse ; but ḍōṛātā < ḍōṛā-ṭā > horse-that-little-one = that nice little horse.
(See page 302.) The -ā nouns and verbal adjectives of Bengali and
other NIA. are probably to be referred to oblique (genitive) forms of Late
MIA. and Early NIA. Where the original nominative affixes were lost,
in some forms of NIA., it is this oblique in «-ā» that took its place. E.g.,
Skt. गोटाकाः = Sauraseni nominative गोदाः > Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa
nominative गोदाः, whence Braj-bhākhā गोराः, Kanaui गोरो,
etc.; the nominative forms apparently fell into disuse in Panjabi and in the
dialects which form the basis of Hindostānī, where we have now गोरा,
for the nominative, which is in all probability the old genitive singular
गोदा(h)ा गोदासा गोटकस्या (or ? dative singular गोदाना
< गोटकस्या »); just as in the nominative plural form the original affix
was lost, and the instrumental plural or the genitive plural took its
place: e.g., W. Hindi गोरा, गोरान etc. = «*गोदानही, *गोदाना » =
«*गोटकेभी, गोटकनाम ». The same seems to have been the case with
many NB. «-ā» nouns. (See later, under Morphology: 'the Noun'.)

(ii) The groups «आ, ा, ा », with intervening glide «व» or «य»
in Late MIA. and OB., became «ा» in eMB. : आर «ार », also eMB. आर
« ारा » (avara, aparā); NB. एर = एरी, एरी = एरी (पान, वाना);
आर « ार » awry, slant (? āvarta) (but आवृत « ात »
stir (milk, etc.) = « ा + वान »); ईरा = ईरा = a big well (indrāga-);
इरा = इरा = place-name (indrāvāsa); sts. उपास = उपास » (upavāsa);
OB., MB. उपासी, ओरी « उरी, ओरी » pavilion (upakārīka); करात = करा
साव (कारवाता, *कार-पाता, कार-पत्रा; cf. karavāla); कोंवाल = कोंवाल
(कोंवाल, कोंवाल); so गाली « गायल » a class of Brāhmans from Gayā
gayā-पालिका, राखाल « राखल » herdsman < MB. राखाल « राखल-ाल »
(rakṣa-पाला), भुजाली « भुजाल » a short sword (bhujā-पालिका; cf. kara-vāla),
नातल « माताल » drunkard (« माता + ा » ?; but cf. Hind. « मातवाला »,
Beng. poetic नाताला « मातवाला » = « माता+पाला », etc.; गाली « गाली »
gala-पालिका); गोरी « गोरी » place-name (गोप-वाक्), चक = « चक »
éakravāka); चिरात = चिराता, OB. (Sarvananda) = cirāyita (kirāta-tikta);
ता = ता = (tipa); MB. दिरी = दिरी = pilot (diśā-पाली, diśā + कार); दोहार
« दोहार » singers in chorus (dhruva-kara); MB. दहाई = दहाई (dhāvati);
sts. नाराण = नाराण = नाराण (नाराण); पाण « पाण » (« रापती = रापन्ती »;
पातास « पातास » deck, wooden boards on flooring (*पात-पाताना = पात + patta);
A large number of disguised compounds in आरा « आरा; « आरा, आरा » come under this: e.g., भादर « भादर » (bhādārā), कुमार « कुमार » (kumbha-kāra), etc.

Cf. also Persian words like बराद » « बराद » fixed (bar-āvard), उमेदार « उमेदार » applicant (*umēda-vār = umēd-vār), etc.

When, however, « -ा » in a group « -ा, -ा » occurs as a special affix, as in हाना, हाना « हाना, हाना », there is no contraction in MB. and NB., and the « - » glide comes in: हाना, हाना « हाना, हाना », etc.

(iii) The Late MIA. groups « aï, aï »: see also ante, under 'Diphthongisation.'

« aï > « e », occasionally « i », in MB.: e.g., the affix for the verb 3rd person, शैन « शैन » (-aï, -ati); MB. शाृण « शाृण », NB. शाृण « शाृण » (*aïhaṇa-, MIA. aïsaṇa-); cf. OB. ग्हार « ग्हार », NB. ग्हार « ग्हार » (gṛha + -dhi); OB. अम्बे, तम्भे », MB. NB. अम्बे, तम्भे « अम्बे, तम्भे » (amahi, *tumahi = asmābhīs, yuṣmābhīs), etc.

« aï > « u »: e.g., देउल « देउल » (MIA. dēula, dēva-kula); चलुक « cāl-u-k » imperative 3rd person, MB. चलू « cāl-u », OB. चलू « cālaap » (calātu); cf. MIA. « ahu », also affix for imperative 2nd person = OB. « u »: चाव द = चावू » (Caryā 50); नाव द « महूत » mahout (*mahaütā, *mahāwattā, mahāmaṭra), etc.

(iv) The Late MIA. groups « ae, ao » > « aï, i, e ; au, o »:

OB. « mai », MB. NB. मुँि « मुँि = मुँि, मुि » (*maeṇa, maya + -ena); so « tai » तुई « तुई » (*taeṇa, tvaya + -ena); OB. « kaëlā », beside MB. जेल « kālā » (*kaella, *kailla < *kāya-illa); तेल « tō » then (tai, taō, tō, tataḥ), a non-Māgadhī form possibly.

(v) Late MIA. « aï, aï » remain in OB., eMB.; in NB., they are contracted to « a » or « e », except when occurring finally: e.g., NB. अस, तिस « अे , अे », MB. आस « आस », (āvīṣati); cf. also NB. बार, बैर, « bār, bār, bār » < lMB. बाह, बार « bār, bār » (bāhira, bahir); NB. एला
"āē", "āo"; Groups with "I-, ī-"

(i) came (=āilā, *aillā, āyātā + ila), (ii) dishevelled = MB. অকাদ, আল অতীত, অলাই (akula-); NB. খাণ্ড < khāk>, MB. খাওক < khāu-kā > (khāū, khādatu); etc. Finally: গাই < gāi > (gāvi); আস্তাই < ārāi > (*āḍāhāi, *aḍāhi, aḍḍāhi, ardhatīya); লাও < lāu > (alābu); etc.

For the Late MB. > NB. contraction of < āi > āi, oi > in West Central Bengali, in connection with Epenthesis, see § 186.

(vi) Late MIA. "āē" is a very rare group in the interior of a word. Finally, OB. eMB. "āē" becomes the diphthong [aē] in NB.: করাণ < kārātē > causes to do (kārātē, kār ātē). The group "āē" became "āu" in MB., contracted to "ā" in NB., in পাখাজ < pakhājd >, MB. পাখাজ < pakhāju > standing for < *pākhāuj < *pakhāūja > (*pakhāoja, *pakhāōjja, pakhāōiōja), now generally ousted by পাখাহাজ < pakhwājd >, from Hindīstāni < pakhwāj > (= pakṣa-vādyay).


(viii) Late MIA. "i, ia" had a three-fold development in Bengali:

(a, b) In initial syllables, generally = "ē" = "ē": এনে < ātā > (ēttia, *iatt-, iyat-); MB. sth. ক্ষিতি < khyamā > (*khyamā = kṣamā); eMB. তাণ্ড < tajā>, NB. তেজ < tiējā > (*tiājja < tiijja = tījyā); sth. নেম < nēm > (nāma, nīyama); sth. পেথ < bēthā > (*bimā, bīthā, vyāthā); দেহ < MB. দেহ < dēh > (diādha, dyārda); sth. বেখার < bēhārā > (*bāhārā, vyāvahāra); MB. thā, বৃহারিব < bēhārib > will employ (viahāra, vyāvahāra); MB. বেখার < bēhāthā > (*bāhāthā, vyāvasthā); বিশ্বাস = dēśālāi > (*dasalāsa, dīpa-salākikā); etc. So সার্তি < sāti > is probably from < *sāti > by Vowel Harmony (*āṃtī < *stāntia, stānta-). But cf. তাণ্ড, চাণ্ড < jīv, jāna > (jīvāna), কীন্ত, কীন্ত < MB. শিন্ত < sārā, šīrā < šīhāra > (śīkhar). < ia- > in the middle of a word remained in eMB.; but when followed
by an -i-, it became -io > iu in lMB. and NB., through Vowel Harmony, which see.

(c) Final -ia became -i>: see § 149 (i), § 150 (ii). OB. -rha > MB. -ia > -i, as in श्री शि a surname (?*śiha = siṁha; or < śiva?). MB. इह, इह < -i(h)a>, precative imperative affix, is contracted to -o: चलिह > चलो < cāliḥa>cōlo>, राखिह>रेखो < rākhiḥa>rēkho>, but after a vowel in causatives there is no contraction: e.g., राखाइह > राखिओ < rākāih > rēkho; cf. दिह > दिओ < dih > diō.

Final -ia, strengthened by the pleonastic affix -ा in OB., became -iya, in the Bengali indeclinable in इया -iyya, to be modified to -ē, with accompanying umlaut, in NB.: e.g., असी < MB. असिया, असियास > (MIA. āvisiā + ā, āvisya); so करे < kore > karītā (MIA. kariya + ā, *-karya); etc.

(ix) -ū, ū (ū, ū) became -ū in OB., -u in NB.: e.g., चून - dunā (*duṇa, dviguna-); चूल < duli > (*duulia, dukulika); etc.

(x) -ua, ūa occur as -u in Bengali: OB. -uārī > MB. उवारी < uārī > (uārī, upakārika pavilium); OB. -kāmarū > (kāma-rūpa); गोक < gōru > (*gōra, gōrupa); धून < dhūna > (dhūpana-); वाछु < bāchurā < bāchārū > (vatsa-rūpa); वृक्ष < bādhu-lī > a flower (bandhuka-); सप्त < sajjāru > (*sajjā+rū, sayya-rūpa, sālya-rūpa); MB. सूक्ष्ण < sundhi > (*suandhia, sugandhika); जोय < jōāla > < जुला < juāla > (yuga+āla); OB. -tu > (*tūva, tuām = tvam); etc. See § 149 (iv), § 150 (iii). Possibly, in forms representing OIA. feminine -rūpā, -ukā etc., = Late MIA. -uā, we have assimilation of -u, ū + consonant + -ā.

(xi) -e became -ē: छेन < chēni > chisel (chēnī, chēndanī); MB. -e < dē > (dēva, dēha); cf. MB. -e < dēhāra > temple (dēha-para, dēva-grha-); बेन < bēna > child-birth, travail (*bēna, vēdana?); but we have -e > eva in देव > [dwar] (dēvara), केवड़ < keṟā > [keṟa] (kēta-ka-). See §149(v), p. 303.

(xii) Late MIA. -e in final positions is reduced to -e in the verb of the 3rd person: e.g., वैंठार < bādhae > (bandhāvēi, *bandhāpayati); to -ii, i > through Vowel Harmony, in the verb of the 1st person, in some roots like देन < dē > -देई > देई, दिन < dei, di > I give; etc.
OIA. 'ṛ' IN TADBHAVA WORDS

<ēu> became <iu> by Vowel Harmony, and <iu> is contracted to <i>; e.g., NB. दिक् <dik>, MB. दिउँ(क) <diuk, deu(k)> (dēu < *dētu = dadātū).

(xi) <ōa> is contracted to <ō>. E.g., आलो <ālo> (āloka); एह <dēh> (*dhāvai, dhavayati); थोर <thōrā> (stōka + -da); रोळ <rōl> (*rōvai, rōevi: rōpayati); सोभ < *sohā < sō < sōi > (?*sōvai, svapiti); MB. योहे < hē > (*bhāi, bhavati); cf. stā. बामो < byāmō > (vyāmōha). See § 149 (vi).

(xiv) <ōi> is found as <ō> in the MB. word जोशी < jōṣi >, spelt as बो < yāsi = jōṣi > in the ‘Mayanāmatir Gān’ (Dacee SD. edition, p. 25). The contraction of <ōi, ōu> belongs to MB. and NB. phonology: see next chapter.

[B] TREATMENT OF OIA. <ṛ>

I. <ṛ> IN TADBHAVA WORDS.

173. OIA. <ṛ> as a sonant disappeared in MIA. Prakritisms in Vedic like <vikaṭa, sithira> are, for example, on the basis of an <ar, ra> or <ir, ri> pronunciation of <ṛ>. In Late OIA. at least, <ṛ> undoubtedly had developed other pronunciations, beside that of the proper sonant <ṛ>, and <ar>, namely <ra ar, re er, ri ir, ur ur>. See p. 243, ante. (Cf. Vidhuśekhar Śāstri, ‘Bāglīy Ucāraṇ’ in the ‘Pravāsi’ for Vaisākha, 1318; ‘R-kāra-tattva’, VSPD, 1324, pp. 183-185). These pronunciations of <ṛ> are of course quite distinct from the ablaut grades of Primitive Indo-European, <er or, er, or> or <el œl, œl œl>, which are found in OIA. forms like <bhar-ati, bhār-a-s> etc.; they are merely Indian vernacular modifications of the original Indo-European zero grade, or <ṛ, l>. Forms like MIA. <ghara<garha=grha, ghata<ghrata=gr̪ta, gēha<greha, gerha=grha, vēnta<vrenta=ṃnta, amia<amrita=ṃṛta, rukkha<vrukkha=vṛkṣa> sufficiently indicate the manifold pronunciation of <ṛ> in Late OIA. The lines along which OIA. <ṛ> was modified in the various dialect-areas are not known. It can be surmised from the Aśoka inscriptions that in the Early MIA. period, the dialects of the North-west normally changed <ṛ> into <ri, ur> (the <ur> occurring after labials), in which
the \(< r >\) element was retained; that the dialect of the South-west (Girnar) turned it to \(< a >\); and the North-eastern dialect made it \(< i, u >\) (the latter before labials), without the \(< r >\), but cerebralising a following dental 1 (cf. Truman Michelson, 'Inter-relation of the Dialects of the 14 Rock Edicts,' JAOS., 1909, pp. 77ff.; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 31). The \(< i >\) treatment seems also to have been favoured in the Midland, as in the North-east. But even in the Early MIA. of the Asōka inscriptions, we find that there is no regularity of the change which OIA. \(< r >\) underwent in a particular dialectal area, North-western, or South-western, or North-eastern (cf. Jules Bloch, op. cit., p. 47). The North-eastern speech of Asōka shows, in addition to \(< i, u >, < a >\) also, in words like \(< kata, viyāpaṭa, vithata, mata- >\) (kṛta, vyāpṛta, vistṛta, mṛta); forms in \(< a >\) like \(< kaḍa, maḍa >\) are also noted by Vararuci for Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period (see p. 343, footnote). It seems that intermingling of dialects early in the history of MIA. overlaid any original tendencies or preferences for special vowels in the different dialect areas; and judging from the way in which \(< r >\) in tss. and stss. was pronounced in Middle Bengali (see § 174), it can also very well be assumed that the \(< i, u, a, e >\) treatments of \(< r >\) all obtained side by side in the same area, in the transitional stage from OIA. to MIA. So far as the tbo. words in NIA. are concerned, no sure line of isogloss is possible in this matter.

It will be seen that quite a number of MIA. forms, showing modification of OIA. \(< r >\), were adopted into Classical Sanskrit.

(1) OIA. \(< r >\) \(< a >\) in MIA. This, either through compensatory lengthening, or through stress, became \(< a >\) in some cases in Bengali.

\begin{itemize}
  \item আজ \(< āj>\) in আজলি \(< ājāli > a foolish girl\) (aju-, rju);
  \item আজবুজ \\(< ājābujh>\)
\end{itemize}

1 Indo-European group of 'l' + dental occurs as a single cerebral sound in OIA., as in Vedic, but 'r, r' + dental remains a combination of two sounds. The eastern dialect (Māgadhī) has only 'l', and no 'r': is it that 'r, r' + dental was also a case of 'l' + dental in this dialect, so that this 'Prakritism' in changing a dental to a cerebral was really an extension of the old habit which characterised OIA. in general? See later, under Consonants: 'the Cerebrals.'
simpleton (*aju-bujjha-, ḫju-budhy-); কাছারী < kāchārī > (kacchari, kṛtyagṛha-); কন, কন্ত, কন্তী < kānā, kān-u, kānāi > (Kaňha, Kṛṣṇa); OB. sts. < kasana > (*kraśana, kṛṣṇa); কড় < kār < bracelet, ring (kaṭa, kṛta); ঘর < ghārā < (*garha, gṛha); ঘট < ghāṭa < stir with fingers (*ghañṭa, *ghaṭata, ghṛṣṭa), beside লুট < ghūṭa >; MB. তড় < tārā > (tata, tṛta); দড় > দড় < dār(h)ā > (daṭha, drṭha), beside OB. < diḍha >; দড় < dhāṛa > torso (*dhaṭa, dhṛta); দড়, দড়ী < dhāṛa, dhāṛi > cloak (daṭha, dhāṭi=dhṛta-); নড় < nāṛ > a caste (naṭa, OIA. nṛtu dancer); নাড় < nāḍa > (nacca, nṛtya); মড় < māṛa > corpse (maṭa, mṛta); মাটি < māṭi > (*maṭṭi, mṛttika); রট < bāṭa > leaf (*vaṇṭa, vṛnta), beside বোট < bōṭa >; বড় < bāṛa > the banyan tree; a coil of rope (vaṭa, vṛta); ভড় < bāṛa > soldier, servant > a surname (bhaṭa, bṛṭa); সড়ক < sāṛākā > street (*sāda-, *sāṭa = sṛta); also in forms like MB. কৈল, মৈল < kāilā, māilā > (kay-a-illa, maya-illa = kṛta, mṛta), see p. 343, which are not Old Māgadhī, but later importations or formations in Late Māgadhī.

(2) < r > > i in Bengali. অমিয়া < ámiyā > (amia-, amśta-); MB. কিছ, কিছ < gīḍhā > (giddha, gṛdhra); নী, ঘি < ghī > (ghia, ghṛta); ঘন্ধ < ghīnā > (ghṛṇa); তর > তর < ḏhtr(h)ā > (dhiṭṭha, dhṛṣṭa); MB. তিন < tiṇa > (tṛṇa); তিন্তর < tiyājā >, NB. তেজ < tej > (*tiyajja, *tiijja, ṭtijyā >: change of < yā > to < j > not Bengali—this is a Western form); MB. তেহেন, NB. তেন < tē(h)ēnā > < *taḥāna > (taśana, *tadisāna, tāḍśana); OB. দিসা < disa > (dīsa, dṛṣyate); MB. নতি < dīthi > (drṣṭi); OB. < diḍha > (drṭha); পিঠ < pitha > (pịṭṭha, prṣṭha); বিছু < bieha > (vṛṣca-, cf. vṛṣeka); ভিখু, *ভিখ্রুল < bhim-ṛul, bhīṛ > (bhṛṃga-ṛola); মিṭṭa < miṭṭa > (miṭṭha-, miṣṭa=ṛṣṭa); শিং < sīŋ > (śṛṣṭa); শিঙ্গি < sīṇa > trumpet (śṛṣṭa-); OB. < sīṭhi=sīṭti > (śṛṣṭi); শিঙ্কা < sīkā > (śṛṣṭha, śṛṣkā-); শিঙ্সাল < sīyāla > (śṛṣgāla); হীয়া < hīya > (hiaa-, hṛdaya); etc.

(3) < r > > u. OB. < uju >, Chittagong dial. < ujjā > (ṛju); ঘুট < ghūṭa > stirring (*ghuṇṭa, *ghuṭṭa=ghṛṣṭa); আউর, আউর < āuṣ-, -ṣṭ > (āvṛṣa), see p. 320; *পিসীর < pisi > *piṣi > piṣ, *মাওই > মাসী(māusi) > māśi > māśi (pitr-, māṭr-, svas-); MB. পাউল < pāuṣā > (pāvṛṣa); পুচে < pucē > (pucchai, puchi); রুড় < rūḍa > *bur(h)ā > (vṛddha-); ভুন, ভৃন < bhunā, bhuni > fried (*bhunna-, *bhṛṇ-); OB., MB. রুখ < rukhā > (vṛksa-);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

The above are instances of OIA. > MIA. > NIA. change of 
<ɹ> in Bengali. The Bengali alphabet possesses ɹ <ɹ> as a letter of the 
alphabet, and its common pronunciation is ɹɪ <r+i>. This <ri> value 
for <ɹ> is found all over Northern India; but in the South, including the 
Oriyā and Marāthī tracts, the pronunciation is <ru>. The <ri> 
pronunciation in NB. is only one out of the various traditional pronuncia-
tions of the letter <ɹ> in MB.,—viz., <ri ir, re er, ra ār, ro or> (but never 
<ru, ur>)—and some of these are still current. The name of the letter 
ə is <ri>, and the other varieties of vowel used in the pronunciation 
of words in <ɹ> are now giving place to <i>, in educated speech. This 
<ri> pronunciation is a very old one, and frequently in the inscriptions, 
back to the oldest ones, there is interchange between <ɹ> and <ri>. 
Confusions like <priya> for <priya>, <alaṅkṛita> for <alaṅkṛta>, 
<śṛdhara> = <śṛdhara>, <śṛhaṭṭa> = <śṛhaṭṭa>, <riṣikēśa> = <ḥṛṣikēśa>, 
as in the early Bengal inscriptions, testify that <ri> was the recognised 
value for <ɹ> in the Late MIA. period in Bengal. The Tibetans obtained 
the Indian alphabet by way of Khotan (A. F. R. Hoernle, ‘MS. Remains 
etc. from Central Asia,’ Introduction), but they were subjected to influences 
from Bengal from the 7th century onwards, and the Tibetan way of writing 
<ɹ, l> of Sanskrit by <r+i, l+i> is doubtless based on an Old Bengali 
pronunciation.

In Early Oriyā, the pronunciation of <ɹ> was as in Bengali, but 
from the 15th century onwards it became <ru>, probably through Telugu 
influence. Upper India knows of no other forms than <ri>, or <ir> 
by metathesis, as can also be seen from early stā forms in Western Hindī 
and Eastern Hindī: e.g., <ritu (ṛtu), trisnā (ṭṛsnā), mrittu (mṛtyu), kīṣān
(kṛṣṇa), krisna (kṛṣṇa), birdha (vṛddha), nirpa (nṛpa), mirdanga (mṛdanga), birdaya (ḥṛdaya), rikhikēsa (ḥṛṣikēsa), etc.

In MB. documents, and in the old-fashioned spelling in the early 19th century papers and printed works (which still obtains in places removed from the standardising influence of schools), forms like ḍṛt, ṣṛt, ghrātā, ghrētā, ṣṛgā, mṛgā, prāthāk, pṛyojānā, śrigālā, āmrātā, nirpā, kripinā (kṛṣṇa), graha (ṛha), pāhṛte for pārīte, to wear, etc., etc., are quite common. The Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed (see pp. 136, 234) similarly writes crepa, omert, ghirna, bhrdoe, prothoque (= prthak), mirtica, prothibe (= prthi), bretha (= vṛthā), etc. In MB. r in t.s. and s.t.s. words fell together with original -rā and -ri-. And rā, ri, re, ro, ār, ir, er, or are interchangeable in Bengali when they occur after a consonant. The r is frequently assimilated with the following consonant in folk pronunciation. Amrīta is thus pronounced as [omrito, omirto, oroto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto, omrīto]. Praṇām as [pronam, pornam, prena, pernam; ponnam, penam]; prabhōta as [probodhi, porbodi, prebodi, perbodi; pebod]; so pradīpa becomes [prodip, pridip, pridip, pordip, perdip], and even piddīm, piddīm [pidim, piddim] through intermediate stages like * pridīpā > piddīwā, piddīwā > pirdīpā > piddiwā; prabhṛti > prabhṛti commonly becomes [p(r)ibhṛti, pibhṛti]; the ordinary pronunciation of krama is [kreme, kerme]; brt vrata is normally turned to [borto, berto; borto, betto], and nimantraṇa and graha have given the stss. Nematranā and gerō through Middle Bengali pronunciations like *nimantārṇā and *gerhā. This interchange of post-consonantal groups of vowel + r, or their metathesis, has turned tīrāhut (tirabhukti) to tīrūt (trihutā) in Bengali. Foreign words are equally affected: e.g., Portuguese egreja church gives Bengali girjā beside gṛjā = grijā, and the Persian mīrza = prince occurs as mṛjā = mrijā beside mīrjā = mrijā.

In the dialectal Bengali of Chittagong, r becomes iri: e.g. girīt (ṛhīta), birī (vṛṣa), etc.
The general practice in NB. orthography is to treat श < r > as a compound letter, < r+i >. A word like আরুত্ত < ərbɔtɔ > is normally pronounced [əbrɔtɔ], when the fact that the श < r > in this ts. is a vowel is remembered; but commonly in pronunciation the < b > is 'doubled,' as in Bengali a consonant before a < r > or < l > is always doubled: e.g., [əbrɔtɔ]. श is commonly used, because of the convenient shape of its subscribed form, ०, to denote the group < ri > in foreign names, instead of the complicated group of subscribed < r+i, i > ( ी, ी० ) : e.g., ब्रिटेन < bɾɪtɛn > for ब्रिटेन < bɾɪtɛn > Britain, ক্রিস্টার < kʰɾiɔɾɔ > for ক্রিঃতা (properly *ক্রিশ্নতা), khrisṭā (khrista) > Christ; even প্ৰভুকালেন < pɾbʰi-kənəl > for প্ৰভুকালেন < pɾbʰi-kənəl > Privy Council, কৃমিনাল < kɾ̥minəl > Criminal, ক্রিঃকেট < kɾ̥kɛt > Cricket, etc.; we have even রইবির < rɔɾiɾ > for receiver, and বঙ্কিম চন্দ্রা লিখে < rɔɾ > for the English name Reid. श < r > does not occur in Bengali outside the alphabet. It is an unfamiliar letter, and frequently the long vowel is wrongly employed in writing for < r >. श < l > is only a letter in the alphabet, pronounced < li >, and it does not figure in Bengali.

[C] Nasalisation of Vowels in MIA. and NIA.

[I] Final < Anusvāra >.

175. The < anusvāra > and < anunāsika > of OIA. both meant nasalisation of vowels (see p. 244). OIA. < anunāsika > vowels are not preserved in MIA. < Anusvāra > could not occur before stops and aspirates, which had only corresponding nasals, < ɳ, ŋ, ñ, n, m >, before them in OIA.; < anusvāra > occurred before < y, r, l, v, ɻ, ʃ, s, h > only. Final < -m > became the < anusvāra > in MIA.; and original < anusvāra > remained. OIA. < -m > > Early and Second MIA. < -m > became a frank nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the Late MIA. period (Apabhraṃśa), and this final nasalisation still survives in Gujerātī and Marāṭhī ordinarily, when in MIA. we have groups like < -aːm, -aːm, -i/ɪam, -u/ʊam >, etc.; e.g., Gujerātī < kərəv > (*kərɪəv, kartavya-kam), < ɣhənə > (ghanəum, ghanəkam), < pəhlə > (pabillaum, pratha-ilam), < hə > (haə, haʊm =
ahakaṁ, aham), < sū > (saūṁ, sākam), < sō > (saūṁ, satam), < ēśi < *asi > (asīṁ, aśiti), < nēvū > (navaṁ, navati), etc.: Marāṭhi < ēś > (saṭam, šatam), < karṇē > (karṇāyaṁ, karṇakam), < mōtī > (mōtteīṁ, māṇuṭīkm), < talō > (talāyaṁ, taṭākam), < bī > (bīṁ, bījam), < tārū > ship (tāruṁ, tārukam), < nibā > (nimbuṁ, nimbuḵam), < pākhrū > bird (pakkha-ruṁ, pakṣa-ruḥam), etc., etc. Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā) has also cases of this survival of the final nasal of OIA.: e.g., < haū > I (ahakaṁ), < māraṇāu, māribaū > (māraṇa-kaṁ, mārita-vyā-kaṁ), etc. This final nasalisation is not preserved in other NIA. A case like OB. < hāu = haū >, found also in MB. as the verbal affix for the 1st person, ēśī < -hō >, seems to be a survival from the Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa (or through nasalisation of intervocal < w >? E.g., < aham > ahakaṁ > *haṁ > *hāwa > haū >); and ēś < -hā > in तिह, जिह, इह < tihā, jihā, ihā >, etc., honorific forms of pronouns, which is from OIA. < ēśām > > MIA. < -ĉām >, is due to the analogy of the other genitive plural affix < -āna > from < -ānām > = < -ānām > (see p. 306). The final < anusvāra > may be said to have been lost to Bengali. As for the < anusvāra > in the interior of words, before the semivowels, liquids and sibilants, and the aspirate < h >, it was dropped in many cases in MIA. itself; but where it occurred in MIA., before the sibilants for example, it behaved like a class nasal before its corresponding stop or aspirate, and has generally been continued down in all NIA.: as a nasalisation of the preceding vowel, which is lengthened by way of compensation (e.g., < hāsa > = < haṁsa >, < māsa > = < māṁsa > etc.), or as the dental nasal < n > in the North-western Indian speeches which do not simplify double consonants (e.g., Panjābī < hans >), or again as a separate nasal syllable in a language like Oriyā which does not wholly nasalise the class consonants (e.g., Oriyā < bauśa bauśa > = < vaṁsa >: cf. the NB. pronunciation of < anusvāra > in tss. = [y, p̪j], from MB. [w, w̪j]).

[II] Class Nasals and Interior < Anusvāra > of MIA.

176. In its development from OIA. and MIA. to NIA., < anusvāra > thus fell in line with the class nasals before their corresponding stops and
aspirates. MIA. of the Second period possessed intervocally either double stops (or stop + its aspirate), or nasal + stop or aspirate (see p. 254). The vowel preceding such a group of double stops, or nasal + stop or aspirate, was always a short one in MIA. The Aryan dialects entered the NIA. stage throughout the greater part of India when the double stops (with or without aspiration) were simplified, and there was compensatory lengthening generally. This has been described before (p. 259). In the case of groups with the nasal, the nasal as an independent sound was lost in NIA., and compensation for this loss came in by both lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: the line of change has been indicated at p. 259. Before the final absorption of the nasal into the preceding vowel, there would be a stage when it was pronounced very short: e.g.,  aŋka > [aŋka, aŋk] > aŋk [aŋk,n,aŋkn,aŋk] > aŋka > [aŋk]. This ‘reduced’ nasal can be expressed by a small ‹η, n m› etc., written above the line [η, n, m]. Such short or reduced nasals are found elsewhere: in Sinhalese, for instance, in its tth. element (cf. W. Geiger, ‘Litteratur and Sprache der Sinhalesen,’ §17). A similar stage of reduced nasals undoubtedly obtained in IA. in the mainland, probably during the Late MIA. period, and certainly during the transitional period between MIA. and NIA. In Oriyā, among the Magadhan speeches, the vowels have not been nasalised to the entire absorption of the original nasals, which may be said to obtain as reduced sounds: e.g., Oriyā kāṇḍa > [kāndā] weeping (krāṇcana-), dānta > [dāntō] (danta), pañca > [pañcō] (pañca), etc. = Bengali kāndā > kānā, dāntā > [dānt], pañca > [pañcā]; in Oriyā, the nasal is fully uttered in Sanskrit words like < dānta > < √dam >, < pañca-janya >, etc., but it is not at all so prominent in the tth. words, which, besides, have the vowel nasalised. It seems that in OB. and in eMB., dialectally undoubtedly, the reduced nasals obtained: although the use of the < candra-budu >, which is found in inscriptions in the mystic syllable द < ध > (now pronounced indifferently [o:ŋ] or [o:m]) is an early evidence that the full nasalisation of vowels came in in Proto- and Old Bengali speech (see p. 226). The Cārī M.S. spellings like < chānda, bānda, tentalī, kāndha, sāŋkama, tāngi, pañca, dōmbi, bhaṅdāra > etc. may be taken to show that the reduced nasals were the
rule in OB. So, too, Sarvānanda's spellings - kiñeōhi (NB. कृन्दे kṛnde, Skt. kiñeulaka), siṅkala (=śṛṅkhalā), vahēnci a fruit (= NB. वहैचि bhaveci), bāndhulī (NB. बांढुली =bandhuka), etc., would be equally indicative of the reduced nasal. But the Cāryās show full nasalisation of original class nasals and of < anuvāra > by means of the < candra-bindu > as well. Apart from the fully nasalised vowel in the affixes like < -ī, -ī >, we have spellings with the < candra-bindu > like the following: < hāu (ahakam), māsa (mānsa), āsu (aṅsu), ūcā (*uṅca=ucca-), hādi=hāri, not *hāndi (-bhāndī-), bājhē (vaṅjhā, vandhyā), sājhē (saṅjhā, sandhyā), bāddhi=bādhī (sts.<vandhyā>); and Sarvānanda has < jhampaṇa > (=yāpya-yāna), with < anuvāra > for the expected < candra-bindu >, rather than < *jhampaṇa > with < -mp- >: cf. < pimpḍā, dāmbōḍā >, with < m > and not with < anuvāra >. The complete absorption of the nasal thus belongs to the OB period, although it also seems that the reduced nasal still held the field in OB. The orthography in this matter, employing the class nasals after the lengthened vowel, however, may be archaic only, without reference to the actual pronunciation. In the eMB. of the ŚKK., from the spellings of words it would seem an analogous state obtained. The spelling here, too, might be only archaic. Thus we have आं < aṅgā > (aṅga); but आचल < ícālā > (aṅcalā), 4 times, beside आङ्गल < aṅicalā >, 11 times; आचः < āndhāri > (andha-kārika); काङ्ग < kāṅkaṇa > (kanḍaṇa), but काँच(I) < kācā(ā) > uripe; काँच < kāṅhāra > helmsman beside काङ्ग < kāṅhāra > (=karna-dhāra); काय, कांत < kāti, -ī > beside कान्त < kānti>; काँद < kānd- > (√kand), once, beside कांद < kānd- >, 11 times; काप < kāpā > (kamp-), twice, besides कांप < kāmpa >, 5 times; कांश < kāśa > thrice, beside कांश < kāśā > (=Kaṇṣa), 10 times; so कांद < kāḍā > (candra), 4 times, beside काँद < kānda > 14 times. In the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally, in North Bengali and Assamese, we have no longer any reduced nasals, only nasalised vowels. But in certain tracts in the East Bengali area, we have still traces of the full nasal, mainly in connexion with the voiced consonants followed by a vowel; and vocal nasalisation is frequently absent. Thus, we have [tsaad], beside [tsānder, tsānder]=tād, tāder, West Bengali [cfād, cfāder]: we have even [tsān < tsānd]; [bād,
bānda] = भान, भान [bānḍ(ḥ), bānd(ḥ)a]; [bōnd-] = भोंद [bōndhu] (bandhu); [pā:ts, pā:ṣ] = पाठ [pā:ṣ]; [ḥa:ṛ, ḍa:ṛ] = भाट [ḥa:ṛ] (ṣaṅḍa); [jānta] = जांता [jānta] (satya-); [ṭu:mbur] = ठुम्बर > ठुम्बर [ṭumur] (ṭumbura < udumbura); etc. But the persistent retention of the nasals as distinctly audible sounds, albeit reduced, does not mark East Bengali pronunciation in the same way that it does that of Orīyā. OB. and eMB., as in the Cāryās and the ŚKK., may be taken to represent a mingling of dialects, showing both reduction and complete absorption of the nasals; or, what is equally likely, the spelling with the full nasals is merely an archaic thing, and is not a proper key to the pronunciation which had already become nasal. The influence of Skt. ṭṣ. in orthography, which is always conservative, is to be taken into consideration in discussing the OB. and eMB. conditions in this matter.

177. Below are given instances of nasalisation of vowels in Bengali through class nasals and < anusvāra > occurring with consonants in OIA.

As Bengali vowels normally are more or less nasalised when preceded or followed by a nasal, the < anusvāra > becomes superfluous, and is often not used in writing.

(i) Unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals: the vowel is nasalised (after being lengthened), and the stop or the aspirate remains. E.g., आक < आक > (aṅka); काव्य < काव्य > (kaṅkṣa); पाण < पाण > (paṅka); भाप < भाप > (ṣaṅkṣa); पाण < पाण > (paṇca); पाण = सांता < माण = माण > (maṇca-); पाण, ताण < साण, चाण > (ṣaṇca); पाण < पृष्ठ- > wipe (pra + uṇch); वाण < वाण > (*vaṇta, ṛṇta); गाण < गाण > (gaṇthi, granthi); गाण < सुष्ठ > (sūṣṭhi); ताण < ताण > (tāntu); ताण < ताण > (danta); झाण < पाठ > (pāṭi); झाण < झाण > (kanthā); काण < काण > (kamp-); काण < काण > (campaka-); पाण < पृष्ठ > (gumpha); etc.

Sibilants with preceding < anusvāra > remain, with the < anusvāra > nasalising the preceding vowel: e.g., आश < आश > fibre (aṅšu); काश < काश > bell-metal (kaṅṣya); कासार < कासार > (kaṅṣya-kārin), but cf. Orīyā ṭbh. < कास, कासर > [kāṛa, kāṝari]; पाण < पाण > ashes (paṅṣu), cf. Orīyā < पाण >; वाण < वाण > (vaṅṣa), cf. Orīyā < वाण >; ताण < ताण > (taṅṣa), cf. Orīyā < ताण >; माण = माण < माण > (maṇsa), cf. Orīyā < माण >; हाण < हाण > (haṅsa).
TREATMENT OF 'N+G' IN BENGALI

OIA. "anusvāra" following the high vowel "i" is lost in "viṃśati">
MB. "viṣa, *viṣa" > Bengali বিস "বিস" , -ইষ, -শ "-(i)ষ" in composition:
একুশ "েকুশ" (কাকুশাতি), বাইশ "বাইশ" (দ্বাইশাতি); so -তিস, -তিষ, sts.
তিরিশ "তিস, তিষ, তিরিষ" (তিরিসত), চলিশ "চালিশ" (চালিশাতি), etc.

(ii) Class nasals with voiced consonants, and "anusvāra" with
"h, y, v "

(a) "-ŋg-" of MIA., from OIA., became "-ŋg-" with reduced
nasal in Proto-Bengali, and possibly also in OB. In the NB. Standard
Colloquial, "-ŋg-", or rather, "-ŋg", is assimilated to a full [ŋ], written
 InputStreamReader (finally only) "ŋg, ŋ, ʊ(ʊ) ", although the OB. and eMB. condition,
with the stop sound <g>, is preserved intervocally in some parts of East
Bengal. E.g., অলিন, অঞ্জিন "āṅ(ɡ)inā" (āṅgana-); অভাঙ, অভাঙং
"াভাঙ" (াভাঙ্গা); গাঙ, গাঙ, গাঙ "gāṅgā=ɡāṅgā > gāṅ=gāṅ > a river
(ɡāṅga); dē̄ words like চিঙ্গড়া, চিঙ্ডি, চিঙ্ডি "cindri" prawn, lobster
(চিঙ্গড়া); cf. Hind. jhinga, chāndi, chāndi "cāndī, cāndī", etc., basket
(OB. *cāndī, Caryā 10), চাণ, চাণ "cāṇā" well, in good spirits (dē̄ cāṇa,
চাণড়া "cāṇḍā" snail (OB. cāṇḍā), দাঙ, দাঙ, দাঙ "dāṅḍā" > spear, etc.;
চাঙ, চাঙ "dāṅḍā" > dyke (dāṅḍā); বাঙ, বাঙ, "bāṅgāla > bāṅgāla,
বাঙ "(বাঙগা), but East Bengali often [bāṅgā]; বাঙ, বাঙ "bāṅg > hemp
(baṅgā); মাঙ, মাঙ "bāṅg(ɡ) > breaks (bāṅga), but cf. ভাঙ "bāṅ-
in the ŠKK., at least 26 times, against ভাঙ "bāṅg-" = [bāṅ-], 14 times;
ট্র. রাঙ, রাঙ "rāṅ(ɡ) > red (ragga)-; রাঙ, রাঙ, রাঙ "rāṅ "tin; also in
রাঙ-চত "rāṅ-চত "a plant (ragga-citra-); but cf. sts. রাঙ, রাঙ "rāṅ "colour;
লাঙ, লাঙ "lāṅgā, lāṅ " (lavan-); লাঙ, লাঙ, লাঙ "lāṅ "; লাঙ, লাঙ "lāṅ(ɡ)ā "
(lāṅga-); OB. "sāṅga "= [sāṅga] (Caryā 10), found in NB. সাঙ, সাঙ "sāṅg, sāṅg(ɡ)āt ", in the Calcutta dialect সাঙ "[sāṅ]
(see p. 322) = friend
(সাঙগ+ -vart-), has given place to the ts. সাঙ, সাঙ, সাঙ "sāng, sāng(ɡ)ā "
in NB. The group "ŋg" of OIA. and MIA. thus normally becomes "ŋ 
in NB. (with nasalisation of preceding vowel generally not expressed in
writing). But eMB. spellings like ভাঙ "bāṅ-", and Caryā spellings like
লাঙ "lāṅgā " (= lāṅgā = *nāga < *naṅgā < nagga = nagna), to rime
with সাঙ "sāng " (= ? sāga < saṅga, cf. NB. সাঙ "sagāi < *sagāi union,
irregular marriage among certain lower castes), in Caryā 10, and সাঙ "māga 

PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

(= māgā, MIA. *māṅga< magga=mārga—cf. also the OB. spelling māṅ < māṅga in McCa 8, 13, 14) to rhyme with saṅ < saṅga=sāga (written ṣaṅ in MS.), as in McCa 8, would establish the normal transformation of -ng- of OIA. to -ng, g in OB. The assimilation was thus a thing of MB. and NB. times; and similar though later assimilation of -nd mb to -n, m are found in NB.

Tatsama words retain -ng- in full, intervocally; when closing a syllable, and in sts. forms, there is assimilation: e.g., bang < jāṅgāl > forest, bangul < jāṅgulē > Jāṅgal < jāṅgāl-iyā > belonging to the forest, but bangā, bangāl < jāṅgāla > wild; bang < māṅgālā >, but bangā, bangāl < māṅgāla > as a contracted proper name; etc.

OIA. -ngh- became -ngh- in OB., and with the dropping of the aspiration, the group fell together with the Bengali modification of -ng-. bang, bang < jāṅghā >; singh > singhi, sīkāni < sīṅgāni < sīnghānā-; and the word saṅgha, which would give in NB. a form *sāṅ < *sāṅ, seems to have merged into saṅ < saṅga < saṅga >.

OIA. -nh- in the word saṅha lost its nasalisation in Early MIA. -saṅha: the MIA. form possibly subsists in the NB. surname saṅ, sā < sā, sī > (see p. 352), originally forming part of personal names, like most non-Brāhmaṇa surnames in Bengal. In the sts. singh, singi < sing(h)i > we have the normal change of -nh- to -ng(h).

(b) -nj- becomes -j in NB., doubtless through a stage of -nj: e.g., ajāla < ajālā > (aṅjali-); āṅjā < āṅjā > (aṅja-, gaṅjikā); sāṅja < pājī > (paṅjikā); pājā < pājārā > (paṅjara); pājā < pājārā > (paṅjara); bhājā < bhājā > folding of cloth, paper etc. (bhaṅj). The Maithili change of -nj- to -nā > nā, as in aṅu, aṅu < aṅju > = *aṅsu > (aśru), is unknown to Bengali.

-ñjh- of MIA. became -jh in Bengali: e.g., jāṅghā < jāṅghā > strong flavour; huge cymbals (cf. jhaṅghā); saṅ < saṅjhā > (vaṅjā, vandhyā); saṅ < saṅjhā > (saṅjhā, sandhyā).

OIA. anuvāra + y became -nj- in MIA., and the Bengali development was -j: saṅjoa < saṅjoa > armour, corslet (saṅjoa-, saṁyoga: cf. Hind. saṁjowā, saṁjōna arrange).
In a few cases, we have <n> for <ṇ->—through an early assimilation of <ṇ> to <ṃ>—though <khāṛa> has got another meaning (see above). The <n-> forms may be due to the influence of similar words—e.g., <sthāna>—and <bāṅga> as in the 'Mahāvastu'.

<ṇḍ-> of MIA. > <ṛ-> in NB., with loss of aspiration: ḍhūṛ <ḍhūṛ> seeks (ḍōṣi ḍhūṛṣṭha); MB. कांडकर <कांडकर> helmsman, MB. कांढकर <कांढकर> (kāṇṭha-dhārā, kāṛṇa-dhārā).

(d) OIA. <nd-> Beng. <d->: इदूर <इदूर> (indura); इदूर <इदूर> <इदूर> (indrāṭa); इदूर <इदूर> (indrā); कांद <कांद> (krand); svs. कौदर <कौदर> (kendra-); ठांड <ठांड> (candra); ठांड <ठांड> (candra); ठांड <ठांड> (candra); ठांड <ठांड> (candra); ठांड <ठांड> (candra); ठांड <ठांड> (candra);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

<kodi> <kadal> (kandal <√krand); बौद्ध <bādar> monkey, from Hindōstānī <bandar> (vānara); etc. Cf. Persian borrowings like चाण <cādā> subscription; राना, रानी <cādā, cādā> carper’s plane; नगिल <badi> slave-woman; घिरह, घिरह <hīdu, hīdu> = <candah; rand añ; bandah añ; hindū, āndō>; and cf. an English borrowing like जड़रेल <jādrēl> a general, big person, big (slang), from general, through *jāñre, *jāndrēl = Hind. *jandrēl.

In dialectal and standard Bengali there are a few instances of assimilation of <nd> > <d> to <n, n>: e.g., কানা <kānā> (krandana-); ছান <cān> [tsā:n] = <cādā> (candra); কান্ত > কান্তে, কান্তে <kānta > kātte, kānte>, from কান্তে <kānta> to weep (krand-); similarly with <ndh>, which is found as <n> in Bengali > বান্তে, বান্তে, বান্তে <bādhite > bādtē, bātte, bānte = to bind (bandh); etc.

<nd> becomes <dh> : অহি <adhī> dust-storm (andhikā); অখার <ādhār> (andhakāra); কাঠ <kādhā> (skandha); stts. দাস <gādhā> to smell (gandha-); ধাপ <dhādp > doubt, paradox (dhandha); বাড় <bādp> a bond, a dam (bandha); ফাছ <phādp> net, a blend of <phā > (= pā) and <bandha> (?); পাঁথ <sādp> (sugandha-); etc.

(e) OIA. -mb-, -mr- > MIA. -mb-. The fortunes of -mb- were similar to those of -ng-: there has been uniformly an assimilation of the stop element, and the nasal generally has survived: although the <b> treatment is found occasionally. Examples: আম <āmp> (MIA. amba <*āmbra, āmra); OB. <kāmalt> a man’s name (Kambakali= Kambalāmbbara-pāda); চুম <cūm> (cumba-); জাম <jām> (jambu); ডিম <dīm> (dīmba); তামলী <tāmlī> a caste (tāmbulika); stts. কাদম <kādam > (kadamba); শামক <śamuk <śambukka >, śambu-ka); চিম <śim> (śimba); মিল <śimba> (śimbal <śalma); MB. (SKK.) সমম <śambhā>, stts., once, beside ts. সম্ভাদ <śambhā>, 11 times; stts. সমব্ধ, সমব্য <śambhā, śambhādi >, fife of which are

We find as early as in the Aṣokan inscriptions (of the eastern area) a form showing the <mb > mm > treatment, like <lummini = lummini > for <lumbini > (at Rumin-dei). But we have absence of assimilation in <tāmbaputri, amba >, at Delhi and Kalsi, the dialects of which are
on an eastern basis. The \( \text{<mb> > <b>} \) treatment seems to have characterised Old Bengali—at least, in West and West Central Bengal: the Eastern Rāḍha dialect is a dialect showing \( \text{<b>} \); also Oriyā; e.g., अभ 'अब्बा' (amba, ammra), cf. Oriyā 'अभ्बा' [āmba]; तब 'तबा' (tamba, tamra), cf. Oriyā 'तौबा' [tāmba]; नब 'नब ' (nab); MB. नाम 'नाम'—get down = Literary Bengali नाम 'नाम', East Bengali लाम 'लाम', (namba, nam); नब 'नब = नब', beside लब 'लब' (nimbuka); MB. सामाय, सामाय, beside सामाय 'सामाय, सामाय' enters, cf. OB. सामाय 'सामाय' enters (? samāyatā); OB. (Caryā 28) 'तंबोणा' (tāmbulā); OB. 'दंभोण' (Sarvānanda: Skt. damyāna)—NB. दम्भ 'दम्भ' ox; MB. जाभी, जाभी beside जाभ 'जाभ' (jāmbhira); cf. the MB. name (W. Bengal) जाभ; MB. 'हम्ब' (hāmā, hāmā) < Perso-Arabic 'अमृ'.

OIA. \( \text{<mbh> > <mbh>} \) in OB., MB., also \( \text{<mh, mm>} \) in MB. > NB. \( \text{<m>} \), without nasalisation of preceding vowel: कुमार 'कुमार' (*kumāra, kumbhāra—kumbha-kāra); कुमāर 'कुमार' (kumbhāra); गाभा 'ताभा' 'barn' (? skambhāgāra), cf. MB. गाभा, गाभा 'मंभ' (skambha-); गाभा 'ताभा' (stambha); सामाय 'सामाय' bears, holds, saves (sambhālayati, sambhārayati); etc.

Also MIA. \( \text{<mh> from various sources in OIA.} \): कुमार 'कुमार' (kumhaṇḍa, kuṣmāṇḍa); बाम 'बाम' (brāhmaṇa), cf. 'Bihārt' 'बैवा' (bābhaṇa, bambahāna < bambahāna < brāhmaṇa); आमिर, तर्म 'अमि, tumī' (amha-, tumba—asma, yusma-); etc.

OIA. \( \text{<anuśva> > <v> became <mb> so far as NIA. was concerned, at least in Northern and Eastern India: e.g., stss. किंबा, sāmbād 'kimbā, sāmbād', beside the proper किंवा, सांवद 'kīnvā, saṁvāda'; cf. MB. (SKK.) stss. सांवद 'sāṃvād ' (saṁvāda); NB. stss. सांवद 'sāṃvād '—arrange, flavour with spices (saṁ-vṛ); etc.

(f) Where two nasals of MIA. are reduced to one, there is nasalisation of the vowel (except such as comes in through its being followed by a nasal), and an 'a' is changed to 'a': e.g., अन्न 'अन्न' (anña, anya); कान 'कान' (kanā, karṇa); MB. कान, कान 'कान्हा, काना', NB. कान 'कान- (kaṇa, kaṅha, kaṇa); चान 'चान' (camma, carma); सोन 'सोना' (soṇa-, suvarṇa); MB. सोन 'सोना' corslet (sannāha); etc.
(2) 'Spontaneous Nasalisation' in MIA. and NIA. Onomatopoeics.

178. The above are cases where the nasalisation in Bengali corresponds to, or is based on, a nasal or 'anusvāra' in OIA. But there are cases in Bengali and other NIA. in which lḥ〈 words show nasalisation where there is no nasal in the corresponding OIA. form, as in Sanskrit: e.g., Bengali ṭhāṅśa 'hās-', Hindi 'hās', but OIA. 'ḥ̣as-'; Hindi 'śācā' (= satya-), nīd (nīdrā), sāp (sarpa); Marāṭhī 'kāsav', beside 'kāsav' (kacehapa); Hindi, Marāṭhī 'āsū' (aśru); etc. These are cases of the so-called 'spontaneous nasalisation' in NIA. It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan, imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches, towards articulating through both the mouth and the nose, and thus bringing in a nasalisation. This seems to have resulted also in a nasal after-glide of the vowel, an 'anusvāra', which was normally altered to a full class nasal corresponding to the stop sound which might follow: but the 'anusvāra' was retained before the sibilants and other open consonants. Prakrit spelling preserves the 'anusvāra' in most cases. This nasalising habit goes back certainly to Late OIA. and Early MIA. times: e.g., a Pali form like 'maḥīṇa' (mahiṣa), = Hindi 'bhaṅs' '*maḥīṇa'; and a case like Skt. 'karkāṭa' crab and 'kaṅkāṭa' armour (cf. Bengali কাঁকড়া 'kāṅkāṭa' crab; compare Latin 'cancer' and Greek 'karkinos' crab), which seem to be allied, would show that it was found in OIA. But it was prominent, as can be seen from the extant remains, from the Second MIA. Period. Second MIA. had forms like 'vāṅka (=vakka, vakra), daṅsana (=dassana, darśana), jampaï (=jappaï, jalpati), phaṅsa (phassa, sparśa), paṅkhi (=pakkhi, pakṣin), etc. (see Pischel, §§74, 86). This kind of spontaneous nasalisation was a characteristic thing in Second MIA. phonology; and dēśī words seem to have a special preference for alternative forms with the intrusive 'anusvāra' or nasal. The NIA. words with nasalised vowels can in most cases be referred to MIA. forms with intrusive nasal: and for such cases, where the extant remains in MIA. (Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa) do not furnish us with forms showing this spontaneous nasalisation, we have to go to MIA. hypothetical forms. (G. A. Grierson, 'Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages,' JRAS., 1922, pp. 381 ff.) Spontaneous
nasalisation is therefore not a NIA. phenomenon: for the NIA. forms given above, we have to postulate Second MIA. forms like «*haṁsa- (=hassa, hāsya), *saṁca (=sacca, satya), *niṁda (=niddā, nidrā), *sampa (=sappa, sarpa), *kaṁchava (=kacechava, kaechapa), *aṁsu (=assu, aśru)», etc., in the analogy of existing nasalised forms. And it would be seen that the nasal occurs in double consonant groups generally. As Grierson has shown, in many cases the MIA. nasal or «anusvāra» is not transformed into the nasalisation of the vowel in NIA., but remains as a pure nasal, or as what may be called a reduced nasal—the rhythm of the sentence commonly determining the matter.

So far as NIA. is concerned, these forms with spontaneous nasalisation are of the same category as those which show original OIA. or historical nasalisation, being equally inherited from MIA. All NIA. do not entirely agree in details, although all share in the results of this general principle or preference of MIA.: words with spontaneous nasalisation occur in one NIA. speech, say, Western Hindi, but are absent in another, say, Bengali, and vice versa: e.g., Bengali has साप «sāp», पाँ «pā» छाड़ «chārd» from «sappa, pā, chaḍḍ-», whereas Hindi shows साप, पाँ, छाड़ from «*sampa, *pāwa, *cand» of MIA., and Bengali কথ, কর্ণ «kāthā, kāyathā» from «*kawattha, *kaẏattha, kaittha» (kapittha) can be compared with মরত্তি «kawāth» (*kavaṇṭha): conversely, Bengali has পুথি «pūthi» (*ponthia) beside Hindi etc. পুথি «pōthi» (potthia), কুডন «kūdān» jumping beside Hindi «kūdnā», etc.

Examples in Bengali: আঁখ «ākā» (*aṅkhi, akkhi = aksi); আঁক <ākār» beside আঁক <ākāra (*aṅkhara, akkhar = aksara); আচ <āc (*aṇci, acci = arcī); আঁটি «āṭthi» stone of fruit (*aṇṭhi, aṭṭhi = asthi); ইট beside ইট «iṭṭ, iṭṭ» (*iṭtha = iṣṭa); উচ, উচ <ue, uc> (*uṇca, uccca); উচ, উচ <uṭṭ, uṭṭa> (*uṇṭa, uṭṭa = uḍṭra); কাঙ্কা <kakā» (*kaṅkaḍa, kakkaḍa = karkaṭa; cf. kaṅkaṭa armour); কাঙ্কুড <kakūd» (*kaṅkōḍia, kakkōḍi = karkōṭikā); কাঢ <kakā» (*kaṅkha, kakka = kakṣa); কুকুড <kuk(u)rā» (*kuṅkuda, kukaḍa = kukkita); কুঁখ <kūkh» (*kuṅkha, kokkha, cf. kukṣi); কুঁজ <kūjā» (*kuṇja, kujja, khujja = kubja); কুড <kūd» jumps (*kundaī,
kuddāi = kūrdati); फिंस < ghīs->, गीव < ghōs->, बिट < ghāt->, ढिंट < ghīt->, डिट < ghūt-> (*ghinisa-, *gḥantā, *gḥantta, *gḥuntta=ghissa, ghāṭṭ[h]a, ghīṭ[h]a, ghūṭ[h]a=√ghṛṣ-, ghṛṣṭa); घाढ < cāchē > scrapes (caṇchāi, cacchaī, *tacchaī=taḳṣati); चित < cēcā > shout (*cēcā-, *cīcā, cf. cit-kāra); ढिंट < cūcī > (*cūcā-?; cf. cūcuka); ढींट < cēcē > (*cēcūcāi? *cēcayati, *cēcayati); ढींट < chēdā > (*chenda-, chhadda=chidra); ढं < chūṭa > rush (*chunta, *chutta, *ṣutta=sūtra); ढींट < chōṅ > (*chūṅvai, chuvai=spṛṣati); ढींट < chōṅā > (*chōṅa, *śoṅa = śāuca); क्रांत < jhājhāra > (*jhānjhara, jhajjhara=jarjharā); ढींट < dhēṅ(h)ā > (*dhēṅta, dhīṭha=dhrṣṭa); ढींट < tūtiya > (*tuntha-, Skt. tūṭha); ढं < tiṣṇa > (*tiṣṭha, tūṣa; नांन, nāṅka < nāṅ(g)ā > (*nāṅga-, nāṅga=nagna); M.B. निंद < nindā, nīdā > (*ninda, nīdā=nidrā); पाठिल < pācīlā > (*pācīlā=?=prācīra); पृंट < pūt(h)i > a fish (*poṇthi, poṭthi, poṛthi); पृंट < pūthi, beside pūth < puthi > (*ponthia, pothia=pustikā); पिपिल < pīpārā > (*pimpāṇḍa-, *pimpiḍa-, *pīpiv(a)da, cf. pipiṇikā); पहं, पौष < pa(h)ūch > arrive (*pahūnce, *pahuecha, OIA. *pra-bhū-echo; see p. 344); पेंठ < pēṇa > (*pēṇa, pēṇa=pēṭaka); फूंक < phāṅki > (*phāṅkia, cf. phakkikā); फूंस < phāṅsa > (phāṅsa = pāsa); बाजूल < bāṭula > bullet, pellet (*baṇṭula, vaṭṭula = vartula); मां < māṅ > (*māṅga, magga=mārga); मां < māṅge, beside मां < māṅ(g)ā, māṅge > (*māṅgēi, maggei = mārgayati); फूं < sāṅā > (*sāṅsa, *sāsəsa=sasya); साणक < sājār >, also गौज < sājār > porcine (*sāṇja-, sajjia, *sāṅja-, sejja=ṣāya+rūpa); गैंठ < sācā > (*sācā, sacca=satya); हाः, beside हाः < hāḥs, hās > (*haṁsa, hassa, hāsya); हांक < hāṅka > (*haṅka, hakka); ढींट < hēṭa > (*heṇṭ[h]a, heṭṭha=adhiṣṭāt); etc.

Of the Bengali dialects, that of Rādha, especially West Rādha, has a great fondness for nasalisation, and this tendency is noticeable from the 14th century (ŚKK.). The conjunctive participle affix इव < -iyā > is particularly noticeable as being always nasalised in West Rādha, into इव, इव, इव, इव, etc. = *iyā >, and this nasalisation still subsists. It is especially absent or weak in East Bengal.

In cases like ढींट < cūcī >, ढींट < chōṅā >, ढींट < chēdā >, ढं < chōṅ > etc., noticed above, as well as कींट < kāḍā > (kāca), पींट < pēcā > (pēcaka),
where we have a single \( e \) in OIA., the nasalisation may be specially Bengali, being only a carrying on of the MIA. phonetic peculiarity in NIA.; so also in forms like \( \overline{e} < \sqrt{c}u > \) *leak* (eyav), and \( \overline{c}h \) « *chî > touch* (MIA. chuv.-), \( \overline{\text{u}} \overline{\text{i}} < \text{jî} > (\text{jûhî, yûthî})", and in words showing nasalisation of MIA. vowels in contact, or of a form like \( \overline{\text{u}} \text{v} < \text{tûs} > \), with one consonant only. Or it may be through nasalisation in OB. of the \( w \) glide into \( \text{v} > \): cf. « *chuvâï, *chuwaï, *chuwaï, NB. chôy >. NB. shows some cases of spontaneous nasalisation in foreign loan-words as well: e.g., \( \text{hûs} > \) *senses* < Persian \( \text{hûs} >, \overline{\text{h}k} > \overline{\text{hûk} ã} > < \text{Perso-Arabic} > \text{huqqah} >, \overline{\text{pûp} ê} > < \text{Portuguese} > \text{papaia} >, \text{hîsâpâl} > < \text{English} > \text{hospital} >, etc.

179. Onomatopoetics are a characteristic class of words in NIA. which have nasalised vowels. Most NIA. onomatopoetic forms go back to MIA., they are of indigenous development (see ante, p. 175), and as a rule they cannot be traced to OIA. In the few that are found in Vedie, nasals do not form any conspicuous element (cf. Whitney, ‘Sanskrit Grammar’, §1091a, §1135). Cf. NB. \( \overline{\text{p} k} > \overline{\text{c} c} > \text{shout}, \text{OIA.} > \text{cicicîk} > \) *a bird*. The MIA. equivalents of Bengali onomatopoetics are not always found, but the principle of formation is the same. Nasalisation in NB. onomatopoetics prefers the \( \overline{\text{k}} = \text{earlier} \overline{\text{k}} \) sound; e.g., \( \text{kôôkôô} > \) *kât-kât >, but \( \text{kôôkôô} > \text{[kââ kâk]} > \text{kôôkôô} > \text{tuk-tuk} >, \text{but} \text{tôôkôô} > \text{têk têk} >. (See references at p. 175, for lists of onomatopoetics in Bengali etc., and their significance.)

180. Nasalisation is a noteworthy thing in NIA. phonology, but, nevertheless, there are cases showing the dropping of an original OIA. nasal. In origin such elision is undoubtedly dialectal, like the preservation of the ‘spontaneous nasalisation’ of MIA. As has been said before, nasalisation is left unnoticed in Bengali orthography when there is a pure nasal in the preceding or following syllable: \( \text{tê} > \) *mêcê* (mañca), \( \text{mê} > \) *mêthânôd* (manthana), \( \text{nê} > \) *nânâdô* (nanandô) etc. are not cases of loss of nasalisation. Loss of OIA. nasalisation figured in MIA. itself in a few words which have been inherited by NIA.: e.g., OIA. > \( \text{viññati, triññat, siñha} > > \) MIA. *visa, tisa, siha > NIA. > *bis (vis), tis, si >. Examples from
Bengali are अলिपाना, अलिपाना (<alipāna, alipāna>) (ālīmpaṇa-); किछू < kicchu > (ef. kiṣeṣid); कुलकी < kulājī > (kula-paṇti); छौटक < chaṭākā > ef. Hind. < chaḷāk > (*ṣaṭ-ṭāṃka); टाक < ṭākā > beside *टाक < *ṭākā > *ificaciona < *tiya > (ṭāṃka-); MB. भित < titā > *et (<tim); दाड़ < dārā > (*daṇḍāḥ < daṇḍārā); MB. निच निच > (nirmanc); गलकी < pālāki > beside pālā, pālā, pālā < pālāk/ga, pālā > (*pālaṅkia, *parṇaṅkikā); पोड़ < pōḍ > a caste (?puṇḍra); भर्ती < bhāyā > (adj.) (Pali mahīṣa-, māhi); मित्र < bhendra > (abhyantara); भिज भिज > (abhyānī); रेडो < reṛ > (śrēṇḍra-); शिकल शिकल >, beside OB. शिकला > (śrīkhalā, śṛṣṭa); सोड़, सोड़ी < sūkṣma >, sāgdrī > leavings of meal, beside सोड़ी < sūkṣma > (śrīkaṭa-); MB. सोचन, सोचन < sūcāṇ, sācāṇ > hawk (saṇcāna); etc. The loss of the nasal in the present participle affix इत < -it > from < -ant >, in the locative affix ते < tē > from < *anta-dhi > *antahi >, in the dative post-position ते < tārē > from < antar-ē >, is specially Bengali, i.e., originated in the NIA. period.

[III] Nasalisation through Intervocal ‘-m-, -n-’

181. There are two other cases of nasalisation in NIA., also derived from MIA.

(i) Single intervocal ‘-m-’ of OIA. became < ṇ >, bilabial spirant nasalised, a nasal [v], after the Second MIA. Period. With palatal vowels, < ṇ > figured as < ū > in Early NIA. This < ṇ, ū > normally occurs in NIA, as a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel. E.g., आदि, आदि, आदि < niṣṭa, niṣṭa, niṣṭa > (*niṣṭa, niṣṭa); चूह < bhū > (bhūmi, bhūmi). In Late MIA., a < ṇ > sound at times became < ṇ > through analogy or infection, and nasalised a vowel in NIA.: e.g., eMB. पोकार < pukāra > (*pukāra, pukāla, pukāla, pukāla); शूषा < śūṣa > tendril (*śūṣa, *śūṣa-, *śūṣa-, śūṣa-); so probably OB. *haũ < *haũ, hawam < hawam=aham >. Conversely, there are cases of denasalisation of < -m- > -w- > -w- in NB.: e.g., कादा < kāda > (kardam); झल < jaḷ > I walk (*jaḷi, *jaḷi=jaḷi); cf. also पाली, सार्ध, आट < pālā, sārā, āṭā >, p. 303, beside छुउ < chāu > (*cha-mika). This is discussed under ‘Nasals,’ in the Phonology of the Consonants.
(ii) In the OB. and eMB. affix "-</u0966>" for the instrumental, we have a case of nasalisation of the vowel through contact with original "-n-" which dropped out: "-ēna" > "-ena", "-enam" > "-em, -ē". So OIA. genitive plural affix "-anām" gives "-ā" in Bengali. (See pp. 303, 306, ante; also in Morphology, under ‘Inflexions of the Noun,’ and ‘the Pronouns.’)

Post-consonantal "-m-, -u-" in Tatsamas.

In ts. words in NB., "-m-" subscript nasalises the vowel, and is not itself pronounced separately: e.g., कुल्लिद "rukmiṇi" [rukkiṇi], आत्मा "ātma" [āttā], पद्म "padma" [poddā, poddo], शासन "śmaśana" [ʃʃʃan], भविष्य "bhūṣma" [bhiʃʃ], विश्वास "vismaraṇa" [biʃʃhroṇ], Skt. तदृश, तद्यन् "tasmai, tasmin" etc.=[toʃʃi, toʃʃu]. The pronunciation [atma] for आत्मा = [āttā, āttā, ātta] is on rare occasions heard, but that is un-Bengali. In the group ज "-ju", "-u-" similarly nasalises the vowel and is dropped: ज्ञान "jnāna" = [gə:n], विज्ञ "vijnā" = [biggʃ].
CHAPTER IV

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

[D] INTRUSIVE VOWELS (« VIPRAKARṢA », ANAPTYXIS).

182. The introduction of a glide vowel between two consonants forming a group has been referred to before (p. 256. See Pischel, § 131ff.; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 29 ff). It has occurred in all the periods of IA., as of other Indo-European speeches. The glide vowel comes between a liquid, *r, l* or a nasal, *m, n* plus a stop, or the other way, or between a sibilant and another consonant; or, again, between two stops. The intrusion of the vowel takes place most frequently in connection with a liquid or nasal. A glide breath or voice, which is easily transformed into a vowel, comes in between two dissimilar stops when the first one is fully exploded and articulated: and the normal Indian habit, ever since the assimilation of dissimilar consonant groups leading in the MIA. period, has been to pronounce consonants in full, favouring the incoming of the glide. (See p. 251.) Hence Indian pronunciation of English words like act, begged [æk,t, bɛɡd] commonly becomes [ækʰtʰ, ækʰt, ækʰtʰ] and [beɡdʰ], and button, sudden [batn̩, sadn̩] become [baṭan, saṭan]. The sounds of *r, l, m, n* can be pronounced by themselves, and in this they partake of the nature of vowels, and so they can easily bring in a vowel in their train; and the same remark is to a slight extent true of the sibilants. Apart from these vocalic glides, there are the consonantal glides *w, y*, in origin also vocalic sounds, which occur between two vowels. Their nature has been discussed before (pp. 338 ff.).

From the Early MIA. period, Sanskrit borrowings were coming in, and they often showed this intrusive vowel. In Second and Late MIA., old worn-down *bh* forms were frequently replaced by cognate *ts* forms, and NIA. has duly inherited them. Thus the proper *bh*. *sūsava, sassava* (sarṣapa) was replaced by *sarisava*, whence Hindi *sarsā*, Beng. সরিষা, সারিষা; instead of the expected OB. *bh*. *pāma* < MIA.
< *pamma » < OIA. « padma », we have in OB. (Caryā 49) पुष्पा « पान्य = पाॅना » < MIA. sts. with intrusive vowel « *paũṭa, paduma» < « padma ». The Old Māgadhī तोष. « kaṭṭaviya », written « kaṭṭaviya » in the Asāka inscriptions, from OIA. « kartavya », came to be replaced, possibly during the Transitional MIA. period, by a sts. with anaptyxis « *karitavya, *karitabba », which became in Late MIA. « *kariabba »; the source of the Magadhan करिव « kārib- », « karab- » etc.; the Old Māgadhī « kaṭṭaviya » would have given a NB. *कुधै « *kāṭui ».

Apart from those cases of « viprakarṣa » in MIA., mainly with the liquids and sonants (which are rather difficult to distinguish if one of the two consonants is not a stop in OIA.), NIA. has carried on this principle in adopting ts. words, and foreign words. This practice was quite a characteristic habit of the NIA. speeches in their ‘ Old ’ and ‘ Middle ’ period; and in Modern NIA. it has fallen into disfavour, through the greater influence of Sanskrit on the literary language. The « viprakarṣa » forms are never used in prose, and in conversation, except in the case of some stereotyped or well-established forms: but they are thought quite proper for poetry. Each language has its preferences for « viprakarṣa » forms: where Hindi will use forms in writing and conversation like « bhagat, ratan, jatan, magan, sanē » etc., Bengali will prefer « bhāktā, rātnā, jātnā (yātnā), māgnā, snēhā (or ‘ stēhā ’) »; but in the colloquial, forms like « puttur, bhuru, nākhāttār, tiriṣ, bājjār » would be perfectly proper in Bengali.

In Bengali, intrusive vowels determine their nature from those in their contiguity, as in most languages. Words, ts. or foreign, cannot end in two consonants in Bengali: either they must have the prop of a final vowel, or « viprakarṣa ».

Examples of « viprakarṣa » in Bengali:

(i) « -ū- »: অন্তরায়ী অঞ্চলায়ী (antar-yāmin); অডারশা (ādaṛśa-: MIA.: see p. 256); করম « kārmā » (karma); কিশোর (kṛṣṇa); পার (gārāba) (garva); পার (gārāj) (gāraj); পার (gārūṣ) (grūsa); চন্দী (candāra) (candra); চন্দী (cākkāra) (eakra); চোর (chārāḍ) (śrāddha: see p. 190); জন জানাম (janma); sts. চোছন,
फॉनोलॉजी: चैप्टर IV

जोचना < jōchānā, jōchānā > (jüotsnā); तरास < tārās > (trāsa); दरशन < dārāsān >; दीपती < dīpāti > (dīpti); धरम < dhārāma>; नक्षत्र < nākkahtaṛ > (nākṣatra), cf. tōh. MB. ब्रह्म < nākhaṭā >; पत्तार < pāttārā > (patra); परश < pārās > (sparśa); पत्तार < pāttārā > (patra); प्राण, पराण < pārān(1) > (prāna, -1); MB. ब्रह्म, NB. ब्रह्म < bājārā, bājjārā > (vajra); MB. ब्रह्म < bājārā >; भक्त < bīkātā > (vyakta); भक्त < bākātā >; भाद्रव < bhādṛa-badhū >, also भाद्रव < bhādṛa-badhū > < *bhādṛā, bhātrā >, with influence of genitive *-āra > (bhrāṭ-avadhū); लग < māgān >; ब्रह्म < mārāṭā > (marta); ब्रह्म < mārāma >; भूम < mūrāchā >; mūrati < mūrāti >; रात्र < jātān > (yatna); रात्र < rātān >; लग < lāgān >; MB. लक्ष < lubādhā >; लक्ष < svāpānā >; लक्ष < svārāgā >; शास्त्र < śāstārā >; शास्त्र < śaṭārā >; etc., etc.

Cf. *गरहस्त < garaḥastā > < *garahastha > or *garahastha > (=ghastha); MB. जरम < jārāmā > birth, a very common word, is a back formation from the tōh. जाम < jāmā >, found in OB., = MIA. < jāmā > (OIA. < janma >, on the analogy of *karma, dhārma < kamma, dhamma > tōh. kāma, dhāma >); we have even a false restoration to pseudo-Sanskrit of this *jārāmā, to जर्म < jārāmā >.

(ii) < -i- >: इन्द्र > सिर > (indra); तिर > किरिया > (kriyā) an oath, e.g., बौम तिर > (I swear) on thy funeral rites (kriyā); MB. गिरिया, गिरिया < giriṣā, giriṣā > (MIA. < giriṣṣa > = gṛismā): a genuine Māgadhī form, with < *-sā > for < *-smā >; cf. a tōh. गूल < gūma-tā > heat, stuffiness = MIA. < gūma >, probably connected with < gīmsa >; NB. गिरिया < giriṣmā > [giriṣi] (gṛismā); तिरित < gīm > (ghṛta); चिर, चिर < chīr, chhīr > (probably MIA. stī < sīr >; cf. tōh. ची < chī >); तिरित < tiriṣā >, beside तिरिस < triṣā >: the tōh. is तीस, तिस < tīs, tīs > found in compounds (tīṣāt); MB. तिरित < tīrī > (MIA. strī); गिरिया, गिरिया < pilī, pilē > whence NB. गिरिया < pilī, pilē >; बिरिया < bārisā > (? MIA. : vārā); MB. बिरिया < pinārā > (vimarṣa); MB. बिनान < sinānā > (MIA. : snāna); MB. बिनेह < sinēhā > (MIA. : snēha); बिरिया < sārisā > (MIA. : sārṣapa-); etc.

(iii) < -u- >: अगुन < agun(i) > (agni); MB. अगुन < durubārā > (durvāra); MB. अगुन < durujōgā > (duryoga); अगूर, अगुर < duruvārā >

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PROThESIS OF VOWELS

< dwārā > (dvāra); पठम, -निनी पदुम, -मिनी (« padma »); cf. OB. पाद (MIA. « paduma »); MB. पुहर (puhupā), through Braja-bult influence (*puha = pusa); पुत्र (putturā) (putra); भुर (bhuru) (bhrū); मुक्ति (muktā) (muktā); MB. लुद्व (lubudhā) (lubdha); श्वर (śattur) (śatru); शुद्ध (śuddurā) (śuddra); MB. सुखम (sukhumā) = (?) MIA., = sūkṣma); समर (sumārā) (smar-, smr-); the MIA. sts. « sumara » gives MB. सोर (sōwār-), with change of « -m » to « -w »; etc. Cf. English flute > फलूट > phuluṭ.

- e- >: ग्राम (gērāma) (grāma); चराजम (chērājām), besides चराजम (chērā́dā): see p. 190; परेत (pērēta) (prēta). Cf. English glass > गलास (gēlās).

(v) « -ō- >: शोलक (śōlōka) (śōka); folk Bengali सोर (sōrā) (srūta); etc.

For « viprakarṣa » in foreign words, see ‘ Phonology of the Foreign Elements.’

[Ε] PROThESIS OF VOWELS.

183. A change similar to that of the Latin « sperare » to French espérer also characterised the transformation of a few words from OIA, into MIA.: e.g., Pali « itthi » < « *istri = strī », « umhayati » < « *usmayatē = smayatē ». The prothetic vowel, however, was exceedingly rare in MIA., groups like « sk-, st-, sp-, sm- » being almost always assimilated or altered to « kh-, th- (ṭh-), ph-, mh- ». In ts. forms in NIA., too, we find the prothetic vowel in some words. It occurs as « ā- » or « i- ». The « ā- » seems to have become « ā » in MB., and the MB. forms have been continued down to NB.: e.g., आनान < āsnānā > (suṇā), cf. Hindi आनान; आसप्प < āspadd (h)ā > (spardhā); आनी < ist(i)ri >, folk pronunciation of « strī ». Compound consonant groups like ह < ṇka >, ह < ska > etc. are pronounced in the school room as ह < ṇkā >, ह < ṇkā > etc., following the old tradition of the prothetic vowel. The names of the three nasals ṅ, ñ, ŋ < ṇ, ŋ, ŋ > have got a prothetic vowel before them, being pronounced ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ: cf. the Oriyā name for ऊँ = « ṇā » or « ṇā ».
Words like তিরি tiri, তন tana are MB. stss. without prothetic vowel (*stiri = strí; stana), which simply have dropped the s-. Ts. words with the prothetic vowel are not many in Bengali, but a number of examples are found from among foreign loan-words.

A few words in MB. have a prothetic ā-, ē-, which has no special value, except perhaps that of an intensive. The source of this ā-, ē- is not clear (see Morphology, under Formative Affixes: ‘Prefixes’): e.g., অকুমারী, অকুমারী ākumārī, ākumārī > virgin, অমন āmānā > bad, etc.

[F] Epenthesis.

184. Epenthesis of -i- or -u- is not unknown to MIA., but there it is not regular, not at all a characteristic of the language, only some sporadic instances of it being found: e.g., kēra < *kāira, *kāirā, *kārā = kārya>, an old sts. of the MIA. period, used in Late MIA. (like kaa<kṛta>, as well as kara, kāra) with the genitive to strengthen it; pēranta < *pairanta, *pairānta, *parīnta = paryanta>; pōra < *pura, *paurā, *paurā = parva>, etc. (Cf. Pischel, § 176.) In Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, epenthesis does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in ‘Bihārī’; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Magadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in the Magadhan dialects or languages before the NIA. period. The OB. remains in the Ćaryās and in Sarvananda, as well as the names in the inscriptions, do not give any traces of epenthesis. Forms in the Orīyā inscriptions of the 15th century (see ante, p. 107) show how epenthesis had become established in Orīyā by that date. In later Orīyā, the epenthetic habit fell into desuetude. The Sadānī form of Central and West Magadhan can be said to have epenthesis: e.g., māirkē < māri-kē > having beaten, mairkē < mari-kē > having died, ghaīt < ghaṭī > having lessened, āij, kāl < āji, kāli > today, tomorrow, kāiṭ < kaṭī > having cut, etc. (See E. H. Whitley, ‘Notes on the Gāsawārī Dialect of Lohardaga, Chhota Nagpur,’ Calcutta, 1896.) In Modern Maithili etc., there are just traces of it, e.g., in the change of a group -ahu to -āh [nahu > o:h],
and it does not look as if Old or Early Middle Maithil, as in the 'Varna-ratnakara,' had epenthesis. The same can be said of Magahi and Bhõjpuriyã.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we see a weakening of -i, -u after ə, ə in the 14th century; and the beginnings of epenthesis certainly go back to that century. In the 15th century, in the works of Kṛttivīśa, Vijaya-gupta, and the rest, works which are preserved in rather late MSS., epenthesis is a noticeable thing. That the language was already anticipating the -i-, -u- sounds as short vowels ending diphthongs, and shifting them forwards, is evidenced from the orthography of the ŠKK. e.g., असि (āsī) = असिहā = असिहā you will come (precative), beside असिः (āsā) you come; असु (āsu) beside असिः (āsu) let him come; असः, असी (āsi, āsī), असिः (āsī) having come, असी (āsi) I come, असिः, असिः, असिः beside असिः (āsā) = he comes; पाली (pālī) = paillī thou hast obtained, beside पाई, पाई; पाई (pāyā, pāyā) will come = असिः, असिः, असिः, असिः, etc.; beside असिः (āsā) = he comes; पाली (pālī) = paillī thou hast obtained, beside पाई, पाई; पाई (pāyā, pāyā) has obtained (also पाव = pāvā = pāvā I shall get); पाली, पाली (pāyā, pāyā) = ibid., पाली, पाली (pāyā, pāyā) entered, पाली (pāyā) let him enter = असिः, beside पाय (pāyā) having entered, पाली (pāyā) let him enter, पाली (pāyā) enters; हसि (hāsi) = हसि = thou art beside हसि (hāsi) = हसि having been; etc. These spellings are entirely in the spirit of later MB. orthography for the epenthetic vowel—like बाय (bāy for बाय (bāy) = बाय (bāy) (bahis), अल (ālu) for अल (ālu) = dishevelled (akula), अल (ālu) = for अल (ālu) = and even अल (ālu) = for the Mohammedan name अल (ālu) = (Dāul).

Epenthesis in MB. is simply the anticipation of an -i or -u before the consonant after which it occurred was pronounced: e.g., काय (kāy) > *kārya > *kārya (kārya) having done. In most of the dialects, the anticipatory or epenthetic vowel was retained, and the original one was dropped generally, after it had affected the character of contiguous अ (ā) by advancing it a little—e.g., काय (kāy) > [koīra < *koīra], as in East Bengali. In the Standard Bengali development of vowels by

1 Can these spellings suggest a pronunciation *āsun, *pausu,* in which the *i* was turned to *u* by contamination, beside a likely *āsu, pausu,*?
Umlaut and Contraction, it seems that both the original vowel and its anticipatory form are at the basis of the modern words: e.g., *kʰirii > *kʰirī > kʰer, kõer > kʰer > [oi > o > o, ia > ia > e > e, e]; so sāth > sāth, sāthā > *sāthu > *sāthва > *sāthва > sāthwa (cf. Typical East Bengali sāthā, sāthā > sāthwa, sāthā > Standard Colloquial sātho > sātho companion [au > *au > *au > ai > e, ua > uo > ūo > o]). Epenthetic a changed to i in most Bengali dialects. In original disyllables, ending in -i, -u, there is no retention of the vowel in its original place any longer—at least in the modern speech—after there is epenthesis: e.g., kāli > *kālita > *kāili > East Bengali kāl, kāl, kāl, Standard Colloquial kāl > kāl > ka:1; but certain West Bengali dialects indicate the presence of the final -i in MB. by having a slightly palatalised -i—like ly—in addition to an advanced a: [ka:li, ka:1]. There was no epenthesis when -i (as in the affix of the verb, first person, present tense) historically is the result of Vowel Contraction (see page 351): e.g., kāri > kāri > I do (< *kārī, *kāri, *karīmi = karami, karomi); but MB. has an epenthetic form like ैरī > ैरī for the ts. ैरī > enemy. Ts. words also undergo epenthesis in Bengali.

Epenthetic vowels generally are not preserved in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali: they have brought in other phonetic changes. Examples: आजी < aji > आजी, आज < aij, aj > (adya); ts. आदि < aidi > आदि, आद < aid, âd >; आलिपना < alipānā > आलिपना, आलिपन < aipānā, ilpanā > (alimpana-); *काट < kāti > काट, काट < ka:t > dregs, dirt (cf. Skt. kīṭa); कालिया < kāliya > the black one > काही, केले < kāliya, kēlē > (*kāla + ika + â); खली < khāli > dregs, mustard cake > khāl, ग्ल < khāl, khōl > (MIA. khoili); पाठ < gāthi > पाठ, पाठ < gāṭ, gāṭ > (gañthi, granthi); चार < cāri > चार, चार < cār, cār > (catvārī); ts. जात < jāti > जात, जात < jāit, jāt >; तरित < tāriti > to cross > तिर्थ, त्रित < tārit, tōrti > (< < tf); थाकित < thākiti > to remain > थाकित, थाकित < thāk, thāk > (thak-.stabh-kř); दाल < dāli > pulses > dāl, दाल < dāil, dāl >; sas. नारकल < nāraka > नारक, नारकल < nārkāla, nārkāl >; पापी < pāpi > *pāpi, पाप > *pāpi, pāpi > (prativēsin); पापित < pāpita > watery >
EPENTHETIC ‘-I-, -U-’

The semivowel ० < y > subscript (‘य-कला’ < yā-phālā’), in a consonant group in ts. words, behaves like ै < i >, and undergoes epenthesis: अत्यं अध्या, pronounced in East Bengal as [aiddo]; so अत्यं अध्या =
[oinno], कष्ट्र < kanyā > = [koinna], काव्य < kāvyā > = [kaibbo], काष्ट्र < kārya > = [kairfo, kairdza], सत्त्र < satyā > = [jhitto] (but cf. स्वा- < svatva > सत्त्र < sat-tva > both = [jhitto]), योग्य < yōgya > = [ʃʃiʃggo, dzʃʃggo], संध्या < śāndhyā > = [ʃʃaind(ʃ)ə], पाश्चात्य < pāşcātya > = [paʃʃitto], निधि < mithya > = [miʃʃtha, mittha], etc. Sanskrit क < kṣ > had in Bengali, Assamese and Oriya the value of < khy- > initially and < -kkhy- > in the interior of a word; and Sanskrit ज < jù > similarly had the sounds of < gy-, -ggy- >, with nasalisation of the contiguous vowels. The < -y- > element of these groups equally undergo epenthesis: e.g., लक्ष्म < lakṣa > [loikkho], अक्ष < akṣa > [oikkho], तत्काल < tātā-kāla > by that time [totoikkhon], प्रत्यक्ष < pratyakṣa > [prottiokkho] < *prottiokkho] ; cf. कष्म < kṣamā> khyāmā >, pronounced [kʰəma, kʰəma]; यज्ञ < yajña > = [ʃʃoʃʃg, dzʃʃg], अज्ञ < ajñāta > [oʃʃgəta], etc.

Epenthetic < i, u > were pronounced very short or weak, and they led to the formation of diphthongs with preceding vowels; and either these diphthongs remain (as in East Bengali), or the < i, u > are entirely dropped, with resultant modification of preceding < a > to < o > and < a > to < e > (as in the Standard Colloquial). Some dialects both of East and West Bengal, again, are at the intermediate stage, in which just the suggestion of the epenthetic vowel is heard: this extremely short vowel can be written as < i, ū >, or as < i u > above the line, in the Roman character: in Bengali, the symbol ' for .byte, first used for this purpose by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānīdhi, is very convenient, beside the apostrophe ('). Thus κάλ < kāl > time = from Skt. < kāla >, [kaːl] in all Bengali; but MB. καλι < kali > tomorrow, yesterday (Skt. kalya) occurs as काल, काल, क′ल, κάλ [kaːl, kaːl, kaːli, kali, kaːl] in the various dialects, the last being the Standard Colloquial (Calcutta) form; चलिय < cāliya > having walked > *cāliyā, चलिय, चल, चल, चल, चल, चल, चल [ʃiʃiʃa, ʃiʃa, ʃiʃə, ʃiʃə, ʃiʃə] (also [ʃə] for [ʃ] in East Bengal); साध्य < sādhya > *sādha, sādhya, sādha, sādha, sādha, sādho etc. [ʃəù, ʃəù, ʃəù, ʃəù, ʃəù, ʃəù].

The vowels < i, u >, even when not epenthetic, formed diphthongs with preceding vowels, < ā, ə > specially, from Early MB. (See §146, pp. 295 ff.) In MB. orthography, epenthesis of < i, u > as well as their occurrence
in diphthongs was expressed in various ways. One way, which is already found in the ŠKK. (see p. 379), was not to modify the spelling in any way, when the following syllable had <i> or <u>; so that करिः <kāri(y)i> would be pronounced as <kāri>a>, करिः <kāri> as <kār>l, अलिपिः <ālipi>n as <āl>(i)pāna>, and डाल <dāli> as <dāl>i>. This practice brought about the orthographic habit of writing the vowel after the consonant even when it was originally pronounced before it, and continued to be pronounced so during the MB. period: e.g., through the custom of writing फां red powder <phāgu> (=phalgu) as फां even when the pronunciation फांg <phāug> was established, हुक, हौक <hau-k, hou-k> let him be was also written as हुक <haku>; and a word like अउल <āul> (ākula) came to be written as अउल <ālu>: cf. अलुअल <āluālā> let loose the hair (past tense) (for अउल <āul>ālā), which continued to be pronounced, in spite of the spelling, with the <u> vowel, or <u> i>, before the <l> (<āulālā, āulālā>, whence Calcutta Bengali एला, -ला <elā, -lā> [elāle]). In some stereotyped forms, like अलुअल <ālu-thālu> dishevelled, crumpled, the spelling-pronunciation, however, has persisted. Epenthesis was also phonetically indicated by writing इ <i>, ई <ai>, उ <u> fully, especially it East Bengal MSS.: e.g., सत्य <sātya>, pron. [sātio], is found as नेत्य <nāitya>; आदि <ādi> for आदि <ādi>; बाट <bāt> for बाट <bāti> (bāshi); साउण <sau(h)i> for साउण <sādu> <sādu>; लाईक <lāik> for लाईक <lāik>, etc., etc. Again, because the <y> subscript in numerous ts. words as pronounced was epenthetic <i>, MB. scribes, from after Early MB. times, employed the subscript <y> for indicating epenthesis in त्र. forms: e.g., हल <hālya> for हल <hāl>, गात्य <khātya> for गात्य <khāt>, गात्य <kālya> for काल <kāl>, गात्य <kāliya>, राख <rākhyā> for राख <rākh>, राख <rākhiya>, राख <rākhihā> = NB. Standard Coll. शेख <shēk> you will keep (future precative), आय <āyya> for आई, आई <āi, āi> (avidhavā), आय <āyān (n = w) > for आईम <āam > I came, करा <kārya> for काहीर <kāri>, <kāriya> having done, बास <bāsyā> for बास <bās>, आ० <aasā> for आ० <aasā> he comes, पाकाल <pākālā> for पाकाल <pākālā> heroism, a soldier's devoir (<pākālā),
and even a form like কাঁচা for নাস্তা = না আইসিরা = nāśyā = not having come. Another way, which is due to the carelessness of the scribe, was not to write the i, u at all, both epenthetic and diphthongal, even when the next syllable did not have these vowels—so that its presence could not even be implied through attraction. Thus, simply হল = hālā was written for হৈল, হাল = hālā = was, হালার = bāhār = for বোহার = bāubārī = (see p. 345), পশে = pāše = for পশে, পাশে = pāīše = enters, আলু = aīlū = for আলু = aīlū = I came, etc. This method, or want of method, is late, and began only when in a great many words (in West Bengal), the i, u vowels came to be dropped from pronunciation.

Among the NB. dialects, epenthesis still retains its force in the Vang or East Bengal speeches. In Standard Colloquial Bengali, and in West Bengali generally, there has been contraction of epenthetic vowels, as well as Umlaut, which was a direct result of epenthesis in these forms of NB. (See below.) The 'Crepar Xaxtrr Orthbhed,' being in the Dacea dialect, indicates epenthesis quite regularly: e.g., *coina = kāṇa (kanyā); *xaidher = soḍhe, soḍhe, soḍhun (sādhun + ēṛa); *baix bia = bāis bīa = bāis bīa = bās bīa = bās = bās = bās = 'stale marriage,' wedding ceremonies of the second day; *rojqha = rāṣa (rakṣa); *xoito = sātya (satya); etc., etc.

186. Diphthongs, from original contact vowels (see § 171), as well as from epenthetic vowels, remained in MB. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, there have been some contractions, which are noted below.

(i) MB. [ɔi] became [ɔi], and this was reduced into [o] when it occurred in a closed syllable: e.g., কই = kāi = [kəi] where? (kahi); পাহাট = pāhāṭ = pāiṭa = etc.; but খলি > খল > *খোইল > খোল [kholi > khoil > khol > khol] dregs, dirt, mustard cake; সহিতে > সহিতে > *সোইতে written সহিতে [ʃoitie] > সোইতে = সোইতে] to bear, but করিতে > করিতে > কোইতে > কোইতে, written কোইতে, কোইতে, also করিতে [kərito > koierte > koīrite > korte]; বসিতে > বসিতে > বসিতে > বোইসিতে > বোসিতে [boʃite > boʃite, boʃite > boʃite > boʃite > boste] to sit (here there has been a merging of the OB. root বাস < bās < upaviś = into the root বস = bās = Skt. *vas = dwell); মাহিত > মাইত > মাষ = [moʃiʃ > moʃiʃ > moʃiʃ] etc. Similarly, MB. *aù, aù, which also became aù, was changed to où, oì, which has been
DIPHTHONGISATION FROM EPENTHESIS

contracted to [ɔ] when closed by a consonant: *e.g., বুঝ, বুঝ < bāu > [bōu],
but stā. < cakṣaḥ > > চক্ষু, চক্ষু > *চোঁখ, *চোঁখ > *চোঁখ, *চোঁখ > [cōkkhū >
cōukh, cōikh > cōūkh, cōikh > cōkh]; MIA. < kavaṇa, kāuṇa > > *kūṇa
>*kūṇa > kōṇa [kōṇa > kōun > kōn]; MIA. < cāu + pahara > (< catur
+pahara) > চোঁপহর > চোপহর, চোপ > চোপ, চোপ, *চোপ > 
চোপ as in চোপ দিন = all the day long [cōupdhōn, cōup(ā)ōn >
cōupōn > cōūpōn, cōūpōn > cōōpōn, cōōpōn > cōopōn]; MIA.
< baūla > (= mukula) > MB. বোল, *বোল, বোল, *বোল >বোল, *বোল >বোল
[bōlo > bōlo, *bōlo > bōl, *bōl > bo:l]; MIA. < *saūla > (= sakula)
> শোল >শোল, *শোল >শোল, *শোল >শোল [jōlo > jōlo, jōlo > jōl, jōl
>jol]; etc., etc.

The diphthongs, with *i, ū*, or with just a suggestion of the *i, u*,
are found still in East Bengali dialects.

(ii) MB. < āi > remains as < āi >, except when closed by a consonant,
when the *i* is dropped in the Standard Colloquial: *e.g.,* ভাই < bhāi >,
but আজ < আইজ < āi < āij > (adya); আস্টে > আস্টে, আস্টে < āstē > āstē,
āsitē > to come (ā-vistē); বাহির, বাহির < bā(h)ir > (bahis); পাক
< pāık < pāık > (MIA. pāıkka); গাউন < gāu < gāu > (granthī);
রাত < রাইট < rāt < rāit > (rātri); and sometimes we have forms like বাশ <
বাশ > bāš > bāš > (dvā-viñāsati), though the *āi* group was not a diphthong
in MB.

MB. < āū, āū > āi > is found as < āu, āi > when occurring finally in
N.B., and it is contracted to < ā > in West Central Bengali, when closed by a
consonant. *E.g.,* লাউ < lābu > (alābu), আই < āi > (āu, āyus), but মাগ < māg
< MB. মাউগ < māug > wife, woman; মাদি < mādhi, mādhi < sādh > sādh
>(sādhu); থাক > dhāit > < থাইত, থাইত > dhāit, dhāit > (dhātu = rētas); থাইক
> থাক < khāuk > khāk > let him eat (khādatu + ka); etc., etc.; cf. also মাউস্ট
> মাস্ট < māst > māst > mother's sister, through influence of পিসি < pīśi >
< পিসি > pīusi >

< āi, āu > āi > in the body of a word extended by an affix is found as *e* >
in West Central Bengali, *e.g.,* in forms like মেলা < mēsō > husband of mother's
sister < NB. *মাউস্ট, *মাস্ট, *মাস্ট, *মাস্ট > māsuā, maisuā, from *মাস্ট >
=NB. মাস্ট < māst > (māṭ-śvasṭ-); রেনে < dhēnē > MB. *ধাইষ্ট, *ধাইষ্ট, *ধাইষ্ট,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

It seems that in West Central Bengali, especially round about Calcutta, Hugli etc., just in the Late M.B. period, the normal change of M.B. "āi", as well as of "āi < āu", when this "āi" was not final (i.e., when it was closed by a consonant or was in the middle of the word), was to an "ē". This is closely connected with umlaut in this dialect. But influence of other dialects, and especially of the literary language, prevented a wholesale contraction of "āi" to "ē", in the speech of the upper classes at least. Thus, we have "pēlē" obtained, "kēlē" ate, also "ēlum, ēlām" I came, also "ēlō" he came, also "ēlalo dishevelled etc. (respectively = Literary Bengali "pālā", "kālā", "āilām, āsilām", "āilā, āsilā", and M.B. "āilā", "āilā, āsilā, āulā"): these have become the accepted forms in the colloquial when it is used in writing. If we have "cār" four < "cālār >, "rāt" night < "rāt" "rāt >, "gāt" knot < "gālā" "gālā", "cālṭ" rice < "chāl, cālā, cāul", "sādha" honest < "sāudha, sādha, sāidha", as the ordinary forms in West Central Bengali,—in the genitive, or instrumental-locative, with the "ērā" and the "ē" affixes respectively, the "ā" in these words is changed to "ē": e.g., "chērā" "cērā" "pācē" the 4ths; "rēterā" "bēlā" night time; "chērā" "cērā" "hārā" pot for rice; "gētā" good money, lit. money that is tied in one's cloth hem; "chēre" "sērē" between a thief and an honest man; and even "bhēyē" "bhēyē" among brothers, from "bhā" "bhāi", in Literary Bengali = Bhārē Bhāi < "bhāi" bhāi < "bhāi" bhāi < among brothers. These forms in "ē" < M.B. "āi" are historically quite correct, but they are falling into disuse among educated people speaking the Standard Colloquial as their native dialect. Still, among educated classes, we hear "bērā" < "bārā", beside bar < "bār"; and we have the verb "bērno" to come out < M.B. "bhārānā", "bhārānā" "bā(h)irānā"; and as we have seen above, the verb forms in "ē" are the recognised ones. In the speech
of the lower classes in the West Central Bengali area, the <i>e</i> forms have
greater vogue. Thus we hear <i>এসে</i> <b>comes</b>, for the educated আসে<br><b>াসে</b> = MB. আইসে <b>াসে</b> (uposi); (এসে in educated speech stands<br>only for আসিয়া <i>আসি</i>(y)া, by umlaut); মৃত্যু <i>এসে</i> to come, for educated<br>অস্তে <i>আসে</i> = MB. আসিতে, *আইসিতে, আইসিতে <i>আসিতে, আসিতে, আসিতে</i>.<br><b>াই</b> before two consonants, however, is not changed to <i>e</i>: e.g., রাখতে<br><i>রাখতে</i> to keep <i>*রাখতে</i> <b>রাখতে</b>, পাড়তে <b><i>পাড়তে</i> to bring down <br><i>*পাড়তে</i> <b>পাড়তে</b>, etc., not *রেখতে, *পেড়তে <i>*রেখতে, *পেরতে</i>: but রেখে<br><i>রেখে</i> having kept, পেড়ে <i>পেরে</i> having brought down, <i>*রাখিয়া</i>, *পাইড়া,<br>=রাখিয়া, পাড়িয়া <i>*রাখিয়া, *পাইয়া</i> = রাখিয়া, পাড়িয়া.<br>Thus in the case of the NB. dropping of the final vowels <i>i, u</i> of<br>OB., as in কাল <i>কাল</i>, খোস <i>খোস</i>, etc., the intermediate epenthetic<br>stage is commonly lost sight of: but the phonology of Middle Bengali<br>and of the present-day dialects sufficiently demonstrates the occurrence<br>of the epenthetic <i>i, u</i>, which is quite a characteristic of Bengali.<br>Middle Bengali does not seem to have developed any other diphthongs,<br>except <i>াই, ়ুই, ়ুই, ়ুই</i>, and <i>ে, ে</i>, at least in the Early MB. period.<br>Possibly the high vowels <i>i, u</i> formed diphthongs when following other<br>vowels as well, as NB. (West Central) contractions would suggest: e.g., NB.<br><i>পিষ</i> <b>পিষ</b> > *পিউ <b>পিউ</b> (piṣ-ṛsvaṣ); ছই <i>dui > two</i> > ছ <i>d</i> in<br>compounds (<i>ছো</i> <i>dং</i> <i>two hundred</i>, ছংক <i>dং</i> <i>two</i> <i>two pieces</i> etc.); <i>দিক</i> <i>dik</i> let him give <i>দিউক</i> <b>diuk</b> <i>দিউক</i> <i>d</i> in<br>etc., etc. (See before, p. 345.)

**[G] Vowel-Mutation or 'Umlaut'.**

187. By Vowel-mutation, or 'Umlaut,' is meant the modification of<br>a vowel through the influence of another vowel or semi-vowel, of a different<br>quality, occurring in a following syllable. This phonetic change was first<br>observed in the Germanic languages, and as illustrations of this phenomenon<br>from Germanic one may give the following: Primitive Germanic <i>*harja</i> <br>= haria- > Old English <i>here</i> army; <i>*satjan = sati</i> > OE.<br><i>sett</i> <i>set</i>; <i>*guði</i> > OE. <i>gyde</i> <i>goddess</i>; <i>*walx-is</i> <i>az</i> > OE.
*wealh-ise, *wēal-ise > wēlise > foreign etc. Changes analogous to this
OE. modification of earlier <a, u, ēa> to <e, y, ɨe> through the influence
of the following <i> are found in NB., especially in the Standard
Colloquial: e.g., MB. ḥāriya < ḥāriya, ḥāriya > (still preserved in the <sādhu-
bhāsā> or literary language of prose) > NB. হেরে < hērē > having lost;
MB. কারিয়া < kāriya, kāriya > > NB. করে, করে < kōrē > having done.
There was epenthesis of the vowel before this modification could take place
(< *rāikhiā, *kāriya>). This kind of epenthesis-cum-umlaut is found in a
few instances in MIA. (p. 378), but it is but sporadic there. Among NIA.
languages, Sinhalese shows umlaut to a very great extent (W. Geiger,
‘Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,’ §§ 9, 10). It is noticed also in
Lahndī and Sindhi, and to some extent in ‘Bihāri’ and in the Kōñkaṇī
form of Marāṭhi, as well as in Gujarātī. But in none of the above, except
Sinhalese, has this process been carried on to such a regularity and to such
an extent as in Bengali.

In Bengali again, the change is most favoured by the Standard
Colloquial. The change of ā = [a, ə] to [o], when the next syllable has
[i] or [u], the high vowels bringing in an anticipatory raising of [o] to [o],
is found in all the dialects of Bengali, as well as in Assamese: e.g., the
Assamese kāl < kālā > black from < kōkila- >, with original < i >, is pronounced
[kola], whereas kāl < kālā > plantain from < kadala- >, is pronounced [kola];
so māh < māha > būffalo (< mahiṣa) = [möî], but māh < māha > gnat (<
maṣa-kā-) = [möî], and mā < márā > peacock (< mayūra-, maūra-) = [mora],
but mā < márā > dead (< maḍa-, maṭa- = mṭa) = [mora].

188. Epenthesis had become well-established in all the dialects of
Bengali by the beginning of the 15th century, but it is difficult to ascertain
when mutation started in the Eastern Rādhā area. The ‘Dharmamāṅgala’
of Māṇika Gāṅguli (c. 1545), as published by the VSPd., gives the full
umlauted forms of NB., like হইয়াছিল, < hāyēchilā > had come, ডেকে < dēkē >
having called, এল < élā > came, থেকে < thēkē > having been, মেরে < mērē >
having struck, etc. So does the Vaṅgavāsi edition of the ‘Caṇḍī-kāvya’
of Kavikaṇkaṇa (c. 1580). MSS. of even earlier writers show mutated
forms. But umlaut could hardly have been accomplished as early as the
middle of the 16th century. These are modernisations due to the later
scribes, who often altered the original un-umlauted forms which had become
archaic in their time; and modern editors have followed them in emending
the language to something easily understandable. In MSS. of early and
late 17th century, such as, for instance, of those of parts of Kṛttivāsa’s
'Rāmāyaṇa' from which the VSPd. texts have been printed, we find
plentiful evidence of epenthesis, but none of umlaut. Umlaut does not
seem to have been accomplished in the Standard Colloquial area even by
the first half of the 18th century. Bharata-candra (1st half of the 18th
century) has forms like খাতি, আলি < khāti, āli > < khāti, āli > to eat, thou
hast come, as in an early edition of the ‘Annadā-maṇgala’ printed in the
thirties of the last century: words like the above would be emended to খেতে,
আলি < khēte, āli > in modern editions. Probably in Bharata-candra’s pronun-
cia tion, in the West Central Bengali of Burdwan and Nadiya, the words
were [khaɪtɻ, khaɪte; aɪli], or [khaɪtɻ, aɪli] and this would be about the stage
(as the spelling would also suggest) in the early 18th century in the trans-
formation of eMB. [khaɪte, aɪli] through lMB. [khaɪte, aɪli] to the 19th
century NB. [khete, eli]. A typical early 19th century MS. (dated=1804:
VSP., pp. 743 ff.) shows spellings like পেঠারে < pēryāchē > has brought
down, এসেছে < ēsyāchē > has come, এনা < ēnyā > having brought, এক < ēcyā>
having come, থেকা < thēkyā > having been, বেরাইল < bērāila > came out,
beside থাইতে < khātyē > to eat, বায়া < bāyyā > having rowed, কাঁদায় < kāndyā >
having wept (respectively in the literary = পাইয়াছে, আসিয়াছে, আনিয়া, আসিয়া,
থাসির, বাস্তের বা বাস্তের, থাইতে, বাহিয়া, বাইয়া, কাধিয়া বা কাধিয়া,
colloquial পেঠারে, এসেছে, এনে, এসে, থেকে, বেরোলে, বে বে, বেঁচে,
কেঁদে). The spellings in এ (« ēnyā » etc.) are contemporary phonetic spellings,
[ɛnɛ, enɛ], while those in আ (« bāyyā » etc.) are archaic and conventional
—the old « a » having undoubtedly been altered to an [e] sound by the end
of the 18th century. The pronunciation of the above forms in the
Standard Colloquial area (Nadiya, Calcutta) at that time was in all
likelihood as follows: [pēsɛɪɻɛ, ēsɛɪɻɛ, ɛnɛ, ɛʃɻɛ, thɛkɛ, bɛrɔɻə, khɛtɛ, ɓɛɻɛ,
kɛɻɛ]. When the umlaut habit came in, or, rather, when there was the
tendency towards contraction of epenthetic and other vowels in contact,
subscribed "-y-" before "ā, ē", that, ĉ was employed to indicate the sound of [ə] or [ɛ]. From an eMB. group like "ā+i+ā" [a+i+a], the change to NB. Standard Colloquial was somewhat along this line: [ai+iə] >[ai+ia] >[ei+iɛ] >[ei+iɛ]>[e+i]>[e+ɛ]. (See p. 133.) In the latter part of the 18th century, the form of Bengali along the Hugli river (which developed into the Standard Colloquial) was in the [e+i] or [ɛ+ɛ] stage, so far as this group is concerned; and the close pronunciation seems to have come in only during the first quarter of the 19th century. Carey in his 'Bengali Dialogues' (1801), mainly on a Standard Colloquial basis, spells words like present-day Bengali ছলে পিলে "chēlo pilē " children (< "chāliya pilā "> as ছাতা পিলা! "chāliya pilā ">: these spellings undoubtedly are archaic for the time, but they are near enough to [qhēlo pilī], which seem to have been the pronunciation in Calcutta over a hundred years ago. Ram-Mōhan Rāy in his Bengali grammar (1833) gives গোঁ "ghēlo " belonging to a tree (gāch-uṇ), সেটে "mēṭe " earthen (māṭi), etc., which would indicate a pronunciation identical with the modern one in Calcutta; but it may be reasonably expected that in Rām-Mōhan Rāy's time the articulation was slightly more open than at present.

Through the influence of the Standard Colloquial, umlaut is affecting other dialects. The Typical East Bengali pronunciation [ṭhāika, raikha] etc. are heard, but [ṭhēika, raikha] are quite common. The "sādhhu-bhāṣa" is approximating more and more to the Calcutta Dialect, and many of the umlauted forms of the latter have been adopted and fully established in the literary language, e.g., the "thēkē" as an ablative post-position (instead of the full from "thākiya"), বেনে "bēnē" beside a compromise বেনিরা "bēniya " trader (for "bāniya"), ছেলে "chēlo " son, মেয়ে "mēye " daughter, woman (instead of "chāliya" and "māiya"), etc.

189. The current orthography of Bengali is very lax and unsystematic in representing these recent changes in vowel-quality by both Umlaut and Vowel Harmony (see p. 383). Excepting an apostrophe, ('), which is frequently used now-a-days to indicate the loss of "i" and modification of the vowel that is left, no diacritical marks are used, and there is no
established standard or usage in this matter. [e] and [o] from [a], through the influence of [i, u], are ordinarily represented by ə (i) and ɔ (ɔ). ə, ɔ: e.g., রেষ্টে রেষ্টে, হেষ্টে হেষ্টে (হাটুন). Final ଓ of the open ə sound which was used in MB, e.g., রেষ্টা, রাখা, is still used in writing East Bengali dialectal pronunciation: in the Standard Colloquial, however, subscribed ə as -ya is employed for the sound of [ə]. And [o] from MB ə < OB., MIA. [e], through reasons of Vowel Harmony, is ordinarily left to be expressed by the vowel ə (i) but at the present day some writers employ the NB. devise of ə as -ya: e.g., [dākhē] sees is written by some as সাথে দাখে, beside the historical সাথে দেখে; [সেদিন] from [সেদিন] so many days, such a long time is written দাখিন as in the ‘Hutōm Pēncār Naksā’ (see p. 185). So we have মাল্ল মাল্ল মাল্ল, কাণ কাণ কাণ কাণ etc. for spellings with ə (i). The greatest hesitancy is felt about [o] from the mutation of ə to [ə]. Sometimes it is phonetically written ə (ɔ) ə: occasionally the apostrophe (') serves to indicate both the dropping of the i, u and the modification of ə to [ə]; and frequently there is nothing to indicate the alteration. [কোরা > kore] having done is thus written কোরা, করে, করে (the last spelling is identical with করে, pronounced [kore], = does); [কোরিব > korbo] I shall do, = literary Bengali করিব = kāribā, is written কোরো, কোরো, কোরো, কোরো, কোরো, etc.; [ফোর্ফোর > fāfā, fāfā > fāfā, fāfā] having been is written as হইতে, হইতে, হইতে; [ফোর্ফোর > fāfolo] as জানচে, জানচে, জানচে. The spelling with ə (ɔ) is rigidly phonetic, the one in অ without the (') decidedly careless and slovenly. The spelling with the apostrophe indicating the loss of the vowel, is not wholly phonetic; but it seeks to represent the pronunciation by the convention that ə as [ə] followed by (') is modified to [ə]; and, at the same time, it to a great extent embraces the dialects, and by a too lavish use of the letter ə (ɔ) does not effect a violent break with the orthography of the standard language. The apostrophe, however, is not usually placed after the mutated ə from original ə, when there is an [u] sound in question, as the change in quality in the Standard Colloquial is too marked: e.g., [মেঁজুন > mējō] second, lit. of the middle = মেঁজো, rarely মেঁজো, but never মেঁজো or মেঁজ
but \([\text{kha}i\alpha > \text{khe}\varepsilon]\) having eaten is written খেয়ে, খেয়ে' খেয়ে' etc.,—with the apostrophe. The use of the symbol, \(\hat{\text{i}}\) = the top-loop of the letter ই, \(\text{u}\), \(\text{u}\) \(\text{u}\), after \(\text{a}\), for the epenthetic and elided vowels, has been suggested by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi (e.g., জা'লা, ফ'ল), but this has not caught on, as it is a new symbol; and it is not suitable for representing the entire change in quality in a form like মে’জা from \(*\text{mā}jiang\), *mājiang, māj-hu.।

Types of Mutation in Bengali.

(1) Mutation or Vowel-Modification by Contraction, after Epenthesis.

190. (i) অ+ই+আ \([o+i (i)+o]\) > ০+ও \([o+o]\), written \(ও (o)\)+ও \((o)\), অ+ও \((o)\), ০ \((0)\)+অ, অ+অ, অ+অ, অ+ও \((o)\).

হইল > হোলে, হলে, হোলে, হলে \([\text{holo}] > [\text{holo}]\) was; হইল, হইল > হোলে, হলে, হোলে \([\text{holo}] > [\text{holo}]\) you will be (future preative); কারিল, *কারিলে > কারিলে, কারিলে, কারিলে, কারিলে, কারিলে, কারিলে, কারিলে, etc. \([\text{koril}\), \text{korile}][\text{korlo}, \text{kollo}; \text{korle}, \text{kolle}] he did; West Central Bengali কারিছ > কারিছ, কারিছ, কারিছ, কারিছ, কারিছ etc. \([\text{koriq}\), \text{koriq(h)o}, \text{kocq(h)o}] = Typical East Bengali করিছে, করিছে আছ \([\text{koriqte}, \text{korte aso}]\) you are doing; সত্য = 'সত্যে' in pronunciation, \([\text{ji}\)tto] > [\text{jihh}]o, East Bengali \([\text{ji}\)tto]; so লঙ্ক = 'লাঙ্কে' in pronunciation, \([\text{loik}k\)ho > lokkho] etc.

(ii) অ+ই+আ \([o+i (i)+o]\) > ০+ও \([o+o]\): eMB. অ+ô, অ+ô, NB. \(অ+এ, অ'+এ, অ+এ', ০+ও, ০+ও', etc.

বলিলা > বললা, বললা > বললা, বললা \(\text{bolil}\) > \(\text{bolil}\) > \(\text{bolil}\) having said; করিলা > করলা করলা > করলা, করলা, etc. \([\text{koril}\), \text{koril}\) > \(\text{koi}\) > \(\text{koi}\) > \(\text{koi}\) having done; রহিলা > রহিলা, রহিলা, রহিলা, রহিলা, etc. \([\text{rohil}\), \text{rohil}\) > \(\text{rohi}\) > \(\text{rohi}\) > \(\text{rohi}\) having remained; \(*\text{sādhu-bhāşā} \) forms like করিতাম, বলিতাম I used to do, I used to say, etc. become in the Standard Colloquial pronunciation করেতেম, বলেতেম \([\text{koritam}, \text{bolitam} > \text{koretam}, \text{bolitem} > \text{kortem}, \text{boltm}]\); so করিলাম, বলিলাম I did, I said > করলেম, বললেম \([\text{korilam}, \text{bolilam} > \text{krolam}, \text{bollem}]\); but East Bengali has \([\text{kortam}, \text{boïtam}, \text{kortlam}, \text{boïllam}]\), etc.; stts. পরিকার clear > Standard Coll. 'পরিকার' \([\text{porikar} > *\text{poïkark} > \text{poïker}]\);
MUTATION OF ‘Ā+I+Ā’

करिबाः करबे you will do [करिबा > कोरबे > कोरबे]; sts. अभ्यास >
अभ्यास [अभ्यास > अभ्यास] ; Persian < xaridār > buyer > खऱ्दर [xaridār > khōridar > khōridar > khodder] ; etc.

The epenthetic stage is preserved in Typical East Bengali. In verbal noun forms in ইবা < ইবাঃ —করিবাঃ, চলিবাঃ, হইবাঃ < কারিবাঃ,
চলিবাঃ, হাইবাঃ > etc.—the native speakers of the Standard Colloquial say [ə] rather than [o]—[করবাঃ, কোলবাঃ, ফোলবাঃ] etc., instead of *[করবাঃ,
ফোলবাঃ, ফোলবাঃ]. This is against the rule for mutation given above. Probably here we have an influence of the verbal nouns in আ < -া —করা,
চল, হওয়া [করা, তোলা হওয়া] etc., which have [ə] and not [o]; and it is also possible that the Old Bengali equivalent of this verbal noun in ইবা
< ইবাঃ was *-aba- or *-ূবা-, so that the <i> epenthesis and mutation were not possible here. (See under Morphology—‘The Verb: Verbal
Nouns.’)

(iii) আ+ই+আ (or এ, in present participles in ইতে < -িতে > of roots ending in আ < আ > [a + i + a/e] > এ + এ [e + e], written in lMB. আ(ই) + এ, আ(ই)
+ এ, in NB. এ(িএ) + এ(ও), এ(িএ) + এ(ও), or এ(িএ) + এ(ও)’ e.g., রাখিত > রাহে(ও)খায়,
রাহে(ও)খায় > রেখে, রেখে’ having kept [রাখিত > রাখিত > রেখে]; বাছিত > বাহে(ও)ছায়,
বাহে(ও)ছায় > বেছে having chosen [বাছিত > বাছিত > বেছে]; খাইতে > খাতে >
খাইতে > খাতে > খাতে > খাইতে > to go [খাইতে > খাইতে > খাইতে] (but not রাখিতে > *রেখেতে, গাছিতে > গাইতে
*গেতে), where we have roots ending in consonants < rākh, gāh > = keep, sing); পাঞ্জাহাটা a village name > পেনে টা [পাঞ্জাহাটা > পাঞ্জাহাটা > পেনে টা] (also
[পেনিতা] by Vowel Harmony); আজা > এজে in folk-Bengali, in response to a command or address [াজা > এজে > আর্জে, এজে]; etc. Ts. words
generally resist this sort of modification.

Typical East Bengali preserves the epenthesis, and does not change the final < আ >. The < সাধু-ভাষা > forms রাখিলাম, রাখিতম I kept, I
used to keep etc. have their Standard Colloquial modification রাখলেম, রাখতেম
[rakhilam, rakhitam > *rakhlem, *rakhitem > rakhlem, rakhtem]: compare East Bengali [rakhilam, rakhitam]; here the proper dialectal
or native West Central Bengali forms like রাখিলুম, রাখিতুম > রাখলুম, রাখতুম
[rakhilum, rakhitum > rakhilum, rakhtum], (which do not admit of the
epenthesis-cum-mutation scheme \([a+i+a > e+e]\), and preserve the root-vowel \(\text{-}a\text{-}\) unchanged), have prevented the change of রাখিলাম, রাখিতাম to *রেখলেম, *রেখতেম.

(iv) অ, আ, ই, উ, এ, ও+আই+আ > respectively ও, আ, ই, উ, এ (or এ), ও+ই+এ \([o, a, i, u, e, o+ai+a] > [o, a, i, u, i(e), u+i+e]\). The \([o]\) in the mutated form, when it comes from \([o]\), is written ও or এ in NB.; and the final \(e\), \(-e\) in LMB., is written এ in NB. Examples: বলাইয়া > বলিরে, বোলিরে, বলিরে having caused to say [bol-a-ia > bolie]; নাচাইয়া > নাচিয়ে having made to dance [naq-a-ia > naqie]; ভিড়াইয়া > ভিড়িয়ে having stepped over (something lying on the ground) \([ding-a-i > digne]\); শুঘাইয়া > শুঘিয়ে having dried or cured \([fukh-ai-a > fukie]\); দেওয়াইয়া > দেওয়িয়ে having caused to give \([de(0)-ai-a > diie]\), but দেওয়াইয়া > দেওয়িয়ে having made to see \([dekh-ai-a > dekhie]\); শোতাইয়া > শোতে having made to sleep \([jo(0)-ai-a > jutie]\); etc.

East Bengali uses the full forms of Middle Bengali, without contraction and mutation.

(v) অ+ই+ই \([o+i+a] > o+i+e\) \([o+e+i] > [o]\) written ০, অ, অ', and the \([e]\) = LMB. \(.
E.g., করিয়াছি > 'করিয়েছি I have done [kər-ia-qi > koirci > koreci]; হইয়াই > 'হইয়েই immediately after having been \([fio-i > fioei > fioesi]\), by Vowel Harmony \([fioii]\). Epenthesis is preserved in EB.: [korei; fioi; fioesi].

(vi) অ, আ etc. + অ+ই+ই \([o, a+o+i] > o, a+0+e\) \([o, a+u+e]\): নগরিয়া > নগর, নগরে belonging to the city \([nogoria > *nogoria > *nogoirs > nogure > nogure]\): কাদিনিয়া > কাদিনে prone to weeping \([kədənina > *kədojina > kədoine > kədune]\); বাদিনিয়া > বাদিনে belonging to the rainy season \([badolina > badule]\); বাইগিনিয়া > বাইগিনে pertaining to brinjals, brinjal-coloured, deep purple \([bərgənia > begone]\); etc. Typical East Bengali forms are \([nogoira, kədojina, badolina, bərgəina]\).

(vii) অ+ই+আ \([o+i+a] > o+i+e\) \([o+i+e]\): *কহাইয়া > ক'ইয়ে a talker \([*kəfia > koeie]\); so *বলাইয়া > বলিরে \([bolia > bolie]\). Cf. *নাচাইয়া > নাচিয়ে dancer \([*naqie > naqie]\)* গাছাইয়া > গাছয়ে, গাইয়ে singer \([*gafoia > gafie, gaie]\), etc.

(viii) অ+ও+আ \([o+u+a] > o+0\) \([o+0]\), written in NB. as অ+ও \((0')\), অ′+ও \((0')\), অ+ও \((0')\'), ও+ও. \(E.g., জলু > জলে watery \([fəlu > fəlo]\),
Vowel Harmony

395

 boş < póṭi < painter [pọṭua > pọṭo], etc. In Eastern Bengali, the epenthetic stage is found [dzo̱l̄a, dzo̱l̄a; poṭ̣a, poṭ̣a].

(ix) आ + उ + अ [ा + u + a] > ए + ह [e + o]: सांख्य > सेना comrade [sathua > satho]; गाँधी > गेजे arboreal [gaṇṭhua > gej̄ho]; मार्ग > मेंके, मेंजे of the middle, second [maṛṭh̄u > mej̄o], etc. Typical East Bengali [jaṭha, jaṭh̄a; gaṇsa; maḷa].

(2) Mutation without Epenthesis. Vowel Harmony.

191. There is one kind of vowel change in Bengali, by which the high or low quality of a vowel in a following syllable conduces to a similar modification in a preceding one. This is a kind of anticipatory Vowel Harmony. This Vowel Harmony characterises the NB. Standard Colloquial most, but there are some types of it which seem to have occurred in all the dialects of Bengali, and from a very early period in the history of the Bengal language. E.g., we have in Caryā 3 < sāṇḍini >, with a pun — (i) a female wine-dealer, (ii) one possessing a trunk, where in the first sense the word is to be connected with a form like *sōṇḍi, *sōḍi < sāṇḍika >: the feminine form *sāṇḍini > would thus seem to allow a variant in OB. sāṇḍini >, in which the low vowel o > is raised to u > because of the following high vowel i >; and similarly in Caryā 11, we have mūṭi < mūṭi: also with a pun, connecting the word with both (i) Skt. mukti > and (ii) OB. mōṭi < mottia < māuktika — in the second case there being a modification allowable, in OB. phonetics, of an o >, to u > when followed by i >. But on the whole, these two cases are exceptional in OB.; and the rule that when there is a low vowel following, [e, o, a], the language prefers an [e, o] in the first syllable, or when there is a high vowel [i, u], the first syllable would have [i, u], which is so characteristic of Bengali, and is found also in Assamese, does not seem to have been established in OB. This characteristic is absent in most other NIA. Thus in Middle Bengali we have pōṭha > a big MS., but *pāṭhī > pāṭhī > pūṭhī > as a diminutive (and this diminutive form only is found in NB.); Bengali dōle > dōle > he swings, but *dālī > chūli
"*doli" > duli > I swing; chora > cora > the thieving one, from chor > cora > thief, but chorii > chirii > corni > a woman thief; gane > gane > he counts, but guni > guni > I count; Skt. rohita > carp = *rohia > ruhi, ru >; the ts. name rohitas > occurs in MB. as a ts. ruhidasa >. This habit is fairly established in Early Middle Bengali, and may have started in the OB. period: e.g., SKK forms like kuriii < kuyilt >, feminine, from kokiila >; gati > one piece (determinative), beside gata > gata >; chirii, chirii > curani, curani >, turi > curi > theft, beside chor > cora > thief; chirii > chaula > touched, beside cho > cho >; chinari > a wanton woman, beside chinari > chinari >; pudri, pudri, pudri > puri, puri, puri > having burnt up, beside poore > poore > burns; etc. This system of alternating between high and low vowels of the same class through influence of following ones is a remarkable thing in NB. phonology, especially in West Central Bengali: e.g., [e] with [a, e, o] in the next syllable is lowered to [ae]: deko < dekh > he sees is pronounced [daekhe], but dekinda > dekhia > dekh > having seen is [dekhe], the influence of the [i] preventing a lowering of [e] to [ae]; so dekha > you see = [deko], but dekha > dekhuk > = [dehuk], dekhi > dekhi > I see = [deki]; ek < ek > one is [ek], ek > ek > alone is [eka], ekka > ekata > one piece = [ekta], but ekka > ekata > one little thing is [ekti] and ekta > ekatu > a little = [ektu].

Cases of Harmonic Vowel Mutation in Bengali.

(i) aa + i [a+i] > o + i [o+i]. The mutated [o] is left unnoticed in spelling, being written as. E.g., kor < kari > I do, ts. kar < kari > elephant [kori]; ghari < ghar > gong [ghori]; nani < nan > nan > cream of milk [non]; kari > kari > cowry shell [kori]; tass. pati < pati > [poti], yadi < yadi > [jodi], sati < sahit > [jot], pathik < pathik > [potik], etc., etc. This modification is found in foreign words as well: e.g., Persian garib > parib > garib > poor [gorib]; barf > ice > barf > barih > boraph, but barft > barfi > barih > barih > a sweet-meat, sugar and cream ice = [borph(h)]; majlis > an assembly > majlis > [mofif]. English guernsey > gani > gani > gani > = [gunfi], permit > permit, permit [perm].
The diphthong ॐ<ॅ> becomes [o:i] through this rule.

(ii) आ+ु [o+u] > औ+ु [o+u]: The [o] is written as ओ.  
F.g., बुद्ध [buddh] bride, wife (vadhuh); करुक [koruk] let him do;  
दलौङ [dalou] a surname < 'dalai' (dalapati); tss. like लुङ, लुङ, लुङ [modhiu, fiḍodu, 
loggiu, monu], etc., etc.

The privative affix अ<ॅ> in ts. and ści. forms normally is not altered 
to [o],—it remains [o] even when followed by [i] or [u]: e.g.,  
अधीर [adhir] impatient, rarely [odhir]; अनूठ [afukh] illness, never [ofukh].

Because अ<ॅ> followed by इ, उ in [i, u] in the next syllable is pronounced 
and [o], the careless habit of using अ and not ओ (ॅ) in spelling, in some 
words, which historically ought to have ओ (ॅ), is found: e.g., नूत 'moe',  
pron. [moti]: the genuine Bengali form नूत 'muti' occurs in MB., and  
मूत=नूत is from the Hindōstānī, wrongly spelt (māuktika- > moṭi);  
so पुर < gāru > [goru] is for पुर < gōru > (gō-rūpa); etc.

It is not impossible that in ts. and foreign words, this change of <ॅ>  
[о] to [o], through the occurrence of an [i, u] in a following syllable,  
came in train of MB. epenthesis of [i, u], resulting in [οι, οι] which was  
duly changed to [o]: witness a MB. spelling like ओरी [oiri] for ओरी [ori],  
NB. [oiri]=Skt. 'arı' (p. 380; see also p. 384).

(iii) इ+आ, ए, ओ, अ, [i+a, e, o, o] > ऐ+आ, ए, ओ [e+o, e, o, o]:  
गिल < √gil to swallow > गेल < gell > swallowed (pass. part.), गेल < gell >  
he swallows, गेल, गेल < gell, gell > you swallow: but गिल < gili > I  
swallow, गिलुक < giluk > let him swallow: etc.

(iv) ए+ा, ए, ओ, ओ [e+o, e, o, o] > ऐ+ा, ए, ओ [e+o, e, o, o]:  
देख [dekh] to see > देख < dekha > seen, देख [dekeh] sees, देख, देख=  
[dekh] you see, but देख [dekh] I see, देखुक [dekhuk] let him see; etc.

(v) उ+आ, ए, ओ, ओ [u+a, e, o, o] > उ+आ, ए, ओ, ओ [o+o, e, o, o];  
जन < joun > to hear: जन > जोन < jona > heard, जन > जोन < jona > hears, जोन,  
शोन [jono] you hear, but जन [ juni ] I hear, जमुक [ junuk ] let him  
hear; etc.

(vi) ओ+ि, उ [o+i, u] > ऑ+ि, उ [u+i, u]: शो [jo] lie, sleep > ऑ  
[jaut] I lie, अतै= ऑतै [jute] to lie down, शो [juk < jo(ॅ)uk]  
let him lie down: but शोन [joda] one that has lain down, शोन [joda] he lies
down, etc.; so stss. পৃথিবী [prithī] dependent, adopted (son), from পৃথিবী < পৃথ্যা, স্ত্রী [stṛgy] < স্ত্রীরা < যোগ্যান, etc.

(vii) এ + ই [e + i] > ই + ই [i + i]: this characterises the Standard Colloquial specially. সেই > সেই, সি [সেই di, di:] I give; সেই [সেই] becomes সিধি [রিডি] country-made, country-born; so বিলাতি [রিলাতি] > বিলাতি [রিলাতি] (see pp. 400-401) > বিলাতি [রিলাতি] /foreign (= Persian < wilaত্যাতি ); similarly গিয়েছি > গিয়েছি > গিয়েছি, গিয়েছি [গিয়েছি > গিয়েছি > গিয়েছি] I have gone, দিয়েছি > দিয়েছি > দিয়েছি, দিয়েছি [দিয়েছি > দিয়েছি > দিয়েছি] he had given, etc.; so মেশামেশি > মেশামেশি [মেশামেশি > মেশামেশি], association (√মৃদ্ধি-);  সর্বস্বাশ্ব > সর্বস্বাশ্ব >  'সর্বস্বাশ্ব' [সর্বস্বাশ্ব, सर्वस्वाश्च] > [सर्वस्वाश्च, सर्वस्वाश्च] etc.

(viii) The raising of an interior -a-, -a- > -a- of Early Middle Bengali, to -u-, when there is a high vowel following, is a most noteworthy thing in the phonology of the NB. standard speech. This has been referred to before. This change also occurred in Early Middle Bengali: cf. ŠKK. forms এখনি, -শঃ ekuni, -t> immediately, beside এখনি ekhānī, and পাহারী pāhuri > watchman, beside পাহারী pāhārī; and it would seem, from a form like OB. < pākhuḍi > petal (Caryā 10) (pakaśa-+da-), that its beginnings go back to OB. times. This change obviously took place through an intermediate stage of [o].

E.g., আঁচলের [āčl-] < *আঁচলের [āčl-] > *ঝাঁপাহারাই (aśṭā-praharika-); চাহুলী, চাহুলী আঁচলের (aśṭā-praharika-); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aśṭā-praharika-); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aśṭā-praharika-); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aśṭā-praharika-); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aśṭাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aśṭাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চাহুলী, চাহুলী, আঁচলের (aś্টাপ্রহারিং); চা...
(piśta-+āli); पुक्त, पुकर « puk(h)ur », OB. « pōkhiri » (cf. puṣhārīnt); पिउलि « piuli » yellow colour (piṭa-lī-); बिउलि « biuli » cleaned pulse (vīdālīta); बिउलि « biuni » (vyajānīkā); भारु ई « bhāru » a bird (bharata-, bhārata-); माउलि « māuni » churning-stick (mathanīkā); मिच-कुलने « michā-kūnē » कहीना (काधना-+ika-); मालि « māduli » drum-shaped amulet, cf. मादल « mādal » drum (mardāla); शिउलि « šiuli » (śāphālikā); etc., etc. Tatsama and foreign words fare similarly: e.g., नाष्टुक « nāṣṭuk » (nāṣṭaka-), चन्द्रु « cāndru » = चन्द्रिया « cāndāriyā », a familiar form of the name Candra, शहर « śaḥur » urban (Pers. « šahr »), etc.

There is mutation of [o] to [o]: see § 190 (vi).

An original « ō » vowel is similarly changed to « u »: e.g., stūs. नेउली « niugī, nēugī » (niyōgt); अमुद « āmudē » merry (āmōda+iya); पुरुत « purut » > *purōhit » (purōhita); etc.

Through the analogy and influence of the above forms, which form a numerous class, we sometimes find cases of change of interior « -ā- » -ā- to « u », even though there is no high vowel following: e.g., ठाहरा > ठाउरा « thāhāra » thāurā » to ponder, deliberate: cf. Hind « thaharnā »; ताजळा « sājharā » evening light » sāvru » sājhrā ». Here, again, a change to « ō » marked the intermediate stage. In some common words, even when there is quiescent « ō » following, we have also change of « ō » to « u »: e.g., बांस « bāmuna » bāmanā (brāhmaṇa), बेहुन « bēgun » bājī « bāgā » (vātingana), stus. बृस « bāštum » [bojūm] < बृस, *bīhī b < bāstam, bāstākw » (vāsunava), etc., etc.

(ix) Change of quality from front to back, or vice versa, through the influence of a following vowel, is rather rare in Bengali. There are a few cases inherited from MIA: e.g., मुनिस « munis » labourer, found already in Asōkan inscriptions (= muṇṣya), whence we have NB. मिनस « mīnsa » a fellow (in contempt); cf. the stus. मनि « māni » [moni] = « manuṣya »; and OB. « pōkhiri » has an analogous form in the 'Divyāvadāna' word « puṣkiriṃ ». NB. examples are सिक « siki » < सूक « suki » ¾th, four-anna bit (= ? sapādikā; so Platts derives Hindostānī सुक, sukt). Cf. Orīyā « duhiṅkā » dihiṅkā of two. Conversely, we have change of « i » to « u »: « bindu » *bundu » सूक
būdā, and শুক্র < śuṣukā > porpoise, cf. Pali < suñsumāra >, Skt. < śiṣumāra >.

192. The above are cases where Vowel Mutation results from the influence of a following vowel. The modification of a following vowel through the influence of a preceding one, which is the kind of Vowel Harmony that characterises the Dravidian and Ural-Altaic speeches (e.g., Telugu and Turkish), is also found in NB. It is the result apparently of a strong initial stress; and those families of speech in which we have it are agglutinating in nature, in which the root syllable is the initial one and possesses the dominant stress which influences the following syllables. The Standard Colloquial is specially characterised by this kind of Vowel Harmony, and East Bengali and most other dialects resist it: naturally enough, as the Standard Colloquial is a dialect of strong initial stress.

(xi) অ, আ, ও+অ [ো, ো, ০+০] > অ, আ, ও+ও [ো, ো, ০+০]. This modification of [ো] to [০] may be said to be optional. The resultant [০] is often left unnoticed in spelling: e.g., রস্ত, গরব, থরন etc. = [রস্ত, গরব, থরন]; চলেন = [চলেন]; হত্ন > হৎ = [হত্ন > হৎ]; similarly বার্টের [বার্টের], পাল পাল [পাল পাল], কাঞ্চন [কাঞ্চন], মাদল [মাদল], etc.; মোহন [মোহন], ts. গোবর [গোবর], লোতন [লোতন], etc. So foreign borrowings: গজল [গজল] (= Pers. < qazal >), ডবল [ডবল] (= English double), ডান [ডান] (= English dozen), নম্বর [নম্বর] (English number), গার্ড [গার্ড] (English guard), বোতল [বোতল] (Portuguese < botelha >), মোর [মোর] (Persian < morg, murg >); etc., etc.

The group [ো+০] is not preferred by the Standard Colloquial, the second or both must be altered to [০]. The English group [o:(৩০)+o: (৩০)] in photo [ফোটো] becomes ফোটো [ফোটো]; cf. otto = অটো [াটো].

(xii) আ + ও [০+০] > আ + ও [০+০] is found in the colloquial তাহাকে [তাহাকে] < তাহাকে [তাহাকে] < তাহাহাইলে < তাহাহাইলে then, that being so.

(xiii) ই + আ [৯+৬] > ই + আ [৯+৬]: very common, in tth., as well as ts. and foreign forms. ইছে [ইছে] (iechē); M.B. বিনে [বিনে] (vinē); মিশেল [দিশেল] (মিশেল mixed < মিশেল); মিশেল [মিশেল] (mishā mixed < মিশেল); ভিক্ষের [বিক্ষের] (bhikṣa); ছিলেম, দিলেম, কর্তেম, সেতেম, etc., etc. [গিলেম dilem, kortem, গিলেম], Standard Coll. pronunciations of < chilām, dilām, kāritām,
MODIFICATIONS OF ‘Ā’

jāitām, etc. = I was, I gave, I used to do, I used to go; so туми к’рвне [korbe] you will do < kāribā; dialectally also к’рвне, дивер [korber, diber], etc. = for doing, for giving < kāribā, dibā; चाहन [çainê] I don’t want, करन [korine] I don’t do < चाहन < cāinā, करन < kārinā; चाहन [çainê] I did not want < चाहनेके, चाहनहि < cāinēi, cāhināhi; so बलिस्नेन [bolifnej] thou won’t say = बलिस ना bālisā nā, बलिसन [bolifn] = बलिसनेस, बलिसनहि < bālis nēi, -nāhi, etc.; नील [nile], folk-Bengali for नील < līlā; पिठेम [pitemo], folk-Bengali for पिठेम < pitāmāhā; विखास, निखāस < biśwāsā, nīshāsā, etc., commonly become [bīʃeʃ, nīʃeʃ], and all similar forms; भोड [bifeb] accounts (Perso-Arabic < hisāb); भोडेत [bilet] foreign land, Europe (Perso-Arabic < wilāyat); फिटेज [phite] ribbon (Portuguese < fita). Also in forms like एक [aŋtē] one piece, एकट [aŋṭa] eight pieces, but तिनेट [tineṭ] three pieces, MB. तिनेट tini-tā, चारट [çartē] four pieces = MB. चारट < cāri-tā = East Bengali [tsairṭa, tsairṭ].

(xiii) उ+ आ [u+a] > उ+ ओ [u+o]. This modification is also very common both in thks. and tss.: पुप्पा [puʃpā] (pūjā); मुला [mula] radish (mulā < mūla-); खुरा [khūra] nurse (khūra < kṣudra+tāta); खूला [khūlā] (dhūlā < dhūla-); उठान, उठन [uṭhā] court-yard; (uṭhānā = ut-sthāpana-); चुड़ा [qūro] (cūḍā); मुरो [murō] (murā < mūnda-); छोर [duor] (*duāra = dwāra); भुक [huʃ(h)o] dry = क्ष < sukhā (śūka-); etc., etc. Cf. Perso-Arabic < ḥuqqāh > हुक < hūkā > हुक [ɦuʃko] hookah.

Also उ+ ओ [u+o] > उ+ ओ [u+o]: श्रोर [ʃuor] (śuārā < sū-kara); etc. See p. 398.

(xiv) ए+ आ+ [e+a+e] > ए+ ए+ [e+e+e]: as in एकेन [ekheṇ] < एकेत < ekhānē here; so सेठेन [sekheṇ] there, येथेन [sekheṇ] where.

This Vowel Harmony habit of Bengali asserts itself exceedingly in the speech of women, and of the uneducated classes generally, and it works havoc with the tss. imported from Sanskrit: to give some remarkable examples, we have निलिमिष्ट [nili̯miʃiʃ] in women’s speech = < nirāmiṣya; पितेन, पिठेन [pitem] = pratiṁā; (see p. 357 for change of pra- to pi-); उच्चुग [uc̯huggu] any offering before a deity = < utsarga;
Origin of the New Bengali Vowels.

193. The general line of development of OIA. vowels into Bengali has been indicated above. The sources of the NB. vowels are now indicated origin below. The vowels of the Standard Colloquial are seven [i, e, a, o, u]; with the rare [ʌ] in foreign words, they are eight. They are taken below in the order of the Bengali Alphabet, viz., [ɔ, a, i, u, e, æ, o]. For [ʌ], [æ, a, ə] are normally substituted: and it will not be necessary to speak further about [ʌ].

194. Bengali [ɔ] occurs both as long and as short, as in [ʃol] water and [ʃola] marsh respectively. In popular notion, [ɔ] is generally called the short of [a], but the difference in quality between the two vowels is instinctively recognised by all Bengali speakers, and this is shown by the fact that when a Bengali child begins to learn the alphabet, he is taught to name the vowel letters as follows—অ = «svārē ā» among the vowels, a; আ = «svarē ā» among the vowels, a; ই = «hrāsvā i» [hiroj ɨ] short i; ঈ = «dīrghā ī» long ī; so উ = «hrāsvā u», ঊ = «dīrghā ū», ঋ = «rī», ঌ = «dīrghā rī», ঌ = «li», ঍ = «dirgha li», এ = «e», ঐ = «āi» [oi], ও = «ō», ঔ = «āu» [ou], অ = «ān» [oŋ], আ = «āh» [oh]: অ, আ are not called «hrāsvā ā, dīrghā ā». Bengali অ, আ do not inter-
change now, but they did, up to the end of the eMB. period, when ओ was a lower and an opener sound than at present (see pp. 260, 263). Bengali [o] commonly represents OIA. short [a], through MIA. OB., eMB. [o]. Middle Bengali [o>o] normally becomes [o] in the MB. Standard Colloquial when followed by [i, u]: see ante, pp. 396, 397.

The sources of the NB. [o]:

(i) OIA. short *$a*= [a]: करात [kərat] (karapatra); कर [kər] (kahi, kathayati); चल [cəle] (calati); जल [jəl] (jala); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. long *अ*= [aː], in a few cases through absence of stress in OB. and Early MB.: पगार [pəgər] (prakara), बनारशी [bənarʃi] (vāraṇasiya), etc.; see p. 321. Cf. also करोल [korola], करेल [korela] (kāravēla); तदि [tadhi > tadhi] depth, bottom (*stāghikā); etc. Post-consonantal [wa:] of Skt. in initial syllables became [ə] in Early Middle Bengali, in a few tss. and is found as [ə] in NB. (see p. 260): e.g., बद [bəd] = बद [svaː]; तत्स्म [təsmi], a folk-pronunciation of तत्स्म [svəmi]; सत्स [təs] imitation, mimicry, dramatic caricature, < तत्स्म [svaŋga >: cf. Hind. <svaŋg >; cf. also तत्स्म [doːt], a folk pronunciation of दोष [doːt] from the Perso-Arabic दोष [dawāt] ink-pol.

In ts. compounds like <jalānjali, siddhānna, paramānna, pāyasānna madhyānna>, etc., the [aː] is frequently turned into [ə, ə>o] in folk-pronunciation—e.g. [voleti], [idhin], [môk], [mroku], [pomona], [pafonno], [modifacto]. Conversely, तत्स्म [nə], the name of the latter, commonly becomes [modifacto no, modifacto].

(iii) OIA. [i, i]: बढ़ [boːra] (MIA. bahēdāa, OIA. vibhītaka); तरो [toro] > [torto] day before yesterday, day after tomorrow (tirah-śvah); परस [prək] (parikṣā); etc.

(iv) OIA. [u] > eMB. [o], altered to [o] in NB.: MB. मूढ़ < māurā > (mukuta); cf. बल [bole] (MIA. bollai, OIA. bravīti, √brū).

(v) OIA. [f]: मड़ [moːra] (mṛta); etc.: see pp. 354, 355.

(vi) OIA. [e]: करेल [korola, kərola] (kāravēla); stss. संद [jɔndo] (sandēha), नारकेल [narkol, -kol] (nārikēla), etc.

(vii) OIA. [o]: Calcutta Bengali पोरल [goːla] (gopa-la-), through influence of मोर [moːra] (madaka-), and similar words with the group
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

[oə+ə]; so कोड़ा [koələ] charcoal (< kōkila- >, cuckoo-coloured; cf. Hind. kōlā); cf. मोड़ा [moələ] dirty (MIA. mailla-), see p. 334. See also under [oe].


For loss of interior [ə], see ante, pp. 330, 331.

[ə] forms diphthongs with [e, o] following: see below under [oe, əə].

[ə] in foreign words is noted later.

Bengali [a, a:], written আ, য়.

195. Sources of Bengali [a]:

(i) OIA. < ə > [a:] initial, and before one consonant: পাড়ে [pəre] (pātayati); চালায় [cəlae] (*cālapayati, cālayati); মা [ma:] (mātā); সাজ (fəə) (sāgara); জিজ্ঞাসা [fəal] (śṛgāla), etc. See pp. 320-321.

(ii) OIA. < ə > initial, through stress in eMB.: see p. 314.

(iii) OIA. < ə, ə > [a, a:] before two consonants: see pp. 316-317, 321.

(iv) From < ə, ə+ə, ə > in contact in Late MIA.==OIA. < ə, ə > + consonant + < ə, ə >: see pp. 349-350.

(v) From OIA. < ō > initial, through an earlier stage of < ə >: see pp. 354-355.

Post-consonantal < -yə > in ts. words is changed to [œ] in NB., for which see under [œ]; see also p. 260. The change of [a] to [œ] in Bengali, in connection with a nasal, when the following syllable also has [a], has been noticed at p. 322. See also under [œ].

Modification of [a] to [e, o] and [o>u] by Vowel Harmony: see pp. 400-401, 398; also dropping of [a] through loss of stress, see pp. 331-332.

196. In some tāh. forms, there is alternation between [a] and [i]: ছাল [c̪hala:] and ছিলকা [c̪hilka > c̪hilke] skin of fruit (cf. Skt. challī); /s̪ād [s̪a:dh] enter and সিং [s̪i:dh] a passage through a wall (sandhi); /চাব [c̪a:b] and /চিব /[c̪i:b] chew (√carv); /চাপ [c̪a:p] and /চিপ [c̪i:p] press (cf. Apabhraṃśa /c̪amp); পাছ [pə:c̪h] and পিছ [pi:c̪h] behind (Cf. J. Beames,
INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ‘Ā’ AND ‘O, U’

'Comp. Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' II, p. 297); etc. This alternation is as old as MIA. Also alternation between [a] and [o, u] is found in some groups of words, mostly dēśī: e.g., डाकर [dakor] big, also, dialectally डाकर [dakor], beside डोकरा, डोकला [dokra, dokla] lout, clumsy fellow, spendthrift, huge and ungainly; डेकर [daker] fool, ugly one; and डाँग [danga, dęga] high land, beside ठेंगर [tęga] high land, Hindōstān < डुंगर, धोंगर > hill; जाबड़, जोबड़ [jābra, jōbra] splash, blotch; जाड़ [jā:] cold (Skt. jāḍya, lmIA. jaḍā) beside जुड़ [jūra] get cool; काक [phā:k] empty space, beside कोफर [phā:k] hole, slit, probably connected with फप [phā:p] swelling, कोफर [phā:s] hollow, कोफल [phā:pol] empty (cf. १/स्फार); डाबर [dābor] a capacious pot (of metal), डब [dā:] green coco-nut, beside डोबा [doba] puddle, small tank; हम [hama] crawl on fours (cf. छाक्क, छाक्क) walks in the ancient speech of Suraṣṭra), beside यम्भ [fumr] a fall on one's face; etc. Compare क्र [kā:] cry, weep and कोदल [kōdol] women’s noisy quarrel (= kanda-la, √kand). The reasons of the above types of interchange of vowels are not clear.

The [a] in निराकर, निरानि [niranobbi, nirano], also changed to [e] by Vowel Harmony, [nirenobbi, nirenno], is unusual. It is found in other NIA., together with the euphonious (?) < r >: e.g., Hind. निनानवाई, नवनावाई, Panjāb < निरनावे, etc., and it probably comes from the MIA. stage. So also in some words like नराण [nērā] (nayana), बोन [boon] (vadana); cf. MB. पोर [pōra] (pāta); NB. sts. slang पेलाई [pella] awful, excessive, thundering, huge (pralaya), etc.: see p. 336. [a] in foreign words: see below.

New Bengali [i, i:], written ଇ, ନ, ସ, ଃ.

197. Bengali [i] is not a very close sound, and it easily passes into [e]. Thus, in the Calcutta Colloquial, words like भितर < bhitāra, >, छिल < chilā > are ordinarily pronounced [bhetor, qhelō]. The interchange of [i] and [e] is found in MB.

(i) OIA., MIA. [i, i:] : see pp. 308, 323-324, 336-337.
(iii) OIA. < ā, ā > [a, a:] : see p. 335 ; cf. also pīchē [piχhe] (=paścāt),śīr [ʃiːr(h)] (=sandhi); bh- [bi-] (=dvā-) in compounds—bīllālhī [biʃiːlːiː] (=dvā-catvāriṇiṣat), etc.; čī [ʃiː] (=śat), as in čhāllā [ʃiːΧiːlːa] (=śat-catvāriṇiṣat), etc.; deśī [kiːriː] [khiɾki] window, back-door (khaḍakki); sts. firktē [ʃiɾktiː] alum (sphāṭika), etc.

The OIA. affix -ant- gave -it- in Bengali : see also p. 335.

(iv) OIA. < -yā > [iː] after consonants: bhitōr (abhyaṁtara), bījī [biʃiː] (vyajanika); nē, nē, nē, nē [nai, nai] argument (nyāya). OIA. < -yā > for the indeclinable conjunctive =OB. < -i, -iː >, MB, ī,i, ī,ī, ī,ī. < -i, -i, -iː > has been assimilated to ī < ē > in NB. Also from earlier MB. < -yu- > in the sts. khidē [khiɾiː] (khyudhā, kṣudhā).

In stss., < -yā- > after a consonant becomes [iː], with the preceding consonant doubled: e.g., sāt < sātyā > sāti [ʃoti], so acačāra < acačāra > acačārti [aʃiːʃiː], pāthi < pāthi > pāthiti [pətʃiti], mādhyā < mādhyā > mādhipti [mədhiːti], sādhyā < sādhyā > sādhipti [ʃaʃiːti], akāthā < akāthā > okothiti [okɔtʃiːti], bhōjya < bhōjya > bhūti [bʃuʃiːti] uncooked rice, pulses, vegetables, butter etc., in religious offering, etc. Similarly with k < kṣ = khy > and j < jn = gy- >: e.g., sākṣa < sākṣyā > sākṣiti [ʃaʃiːti], yākṣā < jākhyā > yākṣiti [ʃiːʃiːti], yājñā < jāgyā > yājñiti [ʃiːʃiːti], dāibājña > dāibījiti [diʃiːʃiːti], etc. The eBM. pronunciation was [aʃiːʃiːtʃ, pətʃiːtʃ, mədhiːtʃ, ʃaʃiːtʃ, ʃiːʃiːtʃ], etc.: it is the [iː] which has resulted in the contracted [i] in NB., like < -i > of Apabhraṃśa to < i > in Bengali: see pp. 302, 303, 307, 352.

(v) OIA. [u]: minnā, minnās [miniʃ, miʃe] (manuṣya); ʃiki [ʃiːki] fourth, for ṣukkī [ʃuki]. Early MB. [u] became [iː], when epenthetic: examples have been given above, see p. 335 ; cf. āi [ai] (āu, āyuṣ), bāi [bai] (bāu, vāyu); etc.

For interchange between [i] and [u] in deśī and tibh. forms, see under [u], p. 408.

(vi) OIA. [ai, eː], MIA. [eː, e]: e.g. MB. pārīlī [porʃi] (prativēśin); NB. thāi [θai] (*ṭhāmē, sthāman); du [dui] (duve, dvi); ne [ nei] indulgence (*nēhi, *nēhē, snēha); etc.
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'I' "U"

(iii) Through contraction of MIA. contact vowels in OB. : see pp. 350, 351, 352.

(viii) In certain class dialects in the Standard Colloquial area, final <āi> is contracted to [i]: e.g., জেঠি [ʃeːhi] < জেঠাই < jéthaî > (jyešṭhātā + ikā); বি[miθhi] < সেঠাই, মেঠাই < mēṭhāi, mi- > sweetmeat (miṣṭa-); সানি [ʃani] < সাঙ্গাই < sānāi > (Pers. šah-nāī), etc.

The epenthetic < -i, -u > -i >, and the formation of diphthongs with < -i >, have been discussed before.

For [i] in foreign words: see below.

Bengali [u, u:], written ও, ঔ, উ, য.

198. Bengali [u], like [i], is not a close, high sound, but rather low, approaching [o]. It is drawn down to the [o] position through influence of a following low vowel. In Calcutta, and elsewhere in Bengal, we have pronunciations like [opor, fondor] = উপর, সুন্দর < upār, sundār > etc.

Sources of [u]:

(i) OIA. [u, u] > MIA. [u, u]: See pp. 310, 311, 325, 326, 337.


(iii) OIA. [a, a]: in the interior of a word, when flanked by high vowels, we have change to [u] in NB.: see pp. 394, 398.

In initial syllables, through influence of a preceding labial, in a few cases in MB. and NB.: e.g., MB. রূহিত [buvhita] (vahtra); রূহিনি [buvhini (bhadgini), etc. The intermediate stage was [o]. See pp. 319, 320; cf. মাহাশ্র < māhāśāḍ > sir > শাশ্র, শাষ্র [moʃə, moʃui], East Bengali মুশ্র [muʃə].

(iv) OIA. [ʊa] after consonants > MIA. [-uː-]: সুর [ʃuːr] (*suvara, svara); পরশু [porʃu] (*parasha, pariśvaḥ); শু [ʃuʃ] (*śuvāsa, śvas); শু [ʃu] (suvav-, svap), etc. See pp. 329, 330, 352.

(v) OIA. [i]: বুদ [bʊd] (bindu); হলদ [fōlud] (haridrā); গেরুয়া [geruː] (gārīka, *gārūka); চুক [ʃuʃuk] (cf. Skt. śīsumāra, Pali suṣumāra).
(vi) OIA. [aː u, oː] > MIA. [oː oː] : through influence of a high vowel mainly. See pp. 398, 399. पुकर [pukur] (MIA. pokkhara-, puṣkarinī); भीमरुल [bhimrul] (*bhrīga-rōlikā); उड़ [ure] (Oriyā, Odēia-, Āṇḍṛṭyakā), etc., etc.


For [u] in foreign words, see below.

199. [i] and [u] as high vowels interchange in some tbh. and dēṣī forms (including onomatopoeics). This is apart from change of epenthetic [u] to [i], and from the cases of isolated modification of [u] to [i], and vice versa. E.g., गुमर [gumər] stuffness beside MIA. गिम्हा (grīṣma); तिक्क [tikkhi] sharp and तुक्कर [tukkər] clever (tikṣṇa); निक्क [nikkhum] silent, asleep, also गु [gum] sleep, beside गू [gū] doze—a dēṣī form, cf. Marāṭhī झोपी झेल; टिकली [tikli] and टुक्रा [tukra] a piece, bit, fragment; छिल्ला [diŋga] beside डोळa < * डुंगा [donja] a canoe, a boat; छिल्ला [qhikka] skin of fruit, beside छूला [qhula, qhola] to skin, छूला [qhuli] skin-disease, also छिला [qhali] skin; छिड़ा [qipja, qipja] be dried up, contract, beside चाप [qapə] press; उकुन [ukun] louse (*utkuṇa), beside इकुन [ikun]; शिकन [jikni] exudation from nose (śingh), beside झंक, झेक [juk, juk] smell, sniff (*śungh); cf. NIA. [u:k, i:k, a:k] (=īkṣu). As can be easily seen, these alternances go back to the Early MIA. stage, and are probably earlier. The dēṣī forms probably are based on dialectal variations in the original non-Aryan languages from which OIA. or MIA. borrowed the words. The IA. vowel alternance—*गुνा > and *वर्ध्यधी >, and Early MIA. change of *r to *i, u, e.g., [ghuṭ, ghiṭ, ghiṭ] from *ghṛṭa >, in the same dialect, made the alternances in the dēṣī and tbh. forms appear quite natural, and in conformity with the spirit of IA.

Bengali [e, eː] = ে, এ.

(iii) OIA. [f̂]: দেখ [de:kʰ] (�্র-); see p. 356. Also in stss.: p. 357.

(iv) OIA. [a, aː]: through influence of following [i, ɪ] = MIA. [e]: শেল [ʃeːl] (সাল্যা, sēlla); শেজ [ʃeːʒ] (সায়া, sejja); নেজার [ʃeːʒaru > ʃeːʒaru], in South-eastern Bengali হেঁ [hέːza], beside সাজার [ʃeːʒaru] (সায়াকা, sayyaka, sejja + rūpa); এর [er] (kēra < kārya); etc. In সতের [ʃoteric], পনের [poner] beside সতর, পনর [ʃoteric, ponoro], we have change of OIA. [a] to [e] in NB. (saptadaśa, pañcadaśa); also in the honorific verb forms in এন [en] (-anti): e.g., চলেন [ʃolen] (calanti).

(v) OIA. [i], through a MIA. change to [e]: see p. 327. Also finally, in verb forms: ধার [khaːɾ] (khai, khāḍati), etc.

(vi) OIA. [u]: নেউর [neur] (nūpara).

(vii) By contraction, in MIA., OB. and eMB. times, from various groups of OIA., with [a]: see pp. 343, 344, 350, 351, 352. নেউল [neul] (nakula); MB. নেলালি [neali] (*nayamallia, navamallikā); চলে [ʃole] (calati); ঘরে [ghe] (gharahi, grha + dhi); etc.

OB. stss., with [Io] < post-consonantal Skt. -yā > [Ia], as much as [In] in lbh. words, is contracted to [e, ɛ] in MB. > [e] in NB.: see p. 351: also examples like বংশ, বাঙ্গ [baŋ] (*bēṅga, vyaṅga), বংশম [bēṅgoma] (*bēṅgamā, vihaṅgama-), জান্ত [ʃento, ʃentu] (jianta, jivant-), etc.

Early MB. final ঈ, ঔ, �etes. = [ia, ia] becomes [e] in NB.: e.g., eMB. *চাঁদবর্জা > MB. চাঁদবর্জা > NB. চাঁদবর্জা, চাঁদবর্জা, চাঁদবর্জা [ʃaturo-ʃia > ʃatufiʃe > ʃatufiʃe, ʃatufiʃe, ʃatufiʃe] a Brahman surname = the long-lived one, or son (jiva) of (the village of) চাঁদু (or কাঠা; cf. the equivalent চাঁটুতি = (চাঁটা + putra)), Anglicised into Chatterji etc., Sanskritised into (চাঁটোপাদ্যান্য); so MB. মুখবর্জা > মুখবেঁজে [mukhurfiʃe > mukurfiʃe, mukurfiʃe] Mukherji; উত্তরিয়া > উত্তরে [uttoria > utture] northern; করিয়া > করে [koria > kore] having done, etc., etc.: see pp. 393, 394.

(viii) By contraction from MB. epenthetic [ai, au > ai] < OIA. [aː+i, u]: see pp. 385, 386, 389.

(ix) By Vowel Harmony, from MB. [i] and MB. [a]: see pp. 400-401.
In ñs. of NB., subscript -yā of Skt. gives [e], and this [e] remains when followed by a high vowel: otherwise the [e] becomes [æ]: e.g.,
बक्ति [bekti] (vyakti), but बस्ति [bæktil] (vyakta); so बाध्यार बाधी [baethar bethi] a sympathiser in sorrow (vyathā, vyathin); बास्ति [bæsiti] (vyastī);
बास़त [bæsit] (vyatīta); etc.
For [e] in foreign words: see infra.

Bengali [æ, æ:]

201. [æ] is a comparatively recent sound in the NB. Standard Colloquial, and it originated from MB. [s] and groups like [sa, sa, ea],
not earlier than towards the very end of the MB. period. In East Bengal
dialects, [æ] is rare or unknown, and [s] and [a, a] are used for it. Long
[e:] and [æ:] of the Standard Colloquial commonly occur in Typical East
Bengali as [s:]; persons speaking East Bengali dialects find it difficult
to distinguish between English [æ] and [s]—the latter, in the ordinary
West Bengali pronunciation of English, becomes [e] (together with English
[ə], which is a sound not found in Bengali). Thus, admiral, appreciate,
acquaintance [ædmæral, æpriːʃiːt, ækwɛɪntəs], in West Bengali pronuncia-
tion [ædmæral, æpriːʃiːt, ækʊɛntəs], become [sæmiræl, spriːʃiːt, skʊɛntəs] in East Bengali; and the following spellings of English
words from examination scripts submitted by East Bengal students, are
typical of East Bengali pronunciation: matroplese, hendi-work, tendency,
perichoner (= parishioner), commender, intationally, engels, harressed,
marriment, edvice, emity, aminence, anemy, orientel, many (= many) »,
etc.

Bengali [æ], when it comes from [e], is written as æ. The subscribed
- ∞ - followed by - a - ‘आ’, ‘शा’ .æ, is otherwise employed. In ñss.,
post-consonantal -yā of Skt., which became [sa] in MB., is written as
- yā ; also post consonantal -yā in initial syllables. The tendency
in writing the NB. Standard Colloquial now is to employ lavishly the
यक्ष्ण + अ — - yā = .æ: e.g., नाथे < dyâkhë > for सेठे dekhê < = [dekhë]
= MB. [dskhe], MIA. [dekkhōî].
Origin of [æ].

(i) In *tbbh. [æ] is found in initial syllables for a Late MIA. [eː, e], which is derived from various sources in OIA.—[eː, aːi, r] and [aː consonant + a, i + consonant + a], etc. In eMB., if not in OB., the pronunciation certainly was [ə]. See pp. 327-328, 343, 351, 409.

[æː] is found in *tbbh. monosyllables when they are closed by क k, ध dh, ष ṣ, त t, न n, or a nasal, or by य y from earlier अ a: e.g., एक [æːk], MB. [əːk, ək], MIA. < ekka >; ते. लेख [læːkh] write thou (in the old pronunciation in the Standard Colloquial, now through Skt. influence changed to [leːkh]); देख [dæːkh] look thou, MB. [dəkho]; पेट [pæːt] twist; पेट [phæːt] pound thou; नेव [næːv] hard stools; फेस [phæːs] froth; बेंस [bæːs] frog; देन [dæːn] he gives, they give (honorific) (MIA. *denti); सेन [ʃeːn] a surname; सेन, नेव [dæːn, næːv] gives, takes, etc. In other cases, we have [æː]: e.g., नेत [net], an archaic word = fine cloth (nêtra); हृद [hɔːt] stooping, low (hृṣṭha, *adhiṣṭāt), etc. Cf. तेस्. देश, बेंस, केश, देष, पेट, शेष, देब etc. [deʃ, beʃ, keʃ, meːʃi, preːt, βeːt, deːb]; etc.

Onomatopoeics have the [æ] pronunciation, irrespective of the consonant which follows: e.g., पेट [pæːt] belly, but पेटोर [pæːtor, pæːtɔr]; पेट [kheːt] field (kṣetra), but खांब खांब [khɔːt khɔːt], etc. Here East Bengali will employ [ə] in all cases.

In disyllables (and polysyllables), when the second syllable is closed by a vowel other than [i] or [u], [æ] for [e] is the rule. Ts. words, however, sometimes resist the tendency to change to the opener sound. E.g., एक [aka] alone; देश [daːkhə] see you, MB. [dəkho; dəkhən]; देश [maːlə] opens up (eyes), spreads; चेत [phæːtʃə] owl; हेल [haːlə]; बेल [baːlə]; टेर [tərə] thirteen, MB. [tərə; tərəh]; गेल [gæəlo] went; जेन [phæːna]; देख [dækhe] sees; फेल [phæle] throws, MB. [pəle, phəle, pələ] (pərayatt); बेट [beːʃa] son; देव [dæːr] (dèvara); नॉट, नॉट [nəʊʃa > nəʊʃo] affectionate (snəha-vṛttana), beside मेन [nei] indulgence (=snəha); केट [kæʃt] a caste (kèvattta, kāivarta); सेब [ʃeːba], beside, in recent pronunciation, through Skt influence [ʃeːba]; सेब [dæba] as in the phrase ये मन सेब तेसन सेबी [fiːmɒn dæba temnɪ dəbi] as is the god, so the goddess = like husband, like wife; etc., etc.; एमन, एमन, भेमन, केमन [æmon,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

 fkæmon, taemon, kæmon], adjectives or adverbs of manner, respectively from e, e, e, ke [e; fæ, te; ke] this, who, that, who?; but in দেথa, দেথa [fæthæ, fæthæ] where, there, curiously enough, the [æ] sound is resisted, and also in দেথa [fæthæ] here = এথa [etha] in OB. (cf. MIA. ettha = OIA. itthā).

Where, however, the Bengali root has [i], derived forms with [a, e, o] vowels in the next syllable do not change the [i > e] of the root (through Vowel Harmony, see p. 397) to [æ]: e. g., মিলে > মেলে [mele] is obtained, but মেলে [mele] spreads closes (melay)-; ফিরে > ফেরে [phere] turns, but ফেরে [færea] encloses, surrounds (cf. Hindīstānī phirnā, ghernā); etc.

(ii) [æ] occurs in onomatopoetic words which are reduplicated. In the earlier stages of the language, the sound was probably an [æ] or [e]: e. g., গলা গলা [gala gala], ধীর ধীর [dēra dēra], ফাছ ফাছ [phae phae], etc., etc.

(iii) [i, æ] comes from earlier [a] when the next syllable has [a]: see p. 322.

(iv) [æ] is derived from eMB. groups like [in] and [ia > ie] by Vowel-Harmony: e. g., জান্ত [fænto] living = eMB. জান্ত [fænto]; গেছে [gæshe] has gone, from [giashe > gieche]. See pp. 351, 400.

(v) MB. এহ, এক [eθa, sa, sə] became [æ]; also এহ, এক [eθin, en] became [æ, æn] in NB. The [e, o] in [æe, æo] is an after-glide, which is optionally omitted. E. g., শেরা [fælala], MB. *শেরা [fælala], besides শেরা, শেরা [fælala] (*সাইলা-, saila); কেখাই [beai, bēi], MB. কেখাই [beθai] (vāvāhika); ‘দেশম’ [dæla], MB. দেশম, দেশা, দেশালা, দেশা [dθai, deθai] a baby’s smile in sleep (dēva +/-); আমনা [fæena] clever, MB. সেমানা [fæana] (cf. Hind. syānā).

Foreign words with [sa] in 1MB. similarly change this group to [æ] or [æe]: e. g., Persian < pyāla > cup > [psala] > পালা [pæala], also [pæela]; < ziyādah > much, excessive > [fæzáda] > জাদা, জাদা, জাদা [fæzda, fæeda]: Portuguese < viola > violin > বিলা [fæsala] > বালা, বায়ালা [bæla, bæela]; < pera > pear > পেরাসা [psa] > পারাসা [pæera]: English < bearer > > বায়ারা, বায়ারা [børara, børara], also [børara]; etc., etc.

(vi) In tss. < -yā- > after a consonant in initial syllables, when the following syllable does not have an [i] or [u], becomes [æ]. In MB. the intermediate stage was [s]. See p. 410.
(vii) Post-consonantal < -ya > in tss. have become [æ]. One MB. stage was that of a low [ə] plus a fronted [a]. See page 260. কল্লাপ [kollæp]; পরিতাগ [porittæg]; হতা [hottæ]; etc. কা < ক্ষ > (k)khyä > and জা < জ্ঞা > (g)gya > similarly gave [æ]: e.g., রক্ষা [rokkha], also [rokkhe, < rokkhia]; জান [gæ:n]; অবাজা [oβogqæ]; etc.

Bengali [o, o:], written অ, র, ও, ওল.

202. All final [ə] tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial. The more important sources of [o] are:

(i) OIA. [o:] : see pp. 329, 337.
(ii) OIA. [u, u:] etc. > MIA. [o, o:] : pp. 327, 329.

(iv) (a) OIA. < a > [a], through influence of preceding labial: ভোমা [bhoma] (bhaæwara-), bhamara-; see pp. 319-320.

(b) Change of eMB. < a > to [o] through Epenthesis, Umlaut and Vowel Harmony has been discussed before. This MB. < a > comes from OIA. [a, a:]

(v) Through contraction of various groups in OIA. and MIA.: OIA. < আবা, আমা, আ + stop + আ, আ + stop + u, uv(া), etc., etc. See pp. 344, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353. E.g., মো-, টো- [mo, to] (mama, tava: this change of < আবা, আবা > to < o > is pre-Bengali); নাভাত [notun] (nava-); নাল [ola] descend, as in ওলাইচা cholera (avalaabh + ut-sthã); সোম [fodo] as in সোমোল ভাসানা [fodo biaçano] 'launching on sea,' the boat festival (= ? *sawuddua, samudra + uka-); etc., etc.

(vi) (a) Through Vowel Harmony, from eMB. [u] from various sources in OIA.: ভোং [boæ(f)æ] to understand (budhy-); সোং [foæ] straight, easy, clear (śudhy-); etc. See p. 397.

(b) From MB. ঔ + আ [u + a] > ঔ+া [u + o], we have NB. [o] by Vowel Harmony. See under [ua, uo] below. শোর [fo:r] (śūra, sükara); কো [ko:] (kūa, küpa-); জো [fo:] (jūa, dyūta-); etc.

For [o] in foreign words, see below.
Interchange between [i] and [e], and between [u] and [o] in Bengali.

203. This interchange characterises NB. phonology, and it originated in the following ways.

(i) In some words, the interchange is the result of Primitive Indo-European Vowel Alternance (Ablaut), as it had been modified in the OIA., *i : ë, ē > and *u : ū, ō > : e.g., लिप [lip] smear, लोड़ा [leōa] a smearing (lip-ya-, lēpa-); टुट [tūt] be broken, तोड़ [tor] break (trūt-ya, trōt-aya-); etc. This is paralleled out by the alternance between [o] and [a] in चाले [dole] walks and चाले [dōle] moves (calati, cālayati), etc. In Bengali, the laws of Vowel Harmony have obscured to a very great extent the real nature of these alternances between [i] and [e], and [u] and [o] when they are of ablaut origin in OIA. The original ablaut relation has lost its significance, and it has become quite subsidiary to NB. phonetic habits. Thus, for instance, the root छुल [dul] to swing has [u], but the verbal noun by गुण [gūa] in OIA. has [o]—दोल [dol] a swing,—also the causative दोलाइ [dolai] I cause to swing; but छुल > he swings (*dulati) becomes दोले [dole], original [u] becoming [o] through influence of the following [e]; and *dolāpanikā > the act of swinging becomes, through the stages *dolāpani, *dolāpani, *dolānī, *dolāwani, *dolāvani, छुलनि [dulani], beside दोलानि [dolani]; and छुलिकā > *dolīa > palanquin, litter gives छोली [duli]. The original scheme of [u] for the active, and [o] for the causative and for noun formations, is in this way destroyed. So छुत [dhuṭ] run and its causative derivative छोड़ [dhor] throw, toss give छोटे > होटे [dhoṭe] he runs and होड़ि > होई [dhuṛi] I throw, beside छोट [dhuṭi] I run and होड़े [dhuṛē] he throws, rendering the original [u, o] alternance ineffective for the purpose of distinguishing the causative form.

There is the MIA. change of OIA. [i; u; i, u] to [e, o], which gave Bengali [e, o]. (See Pischel, §§119, 125, 127, 212 : ante, p. 327.) This of course is not a case of interchange so far as Bengali is concerned. In such alternations in MIA., there was probably the influence of the ablaut relations between *i : ē > and *u : ō >, which MIA. inherited from OIA.

(ii) Alternances of [i] and [u] with [e] and [o] through Vowel-Harmony is a most important thing in New Bengali phonology, and
NEW BENGALI DIPHTHONGS

this has been discussed before. This is due partly to the low position of the Bengali [i] and [u] vowels. Cf. MB. তেঁহা [təhə, tənə, tənə], he (honourific) (= *tenha), NB. তেহা [tena] his (honourific) (= *tena + -ara: *tenha = təhə, təham = təsam < təsam), but NB. nominative তিনি [tini] he (honourific) (= *tən-i = *təna, tənam + i); ts. কোপ [kop] anger, but কুপিল [kupilo] he angered; ওড়না [orina] veil (odghana-, ava-veṣṭana-), but উড়নী [uruni] sheet worn as cloak (odghania, *odghāwania, = *avaveṣṭanika, *avaveṣṭāpanika); etc., etc.

Bengali Diphthongs.

204. Of Bengali diphthongs, only two have special letters for them, namely [oi] = ওি, and [ou] = ওু. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, as many as 25 vowel combinations and diphthongs are found: [ie, ia, io, iu; ei, ea, eo, eu; ae, ao, au; oe, oa, oo; oei, oea, ou; ui, ue, ua, uo] (see ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §49). In OB., [oi] and [ou], sources partly of the NB. [oi, ou], were the only diphthongs. Early MB. probably developed some new combinations, [in, ina, ina, sa, sa] etc. and [u, o] etc. from subscribed < y, v > + < a, á > etc. in ts. words; and some fresh diphthongs, with the high vowels [i, u] forming the second element, accompanied epenthesis in MB. (See ante, p. 387). MB. diphthongs or vowel combinations have mostly been monophthongised in NB. in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., [sa] has given [ae], [eə] has resulted in [ə] in some cases, and [oi > oi, ou > ou, oij have resulted in [o], and [ai], [au > ai] in [e] (see ante, p. 386). NB. diphthongs are in the main recent creations. Many of them have not yet entirely passed through the stage between two syllables and a diphthongal monosyllable, especially when the group ends in the low vowel [ə]. When the syllable is closed with a consonant, the disyllabic character is often retained: e.g., দোয়া to wash, washed (pass. part.) is [dhoa = dhōa], almost rimeing with French দোই, doit > [dwa]; but ঘোষায় wash-out, scourings, is often more like [dhoats] than [dhoats = dhōats]; so ভাই brother is [bhai = bhai], but ভাই [baj] twenty-two is [baṣj, ba-ʃj]; and হর is, are = [hə, hə], but
The term [bɔeʃ] age is found as [bɔeʃ, bo-eʃ], besides [bɔoʃ]. But the tendency to pronounce these groups as one syllable is no less strong, and in cases like the above, where we have [ai, œ] etc., closed by a consonant, there is frequently simplification or contraction of the diphthong to a monophthong: e.g., बाइस, बलस occur as बा'स, बॉ'स, with a suggestion of the [i] in a fronted [a]—[ba:ʃ], and of the [e] in a little hesitation before the [ʃ], [bo:ʃ]; and ह्येन, सहेन [ʃo:en, ʃo(h)en] he becomes, he is; he suffers (honorific) have been regularly transformed into [ʃo:n, ʃo:n] in the Colloquial Speech.

NB. diphthongs are generally the result of the loss of intervocal «-h-» of MB., of Epenthesis and Vowel Modification, and of Vowel Harmony. And above all, there is the influence of the strong initial stress which reduces two syllables into one. Brief notes on the origin of the NB. diphthongs are given below. They are taken in the order given in the preceding page.

205. Bengali [ie], in the Colloquial, written ইয়ে, is derived from ইয়া < -iযাং of MB. (preserved in the literary language): দিয়ে [die] having given < দিয়া | diya; বিয়ে [bie] marriage < বিয়া | biyā (vivahā); etc. Where the [i] in [ie] was anticipated by epenthesis, as in আনিয়া, আনিয়া > having brought > *আইনিয়া, আনীতা > *ানীয়া, আনিয়া > এনে [ene], contraction took place generally during the transition from MB. to NB.; but a dialectal form like [sni] is still heard. So রাখিয়া | rākhiyā > having kept > রেখে [rekhe], beside রেখে | rākhi, etc. The tendency to shorten [ie] to [e] is quite a marked one in the Calcutta Colloquial; so that we have even forms like বে [de] having given, with (=instrumental post-position) beside [die]; টে as in “टेपाखी” parrot [ṭe, ṭepakhi], beside টিয়ে [ṭie] < টিয়া | titā; বে [be] marriage beside [bie] < [bia]; গেছে [geq(h)e], gēq(h)e has gone beside গেছে [gēq(h)e] < গিয়েছে [gāqhe], দেশলাই [deʃlai] matches beside দিশলাই [diʃlai] and দিশালাই [diʃ(a)lai, diaʃlai] (dtpa + salākā-); etc., etc.

[ie] also comes from contraction of আইয়া | əiyā of the causative conjunctive indeclinable: e.g., রাখিয়ে [rakhie] having caused to keep < রাখায়া < rākhāyā. It is found also in contracted noun-forms: e.g., গায়ে [gaie] singer. See p. 394.
In a case like কিয়ে [kie], from কিয়ে [ki fie] what, O! = hallo, we have [ie] from dropping of "-h-.

In some archaic forms like পিয়ে [pie] drinks, MB. পিয়ে [pie, piyee], (pibati), জিয়ে [jihie] lives, MB. জিয়ে [jihie] (jivatiti), we have original MB. [ie], with optional in-glide, derived from contraction of OB. and MIA. contact vowels. So in কিয়ে [jihie] mother and daughter together, we have an OB. combination (jhi + -e = dhita, duhitr + -ena).

206. Bengali [ia], written ইয়া, occurs mainly in tbi. forms, and is rather archaic, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned: e.g., রাখিয়া [rakhiya], করাইয়া [koraia], নগরিয়া [nagoria], বিনোদিয়া [binodia], উড়িয়া [uria], etc., etc.; also শিয়াল [shial], হিয়া [hiya], পিয়াল [pial], বিয়ালিস [biailis], চিয়াতর [chhiattor], etc., which give instances of the [ia] group in the "sādhu-bhāṣā". [ia] in verb forms is contracted to [e], with epenthesis, in NB.; and also [ia] in adjectives and nouns. In initial syllables, it frequently becomes [ie]: e.g., [jie:j] < শিয়াল [shial], also [jeal], by vowel harmony; বিয়ালিস [biailis] becomes [beailis, bælif]; but ছিয়াতর [chhiattor] does not alter in the Standard Colloquial.

Some of the more important sources of [ia] may be noted.

In the conjunctive indeclinable, it comes apparently from an OB. strengthening of the MIA. affix "-iia" by the syllable "a": করিয়া [koria, koria] < MIA. "kariia +a". (See under Morphology: the Verb: 'Conjunctive Indeclinables."

The adjectival,—agentive, intensive, pejorative—affix [ia] is from OIA. "-ika, -iya > plus the affix "a". NB. has the [ia] forms only as archaic words, e.g., পুরবিয়া [purobia] or পুবিয়া [pubia] eastern: Standard Colloquial forms would be পুরবে and পুবে [purube, pube]; দধিয়া [dokhiniya] > দধিনে, দপ্তরে [dokhine > dokhne] southern; কহিয়া [kohonia] talker > কেনে [koune]; কালিয়া [kalia] the black one > কেলে [kele]; etc., etc.

In other cases, [ia] represents MIA. "udvita > vowels—the [a] = "a" often representing cases of contraction of "udvita" "a, a+a, a" of MIA. The [ia] was preserved by means of the "y" glide in OB., and Early MB., and contraction came in only in the NB,—the
earlier full [ia], however, is quite a familiar group through influence of
literature.

[ia] is found in foreign words: e.g., इयार [iar] friend, boon-companion
< Persian < yär >; दुनिया [dunia] world < Perso-Arabic < dunya >; एशिया
[e西亚] = English Asia; रूसिया [ruśia] = Russia, etc.; but cf. a naturalised
Portuguese word like < toalha > towel > तोलाहिया, तोलाले [toalía >
toale].

207. Bengali [io], written ই, ইয়া, ইয়, ইয়া. In MB., this diphthong,
in tbb., was [iiো, iো] It is found in tbb. forms like শিখার [ʃior] (*śihara,
sikhara); ভিশ্ব [tior] a caste (tīvara); জীবন [ʃiion] as in জীবন-কাঠি
মরণ-কাঠি < jīvan-kāthi māraṇ-kāthi > wand of life and wand of death
(jivana); the OIA. source is thus < i, i > + consonant which has dropped
off + - a >.

In the future preceptive 2nd person of the verb, [io] represents OB.,
MB. < iহার > [iো] = OIA. < -isyatha >: e.g., সিহাল [ʃiljo] (calihā,
*calihaha, calisyatha). In the Colloquial, this is reduced to [o]: e.g., েঠে
[ʃoilo], রেখে [rekho] (= rākhiha, *rākhihaha, rākṣisyatha) etc., except
where contraction is not possible—e.g., বিও [dio] (diha, *dihaha = dāsyatha);
পিো, ঢিো [pio, ʃio] are both ordinary imperative future or preceptive.

[io] occurs in the Standard Colloquial causative preceptive or imperative
future, as a contraction of MB. < -ia, -ia > = < *-apayisyatha > of
OIA.: e.g., রাখিও [rakhiyo] (rākhāio, rākhāi(h)ā, *rakkhāvaihaha = *rakṣā-
payisyatha), etc.

Causative passive participles, or verbal nouns, in < -ānā >, of roots
in < -i > in the Standard Colloquial show the [io] groups by mutation
through Vowel Harmony: e.g., জীবনে [ʃiono] (i) kept alive, (ii) bringing
back to life (MB. জীবন < jīvan > = (i) < √jiv- > + < māna >, (ii)
< *jīvāpana- >); মিত্রে (miono) become cold or weak (MB. মিত্র
< miyānā >: OIA. < √mi >); etc.

In ts. words, Skt. < iyो, iyā > become [io] in Bengali: বিয়োগ [biog]
(viyōga); নিয়োগ [niog] (< nioga >: but নিয়োগী > নেউগী [niogi >
neugi], [io > eu] through influence of [i] following); নিয়ম [niom]
(niyama); etc.
Some peculiar forms also show [io]: e.g., অভাবীত [obiota] unmarried (= *ābāūtā- < a- + vivāha + -vanta ?); ছিন্ন [ghior] a sweetmeat (Hind. ghēwar < ghṛta-); তেহে [tiio] exclamation in pulling something.

[io] is found in foreign (European) names: ইরোপ [iorop] Europe, ইরোক [iork] York, etc.

208. Bengali [iu], written ইউ, ইউ, comes from the following: MB. < iu, ēu > in the imperative 3rd person of roots in 〈 -i, -ē = -atu, -antu 〉 of OIA.: e.g., জিউক [jiuk] (jīvatu + ka); দিউন [diun] (*diyantu); দিুক [diuk] (MB. দেু < dēu = *dētu >). In NB., this [iu] is normally reduced to [i]: জীুক (rare), দিন, দিক, etc. = [jiik], [din], [dik], etc.

[iu] also comes from OB., MB. 〈 -iā-, -iḥā-, -iā- > -io- 〉 through the influence of a following [i]: see p. 398. জুইলী [juli] a tree (jīva-la-); বিউনী [biuni] (*vyajanikā); জুইলী [juli] (MB. śīhāli < śēpālīka); etc.


It is found in some Hindi loan-words with a restricted use: e.g., পিউ [piu] (priya), জীু [jiu] (jīva).

Foreign words also show this vowel-group: ইউনিভার্সিটি [junibharsiti] University, ইউনাইটেড স্টেটস [junaited stets] United States, etc.

209. Bengali [ei], written এই, এই, এই.

[ei] comes from OB., MB. 〈 -ei, -ēi, e hi, e- hi 〉: e.g., দেই [dei] I give, more usually দিই [dii] (*dēmi); টেই [tei] therefore, a poetic word (tē hi, tēna hi); দেই, টেই [dei, tei] whoever, he indeed (MB. jē-hi, sē-hi); থেই [ghorei] in the house indeed (ghāre hi); টেইস [teis] (trayōṁsatī); also নেই [nei] indulgence (OB. *nēhi, nēha = snēha); লেই [khei], beside লেই [khei] cue (OB. *kēwi, kēwa = ksēpa); [lei] gum-paste (lēpa); etc.

From 〈 āi 〉 of earlier Bengali: e.g., নেই [nei] does not exist < নাই < nāi >; নেই-সানুড়ে [nei-ākure] argumentative (MB. *nīyāi-ākāriā < < nyāya >); দেই [dei] immediately, as soon as < যাই, বাই < jāi > (yādā hi). This sort of change of 〈 āi 〉 to [ei] is rather exceptional. In a few words we have [ei] through Vowel-Harmony: e.g.,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

দিয়েই [diei] immediately on giving < দিয়েই [di:i] (di:i+[h]i); বেই [bei] father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law < বাই [bei], both occurring side by side with বেই [beai] < বেইহাই [behai] (বাইহাই) ; etc.

In some onomatopoesia: দেইদেই [diei diei] = sound of wild romping.

In foreign words, occasionally the English [ei] is represented by [ei], rather than the normal [e]: e.g., চেইন [ćein] chain, ট্রেইন [ţrein] train, but more commonly in the Standard Colloquial [će:n, ţi:n], etc.


Also from [ia], through lowering of the [i] to [e]: e.g., নেয়াই [neai] (*nīdāpikā).


The [e] in [ea] is, so far as the lḥh. forms are concerned, essentially a glide sound. Skt. < -yā- > in the middle of a word, when not after a consonant, becomes [ea] e.g., দরা [dōra], মারা [maéra], হারা [ṛhaera] ; etc.

[ea] is found in foreign words also: পেয়াজ [pəʃəj] onion < Persian < pyaj >; চেইন [ćear] = English chair, etc.

211. Bengali [eo] written এও, এয়া. This is a recent diphthong, mostly through contraction of MB. < ai(h)a, ēu > by Umlaut: e.g., এও [eo] a woman whose husband is living (āihā, avidhavā); বেও [ʃejo] you will go (jāhā); বেও [ʃejo] (ghā-uā mangu, with wounds = ghā < ghata+uā); গেও [gəo] (gā-uā) rustic; etc.


From OB. < -ewu-, -ēhu- >: দেউল [deul] (dēvakula); নেউন [neul] (nakula): নেউর [neur] (nūpura); dēṣi চেউ [dłeju]; কেও [keu] any one, some one (*kēvi? = kaḥ+api; or kēhu < *kē khu = kaḥ khalu?); etc.

From OB. < ēwā, ēbā >, with following [i] vowel, through Vowel-Harmony: দেউরী [deuri] (cf. Skt. dēhali); Cf. দেউরী [reuri] a sweetmeat < Hind. rēwṛ >; দেউ [ʃeju] apple < Hind. sēw >.

From OB. < iwa >: দেউরী [teuri] oven (tri-vṛt-); দেউরী [deuṭi] (dīpa-vārttikā); etc.
In খুর্জ [kheur] poetical ‘flitting’ > abuse (MB. খুর্জ, khêru < khêla?), খুর্জ [beur] a thin bamboo (cf. MIA. vêlu, Skt. vênu), we have probably instances of [eu] in NB. through epenthesis.

Sts. নেওগি [neugi] (< niyōgi) a surname, is through lowering of [i] to [e] through influence of [o], and the [o] itself later became [u] through the presence of [i] in the following syllable.

[eu] is found in onomatopoetic forms: খুর্জ খুর্জ [gheu gheu] bow-wow, খুর্জ খুর্জ [kōu kōu] whining of a dog, খুর্জ [pheu] jungle dog (cf. Late Skt. ρήρο > loss of -r- in Bengali?), হে খুর্জ [hēu] sound of belching, etc.

213. Bengali [ae], written এ, আ, গায়.


From OB. [ia] > MB. [iaē], in ts. roots: ধায় [dīē], IMB. ধায় [dīē], OB. *[dīē] (dhyāyati).

From MB. < এই, এই >: see p. 412, under [ae].

Hindustani < ai > = [əi, æe, æ] becomes [æ, ae] in NB., in borrowed forms: e.g., যাসা ke তাসা [jēesā ke tēesā] (= jaisā kē taisā).

214. Bengali [æo], written এও, occasionally এু, comes from eMB. [eæo, eho] followed by [n, a] in the next syllable: e.g., তেওড় [tæora], MB. [teora] crumpled (*tēvāda-, trivṛta-); কেয়া [kæora] (kēvāda-, kētaka+da); শেওলা [jæola] (*sēvāla, sāvāla); বেওরা [bæora] affair (*bēvāra-, *viśvāra-, vyāpāra); নেওটা [naeto], MB. [neieta] (snēha-vṛtta-); etc. MB. দেহ, নেহ < দেহা, নেহা > give, take become in NB. দেও, নেও [dēo, nēo], which are frequently heard, beside the more common দাও, নাও [dao, nāo] through influence of ধাও, ধাও [khāo, cōo] etc.

[æo] is found in onomatopoetics: মাই [māo] mew of a tom-cat.

215. Bengali [ai], written আই, আই, আই, গাই, etc.

From OIA. group of < আ > or < আ > + consonant + < 1, r, -ikā - ati > etc. > lMIA. আ, আ-ই, আমি, আই, -হই, etc. > OB., MB. < আ, আ, আই, আই, আই, আই >, etc. See pp. 308, 309, 310. E.g., আই, আই [ai] grandmother (ায়িয়া, আরিয়া); মাই [bhai] (bhrātr); পাই [gai] (gāv); কালই [kālai] name of a river (Kānsāvati); MB. পাই [pāi] name of a city (Campāvati); পাই [pāi] pice, fourth of an anna (pātikā); রাই [rai], eMB. রাই [rāi]
(rādhikā); दाईर [bair], beside दार, बेर [ba:r, ber] (MIA. bābirām, OIA. bahiṣ); नाई [nai] (nābhi); राई [rai] (rājikā); नी [nī] (svāmi); ओई [ōi] (*śāmika, śamī); गāई [gāi] (grāmika); काई [kāi] tamarind (?: cf. Oriya kāyā green tamarind); etc. The suffix आई [ai], as in बोराई [borai] boast < बरा [bora] great, बाधै [bhādai] enquiry < बाध [bhād] demand, will come under this: see below, Morphology: ‘Formative Affixes.’ So [ai] as the affix for the verb first person present tense: चाई [khāi] (khādāmi), शाई [śāi] (yāmi), पाई [pāi] (*prāpāmi = prāpaṇī), चलाई [cōlai] (*cālapāyāmi), खाओराई [khādāi] (*khādāpayāmi), etc. In a few cases, NB. [ai] probably represents the Magadhi Prakrit nominative forms in -i < Magadhi Prakrit -ē < OIA. -aḥ, -aṃ: e.g., ठाई [ṭhāi] (*ṭhāwa, *ṭhāṃ, sthāman); चाई [cchāi] (*c chāri, *c chāre, kṣāraḥ), with loss of -r- in Bengali?.

[ai] also comes from OB. *au > in train of MB. epenthesis: e.g., बाई [bāi] fad, ‘humor’ (vāyu); sts. अपाई [appāi] (alpāyu); अधुरो [aiburo] bachelor, maid < young person who will live long (āyur + ṛddha); etc. It is possibly found in the affix आई [ai] in names = *āyuḥ: e.g., बोलाई [bolai] for बोलाराम < बृलाराम, दनाई [donai] for दनार्धन < जानार्धन, निमाई [nimai] < निम < nim, >, bitter as neem (name to avoid the evil eye); etc.

In onomatopoeics: गाई [gāi] whistling sound as of wind, पाई पाई [pāi pāi] rushing sound as of a swift runner, बाईबाई [bāi bāi] sound as of a top or wheel, etc.

[ai] is found in foreign words as well: see later.

216. Bengali [ae], written আই, আয়।

[ae] in verb forms is derived from OB. *āi, 3rd person present of verbs in -ā: e.g., धार [khae], धार [dhae] (dhāvati), MB. धार [bæe] plays (vādayati), etc.; from OB. *āwāi >, 3rd person present of causatives: कराई [karae] (*karāwhai, *kā/ārapayāti), etc., and also from OB. *-āwai >, MB. आई < -āhē >: बाँस [bæe] (bāhe, vāhayati), गाई [gæe] (gāhe, *gāthayati < gāthā); etc.

It occurs in the instrumental-locative of nouns in -ā = OB. -ā-ē: বোরাই [ghōrae] = OB. *ghōrae (ghōtaka + -ena); পায় [pæe] (pādēna); বাহ as in এক বাহ [ek ghae] with one blow (ghāta); নায়, নায়ে [nae] by boat (nāvēna); etc., etc.
In a few words, OB. « অা » gives [ae] in NB., through change of the euphonic « যৃ » + « া » to « আ »: বাংলা [bae] wind, breeze (vāta); সাষ্টির [saer] (sāyara, sägara), etc. (see p. 342). Cf. সার [saar] end (? OIA. = saiyam end of the day, evening); cf. also নাস্র [mojue] Sir (mahâsaya > *maːsaya, māsāya); etc.

217. Bengali [ao], written আও.
[ao] originates from OIA. « অ + consonant + া » (IMIA. আ > a), resulting in OB. « হাঁ, হায় »: e.g., imperative forms হাই, হাও, হাও [hao, jhao, gao] (khāba, jāba, gābaha = khādat(h)a, yāt(h)a, *gaṭhayat(h)a); MB. বাহও, হাও, হাও [bao, mao, gao, jhao] (vāta, māta, gātra, sāba); NB. বাহল [baola] to fan, to winnow (vāta-); হাওয়া > হাওয়া [thaoka > -ko] detached amount, lump sum, cash (*sthāwakka- < *sthāpa-); অওরা [aoora] repeat (a-vṛt); আওরা [aota] stir milk etc.) (āvarta-); etc.

In হাও হাও [dho, dho], imperative forms, eMB. দেহ, নেহ « দেহ, নেহ » we have change from MIA. « হাও » through [æo] to [ao]. See § 214. So কাওয়া [kaorā] a caste from « কেযাত্তা »: cf. কেওট [kæot].

In the Calcutta 'Cockney' হাওয়া [hāora] (chāyā + -da-), we have [qo] from the euphonic glide.

218. Bengali [au], written আউ.
From OB. « অও » < MIA. « আ » < OIA. « আ + consonant + u- »; ও演习 [bou] (vātula, vyākula); ওড়ি [bhau] (jhābuka); ওড়ি [lau] (alābu); MB. ওড়ি [laur] (akula-); MB. ওড়ি [bou] (vāyu); cf. বাউক, বাউক [bhauk, khauk] (yātu, khādatu), etc.

In eMB., this group, when not epenthetic, probably was pronounced as two syllables, with euphonic « w » in between see pp. 310, 342, 345.

From OB. « ওং, ওং » by Vowel-Harmony, through influence of following « i »: ওড়িনি [chauini] (chādana+ikā), etc., etc.: see p. 398; ওড়িনি ওড়িনি [duni bāuni] < *অমানি বাং অমানি (āwani) bādhāni > harvest festival in the month of Pauṣa, when an earthen pot filled with new rice (« অমানি = Skt. āmānna », wrongly connected with « hēmanta » autumn, to mean autumn rice) is covered and tied up with rope of new straw (« bādhāni, bādhuni » < « bandhāni », changed to « bāuni » through contamination); etc., etc.
MB. [ou] by epentheses is changed to [a, e] in NB.: see pp. 385-386. [ou] occurs in onomatopoetic doublets; हौ हौ [fiou fiou], इत्तूनॉ [fiou mou], etc. But cf. हौ हौ [dou dou] the noise of a raging fire (*dāwa dāwa, < dāva, dāvānala).

In foreign words: see below.

219. Bengali [œ], written ও, অ, ও, অ, ও.

OB. «aawai, ahai» in verbs > MB. «āc, āhe» > NB. [œ]: হাল [fœ] is (*ahaī, *as-a-ti); নাশ [foe] (*sahati=sahate); কান [kœ] (kathayati); বাহ [boe] (vahati). In MB., OB. «aai» optionally occurs as «āe» = [œ]: করাএ, করাএ, করাএ [kore] (kārāi, kāroti); cf. নাস < নাহী, নাহী, নাহী [noe < nofœ] is not (na+*ahaī). MB. medial «ā(h)ê» becomes the diphthong [œ]; e.g., ts. name মোহিন [moeʃʃ], in contempt মোহিন [moeʃʃ]; বস্ত্র [boeru] (MIA. bahêdâa = vibhâtaka).

OB. «ai, ahi» in some words is found as [œ]: মরল [mœlo] (MIA. mailla-); পঠাল [pœlo] (pahila-, MIA. pahilla); সঠাল [ʃelo] (friend (among girls or women) (sahî < sakhi + ila); ভর্তর, ভাসা [bœʃʃu, bhœʃʃu] belonging to a buffalo, or buffalo’s milk (*mhaınsa mahiṣa, mahiṣa); পঠাল [pœʃʃu] (pâsā, pāda-); বর্ষ [kœrʊ] catechu-coloured (khaïra-, khadira-); etc.

From MIA. «aya, anīna>aīna » through « samprasañna »: ছায় [œiθœi] six (chaïya=Early MIA. *cha + ka); নৌ [noe] nine (nāya-, naa, nava); পঠা [pœ] as in the numerals for 3, 4, 5, 6 (pañña-, pañña-, pañca-); মরল [mœro] confectioner (madakâ-ra-), etc.

OB. «õi» becomes [œ] in কোলা [kœlo] coal (< kōkila- cuckoo). In গোলা [goelœ] milkman, as in the Calcutta dialect, we have these stages presumably: « gõpala- » > « goâla », « *gõâla, *gõy’la » > [goelœ]: there was also the influence of forms like করলা, মরলি and মরলি.

Skt. «aṣya» in tss. becomes [œ]: জ্ঞ [ʃœ], ভর্তর [bœʃʃ], অলঃ [œlœ], বস্ত্র [boerʃ, boei], etc.

In the Standard Colloquial, [œ] generally is contracted to [ə], in original disyllables with [ə] + [e] + consonant in the second syllable: e.g., the honorific verb forms in «-en»: লোন > লোন [loena > lo:na], হোন > হন [hœn > hœn]; বস্ত্র=বস্ত্র > *বস্ত্র [boerʃ > boerʃ]; etc.

[œ] is found in foreign loan words: see later.
NEW BENGALI ‘OA, OI’

220. Bengali [oa] is found through loss of glide [o, a], or [fi]: e.g.,
कहा, कोडा > काल [केफा, कोडा > को] spoken; हाओ, हाल [होडा > हो] been;
rarely गोली > गोली [गोळी > गोली] Brähman from Gayā; etc.

221. Bengali [oo], written ও, occasionally ও, ওহ, comes mainly
from OB. < -awa, -aha >: e.g., হও [হোো] you be (হাহাক, *as-a-tha); নও [নোো]
you are not (নাহাক, na- *as-a-tha); কও [কোো] (কাহাক, kathayatha); নালা
[noola] card of nine (নালা-); দোলা [doola] card of ten (daha-lā, dāsā-la);
চাঁদা [চাঁদা] broad (*cawāḍā < catur four); মোো, মোো [মোো] brunt of
attack (মহাদ = muha-ḍa-); etc.

In Persian loan-words, [oo] is sometimes found: see below.

222. Bengali [oi], written এ, অহ, ওই, আই, অই.
[oi] comes mainly from MB. < ai > [di, oi], MB. < ai, ahi > < OB.
< aî, ahi > < MIA. < aî, ahi > < OIA. < a > consonant + < i >: পাঁচè
t < পাঁচè [poite < poita] (pavitra-); চই [চৌই] (chadis); দই [dii] (dadhii);
ইই [ইই] (sakhii-); etc. See pp. 308, 509, 384-389.

From OB. < awei, awei > MB. < aî, aî >: কই [koi] a fish (kavayî);
চই [চৌই] (cavayî): see pp. 347ff. So OB. *-ahi < *-ahiwi, *-ahami < gives
the NB. [oi]: সই [ইই] (*sahimi = sahāmi); বই [boi] (*bahimi = vahāmi),
হই [ইই] (*ahiwi < *ahami = *as-ā-mi = as-mi), etc. See p. 351.

OB. < awei >, ultimately from OIA. < a > consonant + < u >, or from
Skt. < āu > in ts. words, became < aî > in MB., after epenthesis. This
< aî > of MB. is normally contracted to [o] in the NB. Standard Colloquial,
but we have instances of [oi] as well: e.g., চৌপ দিন [চৌপোর দিন] all the
day long (see p. 385); etc.

In ts. words, এ < aî > becomes [oi]: তৈল [toilô], লেখ [doimno], বৈরী
[boirî], চৌপি [fotonnî], sts. চৌতন [fotôtel], etc. Old sts. like তৈল, শইল
are sometimes pronounced as disyllabic, [to-il, foi-il], the second syllable
being emphasised by the final consonant; but the diphthongal monosyllabic
[toil, foil] are heard, beside the sts. [toilo, foiolo], etc.

Sanskrit অর্ণ, অর্ণ < aî, aî >, especially in final positions, are pronounced
[oi], and written occasionally as এ, অহ: e.g., দ্যামোর [doamoi], occasionally
found as সুমের [vamoi]; বৈষ্ঠে [boikoi] is vulgarly pronounced as [boikoi]; and
there are cases of Skt. < āu > being changed to < aî > = [oi] in some ts.,
following the analogy of change of epenthetic «\(\text{\textit{au}}\)» to «\(\text{\textit{ai}}\)» in MB.: e.g., in folk-Bengali we have ৈরব (ʰৈরব), তৈরব (ᵗʰৈরব), and even দৈবারিক [doibarik] = «\(\text{\textit{səurabha}}, \text{\textit{yəuvana}}, \text{\textit{dəuvərika}}\)».

[oi] is found in োনমাতপোট (োমাতপোট), used in calling ducks to feed them; পাইপ [পৌপ] in the sense of repeatedly (= «\(\text{\textit{padε padε?}}\)»); তৈহ [ঘৌ ঘৌ] shout and noise, etc.


223. Bengali [oe], written ো, োর, অর, অরে, অরে, etc., is derived primarily from MB. «\(\text{\textit{əe}}, \text{\textit{əhə}}\)», as well as MB. «\(\text{\textit{uhə}}, \text{\textit{uə}}\)» by Vowel Harmony, as in verb forms of the 3rd person: e.g., দোয় < দোহে < হচ < োহে [doe < dohe < dufi < dufi] («\(\text{\textit{duhati}}\) = dōgdhi»); োয় < োধে [joe < johe] (suvaï, svapiti); রো [roe] (rōpayati); চোহে [çœhe] (chuvaï = spṛṣati), etc.

It is also derived from an earlier MB. group «\(\text{\textit{əi}}, \text{\textit{əhi}}\)»; e.g., ঘিয়ে [hoi] (< [hoï, hočiə, hoia]) having been; so ঘিয়ে [joe] having suffered < সাহিয়া < «\(\text{\textit{sahiə}}\)»; etc.

In an extremely lax pronunciation in Calcutta, পোনের [ponero] ১৫ becomes [pœro] (and even [p̪ʊro]).

[oe] is found in foreign words, mainly English: see below.

224. Bengali [oa], written োা, োহ, comes from OB. groups like «\(\text{\textit{awə}}, \text{\textit{owə}}, \text{\textit{uə}}, \text{\textit{ohə}}\)», going back to various OIA. combinations with an intervocal consonant. The [oa] diphthong is frequently contracted to [a] in the NB. speech. The [o] in this group is essentially a glide sound so far as NB. is concerned, and [oa] of course is not much different from «\(\text{\textit{wa}}\) [wa], only that the quality of the first element is very open. Examples: eMB. রাখোলাল [rakłoal] > NB. রাখল [rakhal] herdsman (raksapāla); কোটাল, কোটাল [koṭaal, koṭal] (koṭta-pāla); গোল [goal] yoke (yōga + āla); ওয়ার [oar] damage, destroy (apakāra); ওয়াড [oar] pillow-case (*ōhārha, ōhārha = avavēṭa); গাল [goal] (gōpāla-); গোল > গোল [goal] (gōsalā); বারোরাই [bāroari] («\(\text{\textit{bəra}}\) = court, gate + «\(\text{\textit{uər}}\)» pavilion, public festival in a decorated bamboo pavilion—wrongly derived
from Indian बार < bārā > 12 + ईयार < iyār >, friend < Pers. < yār >; পোয়া [poa] a quarter (MIA. *pā-, *pāwa= pāda-); দেওয়া [khoa] brick-bat, broken bit (< kṣa-ya-?); জোয়া [moa] (mōdaka-); etc.

In দেওয়া, নেওয়া > দেওয়া, নেওয়া [deōa, neōa > doa, noa] to give, to take, we have change of [eōa], to [oa] through [∗eoa, ∗aoa]. See pp. 421, 423.

In some old ts. and sts. words in MB., Skt. < -vā, -vā > after a vowel or a consonant appeared as [oa], which is preserved in NB.: MB. অর্বাঙ্গ [aoaf] (avasa); আশাঙ্গ [aoaf] (arváasa); সোল, সোলাস্থি [joath, joasti] (svasti), besides [joisti, joisti]; পোরাদি [joami] (svāmi); পোরাদশ, -শ [doadof, doadof] (dvādaśa, -sti), etc. This [ōa] also has become [o] in NB.: see p. 403.

[oa] occurs in foreign words, for < wā >.

225. Bengali [ou], written ো, ও, ও, ও, ও, ও, ও, ও, etc. This diphthong originates from MB. < áu, áu, áhu > < OB. < au, awu, ahu > < MIA. < aü, ahu > < OIA. < a > + consonant + < u >: চো [jou] (catur-); জো [jou] (jatu); etc. See pp. 310, 344.

OB. < ahaü, awaü > gave in LMB. [ou], which is commonly contracted to [o] in NB.: ক্ৰক, কোক কক [kok] let him talk < কওক, কালক < kāuk, kāhuk>; ক্র্যা [bo:ck] < বুক, বেক < bāuk, bāhuk > let him bear; etc.

In পোনে [poun] less by one-fourth, 1⁄4ths, from < pādōna >, we have [ou] from OB. < *awō >, MIA. < aō >, through influence of a following < i > (pādōna- < pānā, paōnā-; pān-īa > pānē). In পোড় [dour], MB. কোড়ি [kouri], we have [ou] from LIMA. [ava]: see p. 348.

<āu> of Sanskrit becomes [ou] in tss.: ওঁষ [oūd(ī)], সৌরুত [jourob(ī)], যেদ্ধ [jouñobon], সৌরুব [gourob], etc. In OB., ও < āu > became ও< a-ū > [nōu] in tss., e.g., গুড়, গুন < gaurā, måunā >. These sometimes retain a disyllabic character in NB. [go-ur, mo-un], but a monosyllabic pronunciation [gour, moũ] is heard as well. (See the parallel case of [oi] from < əi >.)

In the sts. মূর [moūr], we have [ou] from Skt. < -ayū- > (mayūra).

[ou] occurs in Persian and other borrowings, and is also found in early 19th century borrowings from English: e.g., কোম্পানি [kōnjuli] = counsel. See later, under 'Foreign Elements.'
226. Bengali [ui], written উই, উই, etc.
It comes from OB. উই, উই, উহ, উহ, উহ ›, in verb forms, and in nouns, representing contractions and modifications of various OIA. groups: e.g., গুই [dui] (*duwi, duvē, dvē); গুই [dui] 1 milk (*duhi, *duhi, *duhami, duhāmi); গুই [dūi] (jūhi, yūthikā); পুই [pūi] (pūtikā); etc. গুই [jui], dialectal, seems to be from Hindostānī < sūt › (sūf, sūcikā).

From OB. ওই, ওহ ›, coming from various OIA. groups, through influence of the following ›i‹: e.g., গুই [dūi] I wash (√dho); রুই [ru] I plant (rōpayē); রুই [ru] carp-fish (rōhita); জুই [jūi] fire (jyōtis, *jōi); গুই [nui] I bend (*nōi, namāmi); etc. রুই [lui] woollen stuff is from Hind. < lōi > (< lōma + ikā ‹).<br>

OB. অই, অহ ›, gave ›oi › ›[ui] in NB.; see under Vowel-Harmony, p. 398. Similar in nature is the change of *tvay-ēna, *may-ēna > OB. ‹tai, mai ‹ > NB. গুই, গুই [tui, mui].


227. Bengali [ue], written উে. This has not wholly passed into the monosyllabic stage. It commonly originates through vowel mutation from ›ue‹, ‹iə › of MB.: গুই › 'suia › (from *শোই › 'šoia ›) gives গুই › [jue] having lain down; গুই › 'dhuiə › (< *dhōia ›) becomes গুই › [dhue] having washed.

MB. ›ue › gives ›ue ›: গুই › [mue] in the face (muhē < muha, mukha).

In rapid speech, original (MB.) ›ue › becomes ›ue ›: গুই › 'duie › with two becomes গুই › [due]. Standard Colloquial [ue] from earlier Bengali ‹u + i + a › in causatives (see p. 394) does not, however, contract to [ue].

228. Bengali [ua], written উা, উা, is a diphthong properly belonging to the literary language, that is, to MB. It is found in East Bengali to some extent. In the Standard Colloquial, it is normally mutated to [o], through the stage [uo] resulting from Vowel-Harmony: e.g., শুর › 'šuor ›, শের › 'ʃoɛr › (sūkara); জুর › [ʃuəlua › > জুর › [ʃolo].
See ante, p. 413.
‘UA, UO,’ DOUBLE VOWELS, TRIPHTHONGS, ETC. 429

[ua] frequently changes to [oa]: चुक्त, चुकत [dũair, dũar] > चोक्त, चोकत [dũar] a rueful (see p. 71); दोक्त [dũar] singer in chorus (< dhrūva-kāra); etc. See p. 401, supra.

[ua] figures in onomatopoeics: वृक वृक [vũa vũa] the cry of the jackal.

229. Bengali [uo], written ও, ওঝা, is a N.B. formation from [ua] above by Vowel-Harmony; and [uo], as noted before, tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., জুর, জুরা, জুর [dũuo, dũo:] < জ্যা, জ্বা [dũa] (dũta-); জুর, জুরা, কে [kuo, ko:] < ক্ষা, ক্ষা [kũa] (kũpa-);

230. The double vowels ঈ [ii], এ [ee], আ [aa], ও [oo] and উ [uu], the second occurrence being pronounced as a distinct syllable, are found in New Bengali, and are the results of a similar dropping of intervening < h > or glide, and of Mutation and Vowel-Harmony: e.g., দিই [dii], also in a simplified form দি [di] I give; খের, pronounced [khee] also [kheė] having eaten; খাঁ [kuu] beside খাঁ [kũa] eaten, to eat; দুরো [dũoo, dũot] you wash < MB. দুো [dũoo:] (dũvata); [uu] is rather rare: an example is in the onomatopoeic কুু [kũu] the cry of the cuckoo, which is found side by side with কুু [kũu].

231. The following triphthongal and tetrathongal groups are found in the N.B. Standard Colloquial: [iei, ieo, iae, ei, eio, eao, eoi, eno, wēi, wēi, aie, aio, aei, aoi, aei, aoi, eoi, eoi, oai, oai, oei, oei, uie, uie, uia, uia, uae, uae] and [aei, eoe, aoei, oae, oao]. The sādhu-bhāṣā has the groups [obble, ooble], which are really three syllables [oũ-ô-i-o, oũ-ô-i-o]. They can be traced to three or more syllables in MB. and OB., separated by < h > or < y, w >. In all cases their derivation is clear, and they need not be taken up for detailed study.

[1] VOWELS IN SANSKRIT WORDS.

232. Enough has been said incidentally about the way in which Skt. vowels are pronounced in Bengali. These always conform to the speech
habits of the various Bengali dialects. In the Standard Colloquial area they take up the following sounds, even in reading or chanting a Sanskrit passage:

- «ā» is pronounced as [o], and as [o] when the next syllable has «i» or «u», or has «y» preceded by a consonant.
- «ā, i, I, u, ū» remain; «r, r̥, ř» become [ri, ri:, li]. «ē, ō» remain as in Sanskrit, i.e., as [e:, o:]; and initial [e:] as a rule is not pronounced as [ǣ].
- «āi, āu» became [oi, ou].

The [ǣ] sound is given to post-consonantal «-yā», and often to «-yā». In East Bengali pronunciation, there is epenthesis in connection with post-consonantal «-y-».

The vowels are nasalised when they are preceded by a post-consonantal «-m-».

Below are given transcriptions, of the first two verses of the ‘Māghadūta,’ (i) in the current pronunciation of the Standard Colloquial area and (ii) in a sort of Typical or Common East Bengali articulation.

(i) [koʃʃit kon:ta:birɔboguruna: fə:dika:rop:romɔt:ɔh
fə:pə:nə:stɔŋgomitamɔmima: bɔrʃɛbho:enə bɔhortuh (vortuh) |
snidhoœ:ʃaœœ:toruʃu boʃatin ra:məgiðæs:ɾəme:ʃu || 1 ||
tɔʃin:ɔd:rou kɔtɭiɡdɔbela: bip:ɾɔʃuktra: o kmːi:
nitə: mɑ:jə:n kɔnəkɔboloʊəb:fιɾəŋʃoɾiktəp:roko:ʃʱəh 1
ɔʃfəɾəʃa: pɾəθoʊmədibəʃe: meɡθəməs:lifʃə:nʊŋ
bɔp:ɾoʃ:ɾiːra: pɔɾiŋətəɡʃəp:ɾeːk:hoːniːŋ dədɔɾʃə || 2 ||]

(ii) [koʃʃit kɔnta:birɔboguruna fə:d(ə)kə:rap:ɾomɔt:ɔh
fə:pə:nə:stɔŋgomitamɔmima: bɔɾʃəb(ə)ʈəɡ:enə b(ə)ɔrτuh |
dʑɔːk:hoʃ tɔkre: dʒənəkɔtɔnœða: snaːnɔpuln:ɔ:deke:ʃu
snid(ə)ʃəːːə: toruʃu boʃatin ra:məɡiɾdzas:ɾəme:ʃu || 1 ||
233. The vernacular Bengali habits of mutation and vowel harmony, bimorism and anaptyxis, haplology and metathesis, and dropping and assimilation of consonants strive to have their way with ts. importations, and in the speech of the women and children and the uneducated, they refuse to be restrained by the influence of the classical tongue. The result is that in Bengali, in addition to the more correct approximations to the Sanskrit (according to the Bengali standard), there are folk-forms or semi-tatsamas widely aberrated from the Sanskrit. These semi-tatsamas often require to be spelt phonetically, so far they are removed from the Sanskrit; and with the present-day insistence on verisimilitude in literature, they are being recognised once more (as they always were in Middle Bengali times), and are being employed more and more in the novel and the drama. Some examples of folk forms have been given above, pp. 381, 382, 406. Some more are given below, but it is not worth while to illustrate the line of development from eMB. pronunciation of ts.: বাগস্বা [বাগস্বা] eager prayer (*বাগস্বা = বাগস্বা); সমস্তা [সমস্তা] grown-up (samartha); চারামেন্দ্র, মেরেন্দ্র [চারামেন্দ্র, মেরেন্দ্র] holy water off an idol (caraṇāmṛta); বাঙ্গল [বাঙ্গল] hobby (বাঙ্গল); পাদোকল [পাদোকল] washings of the feet of a revered person, treated as holy water (পাদোকল); বক্তন [বক্তন] an expiatory and benedictory ceremony (স্বাস্তিযতা); বল্গি [বল্গি] costly (*বল্গি, মাহার্গ্যa); অর্থাণ, অর্থাণ [অর্থাণ, অর্থাণ] (agrahāyaṇa); জরী [জরী] (জরী); ছুরিঙ্কির [ছুরিঙ্কির] (স্রোত্রিয়া); হ্লুমান [হ্লুমান] (হারুমান); চক্তি [চক্তি] a surname (cakravarti); বোস [বোস] a surname (fusum); মুন্তর [মুন্তর] (মুন্তার); অঙ্গি [অঙ্গি] (অঙ্গি); হ্লুমান [হ্লুমান] (হ্লুমান); প্রাপ্তিতে [প্রাপ্তিতে] a flower (aparājita); হ্লুমান [হ্লুমান] sense of propriety (হ্লুমান); খট্টাছিক [খট্টাছিক] (খট্টাছিক); বিংশ [বিংশ] (বিংশ);
234. The general lines of development of the vowels in Bengali on the basis of the Standard Colloquial have been sought to be traced above. A study of the phonology of the different dialects of Bengali has not been possible. Only some general remarks have been made—e.g., about the East Bengali and North Bengali dialects being conservative in their vowel system, preserving a great deal of the MB. conditions of epenthesis and absence of mutation. For a thorough and detailed study of the development of Bengali, it will be necessary to compare the dialects. A survey of the phonetics and phonology of each special variation of Bengali will be the material indispensable for such a study. Intimate personal acquaintance with the dialects concerned, joined to a scientific training, is the qualification necessary for such work. But that is wanting at the present day. The specimens in the LSI. are invaluable, and articles in the VSPdP. and other Bengali journals on the dialects of Bengali are also very valuable material: but these have their limitations, specially from point of view of phonetics and phonology. The historical study of the Bengali dialects in their ensemble is therefore to be left for the future.
CHAPTER V

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: CONSONANTS

[A] OIA. CONSONANTS: GENERAL LINES OF CHANGE TO BENGALI.

235. The history of the consonant sounds of IA. in its general outline has been given in Chapter I. The main points in the development of the OIA. consonants into those of (Old) Bengali may be recapitulated; examples will be found under each sound in indicating the origins of the Bengali consonants, infra.

[I] SINGLE CONSONANTS.

(1) Single initial consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been, however, some cases of aspiration and desaspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal « c(h) »; and of « bh- » to « h- » (see infra, under 'Aspiration', and under Bengali [çh] and [f] respectively); OIA. « y- » and « v- » have changed to « j- » and « b- », and « r- » is found as « l, l>n » and also as « r ».

(2) Single intervocal consonants:

[a] the stops « k-, -g-, -t-, -d-, -p-, -b-, -y-, -v- » have been dropped; « t-, -d- » have been reduced to « r- »; and in a number of Māgadhī inheritances, « r- » (rt-) have resulted in « r » (t) as well; intervocal « c-, -j- » both remain as « c-, -j- » (in original Māgadhī words), or are dropped (in non-Māgadhī forms).

[b] the aspirates «kh-, -gh-, -th-, -dh-, -ph-, -bh- » have been reduced to « h- »; « th-, -dh- » occur as « r- », in IMB. and NB. deaspirated to « r- ».

[c] « m- » has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels, through an intermediate stage of « w- »; « n-, -n- » probably both occurred as the cerebral « n- », to be changed to the dental « n- » in MB.

[d] an intervocal sibilant has transformed itself to « h- », in some cases, besides normally occurring as « s ».

55
[e] < -r-, -l- > interchange a little; < -h- > remained in OB., generally, to be lost in NB. (whether original OIA., or MIA. < -h- > derived from OIA. aspirates).

[II] Consonantal Groups.

These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in Bengali, after having undergone assimilation in the Early MIA. stage. The following were the main lines of treatment.

(1) [a] Stop + stop became a single stop; stop + aspirate became a single aspirate. Where the first of these sounds differed in its point of articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second in the MIA. (kt > tt, gdh > ddh, tk > kk, etc.) This kind of consonant nexus occurred medially only.

[b] Stop + nasal: < -kn-, -tn- > became < -k-, -t- >; < -gn- > became < -g-, -n(g)- >; < -jn- > became < -n- >; < dm- > had already become < nn- > in OIA., and this gave < -n- > in Bengali; < -tm- > in < ātman > gave < -p- > (आपन < āpān > — a non-Māgadhī form), and < -dm- > seems to have become < -d- >.

c] Stop or aspirate + < y >.

(i) Gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials + < -y- >: the < -y- > was assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially, in MIA. (but the genuine Māgadhī change seems to have been to < kiy-, diy- >, etc.). Bengali preserves a single stop or aspirate.

(ii) Dentals + < y >: the group became < -cc(h)-, -jj(h)- > medially, and < c-, (ch)-, j-, jh- > initially. Bengali preserves a single < c(h), j(h) >. [This palatalisation of < t(h), d(h) + y > seems not to have been characteristic of Old Māgadhī, which changed < ty, dy, dhy > to < tiy-, -yy- (diy ?), -dhiy- >: the palatalised forms, evidently from other dialects in Second or Late MIA., seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhī.]

d] Stop or aspirate + < r >. The < r > was assimilated to the preceding sound, which was doubled in a medial position, in MIA. Bengali has one stop or aspirate. The group < -dr- > probably became < *-dl- > in the
CONSONANTAL CHANGE FROM OIA. TO BENGALI 435

OIA. source dialect of Māgadhī, whence we have «-ll-» »-l-» in a few words in NIA.

[e] Stop or aspirate »-l-»: assimilation of »-l-».

[f] Stop or aspirate »-v-»: assimilation of »-v-». (In the groups »-tv-,»-dv-,»-dhv-», the resultant form in some cases is »-p-,»-b-,»-bh-» in N.B., as in other MIA.: this labialisation is non-Māgadhī: see infra, under the Labials.)

[g] Stop + sibilant:
   (i) »-kʂ-» gives »-kh-» (through the Māgadhī), »-ch-» (through extra-Māgadhī MIA. forms).
   (ii) »-ts-,»-ps-» became »-cch-» in MIA., whence »-ch-» in Bengali.

(2) [a] Nasal + stop or aspirate: for treatment in Bengali, see §177, pp. 362-367, supra.

[b] Nasal + nasal: the OIA. groups were »-ŋń-,»-nn-» and »-mm-»:
   »-ŋń-,»-nn-» occur as »-n-» and »-mm-» as »-m-» in Bengali.

[c] Nasal (anusvāra) »-y-,»-(r, l)-,»-v-,»-ś-,»-(s)-,»-h-»: see above, §177.

(3) »-yy-» gave »-j-» in Bengali.

(4) [a] »-r-» + stop or aspirate:
   (i) »-r-» before a guttural, palatal, or labial: the latter was doubled and the »-r-» was assimilated. In Bengali, these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.
   (ii) »-r-» + dental stop or aspirate of OIA. show a two-fold treatment:
        the »-r-» cerebralised and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated, or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it. The former is the proper Māgadhī treatment: the latter non-Māgadhī. Bengali has »-t(h)-,»-ṭ(h)-» in Māgadhī inheritances, and »-t(h)-,»-d(h)-» in apparently non-Māgadhī forms.

[b] »-r-» + nasal: »-rŋ-,»-rṇ-» were assimilated to »-ṛṅ-» in MIA., which gave »-n-» in Bengali, and »-rm-» gave »-mm-» > »-m-».

[c] »-ry-»: the Early MIA. (non-Māgadhī) assimilation was to »-yy-», which gave Second MIA. »-jj-», whence Bengali »-j-». Cases of »-ry-» > »-yy-» > »-y-» are known in Old Bengali. The genuine
Māgadhi change was to «-liy-», which is not preserved in Bengali, but «-ry-» also occurs as «-l-» in Bengali (through a stage «-ly-» «-ll-»).

[d] «-rl-» > MIA. «-ll-» > Bengali «-l-».

[e] «-ry-» is found as «-bb-» «-b-».

[f] «r» + sibilant: assimilation with the sibilant, which is doubled («ss»  «ss» in Māgadhi), and is reduced to a single sibilant pronounced «s» in Bengali.

[g] «-rh-» became «-lh-» in Māgadhi, whence «l» in NB.

(5) [a] «-l-» + stop: assimilation of «l», leading to single stop in Bengali.

[b] «-lm-», gave through MIA. «-mm-», «-m-» in Bengali.

[c] «-ly-» became «-yy-» in Old Māgadhi, whence ultimately «-j-» in Bengali. Examples showing the non-Māgadhi change of «-ly-» «-ll-» «-l-» also occur.

[d] «-ll-» > MIA. «-ll-» > Bengali «-l-».

[e] «-lv-» > MIA. «-ll-» > Bengali «-l-».

(6) «-vy-» > MIA. «-vv-», «-bb-» > Bengali «-b-». This is a non-Māgadhi change: the original Māgadhi alteration of «-vy-» was to «-viy-», which is lost, and «-vy-» «-vv-», «-bb-» forms have become established.

(7) [a] Groups with sibilant + stop or aspirate: «śc, ṣk, ṣṭ(h), ṣp, ṡk(h), ṡ(t(h), ṡp(h)» became initially an aspirate, medially a stop + its aspirate, in MIA. In Bengali we have a single aspirate.

[b] Sibilant + nasal:

«ṣṇ» > MIA. ṇh > OB. ṇh > MB., NB. n »;
«ṣn» > MIA. ṇh > OB. n, ṇh (?) > NB. n »;
«ṣm, ṣṁ, sm» > MIA. ss («ss» Māgadhi), mh > OB. s, mh(m) > NB. s, m ».

[c] Sibilant + «y»: normally, assimilated to double sibilant in MIA., whence Bengali single sibilant. There are cases of modification of this assimilated double sibilant to «h», which are found in Bengali.


(8) «h» + nasal («ḥ, ḥn, ḡm»): this group underwent metathesis in MIA. («ḥ, nh, mh»), and in Bengali, they have resulted in a simple nasal.
CONSONANT GROUPS, ASPIRATION

"hy" probably became "*-hiy-" in Old Magadhi. In other MIA. it became "-jjh-". It is not represented in Bengali.

(9) "Visarga" + consonant simply doubled the latter, and Bengali has a single consonant representing the OIA. group.

Groups of more than two consonants (like "ṛdhv, rtim, tṣy, ṣṭr, Ṽṭr, ndhy" etc., do not require any special remarks: it is the semivowels, liquids or sibilants in them that were assimilated, and then they behaved in MIA. like OIA. groups of two consonants. A post-consonantal "v" or "y" sometimes labialised or palatalised a preceding dental: e.g., ṽuḍa "ubha" (MIA. ubha- < *udha, *uddha = ūrdhva), bāicī < bāicī > boat race (MIA. *vābicca < ? *vābitrya < vahitra), etc.

Phonological changes of a more general character are discussed below.

[B] ASPIRATION AND DEASPIRATION.

236. The aspirates are a prominent class of sounds in IA., and they were passed on to all NIA., except Sinhalese, which quite early in its history (before the Ėlu stage: see p. 15) deaspirated them. Deaspiration of aspirates inherited from OIA. also occurs in NB.: this is discussed below (§239 ff.). All NIA. languages possess some words in which there is aspiration, but their Sanskrit counterparts show absence of it. These words have aspiration in MIA.; and in certain cases the MIA. forms owe the aspiration conditions obtaining in OIA. itself.

Where it is a case of initial aspiration of an unvoiced stop, a possible explanation is to be sought in OIA. (and perhaps IE.) omission of "s-" before "k, c, t, p, n" at the head of the word (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 84; Pischel, §§ 205 ff.; cf. also Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 230). OIA. groups of "sp, st, sk, śc" occurred without the "s-" as well: e.g., "paśyati: spaśaḥ; candraḥ: -ścandraḥ; tārā: stṛ", etc.; OIA. "*skarpa", after loss of sibilant in pre-MIA. times, gave Skt. "karpā", and "*skarpa" (with the "s-") in MIA. times would give "kharpā", whence Bengali খাপ্পা "khāpāra" sherd, tile. Later, "kharpā" itself was Sanskritised as "kharpāra". So "skandha" > MIA.
would be expected to give a Bengali *khandha*; but the Bengali form is *kākha*, which seems to go back to an OIA. *kandha*.(1) (The Bengali *kandha* in *kandhakātā* *kandha-kātā* head-less (ghost) is a late sts. from the Sanskrit *kabandha*.) But it is possible to explain only a few words showing alternation of initial voiceless stops and aspirates in OIA. and MIA. in this way. In most cases, however, the aspiration remains obscure especially where we have aspiration of sonant stops, not attested in Sanskrit. Following Jacobi, Jules Bloch sees some connexion of an *s* or *r* in aspiring a stop (Bloch, op. cit., §86): but although in MIA. and NIA., forms in aspirated stops occur in certain words with *s* or *r*, as, e.g., *bhūsi* (busa-); Hindi *bhēs* (*bēsa* < *vēsa*); *jhasa* fish (OIA. *jhaśa* beside *jaśa*); *phāśa* (pāṣa); *bhichārī* *bhicārī* mess of rice and pulses with butter (cf. Skt. *kṛṣaṇa* < *kṛṣaṇa*); *bhājar* *jhājāra* sieve (? jarjara); *kūna* *jhūnā* old, experienced, dried up (as a coco-nut) (jūrṇa-?), etc.; cf. also Skt. *śṛṅkā* chain (?) besides *śṛṅkhalā*;—this is not a satisfactory explanation, as Bloch himself admits. It seems that contamination with other forms, plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia, which is so very strong as an indirect influence in Indian speech, had more to do in aspiring stops than the presence of any particular sound; especially in initial aspiration. The Dravidian articulation of the stops, in Tamil-Malayalam, in Kannada, in Telugu, is slightly aspirated: can the cases of initial aspiration in MIA. and NIA. be partly due to a Dravidian influence? Other instances of initial aspiration in Bengali (apart from cases of transferred aspiration, noted below, and besides those given above) are the following: *kīla* *khiΔ* (Skt. *kīla*, MIA. *khiṇa*); *kābāla* *kābāla* a handful, mouthful (? *kabala*); *kālā* (Skt. *kāla*; *kṛiṇi*); *ghūrī* *paper kite* (cf. Hindi *gūḍḍi*); *jāpāṇa* *jhāpāṇa* (*japāṇa, yāpya-yāna*); *phaḷa* *phālā* (MIA. pōlla); *phulā* *phulā* *puli* (cf. Hindi *pulā*); *phulā* *puli* *pulā* (cf. Hindi *pulā*); *phutkārā* (phutkāra ?); *kāmbi* *kāmbi* grasshopper (patāngga); etc.

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1 *kāṃša* does not seem to be due to deaspiration of *kh*‘kh’ from an earlier *kāṃśa*: Bengali is prone to drop the aspiration in a non-initial rather than in an initial aspirate.
ASPIRATION IN DEŚI & TBH. WORDS

(See under the various aspirates, infra.) Some deśi and tbh. words seem to show alternation of aspirated and unaspirated forms: e.g., গোড়া < g̥ṛ̸ < foot, heed, but গোড়াচেলা < gh̥ṛ̸-t̶o̸l̸̬a < high-heeled (boot), ছুটি, ছুটি < ghuṭi, ghuṭi < heel; বাল < jhaḷḍ < hot to taste, connected with জলা < jwāla < burning sensation (?); so বাল < jhaḷḍ < sparkle, cf. জল < jwāl < to burn; বাল < jholḍ < watery mass, soup, saliva, beside জল, জুল < jolḍ, juli < channel, river(-bed), see pp. 65, 66; ঠেঁ < thēṇ < [thaṇ] skin, leg, beside ঠাঁ < täṇ; চেল < dhēla < clod, piece of stone beside ডেলা < dēla < clod, lump; তংক < dhēṇ(g)ā < tall, beside ডাগর < dāga-rā < big, huge; ঠেঁষ < dhēkt < pounding or husking machine, beside ডাঙ্গ < dāṅg-āś < goad; ডামালা, ডামালী, < dhāmālā, dhāmālā < orgy, riotousness, besides ডামালচেলা < dhāmālōla < hubbub, hullabaloo; চেল < dhōla < drum, beside ডেল < dōla < vessel shaped like a drum; ফুটি < jhuṭi < forelock, crest, beside ফুটি, ফুটি < jūṭi, cūṭi (cōṭi) < queue, connected with চুল < culḍ < hair, Skt. cūḍa < cūṭa (<)?; ক্টি < jhāḍ < quickly, also কাট < jhāṭa, cf. Skt. jaṭāti, beside কাট < cāṭ < quick (< jhaṭ-iti) connected with √jhar by Wackernagel, I, § 141); etc., etc.

237. Aspiration in the interior of words is also found, and it is still more obscure. The Sanskrit pleonastic -ka is represented by -h- in Second MIA. (see Pischel, § 206). Is this -h- due to aspiration of OIA. -k- to -kh-? Cf. Pali - suṇaka, Second MIA. - suṇaha (=Skt. - suṇa-ka),—otherwise explained as being - su + nakha -, and not as a case of -kha < - ka). Cases of aspiration of intervocal stops, however, are found in MIA. and in NIA.: e.g., Ashokan Prakrit (Dhauli) - akhakhsa (akarkaśa), - kicha (=kičhi ?) (kičcid); Hathigumpha Inscription - Bharadha (=Bhāradha) = Second MIA. - Bhāraha (¬-Bhāratha=Bhārata); Hind. -hār = -kāra: or? < Skt. hāra, √hṛ; Kasmiri and Panjabi - Viha (Vitasta) = Jhelam River; Bengali বিহং from *বিঙ্গ বিহাতি < *bihāta span (= vitasti?: possibly a case of transference of aspiration) (see also E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 25). Aspiration of a voiced stop seems to have been favoured in some cases through the influence of a preceding nasal. Cases of alternation of -mb- and -mbh- occurred in OIA. (Bloch, op. cit., p. 100; Wackernagel, I,
p. 129.) Bengali instances are—অন্ধু, beside অন্ধু < অন্ধু, = অন্ধু, অদু > (anduka); MB. হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর < জাহ্মীর, জাহ্মীর, জাহ্মীর > (জাহ্মীর); MB. সামুড় < sāmbāc enter > (samayuti), beside সামার, সামার < sāmbāc, sāmbāc > (? through contamination with sambhālayati > সামালে, sāmāle < sām[bh]ālē > bears, holds, supports); হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর, হাম্বীর < Hāṃ(bh)īrā > (Perso-Arabic < amīr >); eMB. (ŚKK.) ঘড় < khāndhā > grain, corn (Persian < xand >); সিন্ধুক, সিন্ধুক < sind(h)ukā > chest, box (Perso-Arabic < sinduq- >); etc. In MB., কাঞ্ছারী < kāṇḍārī > (kāṇḍāgārīn) and কাঞ্ছারী < kāṇḍārī > (kāṇḍāgārīn), meaning helmsman, seemed to have occurred side by side, and were doubtless regarded as the same word. Bengali নিবার < nibhā >, beside নিবার < nibā > to put out (a light) (nir-vā-) probably takes its aspiration from নিবার (nir+বhā); and MB. ম্ব সাবার > for সব < sāba > (sabba, sarva) is probably through contamination with sābā (see p. 319).

238. Aspiration through metathesis of < h > is found in IA. from Late OIA. times. This kind of aspiration by transposition of the < h > in some cases was naturally accompanied by deaspiration within the same word. E.g., NB. sts. অ্যাহীর < aŋkhārī > (ahaŋkāra); গোস < khōśā >, OB. < khasu > (kačhū<? >); ঘর < *ghārē > (ghara = *garha < grha); OIA. হং < ghaṭ > = < gath > = < grath >: cf. < ghaṭa- > ঘড় < ghārā > water-jar, < gath > MB. গাড় < gēr >, NB. গাড় < gār > to build; MB. tbh. অখ্যান, অধ্যান < aŋghānā, āghānā, āghān <, NB. sts. অঙ্গার < aŋghāndār > (*agghāhāṇa, agraḥāhāṇa); MB. পার < pārē > (pātahā-); গাথা < gāthā > (gaddhā-, gardabha); sts. ফাঙ্দি < phāndi > scheme, stratagem (*prabandhīka; cf. phāḍā, p. 366); কুঁপি < phūpi > edge of dhōtī with hanging threads like tassels, often gathered together in a bunch (*phumpī, *phuppia = pupphia, puspikā); অষ্টা, অষ্টা < bhāyśā, bhāśā > belonging to buffaloes (*mhaṇīsa-, mahrīsa, mahrīsa); ভেড়া, ভেড়া < bhērā, bhērā > (*mēṭa-, *mēṭa-*, *mēṭa- < mēṣa-); ভুক < bhukhā > (*buhukkha < bhubukkā); ভাড < bhāpī > (bhappa, *baphpa<u>būspa); MB. sts. বিভার < bibhā > (*bibhā = vivāha; cf. tbh. বিভা < biyā, biā < *biāha >); MB. sts. বিভার < bibhārā > (*biabahāra = vyahāra; cf. MB. tbh. বিভার < bānhibārī >, p. 345); etc. As examples of entire deaspiration, through transference of aspiration, may be given বুন, বুন, বুন < būn,
bunț, buinț = "bahiț, bhaginț", and Șohar, Șohar = "dōhārā, dōārā" (*dhuāra, dhruva-kāra):

239. The aspirates, initial and intervocal, which Bengali inherited from OIA., were preserved intact in the OB., and to a very large extent in the eMB. period. But even from the eMB. period, from the latter part of the 15th century it would seem, (judging from the orthography of Early Bengali MSS., and from NB. history of the aspirates), the aspirates as well as "-h-> grew rather feeble in an intervocal position—and also finally—although they do not suffer from any lax articulation initially. In Modern Bengali there has been entire loss of aspiration in final and intervocal aspirates in a very large number of cases; and where aspiration is found in writing, it is not always faithfully representative of the pronunciation, especially in the Standard Colloquial. The dialects of Western Rādhā are rather conservative in the matter of retaining aspiration intervocally and finally. Some forms of East Bengali also preserve an intervocal unvoiced aspirate, e.g., in words like 霈 "āṭhā" > gum-paste, পাথা "pākha" > fan, মথা "māṭhā" > head, where the Standard Colloquial will normally use a "t, k, t→. Similarly, there has been a very wide loss of intervocal "-h-> in New Bengali, leading to fresh groups of contact vowels which have been diphthongised: and final "-h>, representing earlier Bengali "-hā", may be said to be lost in Bengali. But aspirates are not ordinarily disturbed when they occur initially in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally; although in most forms of East Bengali, initial voiced aspirates are either wholly deaspirated, or the aspiration becomes very weak. As has been said before, tendency to drop aspiration manifested itself towards the end of the 14th century, when intervocal "h-> is found frequently to be dropped, leading to the assimilation of a group "āhā" to "ā": e.g., ȘKK. șăro "bārā" beside șăroh "bārāhā" 12, Șām "khās" beside șăh "khāhā" you eat, Șōhār "gōārā" beside Șōhārī "gōārī" petition, etc. (see p. 296). But aspirated stops as a rule, judging from the printed edition of the ȘKK., remained intact; although "mh, nh" seem to have been deaspirated, in spite of their being retained in writing. Absence of dated MSS. makes it difficult to determine when aspiration ceased to be a regular
thing in MB. It seems in the early 16th century, voiced aspirated forms like পার্থ < pārth > read (pāth), কাষ্ঠ < kāṣṭh > snatch away (kaḍḍha, kṛṣṭa), নাখ < nākh > shaven-head = New Bengali নাখ, নেড়া [nēra], বাঢ় < bārhe > increases (vṛdh), বুঢ় < būrḍh > (vṛddha) still obtained, although it is likely that the aspiration had become feeble. The voiced aspirates seem to have preserved the aspiration (in the West Central dialect) longer than the unvoiced ones, in both final and intervocal positions. Words like হাত < hāt > (hasta), হাতি < hātī > (hastin), আট < aṭṭ > (aṣṭa), কাট < kāṭ >, MB. জাটি < jāṭī > (yaṣṭi), for OB. and eMB. < hāṭh, hāṭhi, āṭhā, kāṭhā, jāṭhā > etc., seem to have been established by the 16th century even though < -ṛh-, dh-, bh-, gh- > remained the aspiration. The use of unaspirated stops is common in most MB. MSS. (excepting the SKK.).

240. Conditions in the present day Standard Colloquial are in the main the following (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§ 26, 26a):

(1) Initial aspirates remain, whether voiced or unvoiced (excepting in the case of < ph, bh >, for which see below).

(2) Final aspirates are deaspirated: but ts. forms tend to preserve them, though not so strongly as when initial.

(3) Pre-consonantal aspirates are normally deaspirated.

(4) Intervocal aspirates as a rule are deaspirated, but it is not uncommon to find aspiration in some cases. In formal discourse, and in singing, as well as in careful speech, the aspirates are retained; but they are deaspirated in quick conversation. No hard and fast rule can be laid down in this matter, but it seems that in less common words and forms, and in tss. where they are susceptible to the influence of the spelling, the aspiration commonly comes in.

Final aspiration, if uttered not strongly, can be tolerated in NB., as well as pre-consonantal aspiration, especially if it is of an unvoiced stop. So also intervocal aspiration. Intervocal < (e)ch > in verb forms commonly loses the aspiration, but a suggestion of aspiration is also heard.

In the pronunciation of the aspirates in NB., there is one point to consider, about ফ, ভ < ph bh >. Within recent times, not much beyond half a century from now (i.e. the end of the first quarter of the 20th century),
these have developed spirant values, either bilabial [f, v] or denti-labial [f, v]. Bengali transcriptions of foreign names and words (Portuguese and English), using ब for the sound of the denti-labial व in the latter languages (and not भ = [v, v] as at present) right down to the middle of the 19th century, and later, show that this spirant pronunciation is a post-19th century affair. These are commonly substituted for the [ph, bfi] aspirates, but the aspirates have not been entirely ousted. (See ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §30.) No other set of aspirates has developed a similar spirant pronunciation (in the Standard Bengali: the spirants [x, q] for k, kh are found in dialectal East Bengali.)

241. Where loss of aspiration has become well-established from Late M.B., the Bengali spelling frankly recognised it in some cases by using stops, e.g., হাত হাত (hāṭak), মেজা মেজা (mā́ja, madhya), পড় পড় (pāṛ pāṛ, pāṭh), দীর্ঘ দীর্ঘ (adhistāt), গীত গীত (granthis), আবুর্জু আবুর্জু (ābhram), etc. But generally, the historical spelling obtains as the standard one, and this is helped by the absence of entire loss of aspiration: e.g., মানুষ মানুষ (māṇuṣ, māṇuṣh) fish, কাঠ কাঠ (kāṭ, kāṭa) wood, বাচা বাচা (bāṭa, bāṭa) tiger, বাংলা বাংলা (bāṅla, bāṅla) bund, রাখ রাখ (rāk, rāk) to keep, দেখ দেখ (dēk, dēk) to see, লিখ লিখ (lik, lik) to learn, লিখ লিখ (lik, lik) to write, পথ পথ (pāṭ, pāṭ) way, গৌরে গৌরে (gour, gour) moustache, লাঠি, লাঠি লাঠি (lāṭi, lāṭi) stick, মাঝে মাঝে (māṣa, māṣa) helmsman, etc., etc. Purely phonetic spellings we find in Persian loan-words like সেক (ṣek) beside সেক (ṣek) (ṣekh), beside সেক (ṣekh), হাপ্তা হাপ্তা (hāptā, hāptā) week, for *হস্তা (hasta) (hafta), তাকা (takka) (takka) plank, for *তুক্তা (tukata) (tukta), etc. In the spelling of Bengalis not caring for the established orthography, and in the present-day works of drama and fiction, as well as in journalesque employing the colloquial, the use of stops for aspirates is quite noteworthy: e.g., দেটা দেটা for দেখতে দেখতে (dēktā) (dēktā) to see, বুঝে বুঝে (bujte, bujte) to understand, বুঝিতে বুঝিতে (bujhīte) (bujhīte) to understand, আদলা আদলা (ādhalā) half-pice, সাদক্ষা (sādakṣā) for সাদক্ষান (sādakṣāna) a surname, মাঞ্জি মাঞ্জি (māggi) = mahārghya (māggi) = mahārghya, হোচে হোচে (hōche, hōche) is, is becoming, বাড়া বাড়া (bādnā) water-pot with spout (bādnā), etc., etc. The spellings with ল, ল for ল (el, el) "eh, ceh," in the progressive and perfect verb forms (√আছে √eh),
found in the ‘Hutom Pëcär Naksä’ (see p. 135), have obtained acceptance in the hands of a writer like Rabindra-nāth: e.g., দিয়েছে <dięcę> has given, দিছে <diecę> is giving, করেছি <koreci> I have done, করছি <kōeci> I am doing, পাচছে <bıruecę> is coming out, etc., etc. (but rarely in the case of আছে <aće>, and never in the case of past perfect forms in ছিল <chilä> etc.). Colloquial Oriyā agrees with the Bengali Standard Colloquial in changing the «-ch-» of verb forms to «-c-».

242. Bengali in the matter of aspiration differs remarkably from its sisters and cousins of the West—from Maithili-Maghā, Bhōjpuriyā, Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi, and also from Panjābī (in the last, in the Eastern and North Central Panjābī region at least, however, the sonant aspirates become surd stops, with low tone marking loss of aspiration). The Northern Indian languages of the plains, from the Panjab to the borders of Bengal, in the main preserve aspiration as well as intervocal «-h-»: especially in the Gangetic plain. The weakening of final intervocal aspirates characterises Marāṭhī almost as much as it does Bengali (cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ §§87 ff.). Gujarātī final and intervocal aspiration also is weak, and is dropped in many cases, as well as intervocal «-h-». R. L. Turner has observed that in Nēpālī (Khaskura) pre-consonantal aspirates become deaspirated, and intervocal «-h-» is entirely lost there (‘Gujarati Phonology,’ JRAS., 1921, pp. 509-510).

243. Loss of aspiration occurred in MIA. as well. (See W. Geiger, Pali Grammar, §40; Pischel, §§ 213, 214.) All NIA. obtained some of these deaspirated forms from MIA. Examples in Bengali are: উট, উটচ <uṭa, uṭc>, cf. Hind. <uṭa> (uṭta, *uṭta <uṭtha=uṣṭra); so ইট, ইটচ <iṭa, iṭc>, cf. Hind. <iṭa, iṭa> (iṭta-, *iṭta=īṭa-); চিট <chiṭa> (cṛṣṭa); শিকল <śikāla>, OB. (Sarvānanda) <śīkāla> (śīkhala: but cf. Sanskrit <śīkakā> =chain?); পালচ <pāḷtca> (pāḷta, paryasta); and probably a few more. Sanskrit <visarga> in the middle of a word is changed to <s, s, s> according as the consonant (stop or aspirate) following is a palatal, guttural or dental (<visarga> after <i, u> changing itself to <ṣ>, which also cerebralisés a following <t>). But it seems that in MIA. the <visarga> did not turn to a sibilant, but simply assimilated itself
to the following stop. In such cases, we have in NIA. a normal simplification of the resultant double stop to a single stop, and not aspirate, which normally results from «śk, śc, st»: e.g., «nih+karma», Skt. niśkarma->, MIA. «*nikkam»a>, whence Bengali নিকাম «nikām»>, beside sts. নিক্ষাম «nīkṣām»>, MIA. «*nikkāsa»>, নিকাশ «nikōṣṭa» clearing, finishing; so «nih+kālaya>, Skt. nīkāl-»> নিকালে «nikālē» drives out, নিকলে «nikālē» comes out; «nih-cala>, Skt. nīscala»> MB. নিচল «nīcāla»; so «nih-caya>, nīscaya»> MB. নিচয় «nicāya»; «catur + ka=catuṭka>, catuṣka > ṃak, চোচ «cāk>, cāuk». The forms with geminated stops, without aspiration, occur in MIA. (Pali and 'Prakrit'): see Pischel, § 329: cf. Pali forms like «niccala», nikkanto>, Asokan «dukara (=dukkara)», etc. In the development of the NIA. forms there seems to have been but slight influence of Sanskrit in this matter. A MB. form like নট «nāṭa»), besides নট «nāṭha» (=naṭa) as in the ṢKK., is a sts.; the genuine Ṣbh. is found in the NB. নট «nāṭa» < নট «nāṭha» crumpled.

[C] Interchange among Consonants.

Voicing and Unvoicing.

244. In addition to interchange of aspirates and non-aspirates, voicing of unvoiced consonants, and the reverse process, as well as changes in the place of articulation, occur in Bengali. In some cases, the changes are quite normal, and in others, they are uncommon, and can be explained as being due to contamination with a form similar in sound or meaning, or to dialectal admixture, or again to the workings of folk-etymology.

Voicing of [k] to [g] is common enough, though not the rule, being found in some sts. words in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [k > g > g] was the normal change in Transitional and Second MIA. This tendency to turn a voiceless stop to its voiced spirant form has continued down to the present day in NB. (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 31). Examples of NB. forms with the [g] developed out of the [k] are: কাপ «kāg» (kāka), বাপ «bāg» (baka), শাপ «šāg» (šaka),
The more important changes which occur in Bengali are of 
$s$ \[\] to \:<c, ch \> \[\dot{c}, \dot{c}h\], of \:[l] to \:[n], and vice-versa, in initial positions, 
and final and preconsonantal \:[w] to \:[m]. These are discussed later, while 
treating the above sounds. Shifting of articulation from one point
to another is also found. The most important item in this connection is the cerebralisation of OIA. dentals—a change which Bengali has inherited from Māgadhi. The absence of cerebralisation in Bengali is perhaps due to the influence of non-Māgadhī dialects. This is discussed below, under the Cerebrals. Interchange between gutturals and palatales as well as cerebrals and palatales seems to characterise some groups of dēśī words: see under Palatales. Change of OIA. dental stops and aspirates before *y* to palatal affricates is a phonological alteration which is derived from MIA.

* j * [ʃ] becomes * z * in a few cases in the Standard Colloquial (where the * z * sound is not the rule, unlike Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, which normally alter IA. * j * to * dz, z *). Foreign * z * normally becomes * j * in Bengali.

Some other changes in articulation, which are the result of assimilation in MIA., are treated below.

Besides the above, there are sporadic cases of other interchange, e.g., between a guttural and a labial, which are not characteristic, and which will be noted at their proper places.

[D] Doubling of Consonants.

246. Consonants in Bengali are doubled, or rather, lengthened, in *t*-words, when they occur before *r, l, y, v*: e.g., চক্র [চক্র = চক্র], এক [একল = একল], বিভা, বিভিন্ন [বিভা = বিভা, বিভিন্ন = বিভিন্ন], অথ [অথ = অথ], বীরত্ব [বীরত্ব = বীরত্ব], etc. Doubling is found in Hindīstānī and other loan-words: e.g., পাতা [পাতা, পাতা] address, নাচা [নাচা, নাচারা], etc. Through loss of intervening vowel, and through consequent assimilation as well, NB. has developed double consonants: e.g., আটটা [আটটা, আটাটা] eight pieces > *আটটাবান্ধা*; পাতা [পাতা] < পাতিতে *pātītē* to spread; মাতে [মাতে] < মারতে, মারিতে *mārtē, māritē* to beat; “যাগ্গে” [যাগ্গে] <যাকুঠা, বাহ্যিক গিয়া *jāk gē, jānkā giyā* let it go! ; etc., etc.

In the above instances, doubling or lengthening is historical, or merely phonological. But there is another kind of lengthening in New Bengali
which is semantic. With a desire to emphasise, or to modify the idea in other ways, a consonant is frequently doubled in NB. (This has been noticed in the 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 53.) Thus, একেবারে [ækibare] at once, for good, entirely : একেবারে [ækibare] for all time, entirely (without hope of any alteration); গোপ [gɔ:p] moustache: গোত্রিপ্পা [gɔtṛippa] whiskers; হাত [hɔ:t] hand: হাতা [hɔtɔ] handful, with full hand, right and left, line or thread drawn by the hand; ধাক্কা [dɔkkɔ] push: ধাকল [dɔkɔl] strain, and MB. চেকা [cɛkɔ] push; থাপড় [thɔpɔr] slap: থাঙড় [thɔppɔr] generally = slaps in quick succession; চোর [ʃɔr] thief: চোচোর [ʃɔceɔr] from জ্যোচোর [ʃyɔceɔr] cheat < cheat at dice; ছেকড়া [ʃɛkɔra], beside ছড়া [ʃɔkɔrap] a ramshackle carriage (sakaṭa), etc. This kind of doubling for emphasis seems to have been due to stress—the consonant following the stressed vowel being lengthened through accession in force of the whole syllable. It originated in Bengali possibly during the OB. period.

[E] Changes of Consonants in Contact: Assimilation.

247. The behaviour of Bengali vowels under mutual influence with in a word, in separation and in contact, has been described under Epenthesis and Vowel-Mutation, etc. Contraction has taken place largely in MB. and NB., by which vowels have been dropped, and consonants which were separated in OB. and eMB. have been brought together. New consonant groups have thus developed in NB. (see p. 251). These have in the main retained their original character, in preserving their point of articulation, but in the matter of breath or voice, there has been assimilation in most cases.

[r] tends to be dropped within a word or sense group before palatais, cerebrals and dentals: e.g., তার জন্ত < tɔr jɔntɔ > for him generally becomes [tɔʃɔntɔ], কার্য < kɔrɔ > becomes [kɔʃɔ], গার্দুজাল > heat of the body > anger becomes [ɡaʃɔdɔla], মুখ < mʊʃɔr > > [muʃɔr], জলরেখা < jɔlɔrɛkɔla > water tub becomes [ʃʃɔlɔtɔtɔb], পাঙ্কিরুদ্ধ < pɔkhiʃɔduŋa > bird’s wing > [pakhiʃɔduŋa], কার তরে < kɔrɔ tɔrɛ > for whose sake
CONSONANT ASSIMILATION IN NB.

> [kattore], সাদার < sārdār > chief, from the Persian < sardar > [foddar], etc. Also [r] is dropped before gutturals and labials, in lss., e.g., সুর্য > সুর্য < sūrya > [sūrgo], তরক > তরক < tarka > [takko], সুর্য > সুর্য < sārpā > [joppo], গুর্জর < gārbā > [gobbo], দৃষ্টি > দৃষ্টি < dharmā > [dhōmmo], but not in lḥ. or foreign words and sense-groups: e.g., আর কাছে < tark kāche > with him, চরকা, চত্বকা < cārk(h)ā > spinning wheel < Pers. < carxah >, বরগা < bārgā > rafter < Portuguese < verga >, কর্বার < karibār < kāribārd > to do, etc.: see under [r], infra.

In the NB. dissimilar groups like < kt(h), tk(h), pt(h), tp(h), kṭ(h), ṭk(h), ṭt(h), ṭp(h), gb(h), g源源不断 (where stop + voiced stop or aspirate, there is no modification: e.g., থাকতে [thakte] to remain, সুকুত তারা [juktara] the planet Venus, আতক [ātke] having sustained a shock of fright, আঁপো [apto] self, হাতপা [hatpa] hand and foot, আটকা [āṭka] fixed, ইউটে [ūṭte] to walk, খাংরা [japta] embracing all, বাগিদি [bagdi] a caste, etc.: খারখাল [khatkhola] a mart, খারকার [kathkiri] condensing milk paste spread out on a leaf, খাবান [jābdī] careful, অন্ত্য [aṭṭhut] strange, সুকু মিল্ক [dugdha] milk, উদগ্রাম [udgaṭton] opening, etc.

In the case of aspirate (stop, or affricate) + aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is despiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained (so far as it can be retained in a final position in a syllable) where we have a sound of a different class. Examples: রথতল [rohtala] > roṭtola] car-festival common; হটবাড়ি [duddoi > duddoi] milk and curds; আষাঢ় [aḍdi + than > adthan, atthan] half a piece (of cloth) (not [adthān]); মুখছানি [mukh-khāni > mukkhan] that face; বাঘবন্দা [bagbonda > bagbondi] capturing the tiger (a game); মুখগোজ [mukhpura > mukpura] burnt-face (a term of abuse) ([mukhpura] is also heard); so কাঠফাল্টী [kathphafa > kāṭphāta] wood-splitting (sawd of sunshine); আডফোটা [adphota > adphota] half-open (as a flower); and Persian *haftah, taxtah > *হফতা, *তফতা < hàphtā, tāktā > [hapta] week, তফত [takta] a plank; পথগাঁত [pøthgøat > potgøat] roads and ferries; বাঘফাল্টী [bagbøalluk > bagbøalluk] tigers.
and bears, etc., which can have the aspirate retained in the first consonant of the group.

There is Regressive Assimilation when stops (or affricates) and aspirates of the same class occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration; e.g., एक-गाड़ी \(\text{[æ̂ggər]}\) one \(\text{waggon-load} < [\text{æ:k + gər}]; \text{एक-गुम} [\text{æ:k + gəm} > \text{æggəm}]\) one (long) sleep; डाक-घर \(\text{[də:k + gɦə:ɾ > dəggɦəɾ]}\) post-office; राग करा \(\text{[raːɡ + kəɾa > rəkkəɾa]}\) to be angry; में करें [\text{meːɡ(h) + korej/he > mekkorej(h)e}] it is cloudy; पाँजन \(\text{[pəːdʒ + pəːn > pəːjən]}\) (five) people; काज-चालना \(\text{[kəːdʒ + dʒələno > kaĕdʒələno]}\) carrying on work, just useful; बड़-झाकर \(\text{[bəɾ(ə) + thakəɾ > bətʰthakəɾ]}\) husband's elder brother (among women); टो-टाका \(\text{[təːt + dəːkəka > dəːdəːkəka]}\) covered with gunny cloth; एविन \(\text{[ətə + dəɾ > ədəɾ]}\) such a long time; MB. साठिन \(\text{[fəːt + d̪ən > *fəd̪ən, ʃəd̪ən]}\) seventh-day celebration (after birth of a child); हा-देखा \(\text{[fiːt + dəkə < fiːdəkə]}\) seeing one's palm, feeling one's pulse; हा-करा \(\text{[fiːt + dəɾə < fiːdəɾə]}\) catching one's hand, under one's control; ह्य-तोला \(\text{[duːdʒ + tola > dutələ]}\) vomiting milk (as a baby); सर-पोपा \(\text{[ʃəːb + pəːpə > ʃəːpəpə]}\) get all; पाप-भा \(\text{[paːp + bəːəe > pəppəːəe]}\) fear of sin; बाप-बेटा \(\text{[bəːp + bəːtə > bəbəːtə]}\) father and son; etc. But when there are stops or aspirates, voiced and unvoiced, of different classes, ordinarily there is absence of assimilation to voice or breath of the first sound. It is, however, not unlikely that there is a certain amount of unavoidable unvoicing of a voiced consonant before an unvoiced one, and vice-versa, and there is no full assimilation in this case. Entire assimilation to voice or breath is generally absent because of the full explosion given to the first stop or aspirate: e.g., आदफॉट \(\text{[ədʃə + pəɾə > adpəɾə]}\) half-open (flower) does not become \(\text{[atpəɾə]}\); so चादपाल \(\text{[cʰədəpəɾ]}\) a personal name is never \(\text{[cʰəɾpəɾ]}\); हाटबाजार \(\text{[hətʃəɾəɾ]}\) mart and fair is not \(\text{[həɾdəɾəɾ, həɾbəɾəɾ]}\), nor is आजकल \(\text{[əɾəɾkəɾ]}\) to-day and morrow, nowadays assimilated to \(\text{[əɾəɾkəɾ]}\); so we have साठक \(\text{[ʃətəɾkəɾ]}\) seven calls, calling one for a long time, शिबला \(\text{[ʃiːɾəɾkəɾ]}\) Śiva's spot (temple of Śiva), इड़कठ from इड़कठ \(\text{[fiːɾiɾkəɾ(h) > fiːɾkəɾ(h)]}\) sacrificial stake, राजपुत-बीर \(\text{[raːɾpəɾputbir]}\) a Rajput
CONSONANT ASSIMILATION IN NB.

warrior, সব-কিছু [ছব্বিষ্ঠ hu] everything, ইট-গাঢ়া [বটগাদা] brick-stack, এক-সম [শক্ত] at one breath, entirely, মোট-বহা [মোটব্যা(রা)] load-carrying, etc., etc. There are a few exceptions, however: e.g., লোকজন [লোকজন] people is heard frequently as [লোকজণ], and চোদালার [চোদালা] little elder brother (= fourth elder brother, generally) becomes ছোদালা [ছোদা] ; বুঝিতে > বুঝতে < বুঝিতে > বুঝতে to understand becomes [প্রাঙ্গ, প্রাঙ্গু] : but a case like উপকার [উপকার > উব্ধ] is through a MB. and NB. tendency to voice intervocal breathed stops [ব্যথ].

Before the (unvoiced) sibilant, there is no unvoicing of a voiced stop or affricate, or aspirate: e.g., আঘাত-সেরা [আঘাত-সেরা] of half a seer weight, কৃষ্ণ-সকাল [কৃষ্ণ-সকাল] evening and morning, গোড়-শাল [গোড়-শাল] stable, দেব-ভাটে [দেব-ভাটে, দেব-ভাটে] gods’ gathering, etc.

Assimilation of consonants of different groups, also a regressive assimilation, is found in some cases. Here, however the points of articulation are not very much removed from each other. [t, d], and occasionally [t], become assimilated to a following [ɕ, ʃ], and sometimes to [ʃ]; and [ɕ] is assimilated to a [ʃ]: e.g., হাত চিনিরে [হাত চিনিরে > হাত চিনিরে] having jerked away the band; বাড় লাগে [বাড় লাগে > বাড় লাগে] it will be deducted; চিট-চার > চিট-চার [চিট-চার > চিট-চার] some four, a few; পাঁচ [পাঁচ > পাঁচ] five hundred; পাঁচ লাখ [পাঁচ লাখ > পাঁচ লাখ] five and seven, a few; পাঁচ লাখ [পাঁচ লাখ > পাঁচ লাখ] school becomes [পাঁচ লাখ]; রাত্রিতে [রাত্রিতে] damp becomes [রাত্রিতে], and পঞ্চরী < পাঁচ- রী > five seers probably gave *পাঁচ-রী, পাঁচ-রী > five seers, whence পঞ্চরী [পাঁচ-রী] ; etc., etc. Assimilation of a dental stop to a cerebral one is extremely rare: e.g., Barisal dialect সাঠ টা > সাঠ [সাঠ > সাঠ] seven pieces, 7 o'clock.

The dialect of Chittagong is most advanced in the matter of assimilation, both by shifting the point of articulation and by voicing or unvoicing. Assimilation in Chittagong Bengali is both progressive (in the case of stops and affricates and the sibilant and [l]), and regressive (in the case of the nasal): e.g., পাঁচ গাওয়া [পাঁচ গাওয়া] five pieces > [জা঳খা], দাতগুন [দাতগুন] teeth = Standard Bengali দাতগুলো [দাতগুলো] or দাতগুনা [দাতগুনা] > [দাতগুনা]; বেগার [বেগার] daily wages, income, from Persian > [রোজ-কার], > [রোজ-কার]; বাংলাদেশের পার্থ [পার্থ] I can go = [পার্থ] ;
[dite pari] *I can give* [dittari]; *upkar [upokar] benefit, > [upkar > uppar]; *nath [nathkar, nathkar] obeisance > [nath]; *bhumati [bhumat] > [hiutt]; *shinghgor [shinggor] the jackal > [shinggor]; *gasha +ni < ghoṛa + ni > mare [*ghoṛi > ghoṛi > guni]; *dekhate na pari [dekkhe na pari] *I can not see* [deinnri]. (See Basanta-Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, No. 2, p. 108ff.). The dialect of Chittagong thus stands apart from most Bengali dialects, and from MIA., in which assimilation is generally regressive.

*Progressive Assimilation,* however, is found in a few cases in Bengali (e.g., *jūdā [jūdā] punishment from Persian [zabt] < Arabic [dābt-]); also in MIA. (cf. *lagna, bhagna > lagga, bhagga*, beside *lanna *bhanna*; cf. Bengali *hīlān < hilān* = *abhilagna*, and *bhān < bhān* > to pound, as *rice = *bhagna*).

[F] *Metathesis.*

248. Aspiration and deaspiration by metathesis of *h*, e.g., *bhagini < bāhin, māhiṣa > mahiṣa > bhaṣ >*, have been noticed before. Metathesis is found occasionally in OIA. and MIA. (cf. Wackernagel, I, 239; Pischel, § 354; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 47). Some Bengali words are the result of this early metathesis: e.g., *dhāra < *garha, grha >; bāhin, bān < bāhin, bōn < bhagini >; huda, nda, dāhā > dada < hada < hradā > lake, tauck; hālkā < hālā, > cf. MIA. *halukka = laghuka > light, etc. Instances in Bengali: *gūtiko [jūtiki] dried fish (*sukhāti < suṣka); *gajrā < gājrā > to fret and fume, to be filled with rage (ts.√garj); *par < par > to put on, MB. *par < pāhrā >, *pahir < pāhirā > (pari + dhā); *caṭkā < caṭkā > knead with the fingers < *kčṭa > (?√kṛ + vṛt); *kanui = [konui] elbow (< *kaṇōhi < kahōni < kaphōni >); *phaḷ > leap, cf. *lāph > leap (Skt. lampha); MB. *pināh < pāhī > puts on < *pahinī > (apinah-); MB. *pāhīn < pāhīna > knowledge, acquaintance, recognition (paścāhiṇā, pratyaśabhinā); *mārwar < mārwār > man from Mārwār (mārwār); etc., etc. In *ts. words, we find metathesis in a few cases: e.g., *piṭās < piṭās > (piṣāca);
METATHESIS: HAPLOLOGY: THE GUTTURALS

Also in foreign words: e.g., कुलुप < kulup > padlock (Arabic < qfl >); बोक़ा < bōkā > bundle (Turkī < buğca >); बेडस्का, बासका < dēskā, bāskā > = English desk, box, beside the proper तेड़, बालक < dēskā, bāksā >; etc.

[G] HAPLOLOGY.

249. Loss of consonant through haplology is found in some instances in Bengal, mainly in stss: e.g., समित्राय < sāmibhyārā > (samahivyāhāra-); भावन < sābyāstā > arranged (savyavastha); भास्त्र < pādōkajāla > (pādōdaka-jala); बृत्त < rāndā > as a name (rānda); नोकत < nāukātā > social courtesies (lāukikatā); नातन < nārun > nail-cutting instrument (nahaharanī, nakha-haraṇikā), etc. Also -रि, -दि < -dā, -di > for दात, दिदि or दिली < dādā, didī (१) > elder brother, elder sister. Cf. the Anglo-Indian spellings Krishnagar, Krishnath (for Krishna-nagar, Krishna-nāth), which are apparently based on not uncommon colloquial forms.

[H] HISTORY OF THE BENGALI CONSONANTS.

[I] THE STOPS AND AFFRICATES, AND ASPIRATES.

(1) The Gutturals or Velars [k, kh, g, gh].

250. Intervocal stops tend to be lazily pronounced in NB., leading frequently to 'under-articulation,' or open or spirant articulation with very little audible friction. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §31.) In the Standard Colloquial, intervocal [k, g] of NB. is found to be dropped in a few cases: e.g., ठाकुर > ठाउर [ṭhakur > ṭhaur], ठाकुराणी > ठाकुरण > ठाउण [ṭhakuranī > ṭhakurun, ṭhaurun > *ṭhaurn, *ṭhaun > ṭhun]. The elision in the above words has been noted in the ordinary orthography. But voiced and open articulation of [k] is not infrequently heard, though not in careful speech. But it has not become sufficiently prominent to attract the attention of Bengali speakers, although here and there in stss. and foreign words, we see the [g] fully established: e.g., -গুলা
[-gula], plural affix (-kula-); হেঁড়া [খিড়ন্ত] ramshackle carriage (শাকাতা-); MB. সংগ্রাম < sāgallād > (Perso-Arabic < saqalāt >), etc.: see supra, p. 445.

Final [-k] in some tbn. verb and other forms has become [g] in the Standard Colloquial, e.g., দিক, নিক < dik, nik > let him give, let him take frequently become [dig, nig].

This voicing of non-initial [k] is a MIA. speech-habit which has thus continued down to the present day. It is found occasionally in OB. as well: e.g., < sāgūṇa >→ sākuni > in Carya 50.

Elision of intervocal [k, g] has almost become the rule in the Chittagong dialect—e.g. [tiok, tiːl] = sakal (sakala); [aʊ, aː] = অকাশ (সাকাশ); [doun] = দোরান (Perso-Arabic < dukān >); [fioun] = শকুন stg. (সাকুন); [fiør] = শিকড় < sīkārd > root; [fiol] = শিকল < sīkāl > chain; [চৌরা] = Standard Bengali ছাকুলে < dākībē > will call; etc., etc.

In some East Bengali dialects, intervocal [k, kh] take the spirant sound of [x]: this [x] seems to have had its origin in the unvoicing of [g > g]. We also find [fi]. The [x], and the [g] where it is heard, do not have a strong friction: it is a mere open consonant, that is all. Thus we have, in the western and south-western Vanga dialects especially, টাকা [tukā] rupee, money as [təg, tɔʃɔ, ʃɔxɔ]; টাকা Dacca town is heard as [tʃiok, ʃɔʃɔ, ʃɔg, ʃɔxɔ]; Perso-Arabic < mīkaddamah > > মৌকুদমাল, মৌকুদমাল > mokaddamā, mokardamā > lau-xuit becomes [moxordoma, moʃordoma] = Standard Colloquial [mokoddomu]; Perso-Arabic < hākim > > হাকিম < hākim > judge is found as [ɔfiim]; < mulluk > > মুলুক < mulluk > country becomes, in the locative মুলকে < mulluke >, [mulluʃe, mullage, mulluxe]; Skt. < nārikēla > is transformed to [nɔrʃoʃ, nɔrʃol]. This fricative pronunciation is sometimes indicated by h < h >.

Initial [k, kh] becomes the spirant [x] regularly in Eastern and South Eastern Vanga (Sylhet, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong): e.g., কালী [kɔli] < [xɔli], কিছু [kɪʃhu] a little = [xisu], কথা [kɔθɔ] = [ʃɔta], কেন [kən] why? > [ʃən], কলাক [kɔlɔkɔ] > [kɔlɔkɔ], কাটু [kɔftu] even at times = [ʃɔvu, ʃɔbu], কাঁটা [kɔtɔ, kɔtta] coat = [ʃɔtɔ], খোলাইতে [ɔkholete] to put off = [ɔkholete], etc. Final [k] also is found as [x] commonly enough: e.g., টিক [tik] > [tikx], এক [ək] > [əkʃ, əkʃx],
This spirantisation is not found in the other Vanga dialects, but initial [k] when it becomes intervocal within connected speech can become [x] or [h]. The Chittagong and Eastern Bengali habit of turning initial [k] sounds to [x] also affects foreign words, and Bengali maulavis from Chittagong, which is one of the predominantly Muhammadan districts of Bengal, often pronounce Arabic and Persian with [x] for [k, q] ; and this has given rise to this Persian saying among Bihari and Hindostani maulavis in Calcutta and elsewhere: « agar cātgānī šavad maulavī, 'xlabel u 'xlabel 'u 'xlabel mī-ravī » if the Maulāvi is a Chittagongese, then you go to xlabel, xlabel and xlabel (for qiblah direction faced in praying, qa xlabel shrine at Mecca, kujā [Persian] where).

In the 'Crepar Xaxtre Orthbhed,' Bengali [k] is transcribed «e» before «a, o, u », « qu » before « e, i », and « q » when final: e.g., « crepa » kūp (kṛpā); « coin » kāñ (kānyā); « cotha » kāth (kāthā); « xocel » sāk (sākā); « thacur » thākur (thākurā); « thacuq » thāk (thākuk) let it remain; « queno » kën (kēnā) why?; « eq » ēk (ēkā); « quissu » kēhu (kiehu) a little; « eque » ēkē (ēkē) by one; « thaquia » thāk (thākiyā) having remained; « houq » hāk (hākā) let it be; « naroq » nāk (nārkā); etc. There is no representation of a spirant pronunciation in the 'Crepar Xaxtre Orthbhed.'

251. Bengali [k] in ṭbh. and dēśī words comes from MIA. « k-,kk- ». Initially, Bengali [k] is derived ultimately from—

OIA. « k- »: kār (kṛ); kām (kāma); kāl (kāla); kāj (kājā); kāli, kāl (kāli) (kalya); kān (kānā) (kāna); ku (ku) (ku-); kānāi, kām (kāāi, kānu) (kṛṣṇā-); kāh (kāhā) (kaceha, kāka); ke (kē) (ka-); kāy (kāyāi) (kathayati); etc., etc.

OIA. « kṛ-, kr- »: kīn, kēn (kīrāti); kāsh (kāśā) (krośā); kāla (kāla) (krośā); kāde (kandati); MB. kāl (kālā) (kṛta-illa-); etc.

OIA. « kv- »: kāi (kāi) paste (kvātha); kāth (kāthā) where? (kva+tra); kāk (kākā), an onomatopoetic, based on « kva ».
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

OIA. < sk- > k-; क्ष < काठा > (skandha): see p. 438.

Intervocally (and finally in NB., through dropping of vowels at the end of the word), NB. [k] comes from —

MIA. < k > after < ɣ > < OIA. < -γk-, -kr-, -γkr-, -ρk- >: काकण < काकण > (kaκkana); पाक < पाक > (pākka); वाक < बाक > (vākka, vakra); साक < साक > (saκkrama); काकर < काकर > (kaκkara, karaka); वाक < वाक > (vaκkara, vakara); etc.; from MIA. < -kk- > from the following OIA. groups:

< -k-, doubled in old lss. in MIA.: एक < १२ > (१२, १२): also एक < १२ >, etc.;

< -kk- >: चिक < चिक > fine (eikkaṇa): cf. तेल-चुकुळके < तेल ><br>cukeukē > glistening with oil = MIA. < tēl-la-eikkaṇa >; नाकार, नाकार [नकर > नकर] (नाकार, nyakkāra); कुकुर < कुकुर > (kukkuṇa); हाक beside हाक < हाक, हाक > (MIA. hakka);

< -kn- >: MB. मुकल < तुलाक > (mukka < *mukna = Skt. mukta);

निक < निक > to wipe (nīkka < *nikna <√निन्ध, nīj);

< -ky- >: शिक < शिक > (śikya-); मानिक < मानिक > (mānikiya);

< -kr- >: चक < चक > (cakra); चक-तारा < चक-तारा > Venus (ṣukra);

< -k- >: वाक < वाक > sour, acid (< takra > sour-milk, whey: or onomatopoetic?); विक < विक > sale as in विक-किन < विक-किन > transaction, buy and sell (vi-kṛ-); etc.;

< -kv- >: पाक < पाक > (pakva);

< -ks- >: निक < निक > (cf. Skt. nikṣa);

< -τk- >: चक < चक > (ṣaṭka);

< -τk- >: चक < चक > (cukka, eyut-kṛ); उकु < उकु > louse (utkuṇa);

< -rk- >: पाकुर < पाकुर > (parkaṭi); माकङ < माकङ > (marakaṇa);

ताक, ताक < ताक, ताक > (tarkayati); आक < आक > (akka-manda = arka-mandhra); etc.;

< -lk- >: तुक < तुक > (ulkā);

< -ţk- >: Skt, < -sk-, -sk- >: जक < जक >, जक < जक > (catuṭh-<br>ka: catuṭṣka); निकाश, निकाश < निकाश >, निकाश, nikāl >, see p. 445; नाक < नाक > (nas, *nāḥ + ka > nakkā); नुक < नुक > (nukāla < duḥkāla);
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'K'

«-g-», through transference of voice in MIA.: ঢাকে «ধাকে» covers (ধাক্কা, *থগাতি < সঠগাতি ?).

From MIA. «-ŋgh-», from OIA. «-ŋgh-» > «-k-» in NB.: শিক্নি  
*সিক্নি* (সিঙ্গাঁ) ; স্থান, শেক্তে সুক, সোক (সুঙ্গ, সিঙ্গ) ; etc.

From MIA. «-kk-» from Semito-Iranian «-kk-», written «-ky-» in Late Sanskrit: সেক্রা «সেক্রা» (*সেক্রা-; see pp. 194-195).

Some isolated cases are কুচ «kucqa» (গুন্ডা), and সিকার «সিকার», OB. (Sarvānanda) শিকারা «শিকারা» (সিঙ্গাঁ); cf. শিকার «শিকার» (MIA. শিকারা), 
Skt. «শ্র্যকালো», beside «শ্র্যকার».

«k» occurs in a few words of probable তেরী origin: e.g., বুক «bukha» 
*cheet, বক* «baka» chatter, বক «jhak» talk, jangle (তেরী jhakkia), ডাক «dak» shout, call, কাচ «hak» shout, (তেরী hakka), etc.

«k» is also found as an affix in numerous nouns and derived verbs:
*e.g., মেরাখ «মেরাখ» packet (<√-mρ roll, fold); ঢাকক বক বক«চাক» hook- 
swinging, Churruck festival (চাক্কা, √-cαite ride); চোক «চাক» shine, brightness; চোক «থাক» flame; বিলেক «বিলেক» spark, shine; চোক 
«চাক» flash, startle; ঢাকক «মারাক» pestilence; বাকক «বাঙ্কাই» seat, stand for anything, assemble, session; অটা «টা» restriction; হালকা 
«হালকার» light; ছোককা «ছোককার» lad; ছোককা «ছোককার» little one, cf. 
Hindi 「রাজ-রাজ」 boy beside Assamese 「রাজ-」 [রাজ] (*raβ-i-a-); ঠাক 
«থাক» remain; ঢাক «থাক» be at stand still; পাঠকার «মানিক্যক» sprains, 
crackles, breaks; পাঠব্ব «হেক্কায়» drags; টেক্কার «টাকায়» leaps; etc.
The NB. «-ka-, -k» is derived from a MIA. «-kka-». Hoernle traces 
this «-kka-» to the OIA. root «-kṣ-»: cf. «camak-kṣ» in Skt. = 
«camakka», «*cyut-kṣ» > MIA. «cukka», etc. ('Gaudian Grammar,' 
§ 204; JASB., 1880, 1, p. 37). Jules Bloch thinks that this «-k»
-< 
-kək» goes back in part at least to an OIA. «-kยา» -< -<κκ», as in 
«pərək» < pəraκə>, but also suggests a Dravidian affinity ('Langue 
Marathe,' p. 105). (See infra, under Morphology: Origin of the Formative 
Affixes: ‘-k-’).

Final «-kə» as a verbal person affix (3rd person) occurs in Bengali:
*e.g., করিলেক «করিলেক» he did, বাইবেক «বাইবেক» he will go, দিউক 
«di-u-kə» let him give, etc.: the origin of this «-kə» is obscure, but
it is possibly the OIA. pleonastic « -k- », present in MIA. as « -kk- ». (See later, under Morphology : the Verb : ' Personal Affixes. ‘)

Interchange between « -k- » and « -g- » has been noticed above. In one case, « -k- » occurs for « -p- » in the Calcutta dialect: হুকু স duktur for হুকুর « dupur 」 mid-day (dvi-prahara); for « t », in the phrase পারক-পকে « pārātā pākṣe », also পারগ « pārgi », for পারত পকে « pārātā pākṣe on the eventuality of one being able. In MB. (ŚKK.), we have the sts. কুকুরল « kukuhālā » (= kutūhala).

In ts. words, « -k- » occurs long (or double) in interior groups with « y, r, l, v, m »; also in « -khy- »: e.g., শাকা [ʃako], চক্ক [ʃokkro], গুক্ক [ʃukko], পেক্ক [pokko], কুকিল [rūkkīni], বাঁধ [baékha, bākkha]. In « -ks- », pronounced [kkh], we have a similar doubling of « k ».

[k] is commonly found through deaspiration of intervocal, final and preconsonantal [kh] in NB.

[k] in foreign words, Persian, Portuguese, English, is noted below.

252. [kh], intervocally and finally, has a tendency to be deaspirated in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [kh] in Typical East Bengali often becomes the spirant [x], with very little audible friction, and is reduced to the glottal spirant [h]: e.g., দেখেন [debhən] sees, you see (honorific) = [dɪbən, debbn]; রাখিও « rākhiō » you will keep, Standard Colloquial [rekho], becomes [rafiə]; এখানে [ekhane] here = [əfənə]. In certain cases, the spirant is dropped: e.g., Chittagong Bengali [tən, tən] = তখন [tokhən] then.

In the ' Crepar Xaxtre Orthbhed,' « qh » is used for [kh]: e.g., « qhaibar » = কাইবার to eat, « xaqhi » = সাক্ষী witness, « duqh » = হুকʔ pain. The spirant pronunciation is probably indicated in an occasional case like « rahoal » = রাঙ্গোল « rākhoal », NB. রাখাল « rākhal » herdsman—unless it is a typographical error for « qh ». Initially in some cases we have « e » for « qh »—e.g., « calax » = কালাস (Perso-Arabic « xalās » freeing, « coraq » = কোরাক meal (Pers. « xurāk »), « cadiia » = কাদিয়া driving away, « cazuarte » = খাজুরাহিতে, খাজুরাহিতে to scratch, etc., which may be due to the mistake of the transcriber.
[kh], initially, comes from MIA. *kh-*, derived from—

OIA. *kh-:* খান < khāy > (khādati); খাজা < khājā > (khādya-);
খালু, খালুর < khāj/čurā > (karjura); খাও ওলাক < khāojā < khāju-ā-
scratch (karju, खार्ज); খাট < khāṭā > (khātvā); খন্তা;
khāntā > (khanitra-); খর্দ < khārī > (khaḍa); খর্ব < khāyērā >
(khadira); খুড < खुर > dig (khuḍa: < ?); খাই < khāi >
(khāta-); etc.

<k->: খেত, খেত < khēṭā > (kṣetra); খড়ো < khārī > (khaṭikā); খুদ
khudā > (kṣudra); খীর < khīra > (kṣīra); খেন < khēyā > ferry
(kṣēpa-); MB. খুইল, খৃইল (kṣāuna-); খান < khān > (kṣāna),
also খন = [khən]; sts. খেন < khēma > [khaema] (kṣamā); খুড়
< khurā > (*kṣudra-tāta).

The change of *k-* to *kkh-* seems to have been the Māgadhi
change. The *ch* development of *k-* characterised the North-western
IA. dialect of the Early MIA. period. Bengali has some *ch* words
as well, which apparently were later additions into the Eastern speech.

OIA. *k-*, by aspiration: e.g., খুচি < khūci > basket (kuṇeikā);
থিল < khilā > (kila, khila); থেল < khelā > (khēla); থিছুড়ি < khieuri > (kṛṣara,
*kṛasikā); খঙ্গাল, খিটাল < khār(ā)tālā, khāttālā > cymbals (kara-tāla);
খাবল < khābāla >, sts. (kavāla : tbb. = kāla, see p. 347); খাল skin (cf. Skt.
< khalla >, beside *kptti*); MB. (ŚKK.) sts. খাটরী < khāstārī > (kastūrti), খরল
< khārāla < *kārāla > (garala poison); NB. কোলগা < khōlāŋgā >, beside
কুলাণী, কুলুন্দী < kuluṅgī > niche (= dēsi ?); MB. কুটানীটি< kuṭinaṭi > details,
bickering = NB. খুটানীটি < khūṭinaṭi > (kuṭṭa-); etc.

<sk->: খানার < khāmārd < barn < house with posts (skambhāgāra);
খাড় < khārā > standing, erect (MIA. khaḍgha=OIA. *skabdhā).

The word *khānd* খান প্লেস *= piece, is probably a blend of *khaḍa >
+* sthāna >: see page 365. *kh-* is found in some dēsi words: e.g.,
থিঙ্কী < khīrāki > (khādkki), খড় < khāṛā > straw, খাগার < khākhārā > abuse,
insult, cf. Assamese খাহ < khā > anger (*khaṅkha-).

Medially and finally, [kh] is from—

OIA. *khy- > MIA. *khh- >: বাংলা < bākhaṅña > (vyākhyāna);
OIA. *-ηkh- > MIA. *-ηkh- >: *ηp < sākhā > (sāṅkha-);
OIA. « -k- » > MIA. « -kk- », by aspiration: শালিখ বিপরীত শালিক
« সালিখা, সালিকা » (সালিকা). Cf. বাজার অর বেলে বাজারু, বেলে বাজারু (ক্ষুদ্র), short, dwarfish (? *বাজুरা, vakra);
OIA. « -ks- » > MIA. « -khh-, -ηkh- »: কাখে « কাখাখা » (কাখাখা);
পাখে « পাখী » (পাখী); রাখে « রাখে » (রাখী); আখের « আখারে » (াখারে); ভাখে « ভাখ » (াখি); MB. পেখ « পেখী »
(পেখী); দাখে « দাখ » (মাখ); লাখে « লাখ » (লাখ);
চাখে « চাখ » (cakha, cakha); etc.;
OIA. « -ksŋ- » > MIA. « -khh- »: MB. তীখে « তিখা » (তিখা); but
ef. রুরা « সানা » small from « সানা » (MIA. saňha);
OIA. « -ksm- », in the old sts. লাখে=লম্বী [licing] (laksma); MB.
sts. লল্লাঙ্গ « লাল্লাঙ্গ » (laksma);
OIA. « -tkh-, *-dkh- » > MIA. « -khh- »: উখাড় « উখাড় » (utkhata);
উখবী « উখবী » (*tkhala-, utkhala-);
OIA. « -sk(h)-, -sh- » > MIA. « -khh- »: পুখুর « পুখুর » (পুখুর);
সৃখে « সৃখ » (সৃখ); পাখালে « পাখালে » (pura-shkhalaya);
In one or two words, in the Apabhraṣṭa or Old Bengali stage,
medial « -khh- » has been reduced to « -h- »: লাখে, লা « লাখ » (laksma);
and কে « -k- », from « *kahi » (locative of « *kakha = kaksha »: or « kai
< kaë < kēti » ?). In বাখে « বাখাখা » to go astray, from earlier বাখাখা
« বাখাখা » (vahakka, vah), cf. Hind. « bahakna », « kh » originates through
transposition of the aspirate.
« kh » occurs in ts. words: ভুখ « [ju:j], হরা [jakha], হরিন্দার [kha:ti],
ছুখ [du:kh], লিঙ [likh], etc.; sts. খিদা « khidā » (kṣudhā); রক্ষ
[rokkha, rokkha] (rakṣa), etc.
In the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit, ষ « ʂ » was [kh] in
Northern India. See p. 243. This value of « ʂ » was unknown to
Bengal. But some ts. and sts. from Northern India (Western and Eastern
Hind and ‘Bihār’ areas) with [kh] for « ʂ », have come to Bengali also,
mainly through the Brajabuli dialect: e.g., MB. দেখ « dōkhā » (dōsa);
NB. রোখ « rōkhā » (rösa); ষখ in ষধর্মী « jhākhā-mārā » evil deed < the
work of a fisher-man, cf. কট্ট < jhāṣṭa > fish (jhaṣa) (?); MB. হারিক্ষ < hārikha > (harṣa); বরিখ, বরিখে < bārikhanā, bārikhe > (varṣaṇa, varṣati); জোন্ধ, জোখ < √jōkh, jukh > weigh, compute (< juṣ, as in the ' Dhātu-pāṭha '=' paritar- kaṇam, ubah: ' jōṣayati kāntam anyāsaktam bālā, ' tarkayati ity arthaḥ > = NIA. < √jōkh > watch, see, want is probably another derivation).


253. [g] is spirantised and dropped intervocally in the Chittagong dialect: e.g., [aoin] = ágāin, ágani ∗ (agni); [bhain] = bhaína < bhāginā > (bhāginēya); [saol] = chāgal < chāgalā > goat; [kaots] = kāga < kāgāj > paper (Persian < kāga>) ; [jau] = sāgu < sāgu > sago (< Portuguese), etc.

But on the whole, [g] is derived from OB. is preserved in the NB. dialects.

Initial [g] comes ultimately from—

OIA. < g- > : gān < gān > (gātra: see p. 255); gāl < gāl > (gata + illa); gōr < gōrā > (gōr-ropa); gōth < gōth > (gōthha); gun < gun > quality, rope; गुं, गुं < √gun > count (√gaṇ); गुं < gun > gunny (gōṇ); gali < gali > (garha-); gōrā < gōra > (gāura-); gāl < gālā > (galati); gēr < gēra > (gērā); gālā < gālā > (gala-); gāl < gālā > cheek (MIA. galla = gandha); gōla < gōla > ball (golaka-); etc.;

OIA. < gr- > : gā < gā > (grāma); gāt < gāṭ > (granthi); MB. gāthāgār < gāthā-gārā > (grantha- + gṛha); gūm < gūma > (gūma); MB. gim < gimā > (girā); gāmā < gāhānā, gāyā > ornaments (grahaṇā-); etc.;

Medial and final [g]:

OIA. < -gu- > MIA. < -gg- > : āgī, ágī < āg(i) > (agni-); lāg < lāg > (lāga); bhāg < bhāg > run away, flee (bhagna);

OIA < -gy- > NIA. < -gg- > : MB. jōg < jōga > (yōga);

OIA. < -gr- > MIA. < -gg- > : āgā < āgā > (agra-); pāg < pāg > turban (pragraha); MB. āgān, āgān < āgān, āghānā > (agra-hāyaṇā);

OIA. < -ng- > : this < -g- > is frequently nasalised to < ng > ñ > (see pp. 363-364): MB. bhāg < √bhāg- > (bhāga);

OIA. < -dgh- > NIA. < -dg- > : pāg-ḍā < khāgā-rā > reed (khaḍga);
OIA. «-dg-» > MIA. «-gg-»: মুগ্ন «mugna» (mudga); ম্যুগ্ন «mugner» (mudgara); ম্যাগার «māgur» > a fish (madgura);

OIA. «-rg-» > MIA. «-gg-»: আগল «āgala» (argala); মাগ, মাগু «magu > māug» (*mārguka); OB. «mā(ŋ)ga», NB. «mā» (marga); মাগু, মাগল «mā(ŋ)gē» (margayati); বাগ «bāgī» (varga); হুগী «dugā» > contemptuous form of the name Durga (*durgikā);

OIA. «-lg-» > MIA. «-gg-»: ফাগ, ফাগুন «phāg, phāgun» (phalgu, phālguna); বাগ «bāgī» > rein (valgā).

OIA. «-k̑-» is represented by «-g-» in the numeral এগার «ēgarā» [ēgaro], which is a sts. in Late MIA. Similar «-g-» for «-k̑-» is found in a few other sts., e.g., সিগড় «big(ā)gā» to get vicious (vikaṭa-), beside the tbh. বেগার «beigā» bad, ugly, vicious; পাগার «pāgārā» (prakāra); MB. মগর «māgarā» (makara), etc. See ante, pp. 445, 446.

[g] stands for Skt. «g» in tss. and sts.: জাগ «jāgā» (jagat), সুভ «sughā» (yuga), আগমন «āgamanā» (OB. tbh. «avaṇā», NB. অনা «āna»), বাগু [bāggro] (vyagra); etc. [g] also occurs in the pronunciation of the Skt. groups «-ghr-, -ghv-»: বাগর [bāggīro] (vyāghra); শীত [jiggīro], (śīghra), with a sts. শিক্ষিত [jiggir]; MB. লাক্ষিক, লাগ্ধি «lāghhi, nāgghī» (laghī) = lesser (call), passing water. [gh] > [g] is found in final and intervocalic positions, and sometimes the spelling notes it: e.g., sts. বাগু «bāgūrā» (vyāghāta + -da-), হাগের «hāgēre» > hāgharē = hāgharīya = homeless, vagrant (cf. হাজারিতা > hāvāte «habhatiyā > habatē» beggar, cryer for rice).

Ts. «jū» is pronounced «gū-, -ggu-»; and sometimes in MB. and NB. we find the ts. orthography গুরু «gū-»: e.g., গেীনী, আপীনী < gūyanā, āgūyanā (jūna, ajñāna); আগে «āgē», as in the phrase কার্যাঙ্গে «kārja-u-cāgē» as a preliminary in formal or official letters and legal documents (= Skt. «kāryaṇ ca ajuṇayati »: see Rāmendra-sundar Trivēdi, 'Śabdatākathā,' San 1324, pp. 93, 94).

In South-eastern Bengali of Chittagong, there is a euphonic [g] originating in consonant groups with the semivowel «-y-»: e.g., সিমুরিয়া
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘GH’

<sindūriyā> vermilion-coloured, Standard Colloquial [fudure], Typical East Bengali [fudura, īrīa] > [fi'durīga]; курия <курия> lazy, Standard Coll. [kure], Typical East Bengali [kuira, kuīṭa], > [xuīrē]; Standard Beng. পারিম <পারিম> East Bengali পারিম <পারিম, পারীম> পারিম <পারিম> I shall be able = Chittagong * পারিম <পারিম> > [*phairīm > vairoś]; Standard কহিলেখি > কহিলেখি > হেই > কহিলেখি > হেই > he said indeed, he said > [*koiiíoi > xoiligoi, xoilgoi]. Cf. Sinhalese sts. <sūrya> = Skt. <śūrya>, beside tbb. <īra>.

In foreign words, Persian <g, ḡ>, and sometimes <q>, are represented by [g] in Bengali. See infra.

254. [ḡ] medial and final tends to be deaspirated in NB. Medial [gh], however, is very rare in tbb. See under ‘Nasalisation,’ supra, p. 364.

Initially, NB. [ḡī] comes from:

OIA. <gh- >: গন <ghana> thick (ghanaka); দ্বিত <ghāt > bell, watch (ghātikā); দ্বার <ghamā > sweat (ghārma); দ্বীপ <ghā > sound (ghāta); দ্বীপ <ghā > (ghāta); দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghātā < ?); দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghāta); দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghāta); দ্঵ীপ, দ্বীপ, দ্বীপ <ghāt, ghot, ghot > (ghātā); দ্বীপ, দ্বীপ, দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghātā); দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghātā); দ্বীপ <ghāt > (ghātā);


Medially: from OIA. <ghr- > MIA. <ggh- >: বাত <bāghā >

(vyāghra).

In গর <ghār > <ghaha>, we have [ḡī] by transposition of [h] and [r] in the Late OIA. or Early MIA. period (ghaha > *garha). Cf. NB. sts. অগ্রান্ত <aghānt > (agrahāyaṇa), beside the folk form [aggeran]: the <ghaha> is found in MB., অনন্ত, অনন্ত <agh(h)anā >. So Oriya <ghēnāi > = <ghēnāi >.

In বিষয় <bighāt > span= <vastit >, in MIA. ভিতাতিতি (Pischel, § 207), we have [ḡī] for MIA. <h >, which itself is obscure. The word
bighā - a land measure, is similarly unexplained, although it has been connected with varga. The following [gh] words also are among the obscure ones: some of them seem to be of deśi origin. E.g., OB. घाटा - ghāṭā, NB. घाड़ - ghāḍ - neck cf. Hind. घाट - ghāṭ; घराड़ - ghāḍ - to be confused, cf. Hind. घब्राना - ghabrā; घुट्टी - ghunari - whooping cough (probably onomatopoetic, but cf. Hind. घमरा - vertigo); घुंग - ghunā - boiled peas with spices and oil (Hind. also=ghungnī); घोंसना - ghūnsna - veil, cf. Hind. घुंघ - gūnghā; घोंस - gūns, घोंस घुंघ - dūb; घुंघ - ghuce - be finished; घुंघ - gūnghā - knotted cowry-shell; connected with the last probably is घिन्जी - gīnjī - close, narrow, crowded; घोंघ - gūnghā - circumference; घुंहुर - gūnhūr - tiny bells worn round feet in dancing, morris-bells = Hind. घुंघुर -; घुंस - gūns - ghumst, ghūnsī - thread ornament for the waist (cf. Hind. घुन्मा - to turn round); घुंस घुंस - ghushti, ghunudi - tiny buttons (also in Hind.); घुंस - ghus - secret, bribe, as in ghusāki - a secret harlot, घुंस - ghusā - slight fever not easily noticed; OB. घाटा - throw (also in Rājasthānī); घुंस - ghumā - sleep, cf. घुंस - ghumā - doze, Marāṭhī - jhūr - sleep; घुंस - gharī - paper kite, Hind. गुंघ -.

For gutturals interchanging with palatalts, see below, under Palatals.

(2) The Palatal Affricates [ʧ, ʤh, ʃ, ʃi].

255. The OIA. palatal stops [c, ch, j, ʃ] became palatal affricates in Eastern India as early as the First MIA. period (see §132). This value is preserved in West Bengali; but in North and East Bengali, they have been further modified to the dental affricates and sibilants [ts, s, dz, z]. There are class dialects in the [ts]-areas, however, in which the West Bengali [ʧ]-pronunciation is occasionally heard. The 'Crepar Xaxtrrer Orthbhed' employs both < ch > (= [ʃ] in Modern Portuguese, but earlier [ʧ]) and < s > for the sound of ʃ < c > in Dacca Bengali: e.g., < chair >=chāir, chāir < cāir > four, also < sair >; < xancha, xansa > = ʃānti < sācā > true; < panse > = पांड < pāncē > fifthly; < chinio, sinio > = chīṅ < cīṅā >, etc. Probably both the sounds of [ts] and [ʧ] were heard. But Padre
Assumpçam writes <s>, ss > invariably for ṭ <ch>: <asse> = ṭasse
<ṭech> is, <quissu> = किचु <kichu> a little, <sce> = चु <chāy> six,
<saoal> = छाओल <chāōal> child, etc., which would demonstrate that
[s] was the only value of ṭ. The letters ṭ ṭ j, jh > are both transliterated
by <z >: it seems it was due more to the absence in the Portuguese-Roman
script of a symbol for the sound of [ʃ], [dʒ] rather than to that sound being
not heard in Dacca Bengali: for the [ʃ] sound is not yet entirely
suppressed by [dz] there.

256. The dental affricate and sibilant pronunciation does not seem to
have developed in West Bengali, and in the 'Bihār' speech. As it has
been suggested before (p. 79), the dental affricates (i.e., tongue-tip alveolar
or dental, instead of tongue-middle supra-alveolar sounds) probably origi-
nated in North-eastern Bengal and Kāma-rūpa, whence they advanced south
and west, and affected the East Bengali (Vaṇga) dialects to a considerable
extent. The Tibetan values of the letters ṭ, ṭ, ḍ as <ts, tāh, dz > in
the transliteration of Sanskrit words (cf. Sarat Chandra Ďas, 'Tibetan-
English Dictionary,' Calcutta, 1902, p. xviii) would perhaps indicate some
influence from North and East Bengal in the closing centuries of the 1st
millennium and beginning of the second millennium A. D., when Bengali
scholars had a great deal to do with the religious organisation of Tibet.
The [ts] values were probably established in Kāma-rūpa as early as the 7th
century, whence they spread to East Bengal and North Bengal. In West
Bengali (Rāḍha), <e, ch > never shifted their palatal or supra-dental
articulation, as we see from a frequent change of ṭ, ṭ, ḍ <s, s, s > = [ʃ] to
s, ś, ś [ʃ, ʃ], and from an occasional change of ृ, ṭ [ʃ, ʃ] to ṭ, ṭ [ʃ].
This alternation of [ʃ, ʃ] and [ʃ] means simply the introduction or
removal of the stop element: cf. the derivation of [ʃ] in French from earlier
[ʃ]: Late Latin < caballus > [kabal:us] > [kaval:us] > [eaval:u] >
[tʃəvalo] > [ʃəval]. As there is no reason to doubt that the sibilant in Old
Bengali, at least in the west, was anything but [ʃ], this interchange would
be a strong evidence that <e, ch >, etc., never altered their pilatal affricate
character (whatever might have been the change in East and North Bengali,
and in the old Kāma-rūpa dialect).
257. The interchange between «c, ch» and the sibilants is quite old in IA. (see Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 111). In OIA. «t, ñ, +s», i.e. [t, ñ, +ç], optionally results in [cch, ñch]: here only the stop [t] shifts its position back to the palatal region, and the spirant [ç] is turned to the aspirate stop [çh], or the nasal [ñ] alters the spirant to a stop aspirate [çh]: e.g., [tat +çrutan: > taçhrutan:, swapañ çete: > swapañçehte:]. In some rare cases, alternation of «s» and «ch» in OIA. and MIA. forms is due to Indo-European phonetic conditions: e.g., IE. *koipo-,*skoipo- (k = ‘palatal’) > Skt. <śēpa->, MIA. <chēpa> respectively (Wackernagel, I, §230b). In other cases, interchange between «c, ch» and the sibilants «s, s» are due to OIA. and MIA. dialectal pronunciation. Skt. forms like «Vasiṣṭha, kisalaya, kēsara, kalaśa, sūkara, Kōśala, Kañśa», etc., side by side with the earlier «Vasiṣṭha, kisalaya, kēsara, kalaśa, sūkara, Kōśala, Kañśa» in all probability originated in the dialect with «s» pronunciation (Māgadhī); and similarly «sūrpa» for «sūrpa» was an imposition from an «s» dialect in Early MIA. In Asoka Prakrit, and in Pali, as well as in the Second MIA., we have cases of original OIA. or derived MIA. «ce, ech» occurring as sibilants: e.g., «cikisā» (Dhaulī, Jaugada and Kalsi) beside «cikīchā, cikīchā» (Girnar) (=cikitsā); «uṣapāpitē» (Ruminedi, <uṣchrapāpita = uchrapita); «usāhēna» (Pillar edicts: utsāhēna); «uṣaṭēna» by the best (Rock edict X: a Māgadhī form = «utsṛta + uchritā»); Pali «uṣīsaka» (uchirśaka), «uṣussati» (ucahūsa-), «uṣaṇkī» (ucahānki), «uṣa» (ucca), «Kakusanda» (Krakuechanda), «kasira» (kṛechha); Second MIA. «uṣavēha» (uchrapayata), «uṣaa» (ucchaya), etc. (cf. Pischel, §327a). The change, at least for the Eastern speech of Aśoka and for the Pali forms (which can reasonably be expected to have been on a Māgadhī basis), was that of the palatal affricates of Māgadhī to palatal sibilants: these palatal sibilants would be indifferently written «s», or «s» (through the influence of the orthography of the Western Prācyay court dialect, presumably), in the Māgadhī or the Eastern Prācyay area; and the «s» spellings would establish the dental sibilant pronunciation in the Midland speech, Pali, as representing Late OIA. «ech»: thus, OIA. [cikitsa:] > [∗cikiecha:] >
PRE-ÂŚOKAN PRĀCEYA [cikieχa:] > ÂŚOKAN MĀGADHĪ [=dikifj:]], written « cikisā » (but in Girnar probably pronounced [cikiecha:]), with stop sounds, and written « cikieχa, cikieχā »); so OIA. « ucehrapāpita (= ucehrāpitā) » gave [uʃapapita] > [uʃapapita], written « usapāpit- », and OIA. [utsrta] possibly through influence of « ucehrīta », in Prāceya Māgadhī [=uʃhata] > [uʃhata], written « usata ». The Pali forms may similarly expected to have been based on eastern forms in « ss » for « ec, eh », written « s » or « ss »; and Skt. « kacchapa » seems to be from a Māgadhī « kassapa » = OIA. « kaśyapa ». Is the Later Māgadhī (Second MIA.) orthography « sc » for the derived « ech » connected with a « ss » pronunciation which originated at least as early as the time of ÂŚOKA? Cases of « s » for the affricate « ch » in Bengali are given below, under the treatment of [ʃ]. This « s, ss » in the orthography of the ÂŚOKAN inscriptions and of Pali does not by itself warrant the conclusion that the « s, ss » is the result of a [ts, ss] pronunciation of [e, ch] in the Early MIA. period. Change of « ech » > « ss » in the Second MIA. period (Pischel, §327a), may, however, be partly due to the pronunciation of « e » as « ts » and of « ch » as « s » which in all likelihood characterised the source forms of Marāṭhī (and Rājasthānī), at least dialectally, during the middle of the first millennium A. C.¹ And MIA. change of « s, s » to « eh » (Pischel, §211), savours of being in its origin Māgadhān: but so great has been the intermixture among the IA. dialects, that the original threads in the texture have been overmapped, and are now almost impossible to trace. Hindi, for example has « lalac » = Skt. « lalasā », and « muskuranā » smile, but cf. Bengali <muc̪kiəna hāsa> <muc̪kiənā hāsa »; and it is difficult to unravel the « e : s » relation. That ÂŚOKAN and Pali « ss = ech » is on the basis of [ʃʃ] modification of Eastern IA. <eʃh> only can be legitimately inferred.

¹ In Marāṭhī, MIA. ‘c’ has become the dental affricate ‘ ts ’ before the back vowels, and remains a palatal affricate before the front vowels; and MIA. ‘ eh ’ has become ‘ s ’, which changed to ‘ s ’ before front vowels. In Sinhalese tāb̪h, MIA. ‘ c, ec, ch, ec̪h ’ changed to ‘ s ’ in the E̪nu stage (W. Geiger, ‘ Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhaleesen,’ pp. 40, 46). The South-Western IE. speech, the source of Marāṭhī, and possibly also of Sinhalese, can well be assumed to have developed the ‘ ts ’ value for ‘ c ’ (=ći, tā) early.
258. According to the Prakrit grammarians, Māgadhī did not drop the intervocal palatals, while the other groups of MIA. did. This would be quite in accordance with the theory that the palatals become affricates in Māgadhī earlier than in Śaurasenī and Mahāraṣṭrī, in which they were voiced and elided, like the guttural and the dental stops. As a descendant of Māgadhī, Bengali ought to preserve the intervocal palatals in lḥh. words. We have a few words, which are lḥhs., showing -c-, -j- (page 247); but there are quite a number of other words with elided palatal; e.g., MB. राउँत्र् (rāja-putra); राउँ (rāja-kula); सित्र् (sēcanikā); MB. राज्ञ (rājānī) (rajani), and ध्रृः (sui) beside ध्रृ (śuc, sūc) (sūc̣), in addition to the words noted above at p. 247. The words with elided palatal can very well be borrowings from the Śaurasenī and Ardhamāgadhī. Bengali does not show long a list of words with the elided palatal, as Hindī for instance: words like भाज (bīja-), य (ajagara), लोजान (lojana), भोजान (bhōjana), बाज, बाजान (vacana), गाजान (gajānā), गाजाद्रा (gajendra), भागा (vyajanaka), etc., are absent in Bengali; and if the ŚKK., which preserves a larger percentage of old lḥhs. than any MB. work, employs the form राज्ञ (rajanī) once, राज्ञ (rajanī) is employed 5 times; and बाज (bācānā) is found 21 times, but a form with elided c, never. And side by side with भाज (sūc̣), we have what may be regarded as the genuine Bengali विजनी (vijānī) (vyajanikā). The OB. of the ‘Caryā-padas’ shows a few forms with elision, like निज (nija) (Caryās 13, 32, 39, 49), ब्र (vieśa) (Caryā 20), बा (vacana) (Caryās 38, 39, 45); but these have never taken root in the language, and look like being borrowings from Śaurasenī Aplbhraṃśa. On the other hand, the Caryās have a form like तिर्मा (Caryā 36 = tīr̥ma) which seems to have been a living form in Eastern Magadhān, as it is attested in an Oṛiyā Inscription of the 13th century. Dropping of c occurs in the names of the numerals in Bengali: e.g., द्वादश (dvācatvāriṃśat). But the numerals are exceptional words in most NIA., they represent a mix-up of forms from diverse MIA. dialects which were standardised possibly in the Midland during the Transitional MIA.
period, and they do not represent in all cases the genuine Māgadhi forms.

259. OIA. <kṣ> had a two-fold development in Early MIA., <(k)kh > and <(c)ch >; the former characterised the dialects of the East and the Midland, and the latter those of the North-west and South-west, as can be judged from the early epigraphical and other evidence. (Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ §104, p. 112). But there has been through an early inter-influence among the MIA. dialects a mingling of <kh > and <ch > forms in all NIA. speeches. Marāṭhī, as Bloch shows (op. cit., p. 114), is in its origin a <(c)ch > dialect, being derived from a South-western IA. speech; and so are Sinhalese, and Gujarāṭī, in their basic stratum. <(c)ch > words seem to have been imposed upon Śaurasenī (and Pali) by its western neighbour, the North-western speech; and Bengali and Oriyā, and other Māgadhan speeches, can reasonably be regarded as having obtained the <(c)ch > words they possess, side by side with the older <(k)kh > forms in some cases, as loan words through Śaurasenī. The western or <ech > tradition in the pronunciation of <kṣ > seems to have become thoroughly naturalised in the Midland, and from thence into Eastern India excluding the Oriyā-Bengali-Assamese tracts; so much so that in the Western Hindī, and Eastern Hindī, and partly in the ‘Bihārī’ areas, the compound consonant च च normally has come to acquire the value of <ech >, except in the present-day educated pronunciation, in which the <kṣ > sound seems to be a revival. Early and Medieval Hindī stss. are based on the <ech > pronunciation. Thus, in the ‘Prithvirāja-Rāsa’ we have <lacehana > (lakṣaṇa), <paceha > (pakṣa), <daechina > (dakṣiṇa), <nachatra > (naksatra), <chana > (kṣaṇa), etc.; and we find च used in old Hindī MSS. and inscriptions even for a <ech > which is not connected with <kṣ >: e.g., पचिस for <pacechina > (<paścima). The North-western tradition thus overshadowed the original <(k)kh > change from OIA. in the Midland. And the <(k)kh > value, in its turn, is not absent in the Panjābī and Lahnda (i.e. North-Western) areas. But the <(c)ch > pronunciation never established itself in Bengali, despite a number of <ch > words imposed on it. The <(k)kh(y) > sound alone is
the basis for the alteration of <kṣ> in ts. and sts. words. (See pp. 226, 227, 228).

260. Quite a number of cases of the palatal affricate in NIA. go back to OIA. groups of a dental + <y> : thus <tɪ> [tlement] > palatalised <tʃ'> + <y> [tʃj] > [tʃ̂tʃ, tʃ̂e] > <ce> [ce], later [ceŋ]; <dy> [dɪ] > [dj] > [dʒ] > <jj> [ŋj, ʃʃ]; <thy> [thʃ] > [thj] > <ech> [ech, eĉh]; <dhy> [dʃi] > [dʃj] > <jjh> [ŋʃʃ, ʃʃʃ]. (See p. 250.) The intermediate stage of [ce, ŋj], etc., is heard in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words in parts of Western and Southern India.

In the Māgadhī or Prācya speech of the First MIA. stage, as illustrated in the inscriptions of Aśoka, there was no palatalising tendency: <ty, dhy> etc. became <tī, dhiy>, and <dy> occurs as <yy>. The dialects of the West changed these groups to double palatals. Words with the palatalised sounds thus were introduced into Māgadhī, and later Māgadhī fell in line with other MIA. in this matter, giving up the vocalised forms native to it.

261. NB. [ŋj] = [tʃ] in East and North Bengal, in initial positions comes from—

OIA. <c- > MIA., OB., MB. <c- >: ṇo- <cau- > (catur-); ṇa- <cādā> (canda); ṇa- <cākṣa> (akra); ṇa- <cākša> (tastes) (cakkhae = caṣṭe < √oka); ṇa- <cākā> (akravāka); ṇalna- <cālīṣa> (catvāriṇiṣat); ṇalna- <cikāna> (cikkanā); ṇalna- <citk> (citta); ṇalna- <cī> (cetayati); ṇalna- <citk> (citra-); ṇalna- <cūci> (cucuka); ṇa- <cīn> (cīna); ṇa- <cumē> (cumbati); ṇa- <cī> (caṇeu); etc.;

OIA. <cy- > MIA., OB., MB. <c- >: ṇa- <cēu> leaks (cyavati).

Medial and final [ŋj] is from—

OIA. <c- , ce- > MIA. <c- (?), ce-, *-nc- >: ṇa- <uca> (*uṇca-, ucca-); ṇa- <kaic> kācā (*kāna, kāca); ṇa- <chuc>, also ṇa- <suc> [ʃuc] (*chuṇci, *suc, suʃt); ṇa- <cheu> <cica> (*cheu, sacyati); ṇa- <pauca> (*paucāla, *pauca = prācīra); (*peuca-, peuca-); ṇa- <peuca> [paʃca]; ṇa- <bucan> vacana; etc.;
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI "C"

OIA. "-nc-" > MIA. "-nc-" : ওচা "ওচালা" (ačala); ওচা "ওচালা".

pleat (√kuće); রেচ "চাঁড়া" (sačca); রেচ "চাঁড়া" (pačca);

OIA. "-ey-" > MIA. "-ce-" : কুচ "রুচ" (rueyati, or rucatē ?);

OIA. "-ty-" > MIA. "-ce-" : কুচ "কুচ" a surname (āditya);

*কচাৰী > কাছারী *kacahari > kacahari > office (kṛtya-grha-);

MB. কাছ "কাছ" (kṛtya); কোনাচ "কোনাচ" at an angle (kōna-

tyā-); *জিনিস > জিনিস *jijnāca > jijnāca" (jyitapatyā); সাঁচি

OIA. "-try-" > MIA. "-ce-" : বাইচ "বাইচ", also বাইচ "বাইচ".

boat-race (*vahieca, *vāhitrtya?).

By unvoicing of "j", we have [ci] in a few instances: e.g., পাইচ "পাইচ" - cowherd's stick (prajana: cf. Pali pāceti = OIA.

By palatalisation: a solitary instance in IA. is চিছাতা "চিছাতা", OB. "ceštita" (cilāta, cilā + tita = kirā-tikta); চাউল "চাউল", OB. তাউল,

By deaspiration: OB. "cātipanna", but MB. চাতিখণ, চাতিখণ "chattāna, chāṭāna"; NB. চাতিখণ "chāṭimā" (chattānna, saptaparna);

OB. "cilli" cricket (jhilli); বিচালি "bicali" straw (<? *bichāli: cf. বিচাল "bichāl, bichāl; বিচাল "bichāla" bed (< "wiechāalana-")); stā. হাল "চাঁন" beside হাল "চাঁন".

In ts. words, [ci] is regular for Skt. "c". The group "t+s", now pronounced as [t+j], used to be [ceʃh] in the earlier pronunciation with a Prakrit tradition which is now disappearing: e.g., the stās forms ভাস "bāsccha" (bhārsaka), ভাস "bāsccha" (kutsa), ভাস "bāsccha" (vatsara),

কুচিচ "kuccha" (kutsa), মাস "māscha" (matsya), জোজিন "joejnāa" (jyōtsna); etc., etc.

[ci] is also the result of assimilation: *গোট + চিচার > গোটিচার, *গোটিচার.

গোচার, গোচার, *gōta-ciāra > *gotečar, gotočar; gucečar > some four,
some; ह्येत्थम > ह्येत्थम < bātēcē > *hōītēcē > hōcē, hōcē is taking place, is happening (?).

[ṭ] in foreign words, represents Persian < c >, also < s, š >; Portuguese [ʧ (?), [ʃ]], and English ch = [ʧ] : see infra.

262. Bengali [ʧh]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < ch- >: ছুই < chāi > (chadis); ছিনাল < chināl > woman of bad character (chinna-); ছাত(1) < chāt(a) > (chatra-); ছে, ছেনী < chē, chēnī > (chēda, chēdanikā); ছাল < chālā (challi); ছাপ < chāparā > (chatvara); ছঁদ <- chāda > (*chinda-, chidra-); ছাড়ে < chārē > (chardati); ছাওয়া < chāōa > (chāyā-); MB. ছেল < chēli > (chayalā-, chagala-); ছিড়ে < chīrē > (chīndāti); etc., etc.;

OIA. < kṣ- >: in words which apparently did not belong to the Old Māgadhī dialect. E.g., ছার, ছার < chār, chār > ashes (kṣāra); stls. ছে < chēpā > juice spat out after chewing (a betel-leaf) (kṣēpa); ছিন < chinā > thin (kṣāna-); ছুট < chūt < OB. chūdha > pollution, untouchability (kṣubdha); ছরি < churī > (kṣura-); ছিপ < chipa > a swift boat; an angling rod (kṣipra);

OIA. < ś-, s- > probably < ch- > in Late MIA.: e.g., ছ < chā > (śabaka); ছেল < chēcā > (sic); ছুট < chūc > (śeit); ছুট < chūci > ceremonial cleanliness (śaucika; śuci ?); ছুট < chūt > as in ছোট < dō-chūt > two pieces of cloth, dhūti and chādar (sūtra); ছুটার < chutārā > (sūtra-dhūra, -kāra); ছুটু < chātu > (saktu-); MB. ছুব < chāmu > (sanmukha); ছুলি < chuli > skin disease, OB. (Sarvānanda) < sīhuli > (cf. Skt. sidhma); ছুি < chī > (śri); stls. ছরি < chirī > (MIA. *śi, sī < śri); stls. ছুব < chāttarā > (satra); etc.

In some obscure words, Aryan and dēśi, we have also < ch- >: ছে, ছেঃ < chē < chū < chāvai, *churūvai = spṛṣati); ছি < chī > free (< ?); ছুট < chōtā > small (< ?); etc.

Medially, [ʧh] represents—

OIA. < -ech- > (from Indo-European < *sko- >) > MIA. < eeh >: e.g.,

আছে < ōcē > is (acēhāi < acēhati < *es-sko-ti); গাছ < gāchā > tree (gaccha progression, line, race, tree < *gʷ m-sko-); পঞ্চে
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘CH’

* pāhūcē > reaches (*pahuṇ[h]aī, pahuechaī < *prabhucehati < *pro + bhu-skō-ti); puche < puecē (puechaī < prechati < prk-skō-ti); also pical < piehalā (piechala < ?);

OIA. -ech- = -kś-: kāch < kāchā > neighbourhood (kaccha, kakṣa); kācchī < kāchā > hawser (kacchikā = *kaṣikā ?); cācē < cācē > (*caṇchāi, tačchaī, √takṣ); māchī < māchi > (māṣikā); MB. pāchā < pāṛīchā > attendant (pratīkṣaka-);

OIA. -ech, -ech-: bichana > bichāna > bed (vicchādana-); mēchā > name of a Tibeto-Burman tribe (? mlēchāa = *mlākṣa);

OIA. -tśv- > -ech-: MB. uchās > uchāsā (uchvāsā < ut-śvāsā);

OIA. -ts-: uchāl < uchālā > (uchhala < utsala); bāchā < bāchā > (vatsa-); bāchā < bāchurā > calf (vatsa-rūpa). Also stās.: māchōb < mācohā > (maḥotsava), etc. See supra.

OIA. -tsy-: māch < māchā > (matsya);

OIA. -thy-: mich < michā > (mithyā-); MB. nāchā, nāch < lāchā, nāchā >, OB. (Sarvānanda) lācchā > (rathyā);

OIA. -ps- > -ech-: gōchā < gōchā > (gochā-, *gṛp-sa-); MB. stā. aghāchā >, a blend of a tēh. in ċh - ech-, *accharā > + the ts. *apsarās-.

OIA. -śe-: terechā, terechā < tērächā, tērächā > (tirachā-); pachā < pācchā > (pācechā-); bichā < bichā > (cf. vṛṣeika); stā. barāchā > (vṛṣeka-); stā. pachimā, also pachimā < pācchima > (pācchima);

OIA. -sy- > -ech-: kācchī < kāchāma (kacchapa, kāsyapa: see p. 335);

OIA. -sr- > -sr-: mōch < mōchā > (mhoche, śmaśrū); stā. aghāchā >, aghāchā > (ajasa); stā. ācchāp < ācchāp > (prasrāva); etc.

Interchange of [c]h and [ʃ] is very noticeable. It occurs in the naturalised forms of foreign words: e.g., aakkhar < aḳkhar > continually (Persian < aḳṣar >, < Arabic < akbar- >), pachā < pachāndā > liking (Persian < pasand >), chāylāp < chāylāp > inundation (Pers. sayl-āb >), etc.; Western Hindī < jaisā, taissā, jaisan, taisan >, etc., were written (and
possibly pronounced also) <ch> in MB.; e.g., जैने <jāihe>, तैन <tāichān> =<jaisē, taisan>; so the archaic Western Hindi (=Avahāṭṭha) forms like यच <yachu> (=jasu, yasya), तच <tachu> (=tasu, tasya), etc. For change of [cēh] to [ʃ], see infra, under the latter sound.

In parts of Central Bengal (Jessore, Nadiya, 24-Parganas, Hugli), intervocal [cēh] is dropped: e.g., गेले <gēle> for गेलिले <gēhilē> = gilāchilē <gīyāchilē> you went, you had gone; ह्येलो <hōyēlo> for ह्येलिले <hōyēchilē> = hāyāchilē <hāiyāchilā> did happen. This elision is recent: [cēh > ʃ > ʒ > ʃ > ʃ]: the spirant [ʃ] is at times faintly audible. In Chittagong and Noakhali, similarly, the <ch > <s > of verb forms is altered and voiced, and the spirant which takes its place becomes transformed to a full guttural <g >: e.g., करियाछिच <kāriyāchī > > कहियाचिच [koirsi] > *[koirzi] > *[koirji] > [koirgi] > [koirgi], written कौर्गी. The <z > pronunciation also is heard.

263. Bengali [ʃ] is written জ <j>, or ষ <y> when connected etymologically with Skt. <Y >: the ষ <y> spellings are recent (see Introduction, p. 226). Initially, [ʃ] comes from—

OIA. <j> - : जीव <jìv> (jivati); जल <jāl > (jala); जाग <jāg > (jāgarti); जन <jān > (jana); जान <jān > (jānati); जाम <jām > (jāmē); जिन, जिन <jib(h) > (jībbhā < jihvā); जांकल <jāyā-phāl > (jātiphala); जाँ <jāu > (jatu); जोहार <johār > (jaya-kāra); OB. जाम <jām > (janma); s. जग <jag > in compounds (jagat); OB. जाति, NB जाल > large earthen jar (dēṣī ?); etc.;

OIA. <jy> - : MB. जे <jēh > (jē्सhā); जेठ <jēṭh > (jēṣṭha-tāta); जून, जे <june, jōnāki > moonlight > fire-ly (jyōṣnā-);

OIA. <jw> - : ज्वल, ज्वल <jwāl > [jwāle] (jvalati); जाल, जाल <jwāl > [jwāle] (jvālayati); जर <jwār > (jvara);

OIA. <dy > - : डू, डू <dyā > (dyūta-); जू <jū > fire (jyōtis, √dyut-);

OIA. <y > - : याह, MB. यात <yāt > (yāti); क, MB. क <jē > (yah); यह, कह <jābe > when (yad-); क <jā > husband's brother's wife, sister-in-law (yātā); क <jō > opportunity (yōga); ज्याल,
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'J'

গোপাল < juāl, jōāl > yoke (yoga-); মোহন, জোং < jōt > (yoktra);
MB. জাত্তি < jāṭā > stick, weapon (cf. yaṣṭi); জাতিতা, জাতি < jāṭā >
grinding mill (yantra-); জুড়, জুঃ < jūjhi > (yudhyati); জ্জার
< jujhārd > (jūjha-+aśa < yudhy-+kāra). In sts. forms also:
< jatānd > (yatna), জুগ < jug > (yuga), জব < jāb > （yava）, etc.

Medially and finally, the sources of [ʃ] are—

OIA. < -j- >: রাজ < rāj > (rajjan); OB. < uju >, MB., NB. আজলি
< sājali > (ju-); জাজ < bāj > (bhrāṭ-jayā); লাজ < sālaj >
(syāla-jayā); MB. বিজলি < bijāni > (vyajjanikā);

OIA. < -jj- >: কাজল < kājala > (kajjala) = < kad-yala ?: cf. H.
Petersen in the 'Indogermanische Forschungen,' 1914, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223); জাজ < bāj > to try (bhraj-); সাজ < sāj >
(sajjā); লাজ < lāj > (lajjā); মাজ in মাজকথ < māj-kāṭhi > heart
of wood or timber (majjā); etc.;

OIA. < -jjv- >: উজল < ujāl > (ujjvala);

OIA. < -jy- >: MB. বাজিজার < bānjjarā > (vānjya-kāra); রাজ
< rāj > (rāja); ভাজার < bhējā > is shut, shunts (abhyajatē);

OIA. < -jr- >: বাজ < bāj > (vajra);

OIA. < -nj- >: গাজ < gāj > (cf. gaṇjika); পাজর < pājara > (paṇjara);
পিজর < pījara > (piṇjara-); ভাজ < bhāj > (bhaṇja); ভি
< svbhij > (abhyanjā);

OIA. < -dj- >: পাঞ্জ < vile fellow, nretch pāj > (padja-; or < pāyya-);

OIA. < -dy- >: আজ < áj > (adya); আনাজ < ánaj > (annadya); জাজ
< sāj > fresh (sadya-); জাজ < bāj > (vādya-); জাজ < kāj >
(khādyā-); উজার < upāj > (utpadyate); উজার < njāy > goes up-
stream (udyati); বিজলি, বিজলী < bijālī, bijūlī > (vidyut-); OB.
< ehijā > (ehidyate); MB. বেজ < bēj > (vāidyā); etc.;

OIA. < -bj- >: কুজো < kūj > < kūjā > (kujja-; *kujja < kubja);

OIA. < -yy- >: শেজ < sēj > (sayyā);

OIA. < -rr- >: খাজো খাজুর < kharj > (kharj); খাজুর, খাজুর < khajurā,
khējurā > (kharjura); গাজ < gāj > (garjati); ভোজপাটা < bhōj-
pāṭa > (bhūrja-patra-); মাজ < māj > (māṛjita-); etc.
OIA. < -ry- >: kāj < kāja > (kārya); ājini < ājimā > grandma (āryikā mātā); sts. ājjug < ājjuga > (duryōga);

OIA. < -ly- >: sājā < sājra >, sējā < sējra >, East Bengali ḫeṅ [ɦeŋ], OB. (Sarvananda) < sejja-ka > (Sanskritised) (OIA. sālyaka- + rūpa-: sālyaka gave in Old Māgadhī *sāyaḥ, *sēyyaka), in Asūkan orthography *sakē, sēyakē; the Bengali form sēja- is derived from the Māgadhī form. This < -ly- > -yy- of Māgadhī is absent in other dialects of Asūka. Cf. the French modification of [lj, Λ] to [j, i].

OIA. < -yā- > of passive forms became < -ia-, -iya-, -i- > in MB., where not assimilated with a preceding consonant. (See under Morphology: the Verb, ‘Passive Voice’). The Western Apabhraṃśa dialects turned this < -yā- > of OIA. to both < -i(y)a- > and < -ijja- -ija- >. The adjectival < -iyā- > affix similarly became < -ia-, -ija- >. Bengali has some obsolete < -ij- > forms, which look like having been introduced from the West: e.g., līj, līja < li(j)ja > is taken (as in the arithmetical rules of Śubhaṅkara, in the old Indian system) (lahijjaī, labhyatē); the MB. ordinals cañ, tīcan < duajā, tijā >, NB. dōj, tēj, only in compounds like dōj-brīyā, tēj-brīyā < dōjā-bāriyā, tējā-bāriyā > a bridegroom for the second time, for the third time (*duajjā, *dūijjā = dvitiyā; tiajja, tīijja = trijiyā) (dōsar, tēsar- > are the genuine Magadhan forms; see under Morphology: ‘the Numerals’). Bengali kalijā, kalējā < kālijā, kālejā > (kāliyā) seems similarly to be a Western form with < -j- > for < -yā- >.

[ɦi] occurs in Bengali through deaspiration of [ɦiti], medially and finally: e.g., mājkhāne (mājkhāne) in the middle (mājha, madhya); < sānūti < sānūti] evening lamp (sājha-: sandhyā-vartti-): etc.

[ɦi] occurs in ts. words: in the groups < -iy-, -yv-, -jr- >, [ɦi] is ‘doubled’ in Bengali. In the groups < -y- > in stss., pronounced [ɦi], we have the [ɦi] sound. E.g., jāti, jāt < jāti, jāt >; rājya [rājya] (rājya); ukṣa [uksa] (ujjvala); bār [bṛṛ] (vajra); saha [sah] (sahā) etc.

Sanskrit < y- > in ts. words is pronounced as < j- > in most cases in Northern India, and Bengali also has the < j- > pronunciation generally, except when the < y > is subscribed. The following rule laid down in
the 'Yājñavalkya Śiksā' is obviously indicative of the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Northern India, which some Yajur-veda schools still follow in the North, but not in the South:

< pādādāu ca, padādāu ca, saṃyogavagrahēṣu ca |
‘ jah’ śabdā iti vijñēyō, yō’ nyāḥ sa ‘ya’ iti smṛtah || >

At the beginning of a foot, and at the beginning of a word, as well as when compounded or analysed, the sound of < j > is to be known, and elsewhere, < y > is enjoined. (Śloka 150, 'Yājñavalkya-śiksā' in the 'Śiksā-saṅgraha,' Benares, 1889.)

The above rule holds good for Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit, and for lss. in Bengali. Thus, ṣog [ʃog] (yoga), ūykti [ʃuktī] (yukti), Skt. ūṣānī [ʃōṣāni] (yamin); ṣog [duʃog] (duryoga), sts, ṣog [duʃog], kārya, saṃyuktā [ʃunkta] (samyuktā), etc. In a few instances, were the < avagraha > or breaking up the word is not present in the mind of the speaker, we have < y >: e.g., biog [biog], not [biʃog], but ṣog [ʃog], ṣukti [ʃuktī], etc.

[ʃ] is pronounced [dz, z] in the Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, and this is not found in the Standard Colloquial. But in the latter, however, in the groups < jhd-, jht-, jjd-, jjt- >, [ʃ] has developed a [z] pronunciation, which is frequently unvoiced to [s]: e.g., saṇūṣa dāda > mēsoda > mēṣa. [usahaan-dada > meʃoda > meʃa > mezda] second elder brother; so ṣvākṣeta > ṣvākṣeta > [buʃike > buʃi(h)te > buzte > buste] to understand; ṣākṣeta > saṇākṣeta [ʃike > fike > faze > ʃaste] to adorn oneself. < -et-, -eht- > also similarly are assimilated to < -st- >: e.g., ṣākṣeta > saṇākṣeta [nacite > nacite > naste] to dance; ṣākṣeta > saṇākṣeta [bāʃite > bāʃite > bāste] to live; kaṭhakeke [kaʃi(h)theke > kastheke] from the neighbourhood =from, etc.: cf. also biĉhana > bichana > biʃhna, bisona] bed.

In foreign loan words, Persian < j, z > ([z] = Arabic [z, ęż, d, z]) and < z > = [ʃ] are changed to [ʃ] in Bengali; also Portuguese < z >, English [z, dz, z]. See infra.

264. < jh > = Standard Bengali [ʃ], Marāṭhī Gujarāṭī [z], is a very rare sound in OIA., but it became quite prominent in MIA., both
in some *tadbhava* forms and in a number of non-Aryan words, and in onomatopoetic formations. *<jh>* words in MIA. show some relationship with the *<kṣ>* of Sanskrit, and with the other palatals, *<c, ch, j, ś>*; and sometimes with the dentals. The exact derivation and affiliation of most of the *<jh>* words has not been settled.

The following are the typical groups of *<jh>* words in Bengali: they are also to be found in most other NIA. languages and dialects.

- *কক*; *ক্লক*; *ককম* = *jhāk, jhāk-jhāk, jhāk-māk* = *glisten, be bright, shine*; from a MIA. *<jha>(va)kka>*.
- *কঢঢ, কঢঢ* = *jhākārā, jhāgārā* = *quarrel, cf. কঢঢ in কঢঢক* = *bākā-jhākā* = *reprimand, rebuke, speak sharp words* (cf. *dēśi* jhakkia = vacana).
- *ট* = *jhāṭ*; M.B. *ট* = *jhāṭã* = *quick* (cf. Skt. jhatiti); *ডঢ* = *jhāṛa* = *storm, high wind* (cf. Skt. jhati, *dēśi* jhār = nirantara-vṛṣṭiḥ); derivatives—*টকা* = *jhāṭkā*, *কডঢ* = *jhāṛakā* = *jerk, clash*; *টপ্ত* = *jhāṭ-pat* = *flutter* (cf. *Saurasēni Ap.* = *jhaṭappāda* = *quick*). This group is probably connected with *বর* = *<jhar>* = *flow, drip*, see below: an OIA. passive participle *<jharə, jhartə>* would become in MIA. *<jhaṭa, jhaṭṭa, jhaḍa>*. Cf. *চট* = *cāt* = *quick*, connected probably with *<car>* = *<erta, carta>*.
- *প* = *jhāp* = *splash, dash, quick*: a modification *রুপ* = *jhup*, and extensions *রুপক, রুপঙ, রুপস* = *jhāpāk, jhāpāt, jhāpās*; probably connected with *রুপ* = *jhāp* = *plunge*, see below.
- *বন বন* = *jhān-jhān* = *metallic sound, sound of gong*: onomatopoetic.
- *বন বন* = *jhām-jhām* = *ring, patter like heavy rain*: onomatopoetic.
- *ঃ* = *jhār* = *drip, fall (as water), flow*: *বরন* = *jhārānā* = *water-fall*: *বরঘরিয়া* = *jhar-jhāriyā* = *clear, fine (like running-water)*; a modification *বির বির* = *jhir-jhīr* = *gentle, fine, slow (as breeze)*; *বার* = *jhārī* = *water-pot: with a spont. From dialectal OIA. *<√>* = *Skt. <√kṣar>*; preserving the voiced sound of the Indo-Iranian *<zhar, ǥzhar>* = *Indo-European *<gwʰder, *gʷθer>*).
- *করাখ, করক* = *jhārōkha, jhārakā* = *lattice (< jāla-gavākṣa> ).
'JH-' WORDS IN BENGALI

ঝল < jhāl > (1) hang, dangle: ঝুল < jhul > dangle > festoon; ঝুলন < jhulænæ > swing; ঝোল < jholæ > swing, bag; ঝুলি < jhuli > bag; ঝিলিমিলি < jhilimili > lattice, shutters; ঝাল < jhâlæræ > lace-end. (Cf. dësï jhullut = gulma).

ঝল < jhâl > (2) burn, be bright; ঝলমল < jhâl-mâl > sparkle; ঝাল < jhâlæ > to clean (as a well), to clear, to polish, to repair (as a pot by soldering); ঝলস < jhâlsâ > to roast (cf. dësï jhalusia = burnt); ঝলক < jhalâkæ > scorching flame (cf. Saur. Ap. jhalakka burn: < Skt. √jval ?).

ঝাউ < jhâu > pine-tree (Skt. jhâbuka: < ?).

ঝি < jhâ > quick, with speed of wind, as it were: connected with Skt. √dhamä, dham > blow (?); or onomatopoetic; cf. ঝি < sâ > quick.

ঝি ঝি < jhâ-jhâ > shimmer of sun-shine; ? connected with < jhâmä >.

ঝাক < jhâk > shake: extended to ঝাকরা, ঝাকাণ্ড, ঝাকড় < jhâkâræ, jhâkâræ, jhâkâræ > dishevelled, loose, easily shakeable (as long hair); ঝাক < jhâkæ > flight of birds, swarm, scattered band; ঝাক < jhâkæ > basket (to hold loose articles). (Cf. dësï jhánkharia = avacayana).

ঝঞ < jhâjha > flavour, strong flavour; cymbals with very loud noise (cf. Skt. jhanjha); ঝঞ ঝঞ < jhâjhâræ > (1) cymbals, (2) perforated ladle [(1) = jarjara? (2) = jharjhara < √jhar ?]. [(2) also found as ঝঞ ঝঞ, ঝঞ ঝঞ < jhâjhâræ, jhâjhârï >].

ঝাড < jhârdæ > tree (Skt. jhâra); ঝাটি, ঝাটু < jhâtà, jhâru > broom; ঝাড় < jhâræ > to dust, to clear, ঝাড় < jhâræ > duster; ঝাটি < jhârdæ > hair, tuft of hair, also ঝুটি < jhâti >, ঝুটিন < jhôtândæ > tuft of hair (cf. dësï jhanjti = laghûrdhva-kësâh; but eonn. with ঝুল < eulæ > hair=Skt. < cûdæ > ?). Also ঝাটি < jhâti >, ঝিটি < jhinjti > a plant.

ঝাঙ, ঝঘ < jhândâ, jhândâ > standard, flag (derivation suggested from < dhvaja >, also from < jayanta >: but probably connected with ঝাড < jhârdæ > tree, above).

ঝান্ন < jhânu > clever (< ?).
.jump, plunge (Skt. jhampa: cf. dēśī jhampaī = bhramati); ṣapā ḫhapātā throwing, struggling; ṣapā ḫhapā covering, matted shutter; ṣapā ḫhapī basket with lid: cf. also ṣapā ḫhapārā hazy, ‘covered-like’ (cf. dēśī jhampaṇī eyelash, connected with √kṣap throw?).

jhapāṇi litter (=Skt. yāpyayāna).

jhamā burnt brick, pumice stone; jhamārā jhamārā ill, ill through fever, pale (cf. Skt. kṣāma).

jhamēlā crowd, noisy gathering; an intricate business (cf. dēśī jamāla = magic).

jhalā hot to taste; jhalā-pala burning and scorching, said of ear-grating noise or chatter (< OIA. √jval, jvālā ?; or –Skt. kṣāra ?).

jhasā flattery (< ?).

jhi, jhi daughter maid-servant (*dhītā < duhitā).


jhihitā a tune (Hindi jhījhauṭī = jējākabhuṭika).

jhiq(a) a vegetable: cf. also chīchā chīchā another vegetable of the same sort (dēśī).

jhim-jhim feeling of dizziness <to hear a tinkling or singing sound: a variant of jham-jham?: but cf. khim doze below.

jhimā sleep, doze; connected with ghum ghum sleep etc.: see § 199, 265.

jhīl, jhīl a lake, channel of water: conn. with kōl jholā?: see below.

jhinukā pearl shell: cf. johore jihnāra Skt. sambuka.

jūṅja oozes, drip, exude (as blood from a wound): cf. Skt. √kṣud—kṣundate āplavanē.

kūṭā, kūṭa ors, leavings of meal; false, lying (dēśī jhūṭṭha, –Skt. juṣṭa).

jhumā seasoned, old (< jūrṇa-?)

jhum jhum tinkling noise: jhumā jhumā bells; a kind of song and dance; jhumākā lātā a creeper with
flowers in hanging clusters, like bells worn on the toes: onomatopoetic, apparently a variant of "jhām-jhām".

जुरा "jührā" powdered stuff; loose stuff: cf. चूर "cûrā" powder, Skt. "cûrṇa".

चुर "jhūrī" twig: cf. कुलचुरी from चुरी "phul-jhūrī" "-jhārī" golden rain (fire-work), < "√jhār".

जुर "jhūrē" weeps: MB. अघर "ājhāru", NB. अशोर "ājhōrad" tears, flood of tears: ? conn. with a MIA. form "*aṅ(h)u = aśru", attested in Sindhi; or connected with "√jhār"?

झोक, झोक "jhōk(h)ā" leaning, झुक क "jhōk(h)e" leans, झुक द "jhōk(h)ā" a leaning; झुक "*jōkāti" जाकी "*jōkkhā" responsibility; झांक "jākā" support for pot in the oven: <?


झेऊठ "jhē众人lahā" moss, scum, beside चेतल "chētālahā" (<?: cf. Skt. śāvāla, śādvala).

झोड "jhōrdā" bush, scrub jungle; झोड़ "jhōrā" basket: conn. with झांड "jhārād"?

झोल "jhōlā" soup; झोल "jhōlā" moist, watery: cf. जोल, जोल "jōlā", जुल "julā", etc., pp. 65, 66.

The above are some of the more important words in Bengali with initial "jh-". It will be seen that in most cases, no sure OIA. affinity can be found. In a certain number of cases, we find the "jh-" is obviously the result of aspiration of original "j-". In other cases, as in "√jhār", we have inheritances from an OIA. dialect which altered Indo-Iranian "*gā(h)-", "*zh-" to "jh-", and not to "ks-" as in Sanskrit. Possibly a large proportion of the "jh-" words will be explained from this point of view. Some, again, are deśi, and others obviously onomatopoetic.

Medial and final "-jh-" in Bengali is found mainly in "thh." words:

OIA. "-dhy-" is the source commonly of this "-jh-": e.g., ओझ "ōjhā" (upādhyāya); मज "mājhā" (madhya); सांझ "sājhā" (sandhya); बुझ "bujhē" (budhyati); समज "sāmujhē"
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

(sambudhyati); युध्य- (yudhyati); सिज- (sijh) is boiled, boils (sijjha, sidhyata); बाह्य- (vaṇḍhyā).

In ts. words, -hy- is pronounced -jh-: सह्या [joujfiio] (sahya), बाह्य [baujfiio] (bāhya), ग्रह्य [gaṇjfiio] (grāhya), etc. In Skt. words, it is always written ह्य < hy >: but often in the sts. words as phonetically written, we find ज्ञ < jj >, e.g.,

gerājī [gerajfi-] (< grāhya).

Interchange between Palatals and Gutturals, and Palatals and Cerebrals and Dentals.

265. In a small number of words, connected in meaning and probably also in etymology, we note interchange between palatals and gutturals. These words seem to be mainly deśi in origin. The gutturals are of course the older sounds. Examples are given below.

कोप < कोप > blow with a sword (connected by some with < √kjp >):
कोप, कोप < कोप > ibid., cf. छोप < chobla > snake-bite, bite; बोल, भूल < khog(g)i, khun(g)i > box of bamboo or cane: बोल, भूल < cōy(g)i, ey(g)i > bamboo-cylinder used as vessel, cylinder; काम < kāmrā > bite: चिह्न, चिन्ता.

पिच्छ < पिच्छ > pinch; नृम < ghumā > sleep: बिंद < jhimā > doze, níṣad < ni-jhumā > silence of sleep; गमक < gaṃka > elegance: गमक < jāmāka >, जाक < jāka > pomp; दाल < khāla > skin: चाल < chāla > skin, छिताक < chithā > skin of fruit, छोल < chōl > to skin, छूल < chuli > skin-disease (an Aryan group, apparently); छोर < khūrā > lame, cf. Oriyā < chōtā > lāme; लेज < lējā >, लेज्ज < lejā >, लेज्ज < lej(i)ju{j} > Oriyā < laņjā > tail: but cf. Skt. < lājula >; धात < dhān(g)i >, beside धात < dhājā >, धाच < dhāca >

manner, form, style, fashion; धान < cāci >, Skt. < cācuka > nipple, teat: Skt. < kua > breast; OB. < bahe̱nci >, NB. बीजै, बीज < bāci, boe > a fruit

= Skt. vīkāñkata. Cf. also Bengali সিরাত < cīratā > = Skt. kirāta-tikta: kirāta = MIA. cīla-, cīra.-

Palatals, and cerebrals and dentals: ठाक, ठाक < tā(h) >: ठाक < cākh >
taste (cakṣ-); टह < tāg > foot, टह्ठā < tāg(g)i > leg (of meat), connected with जां < jā > = जाँध्यां < ? >; MB. चेंडली < cēṇḍhāl > viciousness,
THE CEREBRALS

connected with कंद "कांदाः" beside NB. तांदु, तांदुः
tāndu, tāndu > wilderness, opposition, perversity (?); तंतु "तंतु". OB.
tēntali > tamarind, Skt. tiutići, beside Skt. ciuca, Telugu ciinta:
compare also Bengali कांद as in कांद-विच "कांद-विच" tamarind-seed, Oriya
kava > green tamarind (*kaun, *kaunca-?); NB. चाँद "चाँद", MB.
chānd "chānd" beside तांदु, tāndu > tāndu, tāndula > Skt. tāndula.
threshed and winnowed grain > rice (? Aryan: < *tandula, cf. /tandr);
Bengali চাঁ "চাঁ" cultivate, চাঁ "চাঁ" cultivate, cf. OIA. "carišami-
cultivating (?), < kṛṣ: Oriya tāsa cultivate; MB. dānai "dānai",
a pet form of the name Janardana, for Janai "*jānai"; kāla "kāla >
to rinse, beside kāla "kāla"; etc.

(3) The Retroflex or Cerebral Stops and Aspirates [t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh], and the
Retroflex Flapped and its Aspirate, [ɾ, ṛh].

Cerebralisation in OIA. and in the Eastern Dialect:

Resultant Cerebralisation.

266. The cerebrals had originated in the Aryan language in India
already in the earliest period The conditions under which the cerebral stops
and aspirates (and sibilant as well as lateral) came into being are various.
Thus, for example, Indo-European dental < s > under certain conditions
became < s > (an sh sound) in Indo-Iranian, and this < s > changed to < ś >
in OIA.; and a < t(h) > following it was duly cerebralised: e.g., IE.
*sthāmi > Indo-Iran. *thāmi > OIA. *tiṣṭhāmi *; IE.
*usthā > Indo-Iran. *usta- > OIA. *usta-; OIA. superlative affix
*isthā > Indo-Iran. *istha- > OIA. *istha-; etc. Similarly, IE.
< z > became < ž >, and this < ž > was changed to < z > (or [z]) in the oldest
IA., to be cerebralised and assimilated with a following < d(h) >: e.g.,
*ni-sd-oś, *nizdoś > *nižd > *niždās, *niždās > niždā; *mizdhoś>
mizdhas > mizdhas, mizdhas > mizdha. Indo-European groups of
palatal: < k, g > < t, d(h) > respectively became < st, ḍ(h) > in OIA.: e.g.,
*oktou > *aṣṭāu, *aṣṭāu > *aṣṭāu; *mpdūco- > *mpzdika- >
*mpzdika, *mpzdika > *mpd, mpdika; *līgh-to, *ligdh- > *līzhha-,
*liṣḍha-, *liṣḍha- > liḍha >; etc. (Cf. C. Uhlenbeck, ‘Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics,’ London, 1898, §§ 44, 63, 86; J. Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, § 145 ff; A. A. Macdonell, ‘Vedie Grammar,’ § 42). Through analogy, we get <ṭ, ḍ> in certain nominal and verbal forms in OIA. (Skt.): <viṭ < *vik < *vikṣ < *viśs, = IE. *wīk-s >; <dvīṭ < *dvik < *dvikṣ < *dvīṣ-, = IE. *dwis-s >; <viḍbhīḥ < *vijbhīḥ < *viṣbhīḥ < IE. *vīghbhīṣ, *vig = wīk >; so <rāṭ < √rāj >; <avāṭ < √vah >; etc. In addition to the above changes, the dentals were cerebralised in OIA. when they occurred in connection with the liquid <l> (and <r>). In the earliest stage of IA., the Indo-European (and Indo-Iranian) group of <l> + dental (stop, aspirate nasal, or sibilant), became cerebralised, with assimilation of the <l> : thus IE. <spheltō > gave OIA. (Skt.) <sphatā-mi >; <gḥoltō > through I-Ir. < ḍhālta- > gave Skt. <hāṭa(-ka) >; IE. <kulth- > gave <kūṭh-āra >, <pelnos > gave <panaḥ >, and <√lals > gave <√laṣ >. But while <l> + dental was thus cerebralised, IE. <r> + dental was retained intact (except in the case of <rn, *rs >, which changed to <rn, rš > in OIA.): e.g., IE. <wertō > > OIA. <varta-mi >, <merdo > > <mardāmi >, <wormos > > <varṇaḥ >, <dherō > > <dharṣ̄a-mi >, etc. This kind of cerebralisation (generalised into a law by Fortunatov, cf. Uhlenbeck, op. cit., § 44) seems thus to have characterised the oldest Indo-Aryan, which as a whole distinguished between IE. <r > and <l>. But already as early as the time of the Vedic hymns, the earlier <r,l > were confused in the various dialects of OIA. In one dialect, that of the west, on which the speech of the Rig-Veda seems to have been based, all original <l> became <r>, apparently after the change of <l> + dental groups to cerebrals (see ante, p. 34), and it maintained the OIA. speech habit in not allowing cerebralisation of the group <r > + dental. In another dialect, apparently that of the extreme east (the speech of the Prācyā tracts and and the source of the eastern dialect of Aṣōka—of Ardha-māgadhi and Māgadhī) all original <r > sound seems to have become <l> : so that the <r > sound was absent in this dialect. What happened in the central dialect, or dialects, in the OIA. period, to which the later Midland speech (Saurasēnt) is to be
affiliated, is not known; but it seems there was no tendency to use exclusively one sound in it. (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' Oxford, 1916, p. 11.) It is not impossible that these three groups of Aryan speakers formed originally three separate bodies, the easternmost coming into India first, and being followed by the others, and the western-most having certain Iranian affinities. However, Sanskrit in the matter of its \( r, l \) sounds agrees mainly with Vedic speech, and it does not normally change a \( r \) to \( l \) when occurring with a dental. The normal OIA. \( *victa, artha, vardhita \) etc., as in Vedic and Sanskrit, can be expected to have become \( *altha, *vik\text{\textae}, *valdhita \) in the OIA. source-dialect of Māgadhi etc.; so that Early Eastern MIA. forms like \( *\texttt{at\text{\textae}}ha, \text{\textit{vika}}t\text{\textae}, \text{\textit{va}}d\text{\textae}dhita \) can very well be regarded as the result of the continuation of the \( l \) + dental > cerebral tradition in the East.\textsuperscript{1} It is very likely that the cerebralisation in connection with this \( l + t(h) \), etc. \( a \) came into being, giving rise first to forms like \( *\texttt{alt\text{\textae}}, *\texttt{valdhita} \), in the OIA. period. A form like \( \text{\textit{vika}}t\text{\textae} \), found in the Rig-Veda, is an indication of its existence in the Late OIA. stage at least. It is not necessary, however, to assume stages like \( l\texttt{t}, l\texttt{t}, l\texttt{t} \) in the development of \( \texttt{rt (pt)} \) to \( \texttt{t} \): in dialectal Norwegian and Swedish, there is change of \( r \) + dental stop to a cerebral stop without an \( l \) stage. But the case in the Prāeya speech seems to have been through the \( l \) stage, which characterised that dialect in the Brāhmaṇa period and possibly also in the Late Vedie period: witness a form like OIA. \( *\texttt{k\text{\textae}ulla} \), from \( *\texttt{k\text{\textsf{ud}}la} \) (= kṣudra), found in the 'Athrava-Veda,' the 'Tāittirīya Samhita' and the 'Satapatha Brāhmaṇa' (see p. 82).

When the \( r \) followed a dental stop, as in the groups \( tr, dr \), we find cerebralisation from Late OIA. times. (Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., I, § 147.) Such cases, however, are not so very common, and although they might be Māgadhi or Prāeya in origin, nothing can be asserted about them.

\textsuperscript{1} Compare the case of the Germanic name \( *\text{\textit{Hildaz (Xildaz)} > Ci\text{\textae}} \) (see ante, pp. 245-246). This change of \( \texttt{-Idz,} \) or \( \texttt{-ltz,} \) to \( \texttt{-dz,} \) however, is late, and occurs as a sporadic case apparently in the South-western MIA. of the Transitional period.
Be it as it may, the nett result is that in Early MIA. of the East the OIA. \(<\text{rt, rd}\>\), etc. became cerebralised to \(<\dd, \dd\>\) by the 3rd century B.C., but \(<\text{rt, rd}\>\) remained intact in the North-west in the same period. In other dialects, of the Midland and of the South-west, they were assimilated to \(<\dd, \dd\>\), without cerebralisation. The Western speeches\(^1\) resisted the cerebralising tendency of the East for quite a long time. But as we can see from the Aśoka inscriptions, and the Kuśāṇa and other inscriptions in the Western areas, Eastern or Magadhan forms with cerebrals had imposed themselves on the former. This was due both to political influence of Magadha and to social and other relations between the eastern and the western tracts. Non-cerebralising dialects of the Midland, West and North-west thus gradually came to acquire and naturalise from the Early MIA. period quite a number of cerebralised forms. And the Eastern cerebralising speech, in its turn, through the strong influence exerted on it by the Midland and the Western dialects, received a number of non-cerebralised forms which have largely overlaid the original cerebralised ones. Thus Māgadhī or Eastern forms like \(\text{maṭa} \ (=\text{mṛta})\), \(*\text{maṭṭikā} \ (=\text{mṛttikā})\), \(\sqrt{\text{vaḍḍh}} \ (=\text{vṛdh, vardh})\), \(\text{bhaṭa} \ (=\text{bṛṭa})\), \(\text{vaṭṭa} \ (=\text{vartman})\), etc., are found not only in the Magadhan languages, but also in other non-Māgadhī IA., like Western Hindi, Rājasthānī-Gujarāṭī, Marāṭhī and Panjābī. And non-Māgadhī forms like \(\text{addha} \ (=\text{ardha})\), \(\text{satthu} \ (=\text{sṛthu})\), \(*\text{vattikā} \ (=\text{vartikā})\), etc. are equally found in Bengali etc. \(\text{bhartā} > \text{bhāṭā, bhaṭṭa} > \text{bāṭ} \text{bhar} \ (=\text{a bard} \ (=\text{a Brahman}), \text{a genuine Māgadhī form in Bengali, and \(\text{bhartā} > \text{bhattā, bhatta} \), extended to \(\text{bhattāra} \), whence Bengali भाटार \(\text{bāṭāra} \ (=\text{husband}, is a later and a non-Māgadhī form. Further examples will be found under the treatment of the cerebral and dental stops and aspirates individually. The Magadhan dialects became subject to greater and still greater influence of the Midland speech after

\(^1\) Sindhi, alone, however, among the Western IA. tongues, developed a tendency to cerebralisation, but this seems to have been very late: e.g., 'puṭru' = 'putra,' 'caṇḍu' = 'candra,' 'ṭre' = 'tri,' etc.
a brief period of suzerainty which it seems to have exercised in the few
centuries before the Christian era over the whole of Indo-Aryandom; so
much so, that from the Second MIA. period, it borrowed numerous forms
from the latter, and adopted them, to the restriction or suppression of
its native forms: and these later Western borrowings have been inherited
by the Modern Magadhan languages: thus < mṛta = maṭa > maḍa > gave
mṝ < mārā > to Bengali, which is no longer used to indicate the past
tense, but has only a restricted meaning, namely, of a dead body; and a
Western form < maa, maṭa > (< mṛta) was adopted in the Second MIA.,
which, strengthened with the -ilā > -illa > affix, gave the Mag. Ap. past
base < mailla >, whence Old and Middle Bengali 钹 < maila >, as well as
the forms in other Magadhan. Cf. the case of करिब < kārib > as non-
Magadhi form, which has ousted the native Māgadhi ≈ kattaviya ≈: see
p. 375. The habit of cerebralisation, which once marked off the Eastern
Aryan dialect from the dialects of the Midland and the West, has thus
from the Transitional or Second MIA. period ceased to be a distinctive trait.

Spontaneous Cerebralisation.

267. Apart from the ‘resultant’ cerebralisation (through the
influence of < -ṣ-, -z- > -ṣ-, -z- > and < -l- > in the proto-Indian stage, and
of < r >, or < r > l in the eastern dialect, in the OIA. stage) which has
been described above, original IA. dentals have in a number of cases been
cerebratised without any explicable cause. There is no neighbouring < r > or
< l > which can account for the change. A few instances of this spontane-
ous cerebralisation are found in OIA.: e.g., Skt. < üd, ud + di > udṛ <
from < üdi > to fly; < udi, ati > from earlier < aṭi > a water-bird; < atati > <
ati >; and a few others. But the number of such forms is on the increase
from the MIA. period. (Cf. Wackernagel, I, § 148b; Jules Bloch, op. cit.,
§§ 117-119). It cannot be ascertained which form of OIA. or MIA.
was characterised specially by this tendency. But judging from South-western
and North-western Aśokan forms, like < dḥāda- > (Girnar), < bādaya-
( = < bādaža >, Shahbazgarhi: the Mansehra form < duvāda- > is a
'Magadhism'), as contrasted with the cerebralised form «duvāḍasa» (Kalsi; also Pillar Edict VI, Delhi-Siwalik, Allahabad, Radhia and Mathia and the Barabar Caves 1); and Panjābī and Sindhi «paṅ, paṅ» (<*paṅ, *paḍati = patati), as compared with Eastern and Midland (Bengali, 'Bihārī', Hindi, etc.) cerebralised «paṅ»<sup>2</sup>, «fals» (<*paḍaṅ, *paḍati, *paṭati = patati); it may be surmised that the spontaneous cerebralisation characterised the Eastern (and possibly also the Midland) dialects, rather than those of the North-west and the South-west. In a few instances, the same Aryan word occurs in two forms in NIA.: e.g., पाइ «khāi»«trench, beside पाझी «khār»«channel, gulf» (काता, *khāta-), found also in Western Hindi. Intervocal «-n-» and «-l-» became cerebralised in all dialects in the Second MIA., but curiously enough, only the speeches of the West (Western and Eastern Panjābī, Rājasthān-Gujarāt and Marāṭhī, and partly Sindhi) have preserved the «-n-, -l-» inherited from MIA., and not the Midland dialects and the dialects of the East (except Oriyā). In the development of spontaneous cerebralisation, analogy and contamination certainly played some part: e.g., «*sāṛa-ga» > «sāṛa» certainly gave «sōḍa»<sup>3</sup>, and the «r» in «trayōḍa» may have influenced the cerebralisation of the «d» which gave «*tēṛa» > «tēṛa»: and through analogy, «ekāda» > «ēqāhaha» > «ēqāhaha>, «dvāda» > «duvāḍa», etc., may have originated; so Māgadhī «gaḍa» < «gaṭa» < «gata» through the analogy of «kaḍa, maḍa» < «kaṭa, maṭa» < «kṛta, mṛta»<sup>4</sup>, and Bengali डाृड़ «dāṛa» > «daṅda», through influence of the following «r». But analogy and contamination do not explain cases like «patati» > «paṭati, paḍai», «saptati» > «sattāṭi, *sattādi, sattari»<sup>5</sup>, «dakṣina» > «dāhinoda», «sūrqā»<sup>6</sup> MIA. daṅsa>Bengali डांस डांस (= gnat), «pataṅga» > «phāṛiṇ > «grasshopper», etc. Such interchange between cerebrals and dentals is unknown to Dravidian, in which each type of sound has its nett value.

1 Dhauli and Jangada (Rock Edict III), however, show 'dvdāsas,' with the dental, rather than 'dvāḍasas': this is curious, but it cannot be doubted that the 'd' forms characterised the Eastern IA. speech as contrasted with the Western dialects: cf. 'paṃna-dasa' = 'paṃcadaṣa' in Pillar Edict V. But the equivalents of 'caturdaṣa' all show 'd' and not 'd.' The numerals are a puzzle, and show cross influences.
A great many NIA. words with initial cerebral are evidently দেশ in origin. But it is noteworthy that the cerebral as an initial sound does not occur in Dravidian, at least in Modern Dravidian. Kolg, or 'Old Kolg,' possibly had cerebrals initially. It is also possible that the non-Aryan sources of the NIA. দেশ words with initial (and medial) cerebral, whether in Primitive Dravidian, or Primitive Kolg, partly had dental + 'r', for the NIA. cerebral: so that the change in this matter, in Indo-Aryan at least, has been uniform for a number of words of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. In any case, the words with initial cerebral (as well as initial palatal, in some cases) present a possible pre-Aryan substratum, and quite a numerous and characteristic one too, in MIA. and NIA.

In দেশ words, [t th d dh] seem to interchange with each other. The cerebrals occur largely in onomatopoetics as well.

268. Bengali [t]. Initially, it is from—
MIA. < t- >, from OIA. < t- >, and from দেশ sources: e.g., টলে < তালো > (tālatī); টাকা < তাকা > rupee < coined money (tānka-); and the following words, among others, are apparently of দেশ origin: e.g., টাঞ্ছ < তাঞ্ছ > foot, টেংরী < তাঞ্ছ (g)রী > leg (of meal); টাফর < তাঞ্ছ (g)রী > high land, also a fish; টাঙ্কা < তাঞ্ছ (g)রী > to hang; টাঞ্ছ < তাঞ্ছ > high ground, loft; টাকা, টাকা < তাক্কার >, টাক্কার > striking, competition; টুকার < তুকার > strike gently, note down (cf. টুকর < থুকর >); টুকরা < তুকরা > a tiny bit, টিকলী < তিকলী > a slice, a piece; টুকরা, টুকরী < তুকারা, টুকরী > basket; টুনী < তুনী > little one, a little girl; টানী < তানী > axe (< তাঞ্ছ ?); টিকি < তিকি > tuft of hair, top-knot, queue; টিপ < তিপ > press with the fingers, a point; টিক, টিক < তিক >, টিক > endure, টিক, টাকা < তেকা, তাকা > repair, sew (= তাঞ্ছ ?); টাপর < তিপার > helmet, crown of tinsel worn by bridegrooms, টুপি < তুপি > helmet > hat; টোল < তনী > charm, sorcery; টোল < তোল > depression (opp. to swelling); টোলি, টোলী < তোলা, তুলি > quarter in a town, টোল < তোল > university or college quarter > Sanskrit school; টিলা < তিল > hillock, high land; টাল < তাল > walk, wander; টিয়া
<ṭiyā> parrot; ूटी <ṭūṭi> throat; ेटर <ṭer̥> knowledge, consciousness; etc., etc.

MIA. <ṭ-> from OIA. dental <ṅ<, through spontaneous cerebralisation: e.g., ूटन <ṭān̥> draw, make tight (<ṅ/ṭān̥, ṭān̥ayati), connected with which are ूटन <ṭān̥ ṭān̥> pain with feeling of tightness, ूटक <ṭān̥aṅka> tight, memory, consciousness; ूटिप <ṭip> drop (cf. √tip = kṣarāṇe); ूटस <√ṭäs> drip, fall as a drop of water (cf. √taun̥ draw to and fro, decorate, pour out), whence ूटसक <ṭāska> drop off; ूटस <√ṭäs> to be all over with any thing (cf. √taun̥ be distressed, √tas = upakṣayē, vastu-hānir iti); sts. ूटग <ṭāgar̥> a flower (tagara); etc.

MIA. <ṭ-> from OIA. <ṅ-, in connection with <ṛ (l)> either immediately following or in a following syllable: e.g., ूटूट <ṭuṭe> (trutyyati); ूटट <ṭāṭa> plate of metal, ूटट <ṭāṭi> mat (trātra plate); ूटक > <ṭikā> sect-mark on forehead, point, patchwork (*tilka-, tilaka-); ूटट, ूटट <ṭā(t)tu> pony (tāṛka?); ूटकटक <ṭikṭiki> wooden triangle for whipping (tri-kāṭha-?); ूटप <ṭaṃpa> jumping, stamping of foot, ूटपक <ṭaṃpaṅka> cross over at one bound (cf. √trer = hiṃsāyam); ूटक <ṭikā> acid or sour to taste (takra-?); ूटक <ṭāku> (tarku-); ूटक, ूटक <ṭak(h)ē> taste (<ṛ? tark-?; caukkha = eakṣ), cf. ूटक | <ṭākāra> plate; ूटर <ṭer̥> squint-eyed (= Late Skt. tāgarā), beside तेड़ <ṭer̥a> awry, Hind. तेब़े <ṭerha> (conn. with <tiryae>?) ूटड <ṭār̥ā>, an ornament for the arm beside ताड <ṭāṛa> (tāṣa, tāda); ूटन <ṭēnā> beside तेज़ | rag; etc., etc.

Medially and finally, [ṭ] is from—

MIA. <ṭṭ-, -ṛṭ- > < OIA. <ṭṭ-, -ṛṭ-, -ṛṭ-, -ṭṛ-, -ṛt-, -ṛt- (>l<), -ṛtm-, -ṛṣ(h)-, -ṛṣt- >; also <dēsī <ṭ- >: e.g., अटर <āṭa> flower (*kṛṣṭa- < OIA. *arta-); ूटट <pāṭa> silk > jute (paṭṭa); नाग <nāgāṭa> (*nāga-paṭṭa); ूटट <kōṭa> fort, final demand (kōṭta, kōṣṭha) ूटटल <kōṭalā> (kōṭṭapāla, kōṣṭha-pāla); ूटट <mōṭa> load (mōṭa: dēsī ?); ूटट <ghaṭa> (ghaṭṭa, ghaṭṭā: dēsī ?); ूटट <hāṭa> (haṭṭa: dēsī ?); ओट <pēṭa> (dēsī *pēṭa, pōṭa); OB.
piṭā», NB. ḍapeta « pēṭā » earthen pot, pail, probably conn. with the preceding; łoṭ, Ṽot « łoṭa, lutā » roll on the ground, scatter (lōṭa, <?); ćaṭ < √caṭ » lick; back-kick (*caṭṭa : caṣṭa? < √*caṣ as in « caṣaka » cup, wine); ćitūḷa « bitūḷa » a term of abuse (for a Brahman generally) (cf. viṣa; MIA. viṭt(h)aḷa- polluter: < viṣṭhā ?); ćutē « ćutē » (truṭyati); ćhat « khaṭṭa » (khaṭvā); ćhatē « khaṭṭē » works, labours, ċhāṭtāy » khaṭṭāy » puts money in business (Late Skt. khaṭṭayati, < ?); ćitē « ćitē » (trātra); ćhit « ćhitā » style, manner (? sthā+tra); ćeta « bēṭā » son (? vētra; cf. vanśa family); ċaṭa « ćaṭē » cuts, ćuṭē « ćuṭē » pounds (kaṭṭāi, kuṭṭāi < √kṛt- : karttati, kuṭṭatati); ćauṭ phāṭe » cracks, ćuṭe « phuṭe » bursts, pricks (*phāṭṭai, phuṭṭai < √sphāṭ(ṭ), sphut(ṭ) < *sphīļt); ćhet « chōṭa » small, conn. with ċuṭ < √chuṭ » run, scatter? (chuṭ = √*chṛṭ ?); ćaṭāṭaie « kāṭāri » (kartariśa); nāṭ < nāṭa » (naṭṭa < narta, √nṛt); ćaṭ « bhāṭa » (bhartā); nōtta « nōṭīṭa » (snēha-vṛttā-); ćeṇtta « kēṭā » (kājvartta); MB. nīvṛṛṣe « nibāṛe » (mir+√vṛt); nāṭta « nāṛ(g)-dāṭa » naked (*naṅga-vatṭa-, nagna-vṛttā-); āsūṭ e « aśṭē » smelling of rank flesh or fish (*āśaṭṭia, *āṛiśavatṭia, āṃśa-vṛttikā-); ćeṇtta « deṇṭi » (dipa-varttikā); the affix ṭa « -ṭa, ṭī « -ṭi » (? vartta-); māṭi « māṭi » (mṛttikā); ṭaṭūṭa « bāṭula » ball, sting-stone (varttula); ċauṭa « nōṭa » stirring (as milk) (āvartta-); ćaṭa « mōṭa » fat (? mūrtaka); ćaṭ « bāṭa » (vartma), nōtta as in ṭaṭa « bēṭo ghōṛa » hack (bāṭūṇa < bāṭa-, vartma-); ṭa « iṭa » (iṣṭa); ṭū « uṭa » (uṣṭra); ṭa « āṭa » (ghṛṭa); pāṭa « pāṭa » (paryasta); etc., etc.


By deaspiration of « -ṭh- », we get « -ṭ- » in MB. and NB.: e.g., ćita « śiṭa » dregs (MIA. siṭṭha, *siṭṭha- siṣṭa-); ćaṭa « ćaṭa » (āṭha, aṭṭha, aṭṭha-); ćeṇtta « ćhēṭa » from ćeṇta, ćēṭa « ćhēṭ(h)a » (dhṛṣṭa-);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

काठ, काठ < काठ्ह(ह) > (काठ्ह); लूठ < लूठ < लुठ्ठ > (Skt. लूळ्ठ); ठाठी < ठाठी, from the Hind. ठाठी > (< ?); etc. Cf. कीट < कीट >, ठाट < ठाट > etc., above.

Through unvoicing of < ठ >: डौटी < डौटी > stalk, डौट < डौट > pestle, little stick (दाँडीकार); ठंडरा < ठंडरा > proclamation by beat of drum, cf. Hind. ठंडरा(ह)ोरा ».

In the word पाकाठ < पाकाठ > dried jute-stalk used as fuel, also पाकाठ < पाकाठ >, we have a MB. or NB. case of assimilation of < ठ > to a following < k >, from पाठ-काठ < पाठ-काठ > (or is it from पाठ-काठ < पाठ-काठ >, from the jute stalks being soaked in river or tank beds, पाका »).

NB. < ठ > in a few cases comes from OIA. < ठ > in OB. and Early MB. s.t.s.: e.g., कठ < कठ > < कणा >, ठठी < ठठी < ठठ >, etc. See infra, under the Nasals.

In the printed text of the Cāryāpadas, ठ < ठ > is found consistently for ठ < ठ >: e.g., ठिट < ठिट > for ठिट < ठिट >, ठग < ठग > for ठग < ठग >, etc. This ठ is certainly a variant form of the letter ठ in the alphabet of the Cāryā MS., as the ठ < ठ > sound remains a voiced aspirate in Early MB.

[३] in foreign words commonly represents the alveolar [t] of English. See infra, under Phonology of the English Element.

269. Bengali [th].

Initial [th] is from MIA. < ठ- > derived from—

OIA. < st-, sth- >: ठा < ठा > (<√ sthā); ठाख < ठाख > (stāman); ठेक < ठेक > leaning, also ठाक < ठाक > (cf. stakati strike against); ठेक < ठेक > standing, correct, fixed, right (<√ sthā ?>); ठाग < ठाग > (*θançha, *θadçha = stābdha ?); ठूट < ठूट > style (sthātra ?); etc.

< ठ- > is unexplained in a number of words, possibly of देसी origin: e.g., ठक, ठग < ठक ठग > cheat; ठहर < ठहर > cognisance of something solid and standing (by one of weak eye-sight), cf. Hind. < ठहरनास > to stand still; ठाकुर < ठाकुर > god, respected being; ठाण, ठाण < ठाण > thunder; ठार < ठार > looking
askance, gesture, speech; ठास <√ठास> knead, press; ठसक
<ठासाक्त> conqueiry; ठुक <√ठुक>, ठोक <√ठोक> strike
gently, as with a rod; ठुलौ <ठुली> blinkers for horses or oxen;
ठास <ठेन(ग)ा> stick; ठेल <√ठेल> push; ठेस <ठेसो> leaning;
ठा स <ठों(ग)ा> leaf-cup; ठोला <ठोना> a blow under the chin;
ठोट <ठोटा> armless; etc.

<ṭh-> is through unvoicing, in ठूटी <ठूठा> (= धीत्ता, धृष्टा),
feminine ठूटी <ठूठी> (also = a white sūri worn by widows:
< ?; cf. ठोना, ठोना <ठोना, ठोना> rags).

<ṭh-> seems to be intrusive in ठूटो <ठूठा> (<०ष्ठा, शष्ठा). In
ठू, ठू <ठूठो> leg, beside ठू <ठू>, <ṭh-> is probably
due to the aspiration of <t-> (through influence of ठाल
<ठेन(ग)ा> stick ?).

Medially and finally, [th] is from—

OIA. <-ṭh-> : MB. कथः <कथिः> (kaṭhika); धठ <धृधा> (śūṇṭha);
OIA. <-nth- > through influence of <r >: गर्थ <गर्थ > (granṭhi);
OIA. <-ṛt- > <-ṭṭha- > in Old Māgadhī: eMB. (ŚKK.) आहर
<भुत्ता>, 1MB. आउत <आउँ > = 3½ (MIA. aṛdaḥ <ardha-
caturtha); वाडो <वाडा> (caturtha-), with cerebralisation
absent in <cath > in Hindī etc.; पाठ <पाठा> billy-goat <young
of animal, fatling (prthuka, *parthu- ?).

OIA. <-ṣṭ(h)- >: आसूठ > आसूट > आसोठ, आसोठ > ring (aṅguṣṭhika);
कृठसी <कृठसी > chamber (koṣṭhāgārikā); कठ <कठ > (kaṭha);
गोठ <गोठ > (gōṣṭha); जठ <जठ > (yaṣṭi); ठोठ <ठोठ >
(jyeṣṭha-tāta); ठोट <ठोट > (dhṛṣṭa); निढळ <निढळ > (niṣṭhura);
पिठ <पिठ > (prṣṭha); पुठ <पुठ > a fish (prōṣṭhika); मुढळ<मुढळ >
बुटी (muṣṭi-); रठोर <रठोर > (ariṣṭa-); मठ <मठ > cream
(? mṛṣṭa-); मठ <मठ > sweet (miṣṭa-); सठोर <सठोर > (śrēṣṭhin);
सठ <सठ > (saṣṭhi); नाप <नाप > (naṭṭhi = OIA. yaṣṭi); MB.
स्नेह <स्नेह > turban (as in the ‘Caitanya-Bhāgavata’:
<वेष्टना >; etc.

OIA. <ṣt(h)- >: ासूठ <ासूठ > stone of fruit (asthi); पाठ <पाठ >
sends (paṭṭhāvē, prasthāpayati); ठाठ <उत्ठान > court-yard (*u-
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

sthāna, Skt. utthāna); चे गहङ्गा low (*adhiṣṭāt = adhastāt; cf. upariṣṭāt).

270. Bengali [ɖ, ḍ; r, ō].

Intervocal *ɖ̪, ḍ̪h* have a 'liquid' pronunciation—that of the so-called cerebral *ṛ*—in all Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian. In the northern languages (Bengali, 'Bihāri,' Hindōstānī, Panjābī, Sindhi), the *ṛ* pronunciation is indicated in orthography (ṛ, ṛ, ḍ etc.); in Gujārātī and Marāṭhī, the script does not recognize the *ṛ* modification, any more than the Dravidian alphabets. The *ṛ* pronunciation is at least as old as the Transitional MIA. period (see supra, p. 249), and it is a sort of link in the change of *-ḍ-, -l-, -l* to *-r-*, and vice-versa, in MIA. and NIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 238, 240, 241, 258). The liquid pronunciation of *ṛ* never occurs initially; and the stop *ɖ* occurs in the interior of words only when it is doubled (except in loan-words, like those from English, where we find single intervocal stop *-ɖ-*). In East and North Bengali, in Assamese, and even in portions of West Bengal (in Murshidabad district, for instance), *ɖ* > *ṛ* is reduced to *ṛ*; and *ṛ, r* are confused in some class dialects in different parts of Bengal.

*ɖ̪h-* > *rh-* became deaspirated to *ṛ* in Late MB. (see p. 442).

271. Bengali [ɖ], initially, is from MIA. *ɖ-* (except where the cerebralization is a late phenomenon in Bengali), mainly in dēṣī words, and in some cases from OIA. *d-*; with or without influence of *ṛ*:

*ḍhr* < dārā > fear (dara); *ḍār* < dārā, dārā, dārā-ṛ > a round vessel (darvi ?); *ḍuli* < dūli > (dōlikā); *ḍōgā* < dōngā > (? drōnti: probably dēṣī); *ḍal* < ṛḍāl > press, rub (ṛdal); *ḍāla > lump (dalaka-?); *ḍālā > branch (*dala = dru, dāru ?); *ḍāla > branch (dālā); *ḍālā > branch (dālā); *ḍāl, dāl >, beside earlier dāl, dāli > split pulse (dālīta); *ḍālimā >, beside dālimā, dārimā > (dālimba); *ḍeṛ* < ṛdeṛ > string (cf. dōraka, dōraka); *ḍeṛ* < ṛdeṛ > besides dēṛ > *ḍeṛ* (*ḍiaḍḍha, diaḍḍha=dvyardha); NB. *ḍānga > dārā > beside ṛa ṛa > dārā > orn (daṇḍa); *ḍaś < ṛaś > gnat (daṇśa); *ḍāhukš > (cf. Skt. dātyūha); *ḍānśa >
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'Ḍ'

* dūmuraś (udumbara); dāhin, dāhin, dān < ḍa(h)inaś, dānaś > (dakśina); OB. * ḍaḍhi- → burnt rice (*daḍhia, dagdhiśa); MB. sts. ṭaṛaṇa < ḍaṛukā → tellers (daṛukā), etc.

Initial ḍ- is found in ḍombā (in Sanskrit ḍomba), ḍimā (dimba), OB. ḍañcha-, NB. ṭaṛaṇa < ḍhāraś > a water-snake (by transference of aspirate) (*daṇḍha, daṇḍubha, dundubha), ḍaṃḍolā < ḍamāḍolā > tumult (cf. ḍamara), etc.; but these seem to be of dēśī origin, like the following, which are some of the typical ḍ- words of Bengali: e.g., ḍāk < ḍāk > shont; ḍūb < ḍūb > sink (cf. MIA. buḍḍa = Beng. ḍūb < ḍūb >); ḍāgār < ḍāgār > big, ṭekara < ḍekāra > ungainly, loutish; ḍhār < ḍhār > deep; ḍrāk < ḍrāk > buxom, cf. ḍarabā < ḍhākā > green coco-nut; ḍaga < ḍaga > end of a branch; ḍaṅ < ḍaṅ >, ḍaṅā < ḍaṅa(g)āstā > stick, pin, goad, conn. with ḍaṅ < ḍaṅkā > biting; ḍhā < ḍhā > complete, entire; ḍhā < ḍhā > ḍaḥu < ḍaḥu > ḍē < ḍē > a fruit, custard-apple; ḍhāka < ḍhāka > to burberry out; ḍhā, ḍhāp < ḍhām, ḍhāpā > sprout, young of snake; ḍal < ḍal, ḍalāḥ > shape; ḍāṇ < ḍāṇ-gārā > louse; ḍōsa < ḍōsa > half-ripe (as fruit) (= that which is to be bitten hard, < ḍōsa ?); ḍōka < ḍōkā > stiff, able; (=daṇḍa-? : see p. 492 supra); ḍalā < ḍalā > a basket; pour, throw (cf. ḍaḷa < ḍaḷā > pour); ḍōs < ḍōs(g)ā > boat, to step or cross over something (conn. with ḍōṣa < ḍōṣa > above?); ḍīva, ḍīvā < ḍīva, ḍīva > small round box (conn. with ḍāv above?); ḍām < ḍām > a piece, square slice; ḍoṛ < ḍoṛ > house, tent; ḍāva < ḍāva > puddle (conn. with ḍu ḍub < ḍub > sink?); ḍāl < ḍāl > large drum-shaped pot or bucket; ḍōkāla < ḍōkāla > spendthrift (conn. with ḍōkara < ḍēkāra > above?); etc.

Medially and finally, [d] is from—

OIA. < ḍ->, commonly from < ḍ-, ḍ- >, or dēśī sources, > MIA < ḍ- >: ḍāṭa, ḍāṭa (aṣa-vaṭa-); ḍaṛ < ḍaṛ > ring, bracelet (kaṭa, kṛta); MB. ḍānaḍ (i) < ḍānaḍ (a) > (kaṛaṭa-); ḍaṛ < ḍaṛ > (caṭai, caṭati); ḍīra < ḍīra > (ciṭaṭa-); ḍūb < ḍūb > (yūt); ḍāṭa
"jhāṛā" (jhāta); "pūrē" burns (puṭati); kūḍa, kūḍiya; kūṛē, kūriyā; "hūt" (kuṭṭ-); kāṭa; "khāṛi" chalk (khaṭīkā); ḍāṛa; "ghāṛā" — vase (ghaṭa-); ḍōḍa; "ghōṛā" (ghōṭaka-); ḍōṛa; "dhāṛā" (dhaṭa: dhṛta); nāḍa; "nāṛi" dancer > a caste (naṭa: nṛtu); MB. niṣṛṇā; niyāṛā (níkata); ṭēṛa; pēṛā (pēṭaka-); ḍēṛi; beṭāṛā (vāṭi-); bāṭi; "bāṛi" (vāṭi-kā: vṛt); bāṛi; "bāṛi" (vāṭi-kā); bāḥḍa; bāḥure returns (vyāghūṭati); ḍōṛa; "bhāṛi" soldier, servant > a surname; a kind of boat (bhaṭa, bhṛta); MB. ṭōṛi; māuṛi (mukutā); ṭārī; sāṛi (sāṭi-kā); ṭēṛi; tōṛe (trōṭayati); ṭēṛi; phōṛē (spōṭayati); fāṛe; phāṛē (spōṭayati); etc., etc.

OIA. "-d-"; ṭōḍa; gūṛē (গুড়া); ṭōḍa as in ṭōṛoṁa; "ehōṛāṇi" key (cf. ehōṭayati splits, opens < √ehuṭ); nīṛi; nīṛa (nīḍa); ṭēṛi; khrē; digs (khrē-d); nāṛi; nāṛi (nāḍi-kā); ṭōṛi;

"bāṛēśi" — fish-hook (baḍi-)

OIA. "-dy-"; ṭāḍa; jāṛi; cold (jāḍa, jāḍi-a); OIA. "-dr-"; uḍi, uḍoṁa; uṛē < uṛi-yā (Oḍiiaa-, Uḍriyaka-);

kāṛa; bōṛa; a large snake (vōḍra-); ṭōḍa; buri; one-fourth of a pāṇa, ¼th of 80 = 20 (vōḍri); ḍōṛa; bāṛa; big (Late Skt. vadrā < ?; but probably < vaṭa-, vṛta);

OIA. "-n-"; MIA. "-n-"; ?; beṇḍa; beṇṛ; kind of bamboo (cf. Pali veḷu = veṇu); pāḥḍa; pāḥṛē; hill (cf. pāḍa-)

OIA. "-ṉ-"; kūṛā; kūṛi (kuṇḍa); ṭāṛi; kāṛi; arrow (kāṇḍa);

ṭōṛi; khrē; molasses, ōṛē; khrē; heavy sacrificial sword (khaṇḍa-); ṭōṛi; chīrē; (chinhāti); ṭōṛi; kāṛi (canḍa); ṭōṛi; khrē; (anḍa); nāṛa; nāṛa (laṇḍa); OB., MB. pāṇḍa; pāṛē; a North Indian Brāhman (pañ-dita-); ṭōṛi; phāṛē; circumference (paṇḍa, paṇḍa belly < ?);

kāṛa; bhāṛāṛi (bhāṇḍāgūra); ṭōṛi; ṭōṛi; māṛi; (maṇḍa);

ḥōṛi; sūṛē; (sunḍa); ṭāṛi; sāṛē (ṣuṇḍa); etc.

OIA. "-ṇḍr-"; pūṛē; pūṛē; sugar-cane, a tribe (punch); OIA. "-ṭ-", mainly in connection with "r, r."; ṭāṇḍi, ṭāṁḍi; ṭāṛi (pratīvēśin); MB. pāṛi-čha; pāṛi-čha (pratikṣaka-);
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘ṛ’

so pāri < prati- > in MB. pārihāśa < pārihāśa > (pratibhāti),
pārihās < pārihāsā- > (prātihaśa-), etc.; pārē < pārē- > (pādai,
*patāti, patati); frān < bharūṇ > (Pali patanda, patanga); braṇ,
ṛaṇ < bāyaṛa < bāhēṛa > (MIA. bahēṛa = vibhītaka); also ṣaṃgaṛa
<  ಞmṛtaka ),  ಞ sx(g) śrāṛa > (śrngataka, -tka),
etc.; Māgadh Pkt. gaḍa > (gata) is on the model of kada,
man > (*kta, maṭa = kta, mṛta) : this gaḍa > is found in
the MB. of the ŚKK. (see p. 348, footnote). Cf. sṛuk < sṛākṣ >
road (sṛta, /sṛ to go). The OIA. -t- > MIA., NIA. -ṛ-;
words should properly come under this heading. The common
IMIA. and NIA. pleonastic affix -c- > -c- , =eMIA. -t- ,
seems to have been -ta- in OIA. : see infra, under ‘Formative
Affixes.’

OIA. -dd- > -ḍḍ- > MIA. -ṭṭ- > Beng. -ṛ- > urē
(udṛayati, ud + dayati).

OIA. -dr- > MIA. -ṭṭ- : kṛṛa > kharṛ > (*kṛṛa, kṣudra-
ta); pāṛa > pāṛa > village quarter (padra village, cf. Vaṭa-padra-
> Vaḷavadda > Vaḷād - = Baroda in Gujrat);

OIA. -nd- : sā ṣaṇaśi > sāṛaśi > (MIA.  *sandaušia, Skt. sandaušikā);
OIA. -rt- (-ṛt-) : see under -t-, t- > above.

OIA. -rd- > MIA. -ḍḍ- : kṛṛa > kāṛa > (kaparda-); ṣaṛga > chāṛa
(chedatci); mṛṛa > māṛa > pounds (as in an apothecary’s mortar
(mardati);

OIA. -l- > -ḷ- > -ḍ- : ṭāṛi > tāṛi > fermented date-palm
juice, ‘toddy’ (tāla, *tālikā).

Through despiration, intervocal and final [ṛ] has in all cases become
[ṛ] in NB. : see under [ṛ], below.

The following are some of the unexplained words with interior [ḍ >
ṛ]; they are probably of dēśi origin: ṣṛa < ṣṛa > give up, ṣṛa < ṣṛa >
move, ṣṛa < ṣṛa > fold: all these three roots are found in Dravidian
(Tamil); aṛa < aṛa > cross-wise, screen, whence MB. aṛaṇi > aṛaṇi > umbrella,
NB. aṛaṇi > aṛaṇi > obstruction; aṛaṇa > aṛaṇa > club, rendezvous; aṛaṇa
< aṛaṇa > stables; ṣṛa > ṣṛa > straw, fuel, ṣṛaṇa.
"khārśkiyā" - tooth-pick of rushes; विडकी "khīrīkī" - window, back-door (MIA. khaśakkī); खाडु "khāru" - bracelet (khaśādu); गडू "gāru" - water-pot with spout; गडू "√gār" - to roll, whence गड़ "gāri" - carriage, गड़क्रुण "gāriyān" - sloping ground ( = MIA. gāka : see p. 66); गेठ "√gīt" - sprout; गोड "gōrd" - foot (MIA. gōk'ā); गोड "gōrd" - beginning; गोड "gōrd" - fleshy navel (see p. 67); गोड "gōrd" - bigot, bigoted partisan; गोड "gōrd"; OB. गोठ "gōṭh" - neck; गोठाड "gōṭārā" - ruffian (see p. 71); गोड "nārī" - stick; MB. गोड, गोड "nār(h)ā", NB. गोड "nērī" - shaven-head; गोड "pār" - chief, excessive; "pārā" - buffalo; काड "phārā" - impeding danger, lucky escape; भिड "bhiṭā" - crowd; लड "√lār" - fight; लड "lāru" - sweet-meat (MIA. laśdu-); लड "hōrā" - competition, slippery (cf. हूढ़हर्ष "hurāhuri" - shaking and pushing); हाड "hārā" - bone (= Late Skt. ha'cā-); etc., etc.

[d-, <d-] in foreign words represents the alveolar [d] of English; also the Persian dental <d> in डी "dīhī" - district, area (dīh count'y), डेग "dēg" - caldron (dēg).

272. Bengali [ṭī]. Initially, it is from--

OIA. "ṭh-" : ठुक "ṭhuk, ḍhok" - enters (√ṭhāṅk > MIA. ḍhōkkaï approaches): but cf. ट, ḍ next page;

OIA. "ṭhr-" in ठौँट "ṭhīṭa" (ṭhrṣṭa);

OIA. "*-rth-" : ठिल "ṭhilā" (MIA. ḍhilla- = "*ṣidhila-

*ṣithila" - beside Skt. "ṣithila" < "*ṣithila": but this derivation is very doubtful);

OIA. "sth-" : ठाक "ṭhakā" (< ḍhakkaï < *ṭagati < sthagati": very doubtful).

In ठोँठ "ṭhōrā" a water snake, we have "ṭh" through aspiration: see ante, p. 425.

In most "ṭh-", however, as in those given above, the etymology is doubtful: "ṭh-" words are mostly dēsī. Typical Bengali words: ठं "ṭhāṅ" - style, manner, gallantry, coquetry; ठामल "ṭhāmāli" - revelry, orgy, also ठामल "ṭhāmāli"; ठन "ṭhānā" - pale, weak; ठन "√ṭhāl" - to slope, to lean, to flow; ठाक "ṭhakā" (Skt. ḍhakkā?); ठाक "ṭhāṅ(g)ā" - tall; ठाल "ṭhālā" - shield; ठाल "ṭhālā" - pours, ठाल "ṭhālā" - sloping, conn. with ठल;
'DH'; SOURCES OF 'RH, R'

499

 DH[1] < chācā > form, shape (also = चाचा); चिका < vchika > be weary (cf. Skt. dhikṣa); छिप < ṭhip > sound of something falling (cf. ṭhip = kṣepanē); छिबिर < ṭhibi > mound, छब्रा > छब्रा > a lump > a coin (stamped bit of copper); छब्रा < ṭhibīr > axle-iron; छीम < ṭhimā > slow; छिल < ṭhilā > clad, piece of stone; छुल < vchul > move to and fro (as a chowry), doze, nod one's head in sleep; छुड < vchur > seek (MIA. cunghai); छु > ṭhu > butting with the head, छु > vchus > push with the head, gore; छेथ < ṭhêu > wave; छेर < ṭhēr > rice-pounding machine, lever machine; छेर < ṭhērā > proclamation by beat of drum; छेर < ṭhērā > velveting; छेड़ < ṭhēśā > a vegetable, 'lady's fingers'; छेड़ < ṭhēś > seed-pod (of the poppy), an ear-ornament; छेड़ < ṭhēkā > push (cf. धाक < ṭhākā >); छेड़ < ṭhēmā > a wanton or characterless person; छेड़ < ṭhēma > -sā > a musical instrument, beside छेड़ < ṭhāṃsā >; छेड़ < ṭhēṛ > much, excessive, a heap; छेड़ < ṭhēṛ > scrawl; छेड़ < ṭhō > remove articles; छेड़ < ṭhōlā > drum (déśī cōllā); छेड़ < ṭhōlā > a surname (cf. Saur. Ap. cōllā-lover); etc.

Medially, [ḍh = ṭh] of OB., reduced to [ḍ = ṭ], comes from—

OIA. < -ṭh > (generally < -ṛḥ >) > MIA. < -ḍh >: पट > पट < pāṭhē > pāṭē > (pāṭhati < ṭṛath); कूठली कूडल, कूड़ल < *kūṛhāli > kūṛāla, kūṛul > (kūṛhāra- < *kūrthāra, cf. Latin culter); पट > पट < vgarh, gār > make, build, shape (vgaṭh, ṭgarh).

OIA. < -ḍh >: MB. गाँठ < gāṛhā > (gāḍha-); पट > पट < dāṛhā > dāṛā > (dr̥ḍha-); आर < ṭārā > आरह > आर > a grain measure (āḍha); *सूत > सूTB > *ṣẹṛhi > sīṛi > steps > (ṣṛēṭhi-);

OIA. < -ṣṭ(h)- > Early MIA. < -ṭṭh-, -ṭh- > Second and Late MIA. < -ḍh- >: काठ > काड़ < v+kāṛhā > ṭkāṛā snatch away, raise (a shout (kṛṣṭa-); *कूठ छड़ < *kūṛhi > kūṛi > (kūṛhāa-); धाँ > धाँ > dāṛhā > dāṛā > (dāṅṭrā-); धाँ > धाँ > धाँ > dāṛhi > dāṛi > beard (dāṅṭrikā); धाँ > धाँ > bēṛhā > bēṛa > (vēṣṭa-); धाँ > मार > मार > water in which rice is boiled (mṛṣṭa-); छूट, छूट < lūṭ, nur > pebble (lo[t]-: see p. 307); etc.

OIA. < -ṛkh-, -rdh- > Māgadhī MIA. < -ṛḥ-, -ṛḥ >: आर > आरह > आरह < arabhā > store, magazine (rdḥha-: cf. ṭṛhyā); छड़ > छड़

The « -h- » in kī « rādha » is obscure: a connection with a « raḍḍha < raṭṭha < rāṣṭra » does not seem convincing. ḍṛ < √cārḥ » ride, is found in Hindi, and seems to be due to aspiration of ḍṛ < √cāṛ » (attested in the Śaurasenī Abapbraniṣṭ fragments in Hēma-candra’s grammar) = √caṭ in Skt. (« cṛta » ?).


(4) The Dental Stops and Aspirates [t, th, d, dh].

273. The dentals do not present any difficulty. Barring cases of cerebralisation (which was native Māgadhī), and palatalisation in connexion with « -y- » (which was non-Māgadhī), and a few instances of labialisation in connexion with a labial or denti-labial (which also was non-Māgadhī), the dentals have had a uniform history. The non-cerebralised forms in
cases where we have preceding <r> in OIA. are apparently old loan-words from the Midland and Western dialects.

Bengali [t].

Initially, [t] is from MIA. <t->, coming from—

OIA. <t->: MB. তড় <t̚r̚> (tāṭa, *ṭṭa); তল <t̚l̚l̚> (tala);
    তাষ <t̚aṣu> (tāta-śvaḥ); তা <t̚a> (tāpa), also তাও <t̚āō>;
    তাত <t̚aṭā> (tantra, tantu); তাত <t̚aṭa> (tapta); তাকে <t̚a̯k̚ē>
    (tarkayati); তাজ <t̚a̯j̚ē> (tarjati); তাঙ্গি <t̚a̯r̚i̯> toddy (tāla-);
    তিত <t̚it̚a> (tikta-); তিল <t̚il̚l̚> (tila); তেল <t̚e̯l̚> (tāila); তোলে
    <t̚ōl̚e> raises (tōlayati), etc.;

OIA. <tr->: তিন <t̚iṇi> = tin (tīṇī, tṛṇī); তে <t̚e̯> (tri-, tray-);
    তোড় <t̚ōr̚> (trō̯ṭyati); তোড়ি also টোড়ি <t̚ōr̚i̯, t̚ōr̚i> a Rāgini
    (trō̯ṭikā, tō̯čikā);

OIA. <tv->: তুই <t̚ui̯> (tvāy-, tv-); তুরিত <t̚ur̚it̚a> (tvarant-);

OIA. <y->, by analogy changed to <t-> in MIA.: তুমি <t̚umi>
    (tumbē, *tumbahi = yuṣma-, yuṣmabhīḥ).

In the interior of words, [t] is from—

OIA. <ṅkt-> > MIA. <nt->: পাতি <pāṭi> row, a line, an
    opinion (paṅkti);

OIA. <tt->: উত্তর <utār̚e> (uttarati); মাত <māṭa>, মাতাল
    <māṭāl̚a> (mattā); মীত, ভিত <bhīt, bhīt> (bhītī);

OIA. <t-> with accent following > MIA. <tt->: জিত <jīt̚>
    victory, also জিত <√jīt> to win (jitta, jitā); cf. পিতল <pīṭal̚a>
    (pittala > pitā);

OIA. <t-> with spontaneous nasalisation > MIA. <nt->: সোতা
    <sōṭa> current, OB. <sonta-> (sōnta, srōtas); পূতি <pūti> 
    fine beads stringed in ornaments (? pōntia = *prōṭikā, prōta);

OIA. <tr-> > MIA. <tt->: অরতি <ārāti> (ārātrika); করাত
    <kārāt̚a> (karapata); গ্রহ <grha> <khēṭa> (kṛṣṭa); গণত
    <kānt̚a> (khanitra-); MB. গাত <gāṭa> (gātra); চীত, চিতা
    <citā, citā> leopard (citnika-); চীরিত <cārīt̚a> (caritra); চোটিত
    <cāṭuti> a surname (caṭṭa-putra); জাত <cāṭa> (chatra-); MB.
    জাতী <jāṭī> horoscope (jāṭa-patrika); জাত, জাত <jāṭa> quern
(yantra-); MB. चुतार "chutāra" (sūtra-dhāra); मेत "nēt" fine cloth (nētra); पाइता "paitā" sacred thread (pavitra-); पात "pata" (patra); पुत "putā" (putra); बेव "bētā" (vētra);
MB. रूहित, बोहित "buhitā, bōhitā" (vahitra); माहु "māhutā" elephant-driver (mahāmātra); मूत, मूत "mutā" (mūtra); रात, रात "rat(i)" (rātri); तीस "-tiśā" (-triśāt); etc., etc.;
OIA. «-kt-» > MIA. «-tt-»: आलता "ālāta" (alakta-); छू "chātu" (saktu-); तित "titā" (tikta-); भात "bhāt" (bhakta); नाता > MB. यठी "moti" muti" (mauktika); रात "rātī", रात "rāti" (raktika), from the Hind. "rattī"; रात "rātā", रात "rātul" rātulā pink, red (rakta-); सॅत "sattāna" moistened (sikta-);
OIA. «-kt-» > MIA. «-tt-»: जोत "jótā" farm, जोत "jutā" shoe (yōktra-);
OIA. «-tt-» > MIA. «-tt-»; छू "chattisā" (śatvīriśāt), beside the sta. छोटिरिम, छू "chatt(i)riśā".
OIA. «-nt-, -ntr-» > MIA. «-nt-»: अन "ātā" (antra-); उक्त "urutā" thigh (p. 325); MB. कृत "kāti" (kānti); तात "tattā" (tantra, tantu); दात "dātā" (danta); बहु "bāhutā" much, excessive, many (? bahu-vant-); MB. भात "bhātī" (bhrāntī);
सात "sātā", sātā Sāntal = border-tribe (sāmanta-pāla);
सी "sī" a surname (sāmanta-rāja); सित "sīti"- (śīmanta-);
etc. The locative affix तै, तै, तै "< anta, anta + hi"; the dative post-position तेत "taře" (antara + hi); etc. The MIA. affix «-anta» of the present participle has given इत "-it-" in Bengali; see pp. 132, 335. Cf. माहित > माहिती मāhītī a surname (mahanta-+ika: Oriyā māhīti);
OIA. «-pt-» > MIA. «-tt-»: नात "nāti (*naptrika = napṭ); नित "niśuti" (niśupta-); बिनत "bināti" (vijūapti-); गत "sattā" sapta-; सत "sattā" sapta- (sapta-dāśā); in सत "sattāsā", एकानत "ekāttāsā" etc., we have «-tt-» in NB. for OIA. «-pt-»; तख "vatru "sūt" to sleep (supta); etc.
OIA. «-rt-» > MIA. «-tt-»: MB. कात "kāti" (kārttika); OB. "gāti" (gartka-); बत "bāti" (varttika).
In घृ (chūtā) «pollution, untouchability, we have [t] through unvoicing and deaspiration of «dh» from OB. घृ (chudha) (ksubdha), with influence of √घृ, चू चू » tonch.

In বৃহত্তা (boli) «wasp, it seems we have [t] from «t-» or «l-» (Skt. varata, varalā; Hind. barrā).

[t] is intrusive in জাতুতা, জাতুতা, পিসুতা, মানাতা, মামাতা, জাতুতা, কুমার-utā, কৃত-utā, পিসু-utā, মামাত-utā » cousins, children of father's elder brother, younger brother, and sister, and of mother's sister, and brother respectively, side by side with জাতুতা, জাতুতা, পিসুতা etc. jēt-utā, kūr-utā, pīsu-tā etc. (* jēthāutā, kūrōutā, pīsuutā: jyētha-tāta-putra, kṣudra-tāta-putra, pītṛ-svasrikā-putra, etc.)

[t] is found for «st» in a few MB. stss. : তিরি (tiri) (stiri), তম (tānā) (stana).

[t] occurs in stss. forms. e.g., মূগতি (jugati), also জুথিং (jugitā) (yukti); বাটাষ (bātāṣ) (vāta-); MB. পাট্য (pātiyā) (pratyaya-). It is found also in some ts. affixes, like ইত (it-) : e.g., ধীৃত (dhiitā) (√থৃ to be at stand-still). In ts. words, there is 'doubling' of the [t] in the groups «t-, t-, tr-, t-, » also in «thy-»: e.g., আত্মা (āttā), হত (ḥottā), রাত্রি (rattrī), তথ (ditto), মিথ (mithā).

In the word বিত্তিকিছু (bitikicche) «bad, ugly (= viekītsa-), we have an uncommon change of «c-» to [t], to avoid repetition of the «c» sound; cf. also folk-Bengali কিন্তু (tikicche) (= eikītsa).

Intervocal [th] tends to deaspirate, and a number of thā forms like হাত (hāt) (for MB. হাত (hātā) have dropped the aspiration quite early.

The English alveolar [t] is normally represented by the cerebral [t] in Bengali, but we find the dental in a few cases: e.g., ডাকার (dakār) «doctor; হাসপাতাল (hospitāl) » hospital; তারপিন (tarpin) » turpentine, etc.

For [t] in loan-words from the Persian, Portuguese, French, English, see infra.

274. Bengali [th]. Initially, [th] is from—

OIA. «st-, sth-»: ঘর (thār) (stara); MB. তাহ (thāha) (stāgha);
MB. ধন (thāna) (stana); তার (thāna) (sthana-); তার (thāma) (stambha); তার (thākē) » remains, arrests oneself (√sthā?);
\[ \sqrt{\text{stabh-}} + \sqrt{k̄r̄} \] ; धिर < thirā > (sthira); ठाल < thālā > plate (cf. sthālī); ठोर < thōy > (sthāpayati); ठोड़ा < thōrā > (stōka-); stts. धिता < thitā > subside, धितु < thitu > established (sthita-);

In the word धर्तर < thārthārā > trembling, shaking, cf. MIA. < thara- haraî > trembles, the origin of the [th] is not clear. In खूब < thukā >, खुब < thut(h)u > spittle, it is clearly onomatopoetic. [th] is of unknown origin in the following (probably dēśi) words: धतरत < thātā-mātā > taken aback (conn. with < stabdha- >); धत < thāl >, धास < thās >, the idea of flabbiness (prob. onomatopoetic); ठावा < thābā > paw, with which are connected ठावड़ा < thābārā >, ठावड़ा; ठापपारा > slap, etc.; ठढ़क < thik > the idea of teeming, as of maggots (onomatopoetic ?); ठूने > ठून < thū(h)i >, ठूननी < thūðānā > chin, ठूना, ठूनता > thōt(h)ā > fat chin; ठुड़ा, ठुड़ < thurā >, ठूरा > mince (as meat); ठुड़ा; ठुबुरा > to tumble, down face forward, tottering old person; ठेतान < thētānā >, extended to ठेतानलाना > to pound, to mash: ठेबा < thōbā > bunch (< < stabaka- >); ठोड़ा < thōrā > inner part of the plantain tree, etc.

In the interior of words, [th] is from—

OIA. < -th- >: अस्थ < asathā > (asatthā); इथे < ithē > (ittha-);
करेख, कर < ka(yē)thā > (kapiththa); कुलथ < kulathā > (kulattha-);
तुद्य < tūdiyā > from ؾवृत्ति < tūdiyā > (tūthā-).
OIA. < -tr- >: देथा < bethā > (atra-), देथा < jēthā > (yatra-) (?).
OIA. < -nt- >: सिधी, सिध < sithi, sithā >, beside सिध, सिधा < siti, sitā > (sīmanta-); cf. Maithilia < karathi, bhanathi > etc. = MIA. < karanti, bhaṇanti >.
OIA. < -rth- > = MIA. < -th- >: साथ, साथ < sathā, sathē > company, in company with (sārtha-); चं < cāthā > (caturtha), a non-Māgadhī form.
OIA. < -st(h)- >: नथ < nāthā > (nastā); आवथर < aṭhāntārā > (avasthāntara); MB. stts. आवथ < āvāthā > (avasthā); कारेख, कार्येत < kāyēt(h)ā > (kāyastha); पाथर < pāthārā > (prastara);
पुथ, पूथ < path, puthi > (pustikā; see p. 194); MB. पठान < pāthānā > (pada-sthāna); पाथान < bāthānā > cow-pen (? vāsa-sthāna); साथ < māthā > (mastaka-); मूथ < muthā > (musta-);
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'D'

MB. হাথ < hātha > > NB. হাত < hāt > (hasta); শিথান < śithāna > (śiras-sthāna): etc.

[th] occurs in ts. words: কথা < kātha >, প্রথম < prāthāma >, যথা < yathā > [fōtha], etc.

In foreign words: the English spirant sound of [θ] regularly becomes [th] in Bengali.

275. Bengali [d]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < d- >: MB. দে < dē > (= dēva, dēha); দাত < dātā > (danta);

OIA. < dr- >: MIA. োদ < √dāur > (drava-ḍa: see pp. 345, 348); দাম < dāma > (dramya < Greek drakhme);

OIA. < dv- >: MIA. োদ < √du- > (dvi-); ḍ ছদ্ধ < dūdi, dūde > quarrelsome, masterful, strong (dvandva-); চুন < dūnā > (dvipaga-);

In the interior of words, [d] is from—

OIA. < -dd-, -dr- >: MIA. োদ < √dd- >, -nd- : কোদাল < kōdalā > (kuddāla < ?); আদাল < ādāl > (ādraka-);

OIA. < -dm- >: MIA. োদ < √dm- >: ছাদ < chāḍa > roof (chadma? see infra, next page).

OIA. < -dv- >: ছাদলা, ছেলা < chāḍālā, chēlā > moss, slice (? sādvala:- see under ছেলা, p. 481).

OIA. < -bd- >: MIA. োদ < √bd- >: OB. সাদা < sāda > (śabda);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

OIA. «-nd-»: छाद «chāḍ» (chanda); ननद «nānāḍ» (nananda);
सिदुर «sīḍūr» (sindura);
OIA. «-ndr-» > MIA. «-nd-»: चाद «chāḍ» (candra);
OIA. «-rd-» > MIA. «-dd-», a non-Māgadhī change: आदा «āḍā» (ārdraka);
कादा, कादा «kāḍā», «kāḍō» (kardama);
कुदी «kūḍī» jumps (kurdati ?); चोद «cāuddā» (caturdaśa);
गाद «pāḍ» (parda);
बादल «bāḍalā» (vardala ?); मादल «māḍalā» (mardala); etc.

[d] is intrusive and euphonic in बादल «bāḍal»; probably borrowed from the Hind. < bandar > (vānara); cf. जादरल < jāḍrēl > huge, big = Hind. < jandrāl > < English general.

[d] for [क] we get in दनाई < dānāi > for जानाइ < jānāi > (= janārdana);
गीला «gāḍālā», probably for गीला «gāḍālā» (gīlā) scum, froth;
Chittagong राजाई < rāḍā-hāśā for राजाई < rājā-hōsā > swan; and probably दाब «dāb» «fight, brawl» is a variant of Persian < jāng > battle.

Through voicing of [t(h)], we get [d] in a number of words: e.g., असुद < āsudā > अष्ठ < āstha > (āsvattha); कुबेल < kūḍēl > for कुयेल-बेल < kāyēṭha-bēlā > (kapittha-bilva), through progressive assimilation; छाद < chāḍ > roof' seems rather to be from the voicing of the dental in छात < chāṭ > (chatra), rather than from a form like OIA. छादम > (see above, under < -dm- >). NB. [d] through deaspiration of final and intervocal [d] is exceedingly common.

In tss., [d] is retained: and in < -dm-, -dy-, -dr-, -dr; -dhm-, -dhr-, -dhy-, -dhw- >, the stop is lengthened in tss.

[d] in foreign words: see infra. English spirant [θ] becomes [d].

276. Bengali [d]. Initially, from—

OIA. « dh- »: धन < dhāna > (dhana); धान < dhāna > (dhānya-); MB.
धरे « dhārē » (√dhṛ); धुन « dhunē » (dhūnōti); धनी « dhānī »
lady, woman (*dhaniikā); OB. < dhāma > (dharma); धार < dhāy >
dhāvati); धार < dhāy > (dhāvayatī); धृता < dhūta > (dhūma-);
धला « dhālā » (dhavala-); धोखा, धोखा < dhōkhā > dhōkā > to be weary, to pant (√dhukṣ); धडू « dhārā > torso (dhṛṭa-); धोषा « dhōṣā > a grey woollen stuff (dhūsa-); धृति < dhutī > (dhōtra-);
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'DH'

ধাঁধা = dhādha = (dhandha- < ?); ধুনা = dhūna = (dhūpana-);
ধুলা = dhūla = (dhūli) etc.
OIA. dhr. > MIA. dh. = dhrūva = refrain (dhrūva-);
OIA. dhv. > MIA. dh. = dhās = (dhvāsa); MB. dhuni =
< dhuni = (dhvani).

Medially—
OIA. -gdh. > MIA. -ddh. = dudhā = (dugdha);
OIA. -ddh. = MB. abhūdha = (abuddhi); MB. budhi =
(buddhi); udhā = (uddhava); drar dhār = loan (uddhāra);
pind = vābdhā = desire (sraddhā);
udh, ud, udh, udh = sudh(i), sudh(i) = knowledge (śuddhi);
OIA. -dhr. > MIA. -ddh. = MB. gidh, gidhini =
gidhā, gidhini = (grdhra, grdhrinī);
OIA. -ndh. = anādha = (andhakāra); anādhi =
dust-storm (andhikā); kāth = kādhā = (kandha, skandha);
vidh = bādhā = (bandha); OB.
< sādhi = (sandhi), etc.
OIA. -bdh. > MIA. -ddh. = labdha = (labdha); OB.
< chudha = impure NB. dhūt = kusubha = (kṣubha);
OIA. -rdh. > MIA. -ddh. = ardha = (ardha); vadhā =
< bādhā = water-pot with spout (vardhana-);

[ṛdh] through transference of aspiration is not uneconomic: e.g.,
�� = gādhā = (gaddaha-, gardabha-); sth. beside sth. =
< sand(h)ā = (sandhā);
dialectally ḍādhā [ṛiddhā] = ḍāṭā = cauddā =
< caudhā = (caturdāśa).

[ṛdh] interchanges with the cerebral [ṛdh] initially in some cases: e.g.,
টা, টা = ḍācā, ḍācā = style, also ċā = ḍājā =; ḍōra = ḍōrā = beside
< ḍōrā = ( = ḍūjūbha, dundubha); ḍōṭ, beside ḍōṭ = ḍīṭā, dhiṭā =
(dhrṣṭa); tōōs, tōōs = (ḍhrāṭā, ḍhrāṣṭā = a vegetable;
ṭāis, ḍāṭā = ḍōusā, ḍōusā = huge (= ḍhāb-u-sā < ḍhābā, ḍhībi mound, hilllock ?); etc. A
number of -dh- words in Bengali (as in other NIA.) are obscure: e.g., ḍhāmā =
pump, splendour, hugeness (cf. ḍhāmā = ḍhumālā = fat); ḍhōkā =
< ḍākkā =, push, splendour = ḍhākālā = strain, beside MB. ḍchā = ḍhēkā = push;
�া = ḍhāmā = basket; ḍhāsā = ḍhāmā = squeeze, beat, press, cf. ḍhāmāl
(5) The Labial Stops and Aspirates [p, ph, b, hfi], and the Bilabial and Denti-labial Spirants [v, f; f, v].

277. Labialisation of the OIA. groups of dental stops (or aspirates) \+ \( m \) or \( v \) is a phonological development which is quite noteworthy in MIA. (see Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ § 129). Two kinds of treatment are found in MIA.: (i) assimilation of the labial nasal or semi-vowel to the preceding dental (e.g., ātmā > attā); (ii) labialisation (e.g., ātmā > âtpā > appā). Judging from the evidence of Aśoka MIA. (in which the dialect of Girnar normally uses \( -tp- \) for \( -tv- \), \( -tm- \) and \( -db- \) for \( -dv- \)), from a Greek transcription like Barakhē = Dvārakā, and from Modern Gujarāṭī and Sindhi (e.g., bē, bbē > two) it can be very well inferred that the labialisation with \( v, m \) characterised the dialects of the Gujarat side in the First MIA. period. Labialisation was absent in the East (and possibly also in the Midland) in the Early MIA. period, but it was found in the North-western speech: e.g., the equivalents of dvādaśa in the Early MIA. dialects were, as can be inferred from the Aśoka inscriptions, duvāḍaśa, duvāḍaśa in the East and the Midland, dbāḍaśa in the South-west, and badaya, = bādaśa in the North-west; and those of ātman were, respectively in the East and the Midland, in the South-west and the North-west, āttā-, ātapa-, and ātma (as in Mansehra: the Shahbazgarhi ātā= āttā seems to be a ‘Māgadhism’). The North-western speech also shows change of \( m, v \) to \( p \) after a sibilant: e.g., pravasapi = pravā-sasmin = pravāsē, spasuna(m) = svasṛṇam, spamikēna = svāmikēna etc. This is a change which is not found in other parts of India, but it has
a parallel in the Iranian change of «śv» to «sp», as in «spa-ka, aspa» = «śvan, aśva».

The labialised forms are very few in Bengali and in other Magadhan (see below). These forms can very well have come to the Eastern dialects (and to those of the Midland) from the dialects of the West where they seem to have originated. They were early established in the Northern Indian koiné based on the Midland speech, which became the Pali language: and their acceptance in the various forms of MIA. was due to the influence of this koiné.

278. Bengali [p].

[p] is a sound which tends very easily to be pronounced without contact of the lips, and in Old Bengali, some groups like «na+√par» not to be able became নার «√nār» in MB. through a stage «*naωar-», which is preserved in Assamese as «nωar-». Apart from the spirant pronunciation of the aspirates [ph, bh], the stop [p] is pronounced as a bilabial open consonant or spirant, [f], in the Eastern Vanga dialects; and in Noakhali and Chittagong, the lips are frequently so far apart as to reduce the [f] into a sound almost like a voiceless [h]: e.g., Sylhet Bengali পাপ = [faːf], পুঞ্জা = [fuza], পাধা = [paʃa] pice = [foːʃ]; Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong পুত্ত = [puːt], পুঞ্জান = [huːt], পোল = [pɔl] child = [vola, hola], পূতিমাছ = [pɔti-maʃ] a fish = [puʃias, huʃias], পেট = [pæʃ] = [hæʃ], পাইয়ে = [paijʃi] I have received = [haisi], পলাইয়ে = [palaʃi] has run away = [halaise], etc. One can compare the change of [p] to [f, h] in Japanese, in Modern Kannada, and in other languages.

Initially, [p] is from MIA. «p-», from—

OIA. «p-»: পড়ে = «pāre» (patati); পা = «pā» (pāda); পান = «pāna»,
পান, পাশ = «pāna», পান্ড = «pānḍa» (pāna; parṇa); পাত্রে = «piέ» (pipati);
পুঞ্জা = «putā» (putra); পিসি = «pisi» (pītra-svasṛkhā); পুঢ় = «puchē»
(pṛchhati); পুন্তা = «pū» (pūpa-); পূর্ণ = «pānē» (pādōna-);
পূর্ণ = «pāre»; MB. পড়ে, পাহী = «pāhrē, pāhirē» (paridhiyatē);
পুরুষ = «pukurē» (puskārin); পাইত = «pāitā» (pavitra-);
MB. পান, পাহু = «pāhu, pāhū» (prabhu); পাখ = «pākā» petal
(parva-); पर्क < पारक्षाय (पारक्षाय); पुड़ < पुरेय बुरन (पुरतय); MB. पानाक, पाना < पानाय, पाताय (पाताय); etc., etc.

Also in डेसी words, e.g., डेसी < पेत < पेठ डेसी, डेसी, डेसी < पोक (क-) < worm, डेसी < पाड़ < twist, whirl, डेसी < पौद < entrails, exudation from nose, डेसी < पोधड़ < a vegetable, etc.

OIA. < pr- > पुरूप < पुटी < beads (*punta-, prouta-); पियार < पियार > पियार (priya-); पियाल < पियाल (priyala); पर < पारक्षाय < पारक्ष (prahara); पाहेल, पाहेल < पाहेलाय, पाहेला (pratha-illā); MB. पेख < पेख (पेख); पांच < पाँचाल (पाँचाल); पुरी < पुरी < पुरी < पुरी (पुरी); पोढ़ < पोढ़ (पोढ़); MB. पेम < पेम (pemma, preman); MB. पेल < पेल <, NB. पेल < pell < (pella, prelayati); MB. पौस < पौस (pavrs); पौसिक < पौसिक (pratiṣeṣī); MB. पौसिक < पौसिक < (pratiṣeṣī); पानी > पानी > पानी > पानी (praviṣṭi); पानी < पानी < stairs, foundation (pratiṣṭha-); etc., etc.

In the interior of words, [p] is from—

OIA. < tp- > MIA. < pp- > उपज < upaj < (upadyat); उपज < upaj < (upatayati);

OIA. < p- > MIA. < mp- > पिपा, पिपी < pip(i)ta, OB. < pimpe> (cf. Skt. piplikā); खाप < sampa < curse (*sampa = sampa; cf. abhisampāta);

OIA. < pp- > पिपुल < pipul (pipal); जल्लीपी < jala-pi < a kind of bird (pippaka, pippika);

OIA. < py- > MIA. < pp-, mp- > रुप < rupā (rupāya); रुप, रुप < khopa, khopa > hair done into a knot (*kṣupa-? or kṣumpa-?); खाप < jhāpā (yāpya-yāna);

OIA. < pr- > MIA. < pp- > छप < chip < a fast boat (kṣipra; or < dēsi sippa shell?); बाप < bap < fathure (vapra);

OIA. < mp- > चाप < cāpā (campaka); चाप < kāpā (kampa); NB. सापुड़ < sāpurā < basket, pot (sampa-at-);

Also in डेसी words: डेसी < डेसी < crown, helmet, डेसी < डेसी < hat; डेसी, डेसी, डेसी < डेसी < डेसी < press (cf. Saur. Ap. campijaι = ākramyat); डेसी < cāpā < slap (cf. Skt. carpaṣa < ?); छाप
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘P, PH’

√châp > to print; लहौली < bârâpî > basket, snake-charmer’s basket; शिप < sipā > libation-pot (dēśī sippā = shell, oyster shell), etc.

OIA. < -rp- > MIA. < -pp- >: काप, खाप < kâpâ, khâpâ > sheath (*skarpa, karpa > MIA. khappa, kappa); कापड < kâpârd > (karpa-ta); खापर < khâpârā > tile (khappara-); खापस < kâpâś > (kârpāsa); OB. < kâpurâ > (karppūra); दाप < dâp > (darpa); साप < sâp > (sarpa); सपेल < sâpê > (samarpayati); etc.


OIA. < -tm-, -tv- >: अपन < âpân < (appau-, cf. Girnar Asōkan atpa = ātman); the suffix -pun, -pûra < -pând, -pânā > (MIA. -ppâna- < -tvana >); छाप < châpâ > bedstead with frame for curtains (chatvara).

Cases of [p] by deaspiration of [ph] are rare initially in Bengali, but quite common intervocally and finally. Through unvoicing of [b] we get [p] in a few cases: e.g., पाप्तत < pâptat > petal beside पाबती < pâbârti > (parva-); the curious stsy. अद्वैत < adôêt > at all, in the least < *âdvâte < adôbē > adôvê for Sanskrit अदृत [adou] + loc. aff. < -ë >; etc.

[p] in ts. words is doubled in the groups < -pr-, -pl-, -py- >. In some stsy., < -sp- > had given [p]: e.g., पारस < pârasa > (sparśa), पाट < pâsta > (spaṭa).

In foreign words, intervocal [p] frequently is from [f] of Persian, Portuguese, English: see infra.

279. Bengali फ [ph, f, f].

Initially, it is from OIA., MIA. < ph- >: कल < phâlî > (phala); कलार < phâlārd > feast (phâlabāra); कल < phâlà > (phalaka-); काग < phâgâ > (phalgun); काङ्त < phâgunâ > (phâlguna); कल < phâlâ > (phâla); फें < phêna > (phêna-); फु < phu > sound of blowing with the mouth (cf. phutkâra); फूल < phulî > flower (phulla); काँक < phâki > emptiness, laziness, < negligence (phakkikā < ?); कांड < phârd > circumference < belly (phânḍa < ?), etc.
Also from OIA. "p-", by aspiration: काव्रा भासां फ्लोट ऑफ विल in angling line (? patra-); काल भासां (pāsa); कविन्द्रा भासां भारी (g)ा स्त्री plough hopper (patagga); M.B. फ्लाङ्गि भालांगा jump, leap (? plavanga: sts.); केले प्लेसी भालांगा (bamboo) stick with big joints (?) parva); etc.

OIA. "sp., sph-" > MIA. "ph-" > Bengali [ph]: क्रस as in क्रसकार to slip away, to lose touch (conn. with √Presence ?); कुटी पुटे (śputyati); काटे पुटे (śpītyati, phaeṭa); काटे पुटे (śpāṭyati); केले पूरा (śpōta-); काल प्लांगि भारा (sphāla); करश, करूंग भारा (śphāra, śphārā) clearing of darkness, dawning (√sphar, √sphur); काल प्लांगि excess, addition, extra on little articles sold (śphāta—śphātkar); stt. फ्लाङ्गि प्लांगि (śpāṭyati), क्रस्ति भीरु (śphūrī), etc.

[ph] in the middle of words is from—

OIA. "mph-" : कोक् कोकह गुम्पा (gumpha); लाफ लाफ (lampha);
OIA. "rph-" : M.B. नाला नाला लाफ (śphātayati, phaṭṭa); गोला कोकह (śpōta-);
OIA. "ţuph-" > *tph-" > MIA. "pph-" : OB. काप्लारा (kappahala, *kaṭphala, kaṭuphala);
OIA. "sp-" > MIA. "pph-" : M.B. अफाले अफाले (ōphālē) (śphāṭayati).

Some words in [ph] are obscure in Bengali: e.g., कोक् < कारह भालांगि गोली, water-pot (originally = with a broad brim? cf. √sphāra); फिक, फिक पहाल, phēkā, phēkā pale; फिक-ब्यथा phik-byathā sudden pain in the chest, side or stomach (< pakṣa?); गोला गोला cave, also गोला (cf. guha); फेंक फेंक जकल, jungle dog (cf. phēru: onomatopoetic?); फीर √phir to turn; कालेटो प्लांगि excess; केले प्लांगि फ्लोट fibre (conn. with कालेद फ्लोट?); किंगक्रा प्लांगि (g)ा a tiny bird; किंगक्रा, करूंग प्लांगि (g)ा स्त्री middle-man, a dealer who buys up from the producer; काले प्लांगि impending danger; काले काले प्लांगि (h)ा फ्लोट confusion (cf. OB. bhābhāri-, Skt. bharbharā); etc., etc.
In the dialectal word লাফড়া < láphdrā >, beside লাবড়া < lábdṛa > vegetable hotch-potch with pumpkin, there is [ph] from -p- < -b- < -u- > (alābu, lāu, lāu + dā > *lābdṛā : cf. আদোব < ādōbē > from ādāu + ē, p. 511).
[ph] occurs in foreign words, for f ».

280. Bengali [b]. Initially, it is derived from—

OIA. < dv- > MIA. (non-Māgadh) < b- > OB. < b- > : বার < bārā > (dvādaśa), বাইশ < bāsiś > (dvāvinśati), etc.;

OIA. < -p- > Second MIA. < -v- > OB. < b- > : বইসে, বসে < bāisē, bāsē > (*uvaäśai, upaviśati); বইথাম < bāithā > to sit down, a paddle for rowing, বইথাম > বাঢী > বাঢী > bātī > bātī > bātī > large knife with a wooden seat-handle for slicing vegetables (upaviṣṭa-);

OIA. < b- > : MB. বাঝ < bāgha > (bāhu); বাস < bākāra > (barkara-);

বুখে < bujhē > (budhyati); MB. বুধি < buḍhi > (buddhi-); বেল < bēlī > (bilva);

বু বু < būḍ > (bindu); বাহির < bāhirā > (cf. bāhīya); MB. বালা < bāla > youth, boy (bālaka-); বিচি < bici > (bīja ?; vṛtya-?); বিল < bilī > beel, marshy hollow (bila);

বাণ < bāṇa > (bāna); বারুল, বারুল < bābulā, bābulā > acacia tree (barbula); বাঢী < bādhrī > (bandha); OB. < bāhira > (badhira);

বেড়া < bāhēra > (MIA. bāhēḍaa, OIA. bibhitaka); etc.;

OIA. < br- > : বামন, বামন < bāmāṇa, bāmuna > (brāhmaṇa); বেলে, বেল < bōlē > bālē > (bravītī, MIA. bollaī);

OIA. < m- > : বেলে < bōlī > (mukula); বুজ, বুজ < √buj, buj > close (as eyes), fill up (√mudr-yy- ?);

OIA. < v- > : বুক < bāu > (vadhū); বাধ, বুঢে < bāy < bāhē > (vahati);

বা < bā > (vāta); বা < bā > (vāma); বাক < bākah > (vakra); বাজ < bājā > (vajra); বান < bānā > (vanyā); বাওল < bāulā > (vātula);

বিয়া, বে < biyā, bē > (vivāha); বিশ < bishā > (vinśati); MB. বিসের < bīsīrē > (vismarati); বেড়া < bēṛa > (vēṣṭa); বানার্শী < bānārāśi > (vāraṇāśīya); etc., etc. Also in sts. and ts. words, Skt. < v- > becomes [b].

OIA. < vy- > : বী, বাঁও < bā, bāo > (vīma); বাসান < bākāna > (vīkhyāna); বাঘ < bāghā > (vīghra); বেড়া < bēṛa > (vīpāra-); MB. বেহারী < bāhāri > /wife (vyavahārika slave-

65
woman), see pp. 345, 334; বেঁকি « বেঁকি > frog (vyānga); sts. বাগড়া « bāgārā » (vyāghata-).

Interior [b] represents—

OIA. « -dv- » > MIA. « -bb- »: ছাব্বিশ, ছাব্বিশ « chā(b)biṣṭ » (ṣaḍviṅ-sati);

OIA. « -mb- », mainly in stss. : নেবু « nēbu » (nimbuka), (see pp. 366, 367);

OIA. « -mr- » > MIA. « -mb- »: ː আব « ābə » (āmra); ːতাব « tābə » (tāmra-);

OIA. « -rb- » > MIA. « -bb- »: বলল, বলল « dubāl(a) » (durbala-);

OIA. « -rv- » > MIA. « -bb- »: গাবান « gābānā » to vaunt, to boast (garva); চাবান, চাবান « cābānā, cībāna » to chew (ङচर्य); ডাব « dābə » round pot, green coco-nut (cf. darvā); সব « sābə » (sarva);

OIA. « -v- » in stss.: নূরই, নূরই « nābbai, nābbui » (navati); MB. কোবন « jōbānā » (jōbbana, yāuvana); etc.

Euphonic [b] from « w »: আলোয় « ādōbė » at all (« ādō̆wē = ādāw + -ē »: see p. 511).

[b] through deaspiration of [b]i is common in medial and final positions in NB.

By transference of aspiration, we have বোন « bōna, bāhin » (bhaginī).

In a few cases, there is an intrusive [b] after « m » in OB. and MB.: see p. 367.

Intervocal and final [b] in a few words has become vocalised to « u »: e.g., ফাউরঢ় « phaurā » a big stick (< pāɛ̄ra < parva-); বাউরঢ় as in বাউরঢ় চুল « bāuri cuʃ » long hair in curls (Pers. « babr » lion, « babrī » lion-like =with wavy mane).

In tss. and stss., [b] occurs for both « b » and « v »; and the sound as usual is lengthened (or doubled) before « r », and in the groups « -bhy-, -bhr- ».

For [b] in foreign words, see infra.
281. Bengali [bf].
Initially, [bf] represents—

OIA. "b-", by aspiration, spontaneous or transferred: e.g., तूसी "bhūṣi" (busa-); भूकुरी, भूकुरू "bhut(u)ṛ" entrails, contents (as of the jack fruit) (busta, MIA. buttha); भू "bhukha" (MIA. buhukkha <buhuksa)); भा "bhāpa" (bāspa); cf. भिट "bhītī" water-carrier, from Persian "bihiṣṭī";

OIA. "bh-": भात "bhāṭṭi" boiled rice (bhakta); भाल "bhālā" (bhadra-); भिन "bhīn" separate (bhīnna); भाज "bhājī" (bhaṣja); भिं "bhikṣa" (bhikṣa); भाज "bhāra" rent, hire (bhāṭaka, √bhṛ); भाड "bhādī" (bhānda); भृ "bhū" (bhūmi); भर "bhārasi" hope, reliance (bhāravaṣa-); भेल "bhelāki" magic (cf. Skt. √bhāl see, तेल "bhel see"); etc., etc.;

OIA. "bh-": भित "bhītāRAFT" (abhyantara); भिज "√bhij" be drenched (abhyaṇij); भिड "bhīḍ" crowd (? abhyat-);

OIA. "bhṛ-, bhṛ-": भूल, भू "bhōla, bhulā" mistake, confusion (bhūma + MIA. -alla, -ulla); भौम "bhōma " for *bhōrī *bhārā " (bhārā -); भौ "bhāi " (bhṝ-); भाज "√bhāj" to fry (√bhṛajj); भाज "bhājī" (bhṝj-yā); etc.;

OIA. "m-", through the transposition of following "h": भृ "bhṛ " भाय "bhāyśa " (*mbhaśa, mahiśa, mahīśa); भृ "bhṛ " भाय "bhāyśa " (*mbhaśa, mēha-śa-), beside mēha " mēρ " ram.

In the interior of a word [bf] is derived from—

OIA. "bh-": सात "sābhāra" place-name in Dacca district (sabhya-gāra); अभाज "ābhān" smearing all over the body, as oil (abhyanga);

OIA. "bhṛ-": आवत "ābhṛ" light cloud, mica, आवत "ābhṛchā" for *आवत "ābhā-chā" hazy (abhra);

OIA. "dhr-": MB. उभ "ubbha" erect, standing (ubbha, non-Māgadhī, < ārdha);

OIA. "rbh-": उभ "ubbhi" जाव "ubbhāya jāva" disappear, as camphor when left in the air (ubbhāya, udbhṛta); उभ "√ubbhā " be in excess, descend (ud +√bhṛ, bhar); गाभु "gābhurṭ" youth,
young man (garbha-rūpa); गातीन > गाती = गातीन = gāhini, gāhini, used generally of cattle (garbhint);

OIA. -rv- > MIA. -bb- > -bh- in nībhāy > beside nībhāy > (*nībhāvēi, nirvāpayati); MB. सabh > sābh > beside सब > सब > साब > sabba (influence of ts. sabhā): see p. 319;

OIA. -hv- > MIA. -bbh-: *jibh, jībh > jibhā > jihva (jibhā, jihva); विभल < bibhā (bibhala, vishvala). The old traditional pronunciation of Skt. -hv- in Bengal was [bbf], e.g., [abbhā] = aḥvāna > now = [aʊfən], and [ʃibhā] as a ts. word is now yielding to [ʃiuʃə].

OIA. -mbh- is reduced to [m] in Bengal; but an intrusive [bf] after [m] is found in some cases in Bengali (see p. 367); cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) bāmbhana- = NB. बामन, बमन < bāmāna, bāmuna (brāhmaṇa); eMB. (SKK) चामकी < cāmbhēl > for चामकी < cāmēl > a flower, Hind. < cāmēl >; Oriyā < āmbhē, tumhē > = आमि, तमि < aṃi, tumi (amha-, tumha-).

In भिता bhīṭa homestead, mound, ruin-mound, from *bhīṭa, beside OB. < hiṭṭa, hiṭṭi, viṭi, etc. (see p. 66), the bh seems to be falsely restored, on the analogy of √bhū > √hō, < bhānda- > hāndī, etc., also probably influenced by the word bhetti. The word bhānji sneezing in OB. (Sarvānanda) = NB. भानी < hānī (from an earlier *hānī, cf. Skt. hānī, which is onomatopoetic), also seems to show a falsely ‘restored’ bh-.

A number of bh- words in Bengali remain unexplained: e.g., भोदा bhōdā a lumbering fellow, fat and foolish; भूड़ < bhūrī > fat in the belly; भूकट, भूकटी < bhēkāṭi, bhēkāṭa > a fish; भड़ < bhāraṇu, beside भर, भर < (h)ōrānu > trumpet; OB. bhābhāri coquetry, cf. Skt. bhābhāra confusion = NB. भावरण bhāvāraṇa to get confused; भाटी bhāṭī wine-still; भाटी bhāṭā a ball, the egg-fruit (*battā, vṛttā-); भाट, भाटी Bhāṭi, bhāṭa, beside भाटी, भाटी bhāṭī, bhāṭa > ebb-tide, low land, down country (√bhr?); भाटिलय bhāṭīliyā a kind of boat; भूर < bhūra > powder; भेन < bhēstā mix-up, etc., etc.
LOSS OF INTERVOCAL ‘ḍ’

[bh] occurs in ts. words; and in foreign words, it commonly represents the [v] of Portuguese, and occasionally of English.

(6) Dropping of OIA. Intervocal Stops in MIA.

282. This has been described before, pp. 83-85, 252-253, 338-345, 433. In a very large number of cases, the genuine ṭḥs. with elision have been replaced by ṭs. and stṣs., so that in most NIA., and especially in Bengali, the elision as a characteristic thing in the phonology of the native element is generally lost sight of. Examples need not be given here: they will be found in the pages referred to, and passim.

Loss of intervocal -p- in a case like নারে < নারে is not able, Assamese নোঝর < < (na পারায়তি), is Old Bengali, the -p- being changed to -v- or -w- in Late MIA. Sporadic cases of loss of stops occur in MB. In a few words in MB., [d>] is lost: e.g., তাঁল, চাইল < তাঁলা, চাইলা < earlier ঢাইল < তাঁলা < (in the ‘Sūnya-Purāṇa’) (=taṇḍula); MB. পাইল < পাইল < fell for পাইল < পাইলা > (paṭia + illa, patita-), through the analogy of মৈল < মৈলা, কাইল >, and cf. also ‘Bihari’ < ছাইল > caught (dhṛta + +alla); and হাইসাল > হাইসাল > room for cooking-pots, kitchen > Late MB. হাইসাল < হাইসাল < হাইসাল > NB. হেসাল < হেসাল > kitchen.

Elision of intervocal consonants of NB. in the Chittagong dialect has been noted before, e.g., at p. 454.

The reduction of the single intervocal aspirates to [b] in Bengali is illustrated below: see under [bh].

[II] THE NASALS: NEW BENGALI [ŋ, n, m]; OLD AND MIDDLE BENGALI [ŋ, ṇ, ŋ].

283. The five class nasals of Skt., < ṇ ŋ, ṇ, n, m, >, as well as < anusvāra >, figure in Bengali orthography, but in the language they have passed through many vicissitudes. OIA. and MIA. < anusvāra > has disappeared from Bengali or has resulted in a mere nasalisation (see pp. 358-359). In ṭss. and stṣs., Skt. < anusvāra > figures, but it has taken up a [ŋ] pronunciation now: probably in Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa it had
become [ɹ] (see p. 244). This [ŋ] or [ɹ] pronunciation was current in Bengal in the 7th century: witness, for example, the spelling सन्धेळाय for सन्धेळाय in the Tipperah inscription of Lōkanātha, and also वन्देऽ for वन्देऽ in the inscription of Mādhava-varman of Kōṇḍa. The use of [ŋ] for the ṣ anusvāra occasionally crops up in inscriptions in other parts of India, but it seems that there it was only sporadic, and the [ŋ] value was the one which early became established in Bengal, and in Eastern India generally. The ṣ anusvāra thus having developed the [ŋ] pronunciation in the East, it ceased to be used in Bengali-Assamese and Oriyā orthography for class nasals, a practice which is continued elsewhere in India. A Bengali will read नंद = नंद as [nand] and not as [nendo], पंडित = पंडित as [podit] and not as [podit], कंबल = कंबल as [kambol] rather than [kombol]; and a recent attempt at spelling-reform in Bengali by simplifying compound consonants like ṣ, व, श, श, ख, ख etc. to र, श, श, श, श, ख, ख, according to the pan-Indian usage, has failed.

284. -ष-, -०- occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in OI \., and -षष- is also found. MIA. -०- initial, -०- intervocal occur (e.g., Pali नन = नन, नन = anya), but initial -ष- and intervocal single -०-, -०- as well as -षष- are not found. In Old Bengali, the sound of [ŋ] occurred only before the guttural stops and aspirates, and probably also for ṣ anusvāra in tss.; and -०- [n] was found, only as a reduced nasal before the palatals in tbha., and as a full sound in tss. In New Bengali, [ŋ] occurs in final and intervocal positions only: it is derived from MIA. -षष- and is written intervocally as श, श, -षष- ष- and finally as श, श, श -षष- ष- ष-. What is ष [ŋ] in New Bengali was ष, ष [ṣ], [ṣṣ] or [ṣṣ] in Middle Bengali (see pp. 360, 361, 363, 364).

The modern value of the letter ṣ is [ŋ]. But in MB., the value was that of a nasalised bilabial semi-vowel or spirant—of [ɹ] or [v]. The Modern Bengali name for the letter ṣ, which is [nā, ñō, ñā], is on the basis of this old pronunciation. In Musalmān Bengali (see pp. 210-212), वाण = वाण in Persian words, and वत of Hindostāni, are written ष, following the MB. usage: e.g., নোঃশেরশ = নোঃশেরশ, Persian
OIA. INTERVOCAL 'M' > '<\-\text{\-w}', \text{-y}'>

This intervocal '-\text{\-w}' of OB. originated from a single intervocal '-\text{\-m}-' of MIA., in the Late MIA. period, and it is a development to be noticed in all NIA. languages except Sinhalese. In MB., this '-\text{\-w}' became a nasalisation of the contiguous vowel, and the glide element remained in Early MB. — a '-\text{\-y}:' sound as before, when the contiguous vowel was a back sound, and a '-\text{\-y}:' sound when it was a front one. Possibly this palatal modification of the glide, from [\text{\-w}] to [\text{\-j}, \text{-j}'] or [\text{n}], took place as early as OB. times. The [-\text{\-w}] pronunciation was not indicated by the historical spelling with ñ 'm' in OB.: *e.g.,* OB. सङ्कम [s\~nkama], = [\text{\-ak\~wa}], whence NB. सङ्क [\text{\-ak}], and OB. सङ्म [\text{\-am}], = [\text{\-a\~wi}, \text{\-a\~ni} ?], whence NB. सङ्म [\text{\-a}].

In Early MB., as in the SKK., either the 'candra-bindu' was used, *e.g.,* कोमली [ko\~mali], कोमली [ko\~mali] (for अ, see p. 341), कोमली [ko\~mali] (kumari), कोमली [ko\~mali], कोमली [ko\~mali] = कोमली [ko\~mali] (koma), सङ्कम 'ßarà = s\~wàra 'sumara, \sqrt{\text{smar}}, beside a Sanskritised 's\~m\~rī-, and पञ्चर 'p\~rā = *p\~wāra 'pralā); or भ 'm' was used, following the old spelling, *e.g.,* साम 'संस् = साम 'साम्र 'svāmī); or the 'n, 'n' was introduced, as in सौंद 'सौंद ' (sumara, \sqrt{\text{smar}}, गोसानी [go\~svāmī).

As yet there is no use of ñ 'n' for the '-\text{\-w}' sound in the SKK. In MB. orthography from the 15th century, ñ 'n' and 'n' became established for the sounds of '-\text{\-w}' and '-\text{\-y}:' respectively, in addition to the 'candra-bindu,' and the employ of 'ñ 'm' fell into desuetude. NB. has lost the glides entirely, and uses ñ and 'n' no more, and simply employs the 'candra-bindu.' Cf. Middle Orijā of the 15th century, as in the inscriptions, सांता ' (sānta: also New Orijā सांत 'title of respect for ladies), 'cārā ('cāmara).

Examples of change of OIA. single intervocal '-\text{\-m}-' to nasalisation, with or without the glide element, in Bengali:

- 'nöölā', beside 'amalā ' (amalaka-); 'nab, 'nab ' (nibh, nibh) (nibha); ऋतु '�तु ' (nītha); ऋतु '�तु ' sips water > washes mouth after eating (nīthā); MB. (SKK.) ऋतु '�तु ' (uddā) (uddāna); the affix '� '� ' as in MB. and dialectal Bengali (North), 1st person, present tense, < MIA.
-ama, -amu=aṇa, -aṇu = OIA. -āmaḥ ≈ e.g., kārō (karama, *karāmaḥ = kurmah), chel. -cālō (calāmaḥ), etc. (there may be some influence of े_building_blocks in this); MB. चुरह, कोड़र
cūhār, kōhār = prince, NB. कोड़र, कोड़र = kōhār, kōr = a surname (kumāra); MB. कोल, कोल = kōlā- (kōlama); MB. कावर = kāvr, OB. कावर = kāvarū (kāmrā-pa); कावर, कावर, beside कावर =
काल = kōlā, kābā, kāmālā (kāmala); MB. चुरह, NB. चुरह = kruhā-
kūhē = a coarse silk stuff (kṣumā, kṣūma-); पी gā (grāma); पी
gā (gramika); MB. gōvā ṅ̕ passes (time) (gāmāpayati);
gōvā ṅ̕ = gōvā ṅ̕ lord, master, a Vaiśrava guru (gōvāmin); MB. चुरह, चुरह,
चुरह, NB. चुरह = caūkā, caūkā (p. 348), caūkā (cf. Skt. camat-);
पी jāmā = jāmāi, commonly pronounced [jāmāi] (jāmātī); पी jāmā =
jāmā (yamānī); MB. (ŚKK.) jāmā ṇ̕ = jāmā ṇ̕ with a pumice-stone, cf. NB.
कावर = jāmā, p. 480; ठी ठी (sthamān); ठी dā = a surname beside
dā (dāmā) (dāman), etc.; रूढ़ा, रूढ़ा = dhūdfā dhūdā (dhūma-); ना nā = nā =
indeed (nāma), e.g., as in केशव वाली बाए बड़ा बुद्धिसे ना कोन जा (p. 266), पुभा
ना = eśo nā = do come in (= āvisata nāma); नोशा, नोशा √nā, nōśā =
to bend (nāmayā-); MB. नोशा nēāli = nēäfti (navamallikā); OB.
पुभा pāuā = paṭā (Second MIA. pauma- < paduma = padma); पानी,
pāni, पानी pāni pāni = pāni, pāni a surname, beside the Sanskrit
form pramāṇika; ठी bā (vāma); ठी ठी = bā, bā (vyāma); ठी ठी
bhūdā (bhūmi); MB. ठी = bhūdā, NB. ठी = bhūdā, bhūiyā (bhāumika-); मे=
mō = mō (mama); ठी rō = (lōman, rōman), beside ठी rō =
शे = sē = (samarpayati); MB. सेंगर sōṃgar (sumaraĩ, smarati); MB.
सेंगर sōṃgar (ṣyāmala); sē = sōk < *sōk, OB. sē = (sāŋkrama);
मि = (inenti, ni= st(h)i = (stmantā); मि = (inenti, ni= st(h)i = (stmantā); मि =
sāntā = a surname (sāmanta-rāya); ठी = sāntā = a Santal (sāmanta-pāla); ठी = sāntां,
lord, God (svāmin); MB. (ŚKK.) sē = sō = (sama-) as in कानाशी
कानाशी = touching the edge; ठी = (hēṃt) = (hēṃtā) = etc., etc. The
candira-bindu is normally omitted when the word has a nasal: see p. 362.

There is loss of this nasalisation from -m- in some words. The
reason for this cannot be determined, and the language is rather capricious:
INTERVOCAL ‘-W-‘ IN BENGALI

E.g., कादि, कादि < कादि, कादि> (kardama); the affix ई < -i > of the verb 1st person (<*iimenti, *ami = -ami, आमी>)cāli < cāli > < cālī, cālini, cālini >: see p. 351); अनागोन < अनागोन > coming and going, OB. < awanā-gawanā > (गामाना - गामाना); पैचेय, पैचेय, पैचेय > पैचेय, पैचेय, पैचेय (see p. 372). Cf. बन्धारी, बन्धारी < bānwią, bānwią > a name (vana-māl), from the Hindi.

The reverse process of nasalising spontaneously a < -w- > sound, either original (i.e. = -v- in Skt.) or derived (e.g., from -p- of OIA.) is also found, in both tibhs. and stts. This trait is one inherited from MIA.

by NIA: see p. 368 ff. Examples: काचिम < काचिम > (kacchapa); MB. गिम < गिम > (grīvā); चातिम < चातिम > (saptaparṇa): an intermediate stage is found in MB. चातिम, चातिम < चातिम > (as in the ŠKK.); छृय, छृय < छृय > ehōy > touches (*ehūvai, ehūvai = spṛśati); MB. चामानी, चामानी > beside NB. चाउनी < चाउनी > awning (< *chāwāni, *chāddāpanikā); चिठ्ठ < cītā > flattened rice (*cītāda-, cītāda-); OB. (Sarvānanda) < jāmalā > for < jōwāla = jōwāla >, NB. जोलान, जोलान, जोल < jōlā, jōlā, jōl > yoke (yuga + -ā); MB. (ŠKK.) पोलार < pōlā > (prabāla); stts. पितम < pīrā > (pratapa: p. 357); stts बोल < bōl > (vāsāvana); MB. घोलन < घोलन > (ghoḷana); etc., etc. Cf. Western Hindi घुमात = pṛṭhivī, Old Rājasthāni < gēmara, hēmara = gajavara, hayavara >, Maithili नेपोचा = nepathya > adornment, etc.

Intervocal < -m- > of NB., from MIA. < -mb-, -mm-, -mh- >, even tends to be pronounced as < -w- > in NB., and the < -w- > sound is actually arrived at in a few instances (cf. ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §31): e.g., उम्न, उम्न beside उम्न < umnā, umnā, umnā > heating, warming (*umhāvana, = Skt. usma). The Chittagong dialect characterises itself by changing the derived < -m- > of Common Bengali to a nasalisation: e.g., आइ [āi] = -āmi > I, तुई [tūi] = -tumi > yon, कोर [kōra] = -kumāra > pumpkin; etc.

In MB. there was also change of intervocal < -b- > to < -m- >, for which see below, § 288.

< η > is used for < W > < -m > in MB.: this fact brings about the interchange between < η >, < [ŋ] > and < [m] > in some cases in NB. Generally,
where an [m] or [ŋ] closes a syllable, one can be used for the other in NB., or a nasalised vowel can be used for either. Thus, আমলা, আঙ্গল [aṁla, aṅga] beside a rather rare আঙ্গল [aṅga] (=āmalaka); আচাঁকা, আচাঁকা [aṅgāka, aṅgo̱ka] suddenly; ঘোষিত, ঘোষিত [ghoṣita, ghoṣita] veil, cf. Hind. घुंघरत्; बुंबी, बुंबी [bhumī, bhuma] coloured thread worn round the waist; ठुंडरी, ठुंडरी [thumri, thunri] a kind of melody; আপিন্দ [aṁind, apiṇ] opium (Perso-Arab. « afyīm »); OB. কাজীনী < kāmanī > a grain, NB. কামনী, কামনী [kamni, kānī] (Skt. kaṇgu); চেংচা, চেংচা [ḍhemya, ḍhemya] a drum (also with ḍ < dh- >); ভিন্তর [bhinṛul] hornet, for *ভিন্তর [bhinṛul] (=bhṛṅgarōla); etc. Cf. বোতাম বোতাম [botam, botam] button (Portuguese < bota > [buta]), etc.


Just as এ < e > denoted the sound of « w » in MB., so এ < e > [n] was used for the nasalised palatal glide, < y >, which, after all, is acoustically not very much different from the palatal nasal < n >. ফি < ni > would stand for < i >, or < y >, as well as for < w > when fronted to < y > in connexion with < e > or < i >: words like ফুই < mūi >, ফুই < bhūi >, ফুই < sāi >, ফুইয়া, ফুই < gāi >, would be written মুই [mūi], ভুই [bhūi], সাই [sāi], খুইয়া, গাই [gāi], as well as মুই [mūi], ভুই [bhūi], সাই [sāi], খুইয়া, গাই [gāi], etc. গায়েন < gāyen > singer is also found spelt as গাঈেন < gāyān >. Even initially, we find, in rare cases no doubt, এ for e, ই < e-, i- >: e.g., in a 17th cen. MS. (VSP. p. 665), occur ইহাঃবে, for ইহাঃবে = NB. ইহাঃবে « ihāke » to him, he (honorific); ভাঙ্গ [baṅ] forming its adjective ভাঙ্গ < baṅo >, and the [ŋ] is first changed to the palatal [n] through the influence of the preceding [e] to ভাঙ্গ, which is now written ভাঙ্গ and ভাঙ্গ, pronounced [baṅ], e.g., ভাঙ্গের পিপড়া < baṅgya-pipra > big black ants. ভাঙ্গ < baṅ < made of buffalo-milk, from ভাঙ্গ « bāṅ » < mahisa >, is found as ভাঙ্গ < baṅ > « bhāṅārā »; and we get even ভাঙ্গ < miṅa > beside ভাঙ্গ < miṅa > a title of respect, a common term of address for Mohammedans from the Persian < miyān, miyā > a title of respect. The conjunctive participle affix ই < i >, ইয়া < iyā > is nasalised in West Bengali; and one way of writing this < i, iyā > is with এ—ঝি, ইঝ্যা, আ, which spelling is plentiful in MB. MSS.: e.g., খাঙ্গেগুঘা having eaten, করিণ্য=করিণ্য having done, etc. The use
of न is a noticeable thing in the graphic system of the ŚKK, as of most MSS. from West Bengal: and we even find the candra-bindu superscribed on न—e.g., काक्रि कान्हानि for कान्हानि (क्रान्ति), where the syllable न gets its nasalisation merely through the preceding न: समें साने > *साने > साने instrumental post-position = with, now occurs as साने [sane] in NB.; and ठाये > ठाये > in the place near-by = with, has become, by the reverse process, ठाये in the Calcutta Colloquial.

In eMB., as it is clear, न had lost its [n] value, and had become a mere nasalised frontal vowel, or a nasalised frontal semi-vowel [e, i]. The name which the letter न has in NB., namely [i, a], preserves its old value. The use of न has all but disappeared in NB., being found only in a few words like निः, and in some old-fashioned spellings like गोसानि; and in the ts. word नाचा या is the unique and unfamiliar group न, which is pronounced as -en (g) for -in (g), [en (g)]

286. [n] in Bengali.

The letter for [n], न, is freely used in Bengali orthography, not only in ts. but also in tbh. and foreign words, although no Bengali can pronounce the sound properly without training. Its occurrence in tbh. words is due to two things. Firstly, it occurs as a relic of an earlier state of things when the [n] pronunciation obtained in MIA., and probably also in Old Bengali; and secondly, where the न has been restored, with an eye to the spelling obtaining in the Skt. prototypes—e.g., in words like ना कान्ना, कान्ना, नाना, नाना बानाना spelling (=kankanā, karṇa, svarṇa, varṇa); and in a few instances, it is purely arbitrary, as in ना नाना नारा, नारा, मारुन्ना नारा), beside ना नारा (rājū) (see pp. 226-227). In foreign words, supposed affinity or actual resemblance in form with native or ts. words having न is responsible for spellings like हयान् हयान् troubled, नरम् रम् royal order, कारा कॉरा the Koran (=Persian hayrān, farmān, Arabic qurʾān-), साना नाममान (English Norman), etc. The fact that Bengali orthography is modelled on that of Skt., which allows only groups like -en-, -en-, and not -nd-, -rn- (and -ṣt-), but not
< -ṣt-, -st- >), is responsible for our writing गव(व)र्गेन्ट < gab(h)arṇaṃeṇṭa > government, इंगलॉ, इंगलॉ < in(g)alanid > England etc. with < ṅ >.

In Late MB., there is always confusion between ṅ and ņ, as in NB., which indicates that the cerebral sound was lost. [ŋ] has been dentalised in the Bihārī dialects, as well as in Eastern Hindī and Typical Western Hindī (Braj-bbākhā, Hindōstānī); also in Assamese. The use of [r̥] for [ŋ] is confined among scholars and Sanskritists in the Bihārī and Hindī tracts, and [r̥] with the audible flap is the result of an attempt to pronounce [ŋ] through Sanskrit influence. Oriyā alone of the Magadhan languages preserves this sound. It seems likely that Bengali possessed it in the Early MB. period. The Oriyā name for the letter < ṅ > is < ānā > and the Bengali < ānā > [ano]: the prosthetic < ā, ā > indicates the glide sound that came initially in pronouncing < ṅ >. The name < ānā > is now getting to be old-fashioned in Bengal, the schools now teach the learned name < mūrdhānyā ṇā > which the Bengali-speaker ordinarily reduces to [moddhan:no] or [moddhan]:

It is difficult to determine when the [ŋ] pronunciation became obsolete in Bengali. There is no regularity in the matter of < ṅ > and < n > in the Caryāpadas; nor, again, in the ŚKK. But the MSS. of these works use < ṅ > with a persistence which is quite remarkable. The ŚKK., for instance, writes the Bengali equivalent of the < jñā > with < ṅ > — < ḍā ṃ > < jāñ >, 124 times, and with < n >, < ān > < jān >, only 7 times. The Caryāpadas have the same root with < ṅ > 8 times, with < n > 3 times. Oriyā has the cerebral, < jān >. Can it be taken to mean that in OB. and MB., to the end of the 14th century, the [ŋ] sound existed, but there was a general confusion in its employment, as a preliminary to its disappearance from speech? Doubtless there was some established phonetic habit in the matter of the use of [ŋ] and [n] in OB. and MB., but the irregularity of the orthography in the MSS. misleads us. Sarvānanda spells a number of words with < ṅ >: this, as Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi suggests (VSPdP., 1326, pp. 87-88), most probably is in accordance with Old Bengali pronunciation. But no law regarding the occurrence of < ṇ > can be deduced from it: e.g., < upalaṇaḥ = udvartana >;
-N- > -N- IN INDO-ARYAN

<kāmanā = *kāwaṇa = kaṇgu>; <jhampāṇa = yāpya-yāna>; <tēlāvanī>; but <piṭhāvanī>; <trimāṇa> = NB. dialectal ūdhna <tin(g)āṇa>; bābhāṇi-aṭṭhi = brāhmaṇika-yaṣṭi-; rasāṇa = Skt. laṣuna; <tiṇa = tṛṇa>; <biṭaṇa = NB. bēṇa = Skt. vīraṇa>; besides a few other words.

In the absence of other evidence, Oṛiyā cerebralisation should suggest for us some clue as to the habits of OB. and MB., and certainly of Māg. Ap. But although Modern Oṛiyā is pretty definite, Middle Oṛiyā spelling, as in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions (see p. 107), is not fixed in this matter. Thus, for example, the word <māṇa> = plural affix (<māṇava), is mostly spelt with dental <n>, but occurs with <ṇ> in the inscription of 1542; we have <ṣuṇi> having heard in inser. of 1485, but <ṣuṇi> in one of 1499; and both <māṇiki, māṇiki> in that of 1466. Judging from Modern Oṛiyā, the principle of cerebralisation appears to have been this: intervocal <-ṇ-, -n-> of OIA. (in lbhs.) occur as <-ṇ-> in Oṛiyā; but where a double nasal of MIA. (from earlier consonant groups) results in a single intervocal nasal in Oṛiyā, it is a dental nasal, except in a few words like <rāṇa, rāṇi> king, queen, where the cerebralisation appears to be irregular and obscure. Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa may reasonably be expected to have had the cerebral intervocally only. There is no indication of cerebralisation of OIA. <-n-> in Aṣokan Prakrit, or in Pali, or again in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The cerebralisation of single <-n-> took place during the Second MIA. period when there seems to have been manifest a tendency towards it (as well as towards cerebralisation of <-l->) in all Indo-Aryan. This tendency has died out now in Western and Eastern Hindī, in the Pahāṛī speeches, in the 'Bihāṛī' dialects, in Bengali-Assamese; but it is still present in Lahṇī and Panjābī, Sindhi, Rājasthānī-Gujarāṭī, Marāṭhī and Oṛiyā. According to the grammarians of literary Praṅkrit, <n> in all positions became <ṇ> in most of the Pktls. But in the Apabhraṃśa stage, it would seem that initial <ṇ-> was once more dentalised, but intervocal <-ṇ-> remained. In some cases, through Sanskrit influence, lbh. forms of inherited words like <maṇa (manas), jaṇa (jana), dāṇa (dāna), diṇa (dina), thāṇa (sthāna), pāṇi (pāṇiya)>, etc.,
would tend to have the *ον* ‘corrected’ to the dental, at least in spelling, and in later times even in pronunciation, as it seems to have happened in the case of the Oriya *mānā*. But so long as the cerebral normally continued to be the intervocal sound, popular speech would certainly treat *tss.* with intervocal *-n-* in the *tbh.* way; just as at the present day, in Oriya, in Marathi, in Gujarati–Rajasthani, and in Panjabi, intervocal [n] in Sanskrit, Persian and even English borrowings frequently becomes [ŋ] in the speech of the uneducated masses (at least according to the observation of the present writer). Similar conditions can reasonably be expected to have prevailed in Early NIA.

It seems that cerebralisation as in Oriya prevailed in OB. and Early MB. But this is a mere assumption; and it cannot be said to have held good for all the forms of Early MB. It is very likely that only the Western Bengal area, including West Bengali and Oriya, preserved cerebralisation in NIA. times. The genuine cerebral [ŋ] (and not its Upper Ganges Valley substitute [*ɾ*]) seems to be still found intervocosly in the dialects of extreme West Bengal (cf. LSI., V, Part I, pp. 91 ff.: in the transcriptions of specimens from this dialect, by Bengalis in the Bengali character, ध *声* has been used for [ŋ], just as ड *声* has been used for [ɾ]—a common mistake found also in the Bengali attempt at representing phonetically the Oriya [ŋ] and [ɾ]: e.g., मुरिश्व < नुरिश > [munij] man-servant, डूरि < नूरि > [junij] having heard, जिरिश्व < जिरिश > [jirij] article (=Persian < जिन्स >), अर्द < ऐर > [anana] anna, गौड़ < गौड > [murus] man, गौविज्ज < गौविज्ज > [manuj] man, अपरार < अपरार > [apnar] of self, तत्त्व < तौक्हार > [tokhon] then, जाण < जाण > [jān] person, सुर्दलक < सुर्दलक > [surdlek] heard, निक्षिड < निक्षिड > [nikli] having come out, etc.).

In parts of Bengal, in the Proto-Bengali and OB. periods, [ŋ] seems to have developed a [ŋt] pronunciation. A form like *dragta* for *draga* in the Lokanatha Inscription from Tipperah probably indicates the presence of this pronunciation as early as the 7th century. The occurrence in NB. of [t, -t] for [ŋ] in some sts. words seems also to show
that: e.g., št. কিপ্তা > kipṭā > miser (kṛpana-); কিপ্তা, as in কিপ্তামৃতা > kipṭa mṛtī (cīkāṇa mṛttikā); ফটা > phāṭa (phāna-); ফটা > keṣṭa (kālkirṣṭa > kālā-kirṣṭa > deep black, (also as a name ফটা > kriṣṭ(y)ā (kṛṣṇa)); ফটা > teṣṭa > (ṛṣṇā); ফটাম [boṣum] < *[boṣum] (vaśnava); ফটা > biṣṭu, biṣṭu > (viṣṇu). In the pronunciation of tss., the < ন > in নুন > becomes [t̚] in the old-fashioned pronunciation, e.g., তুষী [tuṣṭa] (tuṣṇī), উষ্ণ [uṣṭa] (uṣṇa), etc.; and this leads to confusion between স্ত্রী > and ফটা > in writing—e.g., the common enough inscription in tobacco-dealers’ shops in Calcutta—বিষ্টুরের উৎক্ষণ তামাক > বিষ্টুরের উৎক্ষণ তামাক > বিষ্টুরের উৎক্ষণ তামাক > the best tobacco from Vishnupur. The school is now changing the Old Bengali pronunciation [t̚o, t̚r, t̚] to a new [t̚n]. (Cf. the common pronunciation of স্ত্রী > snēha, স্ত্রী > snāna > as [st̚hə, st̚n]). Possibly [n] is the source of the [r] in সাধ > sārd > consciousness=OB. < sāṇa = sāna > (samjñā, MIA. saṃjñā) (but cf. NB. সাধ > sāṇa > gesture), and অনাড় > anārī > foolish, ignorant (aṃnāti, ajñātin) (but cf. অনাড় > anārī > infrequented, unknown, as a place, which is probably from aṃnāa-ṣa-, ajaṃnā-). Taking all these facts into consideration, it would be allowable to think that [n] existed as a phoneme in the Bengali language up to the middle of the eMB. period, at least in parts of West Bengal. From the beginning of the 15th century, probably, it ceased to exist as a cerebral.

287. Bengali ‘dental’ [n] is really an alveolar sound. The cerebrals in Bengali are rather advanced: they are retroflex palato-alveolar sounds, i.e. sounds produced with the curled tongue-tip on the hard palate slightly above the teeth-ridge, and not exactly on the dome or arch of the palate: so that the change of the nasal [n] to alveolar [n] was a matter of course.

Initially, Bengali [n] comes from—

OIA. < n- >: না > nā > (na); না > nā = nā > (nāma expletive, see p. 519); নাই > I am not (na + √ as): MB. নাই > nākhātā (nakṣatra-); না > nāti > (naṭṭha, naṣṭa); নাট > nāti > (napṭr-); নট > nāṭa > (nṛṭa); নাপ > nāp > (nṛṭa); নাই > nāp(g)ā > (nagga- < nagana-); নাত > nād > (nṛdā); MB. নাত > nātun, নাত > nātun > nātun > (*nava-tana, nūtana); নাত > nāya > (nava-); etc., etc.
The OB. and eMB. spellings with initial ə < n- > seem only to be a practice taken over from MIA. orthography: the pronunciation was that of [n].

OIA. < jū- >: dialectal Beng. नाइहर, नाइपर, नाईर, नाईर < nāihāṛ, nāi(y)āṛ, nāyēṛ > (also नाइहोर, लाईवर < lai(h)ōṛ >) married woman's father's house (jūṭi-grha);

OIA. < sn- > > MIA. < nh-, nh- >: नाइ, नाह “√nā, nāhā” (“√nhā, √snā), cf. stls. नापित < nāpith > (ultimately from “√snā”, cf. Pali “nahāpita”); MB. नेह “nēh”, NB. नेई “nēi” affection, indulgence (snēha);

Initial [n] in Bengali interchanges very frequently with [l], and occasionally intervocal [l], for which see under [l], below.

In the interior of a word, [n] is from—

OIA. < -jū- > > MIA. < -ṇ- >: अनाड “ānāḍ” (aṇā-ḍa, ajūnta-ṭa); बिनित “binati” petition (viṇṇattia, vijnaptikā); सान as in हात सान “hāt-sāna” gesture with the hand (sāṇa, saṁjña);

OIA. < -ṇ- >: often written ə < n- >: नाराण, नाराण [naraṇ] (nārayana);
किन “kinē” (kṛṇāti); काण “kāṇā” (kāṇa-); कण, कन “kāṇaḥ = khaṇḍ” (kṣaṇa); कण “gunē” (gaṇayati); कम “pāṇa” (pāṇa);
लुण, लुण “lūṇ, nun” (lavaṇa); फण “pāṇaḥ” (phaṇa-); फण “ṣaṇḍ” (ṣaṇa); फण “ṣaṇḍ” (ṣaṇa); फण “ṣunē” (ṣuṇōṭi); फण, फण “śaṇḍ” (śaṇa); फण “śaṇḍ” (śaṇa); फण “čh-” (chṛbāṇa) (śrāvaṇa); etc., etc.;

OIA. < -nḍ- >: see p. 365;

OIA. < -ṇ- >:  ṣप “puny” (puṇya);

OIA. < -n- > > MIA., OB. < -n- > > IMB. < -n- >: अण “āṇaḥ” (aṇgana); अन “ānē” (anayati); अन “jānē” (jānāti); पान “pāṇi” (pāṇiya); नान “nānī” (navanita); पान “pānai” (upānah); मन “māṇa” (manas); मन “māṇa” (manas); मन “māṇa” (manuṣya); जन “hēnā” (*aśānca, aisāṇa = *etādṛṣaṇa); नन “nāṇadā” (nandā); etc., etc.;

OIA. < -nt- > > Late MB. < -n- > (through influence of pronominal forms in < -n- >): कर “kāren” , चल “cālen” , यान “jān”
etc. (= MIA. karanti, yānti); এমন «emān» beside একত «ēmat» so, such, thus, cf. Oriya «ēmānta»;

OIA. «-nd-, -ndh-»: modern reduction, see p. 366;

OIA. «-nn-»: আনাজ «ānāja» greens < grain (annādyā); উনই, উনই «unui < unāl» spring (unna-); ছিনাল «chināla» woman of loose character (chinna-); ভিন «bhīna» separate (bhīna); MB. সানা «sānā» corset (sannāha);

OIA. «-ny-»: আন «ān» (anya); ধান «dhan» (dhānya); বান «bān» (vanyā); মান «mān» honours, obeys (manyate); MB. শূন «śūn» (śūnya-);

OIA. «-m-» MIA. OB. «-w-» OB. «-n-»: সান «sān» with, OB. «sam» = [Jówe] (sama);

OIA. «-ṛ-» MIA. «-ṛ-»; often written গ «ṛ»: কান, কান [ka:n] (karna); কান্নু «kānnu» (karnāța); চুন, চুন [cū:n] (eṛṇa); পান, পাণ [pa:n] betel-leaf (parna); OB., MB. কাণ্তার, কাণ্তার «kāntārā, kāntāra» (karnikāra); বানান, বাণান, বাণান «bāṇān», bāṇān spelling (varṇana); বিনান «binān» to make a plait of hair, to spin out a long tale (*varṇāpana + vinyāsa), বিশ্বাস «binunī» plait (*varṇāpanikā + vinyāsa); সোনা, সোনা [Jōna] (svarṇa-); etc.

OIA. «-ṛ-, -sn-» MIA. «-ṛ-»: কান, কান, কানই «kānā, kānu, kān-i» (kṛṇa); উনান «unān», উনান «unān» oven (*unhāvanā, *ugāpanikā); জুনি, জুনাকী «jūni, jūn-kī» moonlight > fire-fly (jyotsnā-); পানান «pānān» to cause milk to flow into the udder (prasnavi); etc., etc.

OIA. «-hn-» MIA. «-ṅ-»: চিন «cīn» (cīna); and denominative চেন «cēnā» to know, recognise, adjectives অচিন «acīn» = unknown.

For the reduction of intervocal «-n-» to a nasalisation, see p. 373. ধূনি «dhunī» fire place (of a yogi) (*dhūpanikā) has a form ধূই «dhī» (= *dhūmikā?); OIA. «-n-» is lost before «-t-» in «-ant-» of the present participle. Loss of «-n-» is noticed in পারি «pārī» > **pānśārī, **pānsārī five seers, and পার্নী «pārṇī» shop-keeper, cf. Hind,
<p><b>PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V</b></p>

<p>"pansāri" (<"panya-sālika">: dropping of <"n"> possibly through influence of <"prasāra"> a spreading-out).

In some unexplained words, we find <"n">, e.g., नाड़ा, नेड़ा <"nārā, nērā" shaven-head; टेना, टेना <"tēnā, tēnā" rags; टोणा <"ṭōṇā" a blow under the chin (cf. ठोक, ठोक <"ṭhōk, ṭhuk" to strike gently); नट्टी <"nārī" stick; नलेन, नलियान <"nōlēṇā, nāliyāṇā" fresh date-molasses (navala-?)

नारा <"nāra" > small, tiny, cf. Hind. <"nāhā">; नाजिना <"nājina" = शिविना<br>
<"śājina" > a tree (śobhāṇjana-); छुल <"nulā" forearm, paw, hand-less; etc., etc.

Final <"n", "ŋ" > occasionally interchange in foreign words: e.g., साबान, साबां <"sābān, sābāṃ" > soap (Portuguese "sabaô"); एटांकिन <"ētākīn" = stocking, टिकिन <"tīkin" > a kind of stout cloth = ticking; आटिंग, आटिन, आतिंस <"āpīṇ, āpin, āpīm" > opium (Perso-Arabic "afyūm"); etc.

[n] in foreign loan-words: see below.

288. Bengalī [m].

Initially, [m] comes from—

OIA. <"m-">: म <"mā" (māṭā); मो <"māu" (madhu); मन <"māṇī" (manasa); मित <"mitā" > friend (mitra-); मड़ <"mārā" (mṛta-);
मां <"māṁḥā" > (madhya); मिछ <"michā" > (mīthā-); रूपन्स <"mūnisā" > (manusa): मू <"mu" > (mukha); मूग <"mugā" > (mudga); etc., etc.;

OIA. <"mr-">: मखे <"mākhē" > smears (mrakṣati); माखन <"mākhāṇ" >  
butter (mrakṣaṇa);
OIA. <"sm-">: MIA. <"hm-">: मन <"māṣāṇa" > (māṣāṇa); मो <"mōchā" > (māṣāru).

In the root मूच <√"much" > wipe, [m] is probably from <"pr-" (beside स्पृष्ट "pōṣh, poṣh" = "pra-uṇch"). Initial <"b-"> has become [m] in मिनी <"mini" = बिनी > bini > without (<"bihīna" = vihīna-; or बिन = vinā). In मूचूकिया हासा <"mucqukiyā hāsā" > to smile, probably we have the [m] from <"sm" > in OIA. <√"smi" >.

In the middle of a word, [m] represents—

OIA. <"nm-">: MB. ऊम्र <"umārā" > (unmarda); MB. ऊमान <"umāna" > to weigh (umāna, umāpana).
OIA. « -p- » > MIA. « -v- » > lMIA., OB. « -w-, -w- »: काछिन्
   « kâchimā » (kacechapa); छाटिन् « châtimā » (saptaparna); sts.
   पिदिते « pidîtē » (pradîpa).

OIA. « -mb- »: OB. « kâmalī » a name (= Kambalâmbara-pāda); निम
   « nimā » (nimba); जाम « jâmā » (jambu-); चुम « cunē 
   (cumbati); sts. कनम « kâdāmā » (kadamba); etc., etc.;

OIA. « -mbh- »; कुमार « kumārā » (kumbhakāra); कृष्ण « kumārā »
   (kumbhira); पार « khāmārā » (skambhagāra);

OIA. « -mm- »: MB. छामु « châmū » (sammukha), whence NB. sts.
   समुख « sumukhā » in front of.

OIA. « -mr- » > MIA. « -mb- »: अाम « âmā » beside आम « âbā »
   (amba-, ṛma); भाम, भार « tâmā, tâbā » (tâmra-).

OIA. « -m- » > MIA. « -mm- »: काम « kâmā » (karma); धाम
   « ghâmā » perspiration (gharma); मामृत « mâmra-ṛī » crust
   (marma-ta-); OB. धâma » (dharma); etc.;

OIA. « -sm-, -sm- » > MIA. « -mh- »: गुमत « gumâṭā » stuffiness
   (grîśma ?); उमन « umānā » to be hot (usmâpana); आमि, तुमि
   « āmi, tumī » (asma, yuśma-);

OIA. « -hm- » > MIA. « -mh-, -mbh- »: बामन, बामन « bâmânā,
   bâmund » (brâhmaṇa);

OIA. « -v- »: see p. 521.

Intervocal « -m- > -w- », when turned preconsonantal in NB., became
« -m- » optionally, beside « -n-, -w- »: this has been noticed at pp. 521-522.

In MB., there are cases of change of intervocal « -b- » to [m], through
an open nasal [w] stage. Thus, in East and North Bengali, the affix २१, ३१
« -bū, -bō », for the 1st person future of the verb, regularly becomes २०, ३०,
२१ « -mu, -mō, -mā »: e.g., Sâdhu-bhâṣâ करिब « kâribā » I shall do, earlier
Bengali करिब will, will, shall do, करिब « kâribō » I shall do = East Bengalí
करिम, करिम, करिम, करम, करमू « kârimu, kârumā, kârimā, kâramā, kârum »;
sts. बङ्गम « bâstmum » = « vaiśnava », MB. form [bajfotb] ; MB. सार्वभविनी
beside सार्वभविनी, सार्वभविनी « sāyēmānt, sāyēbamī, sāhebānti » canopy, umbrella <
Persian « sāyeh-bānā »; सब « sābā » (sarva) is found as सब « sâmā, संस्कार
« sâmā » in MB. This change of « -b- » « -m- » is found in Early Oriyā:
e.g., in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions, we have นีมā=เนีบā > to take, บ้าินāมā (<บ้าินāบā); and Modern Oriya has ミ-ミ for -bi in verb forms, e.g., ดēkhīmī=เด็ก枇i > I shall see. The Bihari dialects also know this change: e.g. Magahi คำā=คำā, ลēmā = ลēbā > you will go, you will take, etc.

[m] occurs in ts. and sts. forms: e.g., แกวาน < ผิินāมā > (pannāma), MB. ปุนิย, ปุนิ > ผิินāมā, ปุนāมī > (purqiimā), etc. For [m] in ts. consonant groups, see p. 373. The nasalisation in which this [m] results is frequently dropped.

In some compounds, there is an intrusive [m], which is euphonic in origin: e.g., ดอกā-ม-กุชิ < หอā-ม-คุชิ > a pot-sherd (< ดอกā = tile, คุชิ = piece); หลūม-สฺปะ < ผิิริยา > phulā-m-pērē (< pārīyā) > a dōhtī with floral (phulā) border (pārīyā); มฺูน-hāต < มุันหāต > with closed fist; ม่วน < ม่าู-น-ี, มูรūn-ē > < *มādā-m-oīyā < *มādā-m-avaccia- > (มี+ > m+ and apatya + -ikā) a woman whose children always die; English bat + ball becomes บāt+bāl > [bætβæl], beside บāt+bāl < บāt+bāl > [bætbæl] (probably here the [m] originates from English itself—bat and ball [bæt ænd boːl, bæt n boːl, bæt m boːl]); Skt. जालमया भा > becomes जालमया > हलमया > all covered with water (here the ‘doubling’ may be through emphasis: see p. 448). In पत्तिष, पत्तिष < पत्ताम-ici, पत्तā-n-ici > mat, we have influence of साताराणी > carpet, cotton rug = Pers. शतरानात > chequered rug. In reading multiplication tables in Bengali, [m, η] is used, instead of the locative-instrumental [e]: e.g., บāร×1 is 12. บāร×2 is 24, etc.

This [m] recalls the euphonic -n- of Dravidian; and a similar euphonic [m] is noted in MIA: e.g., Pali < ถกā-m-ถกā >, < ถกāca jēyya-m-attāna > may conquer self alone, Jaina Ardha-māgađhi < göna-māti > ox etc., < ถกā-ม-ถกā > reciprocally, ถกāra-m-ถกā > food etc., < ถกā-�-ถกā > distant, lit. with a long way, etc.
THE BENGALI SEMIVOWEL GLIDES

For [m] in foreign words, see below.

[III] The Semi-vowels [ə, ɔ].

289. OIA. 〈y〉 = [j, ɾ] and 〈v〉 = [ũ, w, v, v] when initial became respectively [ʃɔ] and [b] in Bengali, and medially between vowels they were dropped in Second MIA. Later they originated as glide sounds intervocally, to avoid hiatus: in Bengali the OIA. and MIA. values of semivowel [i, ũ] and of spirant [j, ɾ; v, v] were replaced by those of semivowel [ə, ɔ]. These sounds did not have any phonemic value: their nature and origin between «udvṛṭta» vowels has been discussed in pp. 338-342. The letter ə (ə) 〈y〉 is much used in Bengali orthography, but it does not often indicate any sound, and ə (ə) in MB. MSS. is only a vowel-bearing consonant in words like ər = ər «ərgha», ərṇa = ərṇa «ərṇa» ənāntā, əmī = əmī «əmī» I, əvum = əvum «əvum» īhār = əhār əhār əhār it's etc. ər 〈yə〉 in the middle or end of words normally stands for the sound of [e] in NB.: e.g., əpār əpār beside əpār [upāe] (upāya), əkər = əkər [kərə] (karaï, karōti), ərṇaţ = ərṇaţ [mənəmət] a name (Mayanā- = Madanāvati), etc.; the locative ər [əməe, əməe] is written ərən «ərən» and ərən «ərən» ərən «ərən» commonly become ərə [əe], ərə [əe]. Final postvocalic ə or ə in əbh words is ordinarily written in MB.: e.g., əɾ [kʰəɾ] eats, əɾaɾ [qəlaɾ] causes to go, əɾə [dəɾ] gives, əɾə [gʰoraɾ] with, on or by a horse, etc.

In NB., with a preceding or following [i] sound, the front glide ə [ə] is not audible, unless a distinct syllable is uttered. [ə] occurs in NB. finally after [o, a, e, a, o], and in the interior of a word between [ə] and [ə] only: e.g., ənə [nən] in, əɾ [kʰəɾ] eats, əɾna [nəɾə] help, əɾəɾ [niɾə] downstairs, əɾə [dəɾ] gives, əɾəɾ [qəɾ] sleeps; əɾə [dəɾə] mercy, əɾəɾ [bəɾə] age, əɾəɾ [maɾə] illusion, əɾəɾ [nəɾəɾ] leader. These are really diphthongs in NB.: see supra, under New Bengali Diphthongs.

The English or Persian sound of 〈j〉, as in York 〈jɔk, jɔ:k〉, yes 〈jəs〉; Europe 〈jəɾəp〉, Persian 〈yəɾ〉 〈jə:r, jə:r〉, etc. is unknown to Bengali, and the Bengali substitute is 〈j〉: ɨɾəɾk [iərk], ɨɾəɾ [iəs], ɨɾəɾ [iəs], ɨɾəɾ [iəs], ɨɾəɾ [iəs].
[iorop, iurop], इयर [iar] etc.: the Skt. spelling with र = र, as दोर्क, रेस, दोरोप, ग्रार would not emphasise the initial semivowel.

The modification of post-consonantal «-yā, -yā» in ts. words has been discussed before: see under ‘Epenthesis,’ pp. 381 ff., and under ‘Bengali [e, æ:],' pp. 410 ff. A spelling like «prattarthi» for «pratyarthi» in the Manahali Grant of Madana-pāla (see p. 185) shows that the dropping the subscribed «-y-» in pronunciation of Skt. was the way in the beginning of the 12th century: but in the 7th century the «-y-» was fully pronounced: witness the spellings अर्या, बौद्ध अर्या, vīryya» [ar:in, vi:ri:n] in the Lōkanātha inscription of Tipperah, and not, as in MB. and NB., अर्या, बौद्ध अर्या i.e. [ar:frI(n)I, bi:frI(n)]

290. ऊ has also been discussed before, side by side with ऊ. In MB., Skt. subscribed «-vā-, -vā-» was pronounced as [ʊʊ, oː], and this pronunciation came to be written as ओ, ओ; but [ʊʊ, ʊʊ > oː] and [oː] became to some extent interchangeable: e.g., stś. दोर्ख [Joarth], beside ts. सोशिक, स्वशि [Joasti, Joasti, Joasti] peace (svasti); सोशिन, वद [Joad, Jo:d] (svāda), see p. 403; सोशिम [Joam] (svāmi); सोशिनी [doadaf] (dvādaśī); अशोशिस [afoaf] (āśvāsa), etc. These pronunciations are now old-fashioned and are getting out of use. Subscribed «-v» in initial syllables is now ignored, e.g., ब्राह [Jo:d] (svāda), ग्रार [da:r] (dvāra), ब्राह [Jo:kio] (svakiya), etc.; and medially it becomes a simple consonant-doubler, in Skt. as well as in the spelling of Perso-Arabic borrowings: e.g., वद [Joott] (svatva), पक [po:kk] (pakva), अव [ojo] (aśva), etc.; मफ्फल, मफ्फल < मफ्फल (sválś) = [mofaffol] country-side, away from head-quarters = Perso-Arabic «mufassil»

Skt. influence has restored the व «-v-» subscribed to some tsks. in Bengali orthography, which lost it in pronunciation long ago in the First MIA. Period: e.g., जल = जल < √jval > = [jol] to burn. There has even been some scholastic attempt to restore the OIA. value of व = «-v-» both inscribed and isolated, but it has proved a failure: e.g., धानक, धानबेक « Śvānvek» = the German name Schwanbeck, which the uninitiated would read as [ʃanek] or [ʃanbek]; हेव वार < Hvēnthā-rāṅgā > = Hwen Thang the Chinese pilgrim; वेरब < Vēvar > = Weber; बलूटन भाल < Vālāntina
THE 'O' GLIDE: ‘R, L’ IN INDO-ARYAN 553

\[\text{Duva\l}\acute{\text{a}} = \text{Valentin Duval}; \quad \text{Sven Hedin} \] = Sven Hedin, etc.

\[\text{[õ]} \text{glide often in intervocal positions lost the vowel following it, and formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: e.g., अवता [a\vota] shade from MB. [a\vota\ta] (*\avota < \avatta- < \atapatra-); sometimes it was changed to [u] through influence of following [i] (see p. 398); sometimes it was assimilated with a preceding vowel, e.g., अनागोना [anagona] < [a\o\o\na g\o\o\na] coming and going; and in a few cases, it changed to [b]; e.g., अदोबे [adobe] (see p. 111), हाओड़ा beside हाओड़ा [h\ab\ra, h\ao\ra] the town of Howrah, etc. [õ\a] in the affix -\wālā borrowed from Hindōstānī (= Bengali -\vālā) became [o] in Bengali: गाड़ीवाला [gārī\v\a\la] > गाड़ीवाल [gā\r\i\\o\la] cabman, beside native Bengali गाड़ीवाल [gā\rî\\a\la].

The glides in foreign loan-words: see infra.

[IV] THE BENGALI ALVEOLAR FLAPPED OR TRILLED SOUND \[\text{[ɾ]}, \text{AND ALVEOLAR LATERAL \[\text{[l]}\].

291. In has been surmised that the OIA. dialects fell into three groups in their treatment of \[\text{[ɾ]}\] and \[\text{[l]}\] sounds, and that 'Prācya' or Eastern OIA., the source of Māgadhī and the modern Magadhan speeches, was an \[\text{[l]}\] dialect. (See p. 34, pp. 484-485.) Sanskrit shows its composite character as a literary language in its \[\text{[ɾ]}\] and \[\text{[l]}\] words occurring side by side: e.g., रोंहिता: lōhiṭa; श्री-ला: śī-\la; रोमान: lōman; रेखाः: lēkah; क्षुद्रा: k\ṣ\u\d\ra; रोचना: lōcanā; राघु: laghu; राख: labh. This occurrence in Sanskrit of the same word in two forms is at the basis of the dictum of the Indian grammarians, \"ra-la-yōr abhē\daḥ\" there is no distinction between \"ṛ\" and \"l\".

This line of isogloss was present in OIA. and First, Transitional and Second MIA. periods, at least so far as the Māgadhī dialect is concerned, as it can be seen from the evidence of the inscriptions and of Vararuci. We can see from the inscriptions how the North-western dialect (which in the Vedic period was an \"ṛ\" dialect) fared during the First MIA. period: it took up the \"l\" sound, apparently through 'down-country' influence. The Midland dialect (the source of Śaurasenī), and the South-western dialects
(the sources of the ancient speeches of Malwa, Rajputana and Gujaratt, and of Mahārāṣṭrī), seem to have always had both <r> and <l>. The modern representatives of all MIA. dialects show disagreement with Sanskrit at times; and developments in them in Second and Late MIA., and Early NIA. times, as well as the influence of sister and cousin speeches and of standard languages, have made it impossible to trace the continuity of the history in the matter of <r, l>.

Bengali as a Magadhan language ought to have only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid <l>. But Bengali has both <r> and <l> in thek. words as well. Bengali has <r> words, e.g., √ḥr <dhār>, कर <कार>, मर <मार> etc., in addition to what may be called its inherited Māgadhī forms in <l> and in <l- > n- > initially (= Skt. r), like शालिक <शालिक> (= sārikā, Māgadhī Pkt. *śālikka), पाँच <पाँच> (*paṅcīla = Skt. prācīra), and MB. नाच <nāchā>, OB. (Sarvānanda) लाच <लाचanchā> (Māgadhī lācchā = rathyā).

The predominance of <r> forms over <l, l- > n- > ones in the Eastern Magadhan speeches would belie their Māgadhī origin. What are these <r> forms due to in Eastern Magadhan? Either it was the result of a tendency in East Magadhan, in the Apabhraṃśa and Early NIA. periods, (a tendency which characterised Central and West Magadhan also, and West as well), to change at a later time, Early Brajbhāskhā in the original, inherited <l> to <r>; or it was due to the presence in Bengal, during the formative period of Bengali, of speakers of <r> dialects from Northern India, who had a great influence in the evolution of the language. Both the factors may have been present together: but the <l > <r> tendency does not seem to have been so wide-spread, as a number of original <l> words have survived: in any case, it had received a check quite early. Bengal had received settlements of Brāhmans from Northern India from the time of the Imperial Guptas, and probably even earlier, as we can see from inscriptions (see pp. 76-77). These Brāhmans, it may be expected, brought their own Prakritic speeches with the <r> sound, before they accepted the Māgadhī Ap. of the land where they settled: and their class dialects would certainly have the <r> sound. Above all, with the
Brāhmans came the tremendous influence of Sanskrit. The speech of the Brāhmans, as that of the aristocracy of culture, would certainly modify the language of those communities which accepted their lead. The influence of Skt. grew greater and greater. The result was that the <r> words from Skt., as the forms employed by the most intellectual classes, were largely established in Bengali at the time of its differentiation from the Central and West Māgadhī groups, i.e. before the 10th century. By that time, what may be called the ‘laundacism’ of early Māgadhī, i.e. the habit of changing <r> to <l>, which characterised it in the 6th or 3rd century B.C., or 4th century A.C., had worn itself out. <r> words are found in Old Bengali toponomy, as in the inscriptions, and in the remains of OB, prior to 1200 A.C., just the same as in NB. Initial <l>, whether ṭb, or ts, tended to become <n> in all Magadhan, probably at this juncture.

The ‘Bihārī’ speeches, however, although they possess both <r> and <l>, are more faithful to their Māgadhī origin in preferring one sound only. The single <l> sound of Māgadhī (in non-initial positions generally) seems to have become an <r> in the Central and Western forms of Māgadhī Apabhraṅga (see p. 96; Hoernle, ‘Gaudian Grammar,’ pp. ix, 13, 14, 63). Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā), as well as the literary form of Eastern Hindī—the latter coming between Western Hindī and ‘Bihārī’—also changed <l> (and <r>) to <r> (see p. 156). Bengali-Assamese and Orijā, on the other hand, never developed as a characteristic this tendency to confuse <r> and <l>, or to have a special preference for <r>. Change of intervocal <ḍ> > <r> to <r> in Western Hindī occurred in late times; the change of intervocal <l> to <r> seems to have been through a <l> stage—<l> > *<l> > *<r> > <r>. This <l>, <ḍ> > <r> is not found in the Old Western Hindī of Canda Bārdāi, nor is it much noticeable in Kabir; but in the Braj-bhākhā of Sūra-dāsa and Bihārī-lāla, and the rest, it is very much in evidence. Modern Hindīstāni is not characterised by this, although it has some words with <r> for <l>, mostly borrowed from Braj-bhākhā. It seems that intervocal <l> which became <l> in most MIA., changed to <r> and then this <r>, and <ḍ> > <r> both became the <r> in the Braj-bhākhā, Bundāl and Kanauj tracts (Upper Gangetic Doab,
excepting the Hindōstānī area): in Panjābī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, this remained <\|>. In the West and Central Magadhan area, this <\-l\->, or <\-l->, became <\r>. Eastern Māgadhān kept the dental <\l>, but probably through Skt. influence, <\r> was frequently brought in.

292. The <\|> sound is now absent in the Upper Ganges Valley; it is not found in any of the Magadhan speeches, except Oṛiyā. In most Second MIA., single intervocal <\l> of Early MIA., whether original (i.e., found in the oldest IA.) or derived (i.e., developed out of <\r>, as in Māgadhā) was cerebralised to <\|>. Māgadhī of the Second and Third MIA. periods probably had this <\|>. But it became a dental or alveolar <\l> once more in all Magadhan of the NIA. period, excepting in Oṛiyā. Oṛiyā has cerebral <\-l-> which corresponds to OIA. single <\-l-> (and <\r>), and alveolar <\-l->, which corresponds to MIA. <\-ll->. In the eastern alphabet which was current in the present-day Magadhan tracts prior to the 13th century, there was no separate letter for <\|>. Oṛiyā used the ordinary ञ=ษ for the <\|> which occurred intervocally, and developed as early as the 13th century a letter ษ with a diacritical mark, for the intervocal alveolar <\-l-<\-ll->. It seems that in the Māgadhā Ap. stage, alveolar <\l> occurred initially, and medially only when doubled; and cerebral <\|> occurred singly intervocally only: the same letter apparently could do for both, as their position in speech was fixed, and together, they formed one phoneme. The same thing seems to have been the case in Early Marāṭhī (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 148). One can recall the usage in the orthography of Second and Transitional MIA. with regard to the representation of both the voiced stops and spirants by the same letter (see pp. 252-253). Bengali (as well as other NIA.) shows ः <\r> for <\l> in a few words, e.g., তাঁঝ <\tārī> fermented palm-juice (=tāḷa, tāḷa), মিঃ <\miṛ> <\√mil> : this <\r> is undoubtedly derived from the cerebralised <\|>, and the <\r> formations can be called sporadic relics from the Māg. Ap. stage with the <\|>. In any case, judging from the evidence of other NIA. like Panjābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, as well as from Oṛiyā, the presence of <\|> in Māgadhā Apabhraṃśa can very well be assumed. One need not ascribe the <\|> sound in Oṛiyā to Dravidian
influences exclusively, as Beames has done in his Comparative Grammar (I, p. 245).

In Old Māgadhī, before the Asōkan period, <l> before <y> was palatalised [ll, lj > xj > jy], which gave <-yy-> in Asōkan Prakrit. There is no trace of it in Later Māgadhī: the resultant <-yy-> has become <j> in Bengali in a solitary example (see p. 476). A slightly palatalised <l> [li] is found in dialectal NB. in cases where an original <i> is dropped (see p. 380): e.g., कोश [kali] < काली [kali] (kalya), पाल [gali] < गाली [gali] (garha-). In dialectal (West Bengali) forms like होर [hair, hari] loss, मोर [mair, mari] a beating <हाँर, माँर [hari, mari], there is similarly a slightly palatalised [ri].

The cerebral <l> is now absolutely a foreign sound in Bengali, so much so that a Bengali speaker confuses the Oriya <l> with his own ড <r>. To make fun of Oriya articulation, especially on the stage, জড়, গোপাড়, বড়ুম, কড়কতা < jarrā, gopārā, bārārāmā, kārkātā >, etc., are used for the correct Oriya forms with <l>; and this <r> is further extended to words which do not have [l]—e.g., জগড়দ্রাপুর < jāgār(ā)nāthā > (Jagannātha), অবর্জ অবাদ্ধারা < avadhāna, তুষাতঃ < subhār(ā)dārā > (Subhadrā), etc.

293. Sources of Bengali [r].

Initially, Bengali [r] represents Skt. <r> which probably ousted Māgadhī <l> in most cases: রাভি < rāthi > (rātri) beside the dialectal sts. নাভির < nāttira > = নাভির < rāttira >—< nāttira > being for <*lāttira >, influenced no doubt by a Māgadhī <*latti > tōḥ. <*lāti >; রাং < rān > (raṇa); রূপ < rūp > silver (rūpya-); রূই < rui > a fish (rūhita); রাছ < rāra > (raṇḍā); রা < rā > (rāva): রীবে < rīṣe > (rīṣyati); রাণি < rān > (rājñī); রিঠি < riṭhā > (ariṣṭha-); রোই < rāy > (rūpayati); রোড়ি < rōri > (rōṇḍa-); etc., etc.

The words রোই, রৌই > rū, rā, cf. Skt. < loman >, NB. < ls. loam < lōma >; রাকি < rākan >, OB. (Sarvānanda) < rasāuna >, beside Skt. < lasuna >; রাঙ, রাঙড় < Rār(h)ā >', beside Jaina Ardha-māgadhī < Lāḍha >.

1 The Skt. ‘Rājha’ is probably based on a vernacular form with ‘r’ occurring side by side with the from in ‘l’ (attested from the Ardha-māgadhī and Tamil) in the Second MIA. period.
Tamil (Tirumalai inscription, 1024 A. C.) Ilāḍam; and a few others, probably seem to be due to an r- tendency in some tracts at least of West Bengal.

In the middle of a word, [r] corresponds to—

Skt. <r->, either through the influence of Skt., or through spontaneous change within the language itself: e.g., अथर् = akṣara; आर् = aḍa and (Māg. avala = avara); आरसी = ārasī (*āalaś, *āarasī = ādaraśa, ādarśa); इदुर्ण = īḍura; MB. उर = īrur = come down, descend (ava-tar, īṛr); उतरे = ītārē (uttarati); the suffix र, एर, -रा, -ैरा for the genitive (-kara, -kēra = kārya); अर = kēra clerk (kīraka-); केशानी = kērāni clerk (kīraka-karaṇīka); क्र = kārē (karōti); केशानी = kēyārī bed round a plant (kēdārika); धर = khāyērē (khadira); MB. गहिर = gāhīrē (gabhīra); गीर्म = gēruā (cf. gāirika); गो = gorā (gāura); धर = ghārē (ghē); चर = cārē (carati); चुर = ēurrē (cf. ēṛṛn); तोर = cōṛē (cōura); तु = āmūrē (āmbara); तेर = tērahē (tiraśca-); तो = nāyārē (nāgara); पर = pārē (paridhiyate); पूर = pūrē (cf. pūrṇa); बीर = bīrē (vīra); सर = sāyārē (sāgara); etc., etc.

Skt. <l->: लंड, लंड = nāṅgārē, lāṅgārē = anchor (= lāṅgala); निहर, नेहर = nihār, nēhar = to see (ni + bhāl); MB. पो = pōra (prabāla); फर = phārēkā = blade, shield (phalaka-); नेहर, नेहरी = mēhar(1) a palace, a place-name (mahālaya-); etc.

It represents also—

OIA. <t> > MIA. <d>: पारुं = pārul, OB. pārāli (pāti); जारु = jārul, OB. jārali (jāṭali); ज्ज = jāral, jārul (jāṭula);

OIA. <d>: बो = bōrēla (vidāla);

OIA. <t, d> > Second MIA. <d>, in the numerals esp.: बार = bāra (dvāḍaśa); सत्तार = saptati; सर = sārēṣā = best, good (*saliṣa, *saḍiṣa, sarisa = sadṛśa).
Change of [ḍ > r] to [r] is characteristic of East and North Bengali, and also of forms of West Bengali. The standard dialect has a few words showing interchange of [r] and [R]: e.g., লাবড়া, লাভারা < labhâra, láphâra> (see p. 513); কাঠড়া, কাঠারা < káthâra, -râ> lumber (kâstha); টুকড়া < tukrára > piece, beside Hind. < tukra >; পেটড়া, পেটারা < pêțâra, -râ> box (*pêțta, *pêțta- = pêțaka-); OB. < kaṭâkaca >, NB. কার্ড– < kârd-kâc > rock salt; কড়া, করা < kârâca, kâracâ > biographical notes (cf. Hindi < kârkâ > war-song, song of heroism: kaṭâkkâ = kaṭâkâ ?); MB., West Bengali মারুলি < māruli > mopping the front of the house-door (? mārulī < mārâli > < √ mând); etc.

294. Bengali phonetics is still Prakritic enough to drop a pre-consonantal [r] and double the following consonant by way of compensation, in both tḫh. and ts. words (see pp. 448-449). This habit is present throughout the history of the language: e.g., in the OB. period, in the Kamauli grant of Vaidya-dēva (p. 184), we have the sts. and tḫh. spelling < ninnaya > for < nirnaya > (= nirṇaya). These modified sts. occur principally in the speech of the masses, and frequently they are written as pronounced, especially in the drama and in the conversational passages in fiction: e.g., কব্র < kâmmâ >, beside ts. কর্ক্ষ < kârmâ >, sts. করম < kâramâ > and tḫh. কম < kâmâ >; সমন্ড < sámâttâ, sômâttâ > grown-up (as of a girl) (? samarthâ); কা < kâttâ > master, 'governor' (kartâ); গিনিদি < ginni > (*girîni = grhiṇi); চারভূমি < cāññāmottâ > (cāññāmērtâ = carañmēpta); MB. নাতী < nâtâ > < n-রতিযু > festival on the 9th day after birth of child; পুষ্করিণ < puskarîni > (puskarâni, puskarîni); উত্তীর্ণ < uttinnâ > (uttirṇa); পোলের [pojker] clear (pōrkēr < *pârskēr < parisâka); বান্ন < bânnanâ > (varṇanâ); মালে [malle] beside মার্লে [marle] = Standard Bengali মারিল < mârila > he struck; কেহে [kore(h)ê] beside কেহে [kore(h)ê] is doing = Standard kāritoṣe [kāritoṣe > shiri < śiri > শিরীন < shri >, shirî < śirî > sweets offered to a saint; etc., etc. Cf. the assimilation of [r] in MB. sts., p. 357. Exceptions, where the [r] resists assimilation, have been indicated at p. 449.

This dropping of [r] characterises the speech of the uneducated classes, of women and of children; and for common words, educated
speech is not unaffected by it. As there is the impression that the [r] forms are the learned ones, we find, in the attempt to be learned, forms like साहाय [sāhāyā] (sāhāyya), चिन्ता [cintāntita] (cintānvita), चिन्त [cint] (cīnha), etc., in both writing and speech. MB. has a false restoration ज्ञान < jāmā > for ज्ञान < jāumā >: see p. 376. The Perso-Arabic मुक्तादमाह has given the Bengali भोक्ताम < mokādamā >, beside a 'learned' भोक्ताम < mokādapāam < law-suit; and बहेज < behādd < beyond limit, Persian बेहद, at times figures as बेहद [behād]; and Ar. < bāq > > बक़ी < bākī > remainder has even been Sanskritised to बक्र < bākri >.

Intervocal [r] as a rule is not dropped in Bengali, except, of course, the NB. dropping of an original intervocal [r] which becomes pre-consonantal through epenthesis: e.g., करिते < kārita > to do > कैट < kāt > (through कैट < kārīt >). But in a few instances, intervocal [r] seems to have been dropped without being pre-consonantal: cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) < bīyana >, NB. < bēna > < bīna > (vīraṇa-); मराड < mārā > store for rice, corn-loft (Late Skt. marāra); हाई < chāi > ashes (कार); केउ < phēn > jungle dog (phēru), etc. On the other hand, euphonic [r] to prevent hiatus is sometimes met with: e.g., कार < kā-r-urā > beside कार < kārū >, कार < kāru > = कार < kārō >, genitive of indefinite pronoun कह, केह, केउ < kēhō, kēhā, kēu > some-body; बिर < bi-r-āsī > (dvī + aṣṭi); बिर < bi-r-ā-nā(bbā)i > (dvī + navati); हाँट < hāt-ur-ē > from खाँटिर = *hātīa > hāt-ā-r-īyā, hāt-ā-r-īyā > belonging to the market; so काठिर = काठारियास, काठिर < kāṭhāriya, kāṭhūr < wood-cutter (the last two through the analogy of नागरिया < nāgariya > belonging to town, पाठिर < pāṭhāriya > stony, etc. ?).

But initial [r] is sometimes dropped, and there is equally a prothesis of [r]. This omission, as well as prothesis of [r], is found pretty frequently all over Bengal, but in the speech of the masses in North Central and North Bengal this seems to be most common: e.g., राज < rāmā > for राज < rōjā > snake-doctor, witch-doctor. One or two words in Standard Bengali seem to have this prothetic [r], e.g., राज < rōjā >
in the Calcutta Colloquial, ইটে = « ite » is frequently heard for রিঠা, রথা; রিথা ।

For [r] in foreign words, see infra.

295. Bengali [l] : initially, [l] in all cases may be said to go back to Māgadhī ।-

which corresponds to—

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

In the interior of words, [l] < Māgadhī ।-

and ।-
equating—

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

Skt. ।-

In DeBlaeu’s map, 16th century, we find ।-

*Sirote »;
Skt. -l-: आगल <āgal> (argala); आँगल <āṅgal> (āṅguli);
आळोला <āḷōlā> (āmalaka-); आळोल <āḷol> (ākula); आलता
<āḷatā> (alakta-); आली, आिळ <āli, āil> (āli); आलस <āḷasā>
(ālasya); उक्केली <ūkkelī> (ōkkhala-, udūkhala-); ओल <ōḷā>
descend (ava-labh); कल <kāḷā> (kadalā-); काजल <kājāḷā>
(kajjala); गिल <gīḷā> (gilati); MB. खेल <ĉēḷī> (chagala-);
खाल <ṭhāḷā> (sthāla-); टुळ <ṭūḷā> cotton (tūlaka-); छवल
<duṭāḷ> (durbala); पिल <pitāḷ> (pittala); पाखाले
<pākhāḷe> (praksālayati); MB. माँलानी <māḷāṇī> (māṭu-
ḷaṇī); माल <māḷā> (māḷa); शाल <ṣāḷā> (syāla-); शिल <silā>
(silā); लाङल, नाङल <lāṅḷā, nāṅḷā> (lāṅgala); sts. रिल, लिले
<pīḷā, pilē>, पिलिहा <piliḥā> (plīḥā), etc., etc.;
Skt. -ly-: कण <kāṇī> (kalya); कुळ <kuḷā> winnowing fan
(kulyaka-); MB. भूल <mūḷā> (mōlla, mūlya); बेल <śēḷā>
(sēlla, śalya);
Skt. -ll-: करेला <kārēḷā> (karavēlla); केल <kōḷā> Kōl tribe
(Kōlla, dēṣī); छाल <chāḷ> (challi); sts. भालुक <bhālukā>
(*bhallukka, cf. Skt. bhalluka); माल <māḷā> (malla <
madra);
Skt. -lv-: गल <ōḷā> (ōlva); बेल <bēḷā> (bilva).

In borrowings from Hindōstānī, -lh- becomes [-l-] in Bengali: e.g.,
कोल <kōḷā> oil-presser (Hind. kōḷī = oil-mill); जोल <jōḷā>
(Mohammedan) weaver (Hind. jōḷā, beside julāḥ < Persian
julāh>: the Bengali word may have been borrowed straight from the
Persian).

[1] occurs in words of dēṣī origin: e.g., पिल <pīḷā, pilē> as in
पिलिले, -पुल <chēḷē pilē, -pulē> children (cf. Tamil pilḷai), Oṛiyyā
<pilē>: or is it the lbh. form पोल <pōḷa> child, as in East Bengali,
<pōṭalā- > ?); पालान <pāḷāṇ> udder of cow (cf. Telugu pālu, Tamil
pāḷ > milk); पालं, पलम <pāḷāṇ, pāḷām> spinach; etc.


There is dropping of [1] in पोलाल, पोहाल <pō(h)āḷā> straw
(= palāla); also in त् [cō:] for चल [cō:] (= Skt. cala) come thou.

[l] in foreign words is discussed below.

296. [l] becomes [n], mainly initially. This tendency is common to all Magadhan speeches, and probably characterised the Apabhraṣṭa Māgadhī dialects. Conversely, there is change of [n] to [l]. Examples:

[l] > [n]: MB. नाच as in NB. नाचदेयार *naĉdōār* street door (lācha, lacehā, rathyā); नाजल *naţāl* (lāngala); नाउ *nāu* (alābu); नूती *nūtī* thin wheaten cakes fried in butter (cf. Hind. *lucet*); नाड़ *nāru* (lauḍīka); हुन *nunā* (lavaṇā); नेज *neţā* tail (cf. lańja); sts. कक्की *nakki* (lakṣmī), नखिन्द्र *nakhindār* a name (Laksṁindra); sts. नौक *nokā* (= lōka; nakha); नाटी *nāṭā* reel for thread, नाटी नाटिम *nāṭṭu, nāṭim* top, beside forms with ल | lā-; नाल *nāl* besides लाल *lāl* red; etc., etc. The forms with initial [n], rather than [l], are used, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned, more among women and children than among men, and are not regarded as standard forms.

The plural affix गुल *-gulā* becomes गुनो *guno*; and -लम *-lum*, affix of the past tense first person in the Standard Colloquial, is found in certain West Bengal districts (e.g. Hugli) as गु *-nu*, e.g., कुर *konna* I did < क्रहु *kornu* < करिलू *karilū, -lum*, ‘sādhu-bhāṣā’ करिलम *karīlam*; so ढर *connu* I went < चलिम *cālinu* = chilām *cālilām*, etc. This -ino affix is much employed in poetry.

[n] > [l]: ठा *lā* (nā, nāva = nāu); लाट *lāṭā* (naṣṭā); लांग *lāng(g)ā* (nangga-, nagga-, nagna-); लाइहोर, लाइर *lāhōrā, la허* beside नाई, नाय *nāyār, nāyā* married woman’s father’s home (*nābharā, jnātigṛha*); लाफ *√lāf* for नाफ < √nāf to move (see p. 497); ठळ *lāf* for नाफ *nāf* nine (nava), is not (nā-ḥāy); etc., etc. It is found also in a few
foreign words; 

[V] The Sibilants: the Palatal [ʃ], and the Dental [s].

297. Bengali has one sibilant phoneme, the palato-alveolar [ʃ] and the dental or alveolar [s] is only a subsidiary form of it—[ʃ] normally becoming [s] when occurring before [t, d, n, r, l]. In East and North Bengali, of course, [ʧh] is reduced to [s]. The pure palatal sibilant is preserved in Bengali only among the Magadhan speeches (see pp. 58-59, 92, 245): in Oriya, the [ʃ] has been slightly dentalised and is very like [st] rather than like a pronounced [ʃ] sound. In the ‘Bihari’ speeches, the palatal is not used now, only dental [s], although spelling (in the Kaithi script) employs <ś>, which possibly shows the occurrence of the palatal pronunciation in early times. The dentalisation of the sibilant in the Western and Central Magadhan tracts probably is due to the overwhelming influence of Upper India under which these tracts have been for some thousand years: and besides, the [s] sound was probably never absent in Magadha itself, at least dialectally. In Early Assamese, intervocal [ʃ] became [ɦ], and in recent Assamese single [ʃ] initial or intervocal is pronounced as the guttural spirant [x], although written ʃ, ɦ, ɻ < ś, s, š. East Bengali partly agrees with Assamese in turning [ʃ] to [ɦ] (see p. 79). It is only in West Bengali that the original Magadhi value is kept intact. In this point, more than in anything else, Bengali has remained faithful to its Magadhi character. It is not impossible, however, that the dental sound
occurred in class dialects even in the Western Bengali area itself, among communities originally of Köl speech, and among other communities which immigrated from the contiguous Bihar. In fact, [s] rather than [ʃ], is still found among certain communities in Western Rādha and elsewhere, although it is regarded as very vulgar in the Standard Colloquial speech.

In writing [ʃ], Bengali orthography has always employed all the three letters ʂ, ṣ, s. In Old Bengal epigraphic records, ʂ, ṣ, s are confused, demonstrating their levelling to one sound which was that of [ʃ]: e.g., in the Bangarh inscription of Mahipāla (p. 183) occur spellings like ʂāla-sikha, saulika, puṇya-yasō, parāsara, madhusūda-ṣa-ṣama-, viṣuvasaṃkrāntau; in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva (p. 184), santi = śānti, visayilla = viṣayilla, śīmā, vāyayya-disa», etc.; also in other inscriptions similar interchanges are found. In Early Bengali and Assamese MSS., as well as in the Oriya epigraphical records, interchange between the sibilant letters is very common, and there is ordinarily no deference paid to the ts or foreign words. But in the hands of educated scribes, ts. words generally would be spelt as in Skt., and the tss. would exert a certain amount of guidance in spelling the easily recognisable tbh. derivatives: e.g., ձոլ « sınıf » (sōdaña); 所所 « ʂāra » (ṣāra); षष्ठ « ṣaṭha » (ṣaṭhi); ṛaun « auⁿ » (aun); 哾(ィ) « ʂ(ィ)ṣa » (ṣamisa); ʂik « ʂikha » (ṣrṣkhala); ʂa « ʂāra » (ṣārava); ʂ « ʂa » (ṣata); ʂeṣ « ṣeṣṭha » (ṣrṣṭhin); ˢai « sāi » (sakhī); śīs « hāṣṭa » (haṇsa); |#x1b93| « ʂaṣṭa » (vaṇa); etc., etc. A similar modelling of tbh. spelling on that of the tss. also took place in Oriya.

Padre Assumpçoam uses only ʂ in his transcription of East Bengali: e.g., աիս « aixe » comes, հիշ « xurziö » sun, ժտa « xoito » truth, բաիშ « baix » twenty-two (also=বাঁশ stalk), ձո « xolo » sixteen, Ժժa « xansa » true, ժան « xoia » having slept, ժա « axtha » faith, ժա « xantona » condolence, ժա « xaxtro » scripture, etc. It would be seen that Padre Assumpçoam uses ʂ for the sibilant before t, th also, as in « axtha, xaxtro »; in NB. in this position we have [s] normally (see p. 297); but ʂ is used in the works of the Padre for ʂ, ʂ = [ts, s] only: see supra, pp. 464-165.
298. Sources of Bengali [ʃ].

OIA. <ś, ȳ, s> regularly changed to <ś> in all cases in Māgadhī > Bengali, and it is not necessary to give further examples. Groups of <ś, ȳ, s> + a semivowel, or groups of <ring - ring >, etc., become <ś, -ś > in Māgadhī, which remained as [ʃ] in Bengali, written ষ, স, শ. Examples—

-<ring - ring >: আদর্শি <রদ্ধি > (াদর্শ-: see p. 256);
-<ring - ring >: পাশ <পেষ্ট > (পর্শ-);
-<ring ring >: চাচ <চাচ > তিল্হ (? cars=√kr); ধ্ব <√ghas > রুড
t(√ghs); আউব <াউষ > (া-যষ); MB. পাউব <পেষ্ট > (পার্শ-);
-< śm - > <ś - >: রাজ <রাজ > রেইন (রাশি, রাশি);
-<śy - >: শাত <ষাত > (ষাতা-, ষাতা-); শার <ষাম > (ষামা); MB. শামল
শাষালা <ষাষালা > (ষাষালা); OB. <দিস > (দ্রষ্যতে); বেসপটি <ষেপটি >
commerce ( <ষাস্য-);
-<śr - >: MB. শংস <ষাস্তা > (ষাস্তা); ষেই <ষেই > (ষেই-);
বিশাল <মিষংল > (মিষা-); শামলারি <মিষুরি > (মিষূরি-);
-< śv - >: MB. শুন <ষুন > dog (ষুন); শুমর, ts. spelling, = ছুফওঁ,
(ষাস্তুরা); শোঁলস, ষাত [ছোঁল, ছোঁল] (ষানশা); শামলারি <মিষুরি >
(ষাস্তু-ষি); পার্শ <পর্শ > (পার্শ-);
-<śy - >: মামলি, মুনি মুনিষাগ <মুনিষাগ > (মুনিষাগ); রীষ <রীষ >
(রিষ-া, রিল-); রুপ <tus > (tuspati); রুপ <rue > (ruspati);
-<śy - >: অলস <অলস > (অলসা); কান <কাস > (কাসা-); লাস
<las > (লাসা); হাস <হাস > (হাসা); সাস <সাস > (সাসা);
-<śr - >: অস অস পাস <সাপাস > (সাপা); পিস, মাসি <পিস, মাসি>
(পিরুকস্কা, মাতৃকস্কা); সৌদি <সৌদি > (সৌদি, সৌদি);
-<śv - >: মানি <মানি > (মানি); গোস্তাই <গোস্তাই > (গোস্তাই); সূত <sūt >
(svar);
-<ś - >: MB. নিসাগ <নিসাগ > (নিসাগ);
-<ś - >: MB. নিসাগ, নিসাগ <নিসাগ >, নিসাগ music (নিসাগ).
299. Bengali, in common with other NIA. languages, presents cases of change of single intervocal sibilants to «h». This change is a MIA. one, and came in vogue in the Second MIA. period, and was rather prominent in the Apabhraṣṭa stage, and is carried down to recent NIA. The nature and extent of this modification are not clear. It affects a special group of words and inflections, e.g., the numerals (the decades and the septuagintades), the genitive affix («-asya > -āha >: but cf. «-s» in Kaśmīrī, and in European Gipsy), the future affix («-iṣyati > -ihaī >», etc.: but cf. «-s» in Rājasthānī-Gujarāṭī and in Western Panjābī). Isolated words in all NIA. also show this change: for Bengali examples, see below under [8], §302. The change of the genitive «-asya » to «-ha » in Late MIA. may have been due to the influence of the locative and instrumental plural affixes «-hi, -hī >; and for the change of the future «-iṣy-» to «-iḥ- >, there may have been the influence of a periphrastic form like «dātaham » in Second MIA. (Ardha-Māg. and Jaina Mahāraṣṭrī) «dāham ». (See below, Morphology, under 'Noun Inflexions: Genitive,' and under 'Verb: Future Precative and Future Tense'). The «-h-» form for these inflexions is found in a fairly wide tract, and came to be well-established only in the Third MIA. period, although a few cases of this change occur sporadically in earlier Pkts. The Southern Pkt. of the Transitional MIA. Period, as in the Andhra country, shows this change initially as well as intervocally, e.g., « hiru = śrī, Hādakaṇi = Śatakarni » (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. xx). But this seems to be isolated, and not to have had any connexion with the change in the Northern Indian Prakrits. The «-h-» words, including the numerals, possibly originated in some Panjab dialect, whence they were early adopted into a koinē like Pali, and then were passed on to other forms of IA.: witness Panjābī forms like «hār = āsāḥha, pōh = pāuṣa, dah (also « das »)=daśa, vīh = viuṣati, tīh (trīh) = triuṣat, cālīh = cattvariṃśat, paṇjāh = paṇeṣat, ikahāth = ēka-ṣaṭṭhi, tra(i)h = √tras, baḥh = upa√viṣ, pīh = √piṣ, saūhrā = śvasura-, nāh = snuṣā », etc., as compared
with other NIA. forms in «s», e.g., Hindi asārh, pōs, das, bīs, tīs, cālīs, pacās, ikṣaṭh, (taras), bais, pīs, sasurā etc. In Bengali thk. forms which have normally evolved from OIA., intervocal [Ɂ] is kept: e.g., আইসে, আসে [aije, əje] comes (āvīšati); MB. উলাস < ulāsa > (ullāsa); আইস, আস [aiʃ, əʃ] meat (āmiṣa); আকুশী, আকুশী [ək(u)f] (aṅkuśikā); দশ < dāš > beside OB. (Caryās) < daha >, NB. দহা < dāhāla > card of ten (daśa); চলিস, চলস [c̪̄l̄iʃ, tʃoloʃ] (calasi); পড়িস, পড়সি [poʃ(i)f] (prativedī); বাসর [bāʃor] (vāsa-grha); নিউতি [niʃuti] (niṣupta-); মশ [moʃa] (mašaka-); the emphatic enclitic particle সি *-si* as in MB. (SKK.), e.g., সে-সি *-si* that indeed, NB. সূ *-s* as in ভাগীস < bhāgyi-s > [bhaggǐʃ] < ভাগী সি *bhāgye-si* luckily indeed, ↑NB. সিন *-sin* < earlier সিনি *-si-ni* rather (cf. Vedic *ṣim*); etc., etc.

The occurrence of «-h-» in Assamese, e.g., হাহি *hāhi* smile, laughter (√has), বাহি *bāhi* flute (vaṅśi), মাহি *māhi* (মানুষা), অহম *Ahom* written অসম *āsāmā*, is isolated, and connected with it is the change of both intervocal and initial [ʃ] in East Bengali dialects (see p. 79): and the «-h-» words in Bengali, noted in §302 below, are not at all connected with Assamese or East Bengali especially: they are mostly pan-Indian. The East Bengali tendency to use «h» for [ʃ] is noted in Bengali literature as early as the 16th century, and it can only have arisen considerably earlier. But in West Bengal it has always been ridiculed. Kavi-kaṣkaṇa in the ‘Cāṇḍī-kāvyā’ (c. 1580) makes the ‘Bāṅgāl’ or East Bengal sailors say «bārbā» for সার্বী kāla for সঙ্কর *sārbā* all, *hākāla* for সঙ্কর *sākāla* all, *hukūta* for সঙ্কর সুকুতা *sukūta* (dried) condiment, beside deaspirated forms like «bāî» for ভাই ‘brother. Earlier, we learn from the biographies of Caitanya that he used to make fun of the East Bengali pronunciation after his return from Vanīga (East Bengal) to Nadiya. The old Sanskrit verse describes this character of East Bengal articulation—

« astonishing na gṛhṇtīyāt pūrva-dēsa-nivāsinām »

‘ satāyur ’ iti vaktavyā, ‘ hatāyur ’ iti bhāsinām. *

Accept not the blessings of the dwellers in the Eastern lands;
When satāyuh (may you live a hundred years) is to be said, they say
hatāyuh (may your life be ended) !
INTERCHANGE OF ‘Ś’ AND ‘CH’

This pronunciation is not noticed by Padre Assumpção, and I have not found it represented in the Perso-Bengali MSS. from Chittagong (pp. 228 ff.), where only ﬜ is found for ॥, ॥, ॥: although the ॥ pronunciation is fairly common.

The Upper Indian pronunciation of ॥ as ॥ kh ॥ is found in a few Bengali borrowed words: see pp. 460-461.

300. The use of the palatal ॥ for ॥, ॥, ॥ is the crux of Bengali articulation: the Skt. word ॥ saviśeṣa ॥, in a Standard New Indian pronunciation [saviʃeː xa], but in Bengali [ʃ)iʃeʃ], is quite a good Shibboleth to find out a Bengali speaker. Bengali ॥ tends occasionally to pass into the aspirated palatal affricate ॥ ch ॥ [ʃiʃ]: see pp. 465, 472, 473. A pronunciation of ॥ as [ʃiʃ(h)] is a common speech defect in Bengali, found especially among the masses. Cf. also MB. (ŚKK.) ॥ chāchānda ॥ (svačhanda); sts. ॥, ॥, ॥ and ॥ hānd ॥ (snāna); sts. ॥ hruč ॥ chākkārā ॥ huckney carriage (śakata); nihīrī ॥ michrī ॥ sugar candy (= Perso-Arabic ॥ misrī ॥); Calcutta Coll. ॥ moṛaḷana ॥ (moṭrāman) for ॥ muslāman ॥ (muslāmān); Portuguese ॥ pires ॥ [piriʃ] > pīrice ॥ pire ॥ saucer; Hindi ॥ alag-sē ॥ remaining distinct, without touching > अलग-च ॥ अलगच ॥.

Conversely, there are a few cases of ॥ for ॥, ॥: OB. ॥ kaechu ॥: NB. ॥ > ॥, ॥ > ॥ khaus ॥ > khōs ॥ itches; MB. (ŚKK.) nihīrī ॥ niśibō ॥ I shall offer, shall sacrifice, shall cast away as a sacrifice (see p. 266, supra) for ॥ nietibō ॥ (cf. Hindi ॥ niehāwar ॥ sacrifice, offering, MB. niḥ ॥ niḥā ॥, niḥñiḥ ॥ nīhāni ॥ offering or casting something to avert the evil eye: < ?: cf. ॥ ni-kṣip ॥ throw, or ॥ ni-kṣap ॥ fast, do penance, or ॥ niśćayā ॥ as in the ‘Athrava Veda’ = to scare or drive away); OB. (Sarvānanda) ॥ śukra ॥ for ॥ śūka ॥ vinegar (eukra).

301. An intrusive sibilant occasionally characterises the vulgar pronunciation of some ts. words: e.g., ॥ hruč [duʃ(h)u] (duhkha); ॥ ujaṛaṇ [uʃjarən] (uccāraṇa); ॥ tuccha; ॥ ekastr ॥ ekastrə-ər ॥ (ekatra); ॥ gātri ॥ (gangātira); ॥ North Bengali ॥ gāṣṭa ॥ (jiṇāti); etc. In certain parts of East Bengal, the form ॥ aṣṭā ॥, doubtless a similar form with intrusive ॥, and influenced no doubt by
the Skt., for *thh. aʊt < ṭāṭa>, is much used. These groups, *ṣk, ṣc, ṣṭ, st > recall the existence of similar groups in Magadhi Pkt. Nothing can be more against the trend of MIA. phonetics than such groups: and it cannot be known whether the < ṣk (sk), ṣc, ṣṭ, st > of the Prakrit grammarians were in actual agreement with spoken Magadhi. < ṣc > might be only a way of indicating the affricate sound of [ʃ], like < ye > (see p. 248). Or it may be that the < s > forms were actually heard in Magadhi, as in present day Bengali, as 'learned' ones, in folk-speech: in NB., the forms with the sibilants are certainly due to a desire to appear learned. Cf. the intrusion of < r >, p. 542, supra. So it may have happened that the attempts of some Magadhi speakers to emulate the Skt. gave rise to forms like < gaścadi, laskaśe, pēśkadi, puścadi, maśtagē, bhaśṭālāgē > etc. for < gacehati, rākṣasa, prēkṣatē, prēchati, mastaka, bhaṭṭāraka >, which were generalised in the West as Magadhan peculiarities.

In the form গাষ্টত < jāṣṭutā > for জ্যোষ্টত < jyōṣṭutā > (see p. 503), the intrusive sibilant is due to the analogy of similar forms like মাসসূতৰ < māsśutā >, পিযুসূতৰ < piyūṣṭtā > etc.

[ʃ, s] in foreign words: see infra.

[VI] The Glottal Fricatives, Voiced [ɦ], Unvoiced [h].

302. Bengali [ɦ] is a voiced sound, as in OIA. Initially the [ɦ] of OIA. has generally been preserved in NIA., except in certain dialects, e.g., in East and North Bengali and occasionally in Assamese. Intervocal [ɦ] of OIA. is in origin always a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian < *gh, *zh >, and also partly from < *dh, *bh >. In MIA. of the Second Period, all OIA. single intervocal voiced aspirates except < -dh- > became [ɦ], and this [ɦ] fell together with the OIA. [ɦ]. Medial [ɦ] continued undisturbed down to 16th century; after which it tended to drop off.

Initially, Bengali [ɦ] in *thhs. comes mainly from OIA. < h- >, e.g., ḍhat < hāṭa > (hasta); ḍīṣ < hāśka > (haṁsa); ḍhaṁ < hāmā > to crawl (MIA. dial. < hamma > crawl); ḍiṅ < hiṇ > (hiṅga); ḍiṛ < hīrā > (hīraka-); ḍiṁ
<hiyā> (ḥṛdaya-); ḥāludā <hāludā> (haridrā); MB. ḫunē <hunē> sacrifices (√ hu); etc., etc.

<bh-> in some words gives [fi] in Bengali. An early example is <√bhū> <√hō>, found already in Aśokan MIA. It seems that <bh-> h- first originated in the middle of a sentence, and in compounds where it would be in an intervocal position. Then from occurrence in compounds etc., the resultant <h-> would be established initially. Thus, ḫādi <hādi> pot, beside ḫādā <bhādā> (-bhānda); ḫāṭ <√hāṭh> recede <bhraṣṭa->; ḫāṭi <hāṭi> a sailing ship beside ḫāṭ <bhāḍa> a large boat (? bhṛta); OB. ḫāla-ka beside Skt. ḫālaka > raft; OB. ḫādusa beside Bhādusa > food half-dressed; NB. ḫōḍal <hōḍalā> png-faced, ugly and uncouth beside ḫōḍā <bhōḍā> fat and ugly; ḫapar <bhaparā> smith's bellows, beside ḫap <bhāp > steam. Similar change of <kh-, gh- > seems to occur in ḫēḍal <hēḍalā> crocodile beside ḫēḍalā <bhēḍalā> (bhēḍalā); ḫām <bhām > measles beside ḫām <bhām > sweat <sun-shine>; ḫāmar <bhāmar > farm, granary beside ḫāmar <khāmar > (skambhāgāra, āharmyāgāra).

In the middle of a word, [fi] comes from—

OIA. <ks- > : la <lā> <laḥ <lāh > (lākṣa); ke <kē>, dative post position (*kaḥi, *kakhī, *kakhi, kakṣā );

OIA. <kh- > : in some cases the [fi] is dropped early in MB.: e.g.,

OB. <ahēri>, MB. aḥēri <aḥēri> hunter (ākṣētkā); m <mu > (muha, mukha); nāru <nārun > (naha-haraṇī, nakha-haraṇa-); MB. rēḥ <rēḥ > (rēkha); MB. ḫīḥ <lih > (likhati); shīr <śīrā > (śiharā, śikhara); sāi <sāi > (sahī, saṅkhī); OB. <suha > (sukha);

OIA. <gh- > : ḫālka <hālka> (laghu: cf. p. 315); MB. ḫātṛ <bhāṛa > (vyēghutatī), also OB. <bahuḍāi >, printed bāḥ in Caryā 8; OB. <ṭāhāi >, NB. ḫāi, ḫāi <ṭhāi, thāi > bottom (stāgha-); also in bāṣadār, bāṣadār <bāṣa-hārā; nāyāṛā <nāiḥārā>, respectively = temple, chamber for bride and bridegroom, a married woman's father's home (dēva-ghara, vāsa-ghara, jñāti-ghara, < -ṛha);
MIA. < -dh-, in MB. (ŠKK.) आहर < आहुत्सा >, lMB. आउट < आउक्ष >
3½ (aḍḍhutṭha, ardha-caturtha);
OIA. < -th-, kha, ka < kāhē, kāy > (kathayati); kāhini < kāhini >
(*kathinikā); ४, ४० < gu, gū > (gūha, gūtha); the imperative
affix ṡ, ṣ as in MB. चलह, चलह < cālāḥa, cālāhu > NB. चल, चलो
< cālā, cālō > (OIA. < -atha > of the present indicative + < -ata >
of the imperative, 2 plural);
OIA. < -dh- >: [fl] frequently dropped: MB. आईह > एगो < अहा >
> ēyo (avidhavā); मम < gāmā < for *gāi, *gāi, *gōi < *gāū,
[gowu], *gāhū, *gōhū > (gōdhūma); दह < daī > (dahi, dadhi);
बौ, बौ < bāu > (bahū, vadhu), बु, बौ < mau > (mahu, madhu);
बुरी, बुरी < māuri > anise (madhurikā); राइ < rāhe > rā < rāhi >
(Rādhikā); न, नाह, साह < sā, sāhā, sāhā > merchant (sāhu);
OIA. < -ph- >: *phulī > NB. शुली < *śhālt > śhūl < (śphālikā);
OB. शिक्ष < sīhāra > (NB. शिक्ष < sīkār >) (cf. Skt. śihā, see p. 457);
OB. मानघाला > (maṇaḥāla = madanaphala);
OIA. < -bh- >: गहर < gāhirā > (gabhira); MB. निरहर, निरहल <
niharē, -ē > (nibhālayati); पाह्र < rāphāh > reach (pra + bhū +
echa: see p. 473); MB. पाह, पाह < pāhu, pāhā > (prabhu);
पाह्र < pāhā > dawns (prabhāti, *prabhātāyatē); बहेत < bāhērā >
(MIA. bahēḍaa-, vibhītaka-); बिहान, बान < bihān > byānt >
dawning (vibhāna); लह < lāh, lāy > (labhatē); ल, लाह <
lah < a surname (> labha); श्रो < Ṣrō, शो < suhā > suō, sō >
(subhagā); similarly छु > ṇu, दो < duhā > duō, dō > (<dubbaga =
durbhagā); शोह < sōgā < affection, husband’s love (sāubhāgya); विल्ल < hilānt > leaning (abhilagna); etc. It is lost
in forms like आहि, तुम्हि < āmi, tumī > (amahbi, tumhāi =
asmābbhi, yuṣmābbhi);
OIA. < -h- >: generally lost to NB.: आहर < āhāra >, OB. < āhāra >
(āhāra); बाहर < bāhīrā > (MIA. bāhira, cf. Skt. bahiś, bāhya);
MB. बाह < bāhā > (bāhu); बह, बह < bāhe, bāy > (vahati); बहट <
bhūtā > (*bahu-vant-); MB. (ŠKK.) बाहु < bāhukā >, NB.
बाहु, बाहु < bālkā, bākā > carrying pole, Hindi < bahangā >
(vihārga-); कृ | rui | carp fish (rōhita); लोहा, मोहा, नो | lōhā, nō | (lāuha-); सहेन, सहेन | sāhē, sāy | (sahatē);

OIA. *-ś-, -ṣ-, -ṣi-, -sy-, -sy* →: this change has been discussed before, p. 549. Examples: the numerals १६, १२, १३, १४, १५, १६, १७, १८ respectively (< -aha < OIA. -asa); एकांकर, बाहितर, भित्तर, चौक्तर, पाँचांकर, चित्तर, सातांकर, अष्टांकर | ekatērā, bahattērā, tīyatērā, cuatērā, pacatērā, chiyattērā, satattērā, atattērā = ७१, ७२, ७३, ७४, ७५, ७६, ७७, ७८ (< ēka- etc. + hattari, = -saptati), but cf. उनांकर | ānā-sattērā = ६९, which preserves the sibilant; the genitive affix, ताह, ता | tāhā, tā | he, it (tasya); एह, ए | ēhā, ē | thīs (*ēha, ēdāśa, ētasya); ओ, ओ | ōhā, ō | that (*ōha, *avuha, *awuha, amuśa, amuśya), etc., etc.; the OB. locative affix हिः, हिः | *-hi, hi | represents probably a blend of a Māgadhī *-aśī, *-aśīni (<-asmin) + an OIA. *-*dhi, *-*dhim*, attested from the Greek locative affixes -thi, -thin*; the future-prescriptive affix हिः | -ihā- (isayatha); the verb substantive हिः | āh =√ *āh (as), confused with ह | √hō < √bhū; e.g., *asti, *asati > *aḥai > हौ | hāy, * na + *ahaī > महू | māhāy >

नाही | nāhi | is not, * na + aśīt > नाही | nāhi >. नाई | nāi | was not > does not exist (cf. से कर नाई | sē kārē nāi > he did not do), etc.; the pronominal adjectives हें, कें | hēnā, kēnā, jēnā < एहें, केंहें, के | ēhenā, kēhenā, jēhenā >, cf. Maithili | aihān, kaiha, jaiha, jaihān>, beside other NIA.

* aisan, kaisan, jaisan = * ētarās-, kidrās-, yādrās- etc.; and a number of isolated words, like kāhān | kāhān (Pali kāhāṇa, Skt. kāṟṇaṇa); gēhān | gōhāl (gōśāla); MB. (Śūnya-Puṇḍara) s.t. bhirām | bihariṃā (viśrāma); kēṛa | mēṛa | ram (mēhā- = mēśa-) OB. (Caryās 35, 50) | dāhā-dīha (daśa-diśa). Cf. Maithili, Hindi | pūhup (puspa), and | dīhār, dahārā | day (Saur-Ap. diha- = divasa-), found in. Hindi, Rajasthānī-Gujarātī, Panjābī. In the present-day Bhōjpuriyyā,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V


The reverse process, changing -h- to s, seems to characterise the Carya (no. 19) word kaśālā for kāhāla, kāhala, NB. ḍāhāl - kāhāla > drum.

The groups -śn-, -ṣn-, -sn- became nh, ṭh in MIA., and their resolution in NB. has been to [n], the aspiration being dropped; see p. 529. OIA. -śm-, -sm- > MIA. -mh- have become [m] in NB.; see p. 531.

303. A prothetic [ṛ] occurs in Bengali. The eastern dialect of Aśoka has a similar prothetic h-: e.g., āvūm, hida, ṛdisa: (evam, idha idṛsa: the second one by metathesis?). Examples from Bengali: ḍākuli hākuli > be full of anxious fear (ākula-); ḍaṭu > hāṭu > knee (cf. OB. aṇdu, Skt. ṛṣṭivant-); OB. hariṭha > soap-nut (ariṣṭa); MB. ḍābaśa ḍābaśa > yearning (? adhi-vaś: by metathesis?); MB. sās ḍābaśa ḍābaśa > habilāsā = habilax in Assumpçam (abhilāṣa); MB. ḍhāla ḍhullāsā (ullāsa); ḍoṭa ḍhēṭha > here (cf. ḍttha, atra); ḍoṭṛkā ḍhēṭkā > pull, Hindi aṭcēnā > to pull (ā-krakṣ-, acc. to Hoernle); ḍoṭā ḍhōṭha > there (amutra); MB. ḍūrnam < ḍhūrnamadā > Portuguese pirate-ship (Portuguese armada); etc. South-Eastern Bengali of Chittagong has a large number of words with this intrusive initial h-.

For euphonic [ṛ] in MB., see p. 341. Cf. Skt. vīkaṉka >, MIA. *vīvaṅka > but OB. baheñci >, MB. ḍibṛi < bāḷi >, NB. ḍoṛ < bōṛ > a fruit.

[ṛ] occurs in a number of words of obscure origin: ḍaṭu > ṛhit - walk, trudge (cf. Gujarāti ḍaḷvū, Skt. ṛhīṇā); ḍ̐ukā > ṛukā > slippery (? bhaṛṣṭa); ḍoṛ > ṛṛgh > competition; ḍ̐hu > ṛru > push; ḍ̐ukā > ṛukā > bolt (=that which is pushed in?), also timid; ḍ̐hīṁu ḍ̐hūrmaṇā > puffed rice; ḍoṭum > hutom > screeching or hooting owl; ḍul > hulā > sting of wasp or bee; ḍ̐liḥ < ḍhāḍa > foolish, idiotic; ḍalṭi, ḍoḷ < hālī, hāl > helm, also group of four (or five); ḍoṭi < ḍhāphā > deep breath (onomatopoetic ?);
FINAL 'H': 'H' WITH NASALS AND LIQUIDS

- śāv < śāv > pass stools; 
- śāv < śāv > made rotten through being placed in water; 
- śāv < śāv >ark > shark; 
- śāv < śāv > to push about; 
- śāv < śāv > testicles; 
- śāv < śāv > male; 
- śāv < śāv > [śāv] glutton, famished; 
- śāv < śāv > hotka > ugly and cruel; 
- śāv < śāv > big, big people; etc., etc.

304. [fi] cannot occur in Bengali as a final sound in a syllable: it must either have a vowel to prop itself up, or it must be dropped: and occasionally, it is changed to a semivowel [ê], or to [i], when it terminates a syllable: e.g., śāv < śāva > sāh > sāh > sāh > sāh, beside sāh < sāh >, or sāh < sāh > a merchant, a wine-dealer; bār < bārā > > *bārā > bār < bār < boar; sūch < sūch > > nē < nē > > nē < nē >; pāh < pāh > > *pāh < pāh > > pāh < pāh >; mukha < muha > mukha < mukha >; dēha > MB. dē < dē >; graha < graha > > ghana, gana < gra < gra > ornaments; pitāmaha < pītāmaha > pītāmaha > for *pītāmaha >; etc., etc. The same thing also happens in foreign words: e.g., Persian jāghā < jāghā > > jāghā [jāghā] place; sāh > shā, shā, sa, sāh < jā, jā > king; dar < dar > > dar, dar < dar > [dorma, dārmaha] monthly pay; dih > dih, dihi < dihi, hili > district; taksil > taksil, taksil [taksil, taksil] cash office, treasury; pahlwān > pahlwān < pahlwān > wrestler; Āhmad > Āhmad < āhmad, ahmad, ahmad < amed, affamm, afamma > a name; Rahmān > Rahmān [rāhman] a name; etc., etc.

The loss of intervocal [fi] and deaspiration of aspirated stops characterise Late MB. and NB. This has been noted in connexion with the NB. diphthongs. In interjections, however, intervocal [fi] is retained: e.g., āhaha, hīhī, òhaha, òhaha < ahi, fihī (hīhī, ċići), sofī (ofī), òhī (òfī)].

In ts. groups, -hm-, -hl-, -hn-, -hr- (= hr, hr), the [fi], if it obtains in pronunciation, comes after the [n, m, l, r]; but generally it is dropped, with accompanying doubling of the consonant: e.g., brāmbān [brāmbān, brāmbān], āhād [affamm, affamm], chāk < chāk, cinn < rāddā, ridā >, āhā < rāhā < rāhā < rāhā >, āhmān > āhmān [rāhman] has become a convenient ligature for writing [mm] in present-day Bengali orthography as it obtains among Musalmans, e.g., māhād = [māhām], āhād = [affamm], and even kāmār [kāmār] = kāmār [kāmār] waist, etc.
305. Unvoiced [h] in Bengali: this, however, is found at the end of a syllable, after a vowel, when it would be written with the <visarga> (also after an unvoiced stop or affricate, [kh, çh, th, th, ph], forming an aspirate). This voiceless [h] is like the English sound in hat, happy etc. It is found in a few exclamatory words, and is optionally changed to the voiceless velar, palatal or bilabial spirant according to the nature of the preceding vowel = e.g., आः [ahː; axː], इः [ihː; icː] (also इः [iː]), एः = [ehː; eccː], ओः = [ohː; orː], उः = [uhː; urː].

The final <visarga> in Skt. words has the proper unvoiced [h] value in Bengali: रमाह, सुमाह, मुनिह, साधुह, कवेह, गुरोह, र्रीह, गाउह, etc. are pronounced by Bengali speakers as [raːmɔh, ʃumɔːɦ, munih, saːdhuː, kɔːveːh, guroːh, roih, gouh], and not as [raːmɔhi, suːmɔːɦi, muniʃi, saːdhuʃi, kaveːʃi, guroːʃi, roshi, goufi], as for example in Northern India. Final <visarga> in a number of naturalised <tss.> is not now pronounced in Bengali: e.g., बच्छ: [bohʃo], for [bohʃo]; चक्कः [çakku] rather than चकः, जोगोः [ʃtɔti] rather than जोगोः = <cakṣuḥ, jyotih>. <Visarga> in Skt. words merely 'doubles' the consonant following: e.g., जुक्कः [dukkhɔ], अंक्कः [ontɔkkɔːɾ], पुन्नपुनुं [punɔppunɔ], निन्नस [niʃʃɔ] (niṅsvāsa), etc.: hence in writing Perso-Arabic words, instead of using a double consonant ligature, or two consonants, the <visarga> is sometimes employed (or the group of consonant + < -v- >) generally before sibilants: e.g., मफळ (also माप्तल, मफळ) माप्तवळाल = [mɔʔʃoʃol, moʃʃol] country district = Perso-Arabic <mufassal>; <tɔmɔʃʃol> bond, receipt = <tamassuk>, etc.

In foreign names, <visarga> is occasionally used for the unvoiced [h] at the end of a syllable: e.g., नाम: <नमाह > = Persian <nāmah>, इउनान्द्रिश्च इय्यन <Siḥ K’ai > = <Yuan Shih K’ai> etc. Foreign [h, ɦ] (as well as [h] of Arabic) become [ɦ] in Bengali.
CHAPTER VI

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PERSIAN

306. Arabic words have come into Bengali through the medium of Persian,1 after these were naturalised in that language and had conformed to its phonetics: as such, they are to be treated as Persian words.

Some Turki words were no doubt borrowed in India direct from Turki during the early years of the Mohammedan conquest, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and a few more may have come in with Bābur in the 16th. But a large number of Turki loan-words occur in Persian also, and subsequent accretions of Turki words seem to have been through the medium of Persian, as the Turki speech quickly fell into disuse in India, but Persian maintained its predominance all along.

The sound system of Persian as a living speech now is not what it was in the 13th and 14th centuries. In Persian itself there are dialectal differences. Standard Persian as spoken in the western and central provinces of Persia—especially Fārs and ‘Irāq-‘Ajami—has deviated considerably in its phonetics from ‘Classical’ Persian of 400 years ago. The literary form of New Persian which was brought to India by the

1 Bengal was never settled in by any considerable body of Arabs from whom Arabic words might be borrowed by the people of the land. The article ‘al,’ so characteristic of Arabic nouns and adjective formations, was dropped when Arabic words were borrowed in Persian: and Persian received most of its Arabic element more through books than through contact with Arabic speakers. Arabic words in Bengali and other Indian languages have not preserved the ‘al.’ The people of Spain, for instance, came in intimate touch with the Arabic-speaking Moors, and loan-words from the Arabic in Castilian and other speeches of the Peninsula have the Arabic article, and the orthography indicates an attempt to represent the Arab pronunciation: thus, the Arabic ‘al-qāḍī, al-qur’ān, al-qurban, at-ţabal, al-qal’ah, al-burg (burj)’ are found in Spanish (Old and Modern) as ‘alcaide, alcoran, alcorban, atabal, alcals, Alborge,’ while the Bengali (and Hindostānī) forms are কাজী ‘কাজি’ judge, কোরান ‘কোরান’ the Koran, কোরবান ‘কোরবান’ sacrifice, টর্ব ‘টর্ব’ drum, কেলং ‘কেলং’ fort, বরুজ ‘বরুজ’ turret, bastion.
Turks and the Tājiks (see pp. 193, 202) was New Persian as spoken in Eastern Iran; and the dialects current here, especially the Tājik dialect of Afghanistan, at the present day show the least divergence, both in phonetics and grammar, from ‘Classical’ New Persian, i.e., New Persian as used by the Islamic writers of Persia, from the 10th century downwards. The Tājik dialect specially is but a local from of literary Persian and not an independent Iranian dialect (cf. ‘Grundriss der iranischen Philologie,’ Part I, Vol. II, p. 407: ‘Bemerkungen über Tādšikī’). Tājik pronunciation will be regard as archaic in Western Persia. The archaic pronunciation is still followed in India, and in studying the phonology of the Persian element in Indian languages, we are to take that into consideration.

Turkī pronunciation modified Persian phonetics to some extent in India because in the dissemination of Persian, Turkī speakers had some hand: ‘as the kings of India were for the greatest part Tūrānians, the immigration of Tūrānian Mohammedans was constantly kept up. It is for this reason that we find so many Tūrānian peculiarities among Indian speakers and writers of Persian. We may in fact say, that the Persian of Indian writers is Tūrānian.’ (H. Blochmann, ‘The Prosody of the Persians according to Saiñ, Jāmī and other Writers,’ Calcutta, 1872, pp. xv, xvi; cf. also H. Blochmann’s notes on ‘Isti’māl-i- Hind,’ or Indian peculiarities in the use of Persian, in the JASB., Vol. XXXVII, No. I for 1868, pp. 32-38.)

Turkī words in India, again, came to be pronounced in the Persian way when actual contact with that speech was at an end. The pronunciation of the two languages thus affected each other in India to some extent.

A large percentage of the Persian words in Bengali has been borrowed from Hindōstānī, including many of the hybrid forms, half-Persian, half-Indian, or Persianised Indian, like <kōtwāl> with dental <t> = Indian <kōtwāl> (in Hindōstānī), কোটরা <kōṭālā> (in Bengali) = head of city police, which sprang up in Northern India during the Mohammedan rule. But it would be a mistake to suppose that most Persian words in Bengali came through Hindōstānī. Persian was brought to Bengal before Hindōstānī had developed into a lingua franca, much less as a culture language, after becoming the home-language of the Mohammedan ruling houses and town
people of Northern India. Persian was widely studied in Bengal. But it is now impossible to determine what words were directly borrowed from Persian and what words were borrowed through Hindostani: specially when Hindostani (when exactly we do not know, but probably from the time it became the language of the Moslem emperor and his court in Delhi) adopted the foreign sounds of \( [q, x, q, z, f] \). In the present study, Perso-Bengali words will be taken in connexion with the Persian originals, without any reference to Hindostani (or Turki): and the pronunciation in the Calcutta dialect, as well as transliteratings following the pronunciation in the original language in early times, will be indicated.

307. ‘Early Persian,’ by which term the older phase of the New Persian or Post-Islamic Persian can conveniently be indicated, had the following sounds:

### Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i, i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e, e</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>o, o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>a₁</td>
<td></td>
<td>a₁</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Denti-Labial</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>(ʔ)</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td>t̪, d̪, z̪</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>x,xw,g</td>
<td>f, v</td>
<td>s, (θ), z, ð</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71
The sound system of New Persian is not much different from that of Middle Persian (Pahlavi). Of the consonants, it may be remarked that the uvular stop [q] possibly existed in Early Persian as an imposition from Arab.(e and also from Turkt). [tʃ, dз] = q, were probably tongue-tip alveolar or palato-alveolar affricates, as now; [t, d] were interdental stops; and [ŋ] occurred only before [k, g], being written ω «n»; and [m] was written r « m », as well as ω «n» before «b», e.g. [gumbaz, jamba(h)] being written < gn̄bā, sn̄bā = tower, sabbath. About the fricatives, [h] was probably an unvoiced sound, but intervocally it was probably voiced; [x, ɣ] = ğ ğ were the velar spirants, and [xw], written j̬, was a [x] pronounced with rounded lips, which has become a simple [x] in Modern Persian pronunciation. And the fact that in the traditional Indian pronunciation [xw] is frequently [x] shows that this simplification is some centuries old. [θ] probably existed in the earliest form of New Persian (witness a name like « Gayāmarθ »), but by the time that Persian was introduced into India, it was altered to [s] or to [t]. [ð] developed afresh in New Persian in intervocal or final position from an earlier [d]: it occurred in Early Persian of the 13th century, but from the 14th century, however, this [ð] tended to be reduced to [z], and in verb forms it was frequently restored back to [d] (cf. P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' p. 81, in 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie'; JRAS., 1895, p. 237). The Persian words borrowed in India show both a [ð] and a [z] basis in their modifications.

In Modern Persian as now spoken in Persia proper, esp. Western Persia, some innovations have come in which are not found in India. The velar stops [k, g] have advanced considerably, and have become the palatal stops [כ, ג]; except when they occur before back vowels [o, u], when they retain their old values. The New Persian unvoiced stops are now-a-days very strongly aspirated, ϕ, ω being pronounced [ph, th], and ϣ [kh, ch]; and the voiced stops ϕ, υ, ϟ [b, d, g(ג)] as a consequence are often unvoiced, becoming almost [p, tʃ] and [כ, k], paralleling what has happened in some Germanic languages, and in most forms of Chinese. The Arabic sound of [q] has become a voiced guttural spirant, intermediate between the uvular and
the velar sounds, which can be conveniently represented [q]. And the Arabic ξ = [q] occurs as the hamzah or glottal stop, [ʔ], in Persian (cf. 'L’Ecriture phonétique internationale,' 2e édition, International Phonetic Association, London, 1921, p. 15).

As regards the Persian vowels, it is to be noted that the short <ā> is a front sound, [a], even approaching the South English [a], in Modern Persian of Persia; and the long <ā> is a back vowel very much withdrawn: it is an [a:] which resembles in acoustic quality the English [oː]; and before [m, n], it even becomes [u] (cf. JRAS., 1895, p. 238; Platts and Ranking’s Persian Grammar, Oxford, 1911, p. 13). Modern Persian short <ā> [a] has developed a long form [a:], which occurs side by side with [a:], and this [a:] in its turn has developed a short [a] in some cases. In Early Persian, the short sound was probably equally a frontal [a], or perhaps a central sound, and the long [a:] was a back vowel. The short vowels <ē, ī, ā> were found in Early Persian, as they are in Modern Persian of Persia. The long vowels [eː, oː] existed in Early Persian: they were very close sounds, and in Modern Persian of Central and Western Persia they have been altered respectively to [iː, uː], thus having fallen together with the original [iː, uː] of Early Persian. The [eː, oː] sounds are known as <majhūl> or unknown sounds, and the [iː, uː] sounds <maṛūf> or known, as the former did not occur in literary or Classical Arabic. [eː, oː] still obtain in Eastern Iran, in the Tājik dialect (cf. T. W. H. Tolbert, ‘Rábinsan Krúso’ in Persian, in the Roman character, London, 1878, pp. xi, xii): thus the original Early Persian distinction between <sēr> lion and <sīr> milk, and similar forms, is still preserved the Eastern Iran, whereas both have become <sīr> in Central and Western Persia. Persian of India has faithfully retained the <majhūl> sounds of Early Persian. The diphthongs [ai, au] of Early Persian roughly corresponded to the similar groups in medieval Skt. pronunciation (see p. 242): in Modern Persian, they are pronounced as [ei, ou].

Stress in Modern Persian is ordinarily on the final syllable (cf. F. Rosen, ‘Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar,’ London, 1898, p. 8); and in all likelihood, the final stress obtained in Early Persian also (cf.
P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' § 47, where we have cases of loss of initial syllable in New Persian). The initial stress system of Bengali has had its way with Persian loan-words, ignoring their original stress.

308. The sounds which were peculiar to Arabic were altered to their nearest equivalents in Persian, and only Persianised Arabic words are found in the Indian speeches. A study in detail of the sounds of Arabic is out of scope here. Arabic presents a literary form, based on the old speech of Hijaz (specially of the Qurayṣ tribe of Mecca), and modified later by scholars on the model of the purer dialects of the Bedouins of Nejd or Central Arabia: and besides, there are the dialects, extending from Iraq to Morocco. It was the dialect of Iraq with which Persian came in contact mainly, and some peculiarities of 'Irāqī pronunciation are possibly to be found in Persian (e.g., the Modern Persian pronunciation of the Arabic ǧ ـ q ـ as that of the voiced velar spirant [ğ], —Arabic of Iraq turned the [q] to a voiced sound, the uvular stop [ğ], quite early). But Arabic words seem to have been borrowed into Persian more from books than from contact with Arabic speakers: so that a consideration of the phonetics of Arabic would not be so very important in the study of the Arabic loan-words. Still, some points will be of interest as the Arabic element is said to take up over two-thirds of the vocabulary of New Persian, and consequently of the Persian loan-words in Indian languages.

Classical Arabic, as in the pre-Islamic literature of Arabia, in the Koran, and in the literature of the first few centuries of the Hegira, has preserved more faithfully than any other Semitic language the sounds and forms of the Primitive Semitic speech, although its oldest document does not go beyond the 4th century A. C. (barring a few insignificant and problematic remains some centuries earlier in date). The sounds of Classical Arabic, as spoken in Hijaz, and in Central and Northern Arabia in the 7th-8th centuries, were in all likelihood the following,¹ using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association:

¹ The sound-system of Old Arabic of the 6th-8th centuries can be reconstructed through a study of (i) the Phonetics of spoken forms of Arabic of the present day, e.g., of
### The Sounds of Old Arabic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar or Dental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>q (?, q)</td>
<td>k (?, k)</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>? (d)</td>
<td>t d n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trilled</td>
<td>h, f, e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>x', γ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Vowels      | a, a: (a, a:); i, i:; u, u; (u, e, o, o). |

About the above sounds, the following points may be noted.

[?], the glottal stop, is the sound of the < alif-hamzah > of Arabic. As a rule it was dropped in Persian, but was retained only between two similar vowels. Only in learned pronunciation the glottal stop is sought to be retained in Perso-Arabic words in Urdu.

Arabia Proper (Hijaz, Nejd, Oman, Hadramaut, Yemen) and of Iraq, of Syria, of Egypt, and of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco; (ii) the phonetic theories of the medieval grammarians of Arabic, beginning from the 8th century, as embodied in treatises on pronunciation and rules for intoning the Koran (qir'at, tajwid), as well as the traditional method followed in reading the Koran by professional readers (qārī) among Islamic peoples; (iii) early transcriptions of Arabic names and words in foreign languages (Greek, Persian etc.) and vice versa; and (iv) comparative phonology of the various Semitic speeches. Cf. 'Encyclopaedia of Islam,' article 'Arabia (Arabic Language);' 'Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages' by De Lacy O'Leary, London, 1923; Grammars of different dialects of Modern Arabic; W. H. T. Gairdner, 'Egyptian Colloquial Arabic,' Cambridge; Lumsden's Arabic Grammar, Calcutta, 1805 (for Old Arabic phonetic theories); cf. also the papers to the VSPdP. for 1324 and 1325 by S. K. Chatterji and Muhammad Shahidullah.

1 The symbol [χ] is used in the IPA script for the unvoiced uvular fricative. For the voiced uvular fricative, the IPA symbol is a modification of [n], indicating its connexion with the (French) trilled uvular [n]: in this table, the Greek letter [γ] has been employed instead.
The unvoiced uvular stop, \([q] = \emptyset\), is also pronounced dialectally (in Arabia proper and in Iraq) as the voiced uvular stop, \([g]\). It is described by Arab phoneticians as a voiced sound (mājhirah), apparently taking into consideration this \([q]\) value. In New Persian of Western Iran, \([q]\) is commonly modified to a voiced velar spirant, \([g]\), based on the stop \([q]\) value: e.g., \([i\acute{q}r\:a:r]\) agreement = \([e\grave{q}r\:a:r]\). In India, the normal value is a velar \([k]\), though the uvular \([q]\) is heard in Urdu among city peoples through the influence of Arabic scholars.

\([k] = \emptyset\) : this sound has become the affricate \([\acute{t}f]\), like the sound of \(ch\) in English church \([\acute{t}f\ 2:\acute{t}f]\), in Syria and in parts of Arabia proper, as well as in Iraq. A voiced affricate value, \([d\acute{c}\] is also known. It is not unlikely that in Hijaz in the 7th century its value was that of the palatal stop, \([c]\) : the change apparently from the oldest Arabic \([k]\) to the modern dialectal affricate sound of \([\acute{t}f]\) was through this \([c]\) stage. In Early Persian, the \([k]\) value was the one that was adopted, and this \([k]\) has now become \([c]\) as in native Persian words. The voiced velar \([g]\) was in all probability the sound of \(\zeta\) in Muhammad's time, but by the 8th century it seems to have been advanced to the palatal stop \([j]\) in Arabia proper and Iraq. Old transcriptions of Greek words in Arabic employ \(\zeta\) (as well as \(\acute{z} = [\gamma]\) for the Greek 'gamma'. The \([g]\) sound is still preserved in Egypt. The palatal stop \([j]\) has further become the affricate \([d\acute{c}\]) over a great part of the Arabian world, including Arabia proper, Syria and Iraq. It is the \([d\acute{c}\] value which obtains in Persian, and in India also it is \([d\acute{c}\ (f\acute{c}\])

For \([\acute{t}f]\), and other velarised sounds, see next page.

\([t, d]\) were blade-alveolar or blade-teeth sounds. An aspirate \([th] = \emptyset\), seems to have occurred as the feminine affix: it became normally \([f]\) in a final position.

The nasals: \([n]\) and \([n]\), as well as palatal \([\acute{n}]\) occurred before their corresponding stops, and were represented by the letter for \([n] = \emptyset\).

The fricatives: \([h] = \emptyset\) is the characteristic 'whispered h' of Arabic. \([f]\) = \(\emptyset\), was a voiced sound. Both fell together and became one common \(\emptyset h\) sound, an unvoiced sound in Persian, \([h]\), and a voiced one in the Indian languages, \([f]\).
[١٠٠] = ی١ the 'intermittent voice,' is the special sound of Semitic, about the exact organic character of which there is difference of opinion. It is a continuant sound produced in the glottal region. Many Arab dialects are now dropping it. In Persia, a cheek in the voice, or the glottal stop, is substituted for it, e.g., [عِم] گام > یام ١ collection became [دوگام]. In India, [١٠٠] is ignored: it simply lengthens a connected ١ vowel: but Arabic scholars often affect it in Urdü, and many merely substitute the glottal stop for it.

The letters ُى, ِ١ respectively had the uvular spirant sounds [خ, گ], and these are the values commonly found at the present day; but the more advanced velar spirant sounds of [خ, گ] are also found dialectally, and probably they existed side by side with the uvular ones as variants of the latter in Old Arabic.

[١٠٠] = َش, like the English sh. [ش, ژ] = َش j, as in English. [ث, ث] = َث, respectively = the th in English thin, then: in Persia and India, they become [ش] and [ژ]. [١٠٠] = ُد, denti-labial spirant as in English, but it is likely that in Muhammad's time its value was that of a bilabial [ف], coming as this sound does from Primitive Semitic [پ].

The sounds of [ت, ژ, ٠, ٣] = ْش ُش َش, the so-called 'emphatics,' form a characteristic group of Arabic. They are distinguished from the ordinary dentals by their [ُ] or [و] quality. The old Arabic grammarians called them 'covered' letters (mutbaq), apparently referring to the raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate in pronouncing them: this gest gives to these sounds their 'thick' or 'dark' quality, as compared with the simple dentals. Of these, ْش is commonly the stop sound (sadidah), unvoiced, [ت]; but it has also a voiced stop pronunciation, a [د] sound, from early times. The Arabic grammarians call it voiced (majhūrah): ْش therefore agrees with َش = [ق, گ] in representing both a voiced and an unvoiced stop. In Persian, in Turki, and in the Indian languages, the 'dark' or 'emphatic' quality of ْش is ignored, and its voiced form is unknown, so that ْش = [ت] has become a simple dental [ت], indistinguishable from َش = [ت]. َش [ش] is an [ش] with the [و] quality: in Persian and in the Indian languages, it becomes a simple [ش], the same as َش. ْش, ْش are two Arabic letters
the exact sounds of which in Old Arabic cannot be determined for certain. ḍ seems originally to have been a 'covered' or 'velarised' form of the spirant [θ]—a sort of [ðw], but it had become a voiced sound (majhūrah) by the 8th century, as we can see from the old Arabic grammarians: it probably became a velarised [ḏw]. ḍ is the spirant (rixwah) form of ḍ, and like ḍ, it apparently had in Old Arabic both a voiced and an unvoiced value [ḏw, ḏw]. Both of these are now heard in dialects of Arabia proper.

A common modification of ḍ in Arabic-speaking lands is to a velarised [z], = the voiced form of ṣ [s]. The Persian (and Indian) approximation of ḍ is a simple [z], and this is apparently based on the [z] value. The nature of ṣ in Old Arabic is difficult to make out. It was a voiced sound (majhūrah), velarised (mutbaq, mustaʿliyah), spirant or continuant (rixwah), not a sibilant (safīrah): it was a unilateral alveolar, pronounced by striking or placing the tongue against the alveolar region to the left or right: ṣ would thus be a kind of unilateral velarised [l], as in English well [wel]. This value is not unknown even at the present day in Arabia itself (Hadramaut), and the Malay pronunciation of ṣ as [l, dl] points to the same thing. But the dialectal pronunciation now in the Arabic-speaking lands makes ṣ (in addition to the [l]) either a spirant [ḏw], or [z] (like ḍ); or a mere stop [d] = the velarised form of the dental [d]; or a 'sulcal' sound, the tongue being made into a groove (through which the air passes) and the blade advanced beyond the edge of the teeth; or makes a unilateral, alveolar continuant, a sort of combined [ḏl], for which the single letter [d] also can conventionally be used. This last was apparently its value in Old Arabic. Persian turned it to a simple [z], which was thus based on a dialectal [ḏw] or [z] pronunciation. [z] is the basis of Indian forms of the Perso-Arabic words with ṣ. Recently some Arabic scholars in India tried to introduce the pure Arabic sound (non-sibilant alveolar unilateral) of this letter in reading the Koran, but ordinarily it results only in an approximation [dw].

1 Some time ago there was a heated controversy among Indian Mohammedans on the proper pronunciation of ṣ in reciting the prayers in Arabic, one school declaring that the pronunciation of this letter as 'z, as in the word مالان, would make the prayer
ARABIC VOWELS: THE SOUNDS OF TURKĪ

[1] was the ordinary 'clear l,' as in Southern English lean, land; but it is very likely that a subsidiary form of the phoneme, a velarised 'dark l' [כ], occurred in Old Arabie, as it does in some of the modern dialects.

The semivowels [j, w] were like English y and w in yes and wet [jss, wst].

About the vowels, there were three types in the Oldest Arabic, [a, i, u]: [a] probably also occurred as a central or palatal [ä, a]; and [a, a], [i] and [u] were modified respectively to [s, e, ə], [e], and [o], taking their colouring from the contiguous consonant. The long forms, [aː (aː), iː, uː], originated in Old Arabie (specially in the Hijāzī dialect) from earlier combinations of [a, i, u] with [Protected]. Modifications of the vowels in Arabic need not be discussed. Diphthongs like [ai, ei, oi, ou, eu] etc. were unknown; but the combinations [aj (aj), aw] resulted in the diphthongs [ai, au], which are preserved in Persian.

The special Arabic sounds which were modified or suppressed in Persian were thus [Protected, q, j, t, z (ðw̠), h, ʀ, x, γ, s, ɗ (ɗ̠), θ, (ð)], which became respectively [zero, ɡ (or k), d̠, t, z, h, h, ʔ, x, ɡ, s, z, z (ð)].

Influence of Arabic affected Persian orthography to some extent by bringing in the use of まれ, ɔ, ʒ and other pure Arabic letters in writing some native Persian words: but this of course did not in the least affect the pronunciation.

309. The sounds of Turkī may also be briefly reviewed, as Turkī influenced the Persian of India to some extent. Turkī of the West, Osmanli Turkī of Asia Minor and Constantinople, is a younger dialect with which India has had nothing to do. The Turkī of the Mohammedan conquerors of India of the House of Ghazna, of the House of Ghor, and faulty and so null and void before God, and that the faithful should try to pronounce ݱ properly, which was as 'dw,' according to the notions of many. Bengali Mullās and Maulavis had their share in this 'ḍ(w)āllīn-zāllīn' controversy, which has now been set at rest by making 'z' allowable for the unlearned; but it of course had no bearing on the pronunciation of Bengali loan-words from Perso-Arabic, which show ݱ 'j' for 'z' in the place of the original sound or letter.
of the Slave Kings like Qutbu-d-dīn Ḥabe and ʿIlutmīs, of the early rulers of Bengal like Bakhtyar-i-Khaljī, Ḥasāmud-dīn Enez Sūltān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Mahmūd, ʿṢafīnu-d-dīn Yaghāntāt, Malik ʿIzzu-d-dīn Toghrīl Tughr Khān, Qamaru-d-dīn Tamur Khān, Mughīṣu-d-dīn ʿOzbek, ʿIzzu-d-dīn Balban, and of personalities like Ulugh-i-ʿAṣam Zafar Khān Bahrām Ḫātenant (one of the earliest patrons of Musalmān learning in Bengal and India, in the 13th century), as well as that of Sūltān Bābur and his Mughals, was the Eastern or Chagatai (Caqatai), or so-called Uigur dialect, which is now spoken in Central Asia (Turkistan, Balkh, Herat, Khorasan). Typical Central Asian Turkī of the 10th-13th centuries, as spoken by a large percentage of the Mohammedan invaders of Northern India, seems to have possessed the following sounds (cf. A. Vambéry, ‘Cagataische Sprachstudien,’ Leipzig, 1867; R. B. Shaw, ‘A Sketch of the Turkī Language,’ Calcutta, 1878; the ‘Kudatqu Bilik,’ a Turkī didactic poem of c. 1069, editions by A. Vambéry and by W. Radloff; Wilhelm Thomsen, ‘Inscriptions de l’Orkhon,’ Helsingfors, 1896; I. Nemeth, ‘Türkische Grammatik,’ Leipzig, 1916; the works of W. Radloff on Turkī Linguistics; Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I; etc., etc.):

**Consonants.**

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<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar or Dental</th>
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TURKİ VOWELS: HINDŐSTANİ SOUNDS

Vowels

Front: unrounded, [i, e, ɛ, a]; rounded, [y, ø], commonly written in the Roman character as <ü, o> respectively;

Back: rounded, [u, o, o, α]; unrounded, [u], commonly indicated in Roman script by <y>; and probably also [v]=an unrounded [o].

There were properly no long vowels.

These sounds of Turki need not be described fully: they are simple enough. The [f] of Persian and Arabic normally became [p] in Turki, but the bilabial [v] probably existed as a Turki approximation. The special vowels of Turki were easily simplified in Persia and India to [a, i, u, e, o, α]. Turki words in Indian languages in later times, even when they were borrowed direct from Turki, conformed to the Persian way of pronunciation (e.g., [ordu] > [urdu], [φzbek] > [uzbag]); and some Turki words seem to have come by way of Persian. They will be regarded as Persian words in all cases (see pp. 212, 213).

310. From the 17th century, after Hindöstani took shape and grew in importance, Persian words entered into Bengali through that language, and older borrowings direct from Persian were probably made to conform to Hindöstani forms. The sounds of Hindöstani were the following:

Verals: [k, kh, g, gh, η];

Patatal affricates: [çʃ, ɫʃ, ʃʒ, ʃʒ], or Palato-alveolar affricates—[tʃ, ɫʃ, ɿʃ, ɿʃ];

Cerebrals: [t, ɿt, ɿ, ɿ];

Dentals: [t, th, d, dh, n];

Labials: [p, ph, b, bh m];

Liquids: [r, l];

Sibilant: [s]; Aspirate: [h];

Semivowels or Fricatives: [j, w (v)];

Vowels: [α, ø, α; i, iː; u, uː; e, o; (e, o)]; Diphthongs—[ʌɪ, ʌʊ], which became respectively [æe, æe, ɛː] and [œo, œ, œː].

The vowels can all be nasalised.

The sounds of Persian (including Perso-Arabic, and Turki) which did not have equivalents in Western Hindi (Hindöstani) (and in other
Indo-Aryan), were therefore [q, ʁ; x, xu, ʁ; ʃ, ʒ; z; ɣ; f]. The normal equivalents in naturalised words were [k] for [q], and very rarely [g]; [g] for [q, ʁ]; [kh] for [x, xu]; [s] for [ʃ]; [ʃ] for [z, ʒ]; [ʃ, d] for [ʊ]; and [ph] for [f]. The OIA. घ, घ [ʃ, ʃ] were lost to Western Hindi (including Hindōstānī) in the MIA. period: in reading Sanskrit, [s] was normally substituted for घ [ʃ, ʃ], and [kh] for घ [ʃ] in all Northern India excluding Bengal (see p. 243), according to the medieval tradition. But through the influence of Persian, its [ʃ] sound, slightly different from both the [ʃ] and [ʃ] of Indo-Aryan, was engrafted on Hindōstānī, as well as on Sindhī and on the Panjābī dialects: and it is this [ʃ] which is now employed by speakers of Hindōstānī and Western Hindi generally, as well as of Panjābī etc., for both the [ʃ] and [ʃ] of Sanskrit, as a newer and seemingly more correct pronunciation than the older [s, kh]. [ʃ] is used in Persian words as well,—but the unlearned masses frequently turn it to [s]. Like [ʃ], the sounds of [f] (or its approximation [F]), [x], [ʁ] and [z], may be said to have been introduced into Hindōstānī, through the presence of a large number of Persian words with these sounds; and what is more, [f, x] are actually found to have been imposed on some native Indian words, in Hindōstānī and in Panjābī.

311. In Hindustan proper, Persian words have generally remained faithful to their original forms, in the matter of the vowels, making allowance for the slight alterations necessitated in naturalising words into a foreign language. The words have in the main preserved their full forms. But the peculiar phonetics of Bengali, especially its system of accentuation, has wrought a sad havoc with the Persian sounds, both consonantal and vocal, and with the Persian forms as a whole. Thus it would be difficult to recognise Persian सर्रिस्ताह in शेरेस्ता [ʃerestā] court office, खरिदार in खदर [khodder] buyer, बुन्यादर with a basis in बन्यद्विद, बन्निद्विद [bonedi, bonidi] well established, respected (as a family), खिसाह story in केक्स [keeks] scandal, खुस्त in हूको [ɦuко] a hookah, मुहारर in मुहर [mufuri] clerk, जुए-वुक्त in जुएवुक्त [bekeb] fool, तसारूफ in तसारुफ [tosehrufu] tampering (as with money), etc., etc. Certain irregularities in phonetic alteration from the Persian to the Bengali forms, however, are to be
noticed: this is due to the intermediary influence of Hindostani in most instances.

In the transliteration of the Perso-Arabic and Persian words (given within brackets as source-forms of the Bengali words), the following is the system employed: ә, ֓ = ә (Persian ә = a); ә = b; ә = p; ә = t; ә = ә (Persian = ә); ә = ә (International Phonetic Association symbol = [q], for Arabic); ә = e; ә = h (IPA. symbol: ordinarily ә is used); ә = x; ә = d; ә = ә (Persian = ә, z); ә = r; ә = z; ә = ә (IPA. symbol = [z]); ә = s; ә = ә (IPA. symbol = [ʃ]); ә = t; ә = z; ([s, d, t, z] for ә, ә, ә, ә are the IPA. symbols used here in transliteration also: in transcribing Arabic, ә, ә, ә, ә are employed commonly, and in this book, in the narrative, these, as well as ә for ә, have been used); ә = ә (IPA. symbol); ә = ә (in Arabic, an uvular guttural spirant, the IPA. symbol for which is [χ]); ә = f; ә = q; ә = k; ә = g; ә = l; ә = m; ә = n; ә = w; ә, ә; ә = h; ә = y, ә, ә; ә = ay (Arabic), ai (Persian); ә = aw (Arabic), au (Persian).

TREATMENT OF THE PERSIAN SOUNDS IN BENGALI. THE VOWELS.

312. Persian final vowels, as a rule, whether long (ә, ә, ә), or short (ә), normally are not dropped in Bengali, as Persian words came in mainly in the Late Middle Bengali period.

Vowels in initial syllables are also preserved without much modification. It is the vowels in the interior of words which suffer from the greatest alterations.

[I] SHORT VOWELS.

(1) Short ә.

313. Short ә of Early Persian was probably a central vowel, with leanings towards the frontal [a], and possibly it was [ә] when unstressed. The normal North Indian value of Persian ә is [A], and [ә] in unstressed positions.
(i) In Bengali, Persian ə when initial became [a], written আ (see p. 314). Words with initial hamzah from the Arabic drop the hamzah. Examples: অক্ষর [aksar], ত অক্ষর always (aksar < Ar. akbar); আর কান [aŋur] grapefruit (angur); আঞ্জর [anjir] fig (anjir); আদাজ [andaʃ] casting, determining, deliberating > approximation (andaz; but cf. তীর্ণদৃশ [tirṇadɔʃ] archer < tr-condaz); আমান [amān] deposit (amānāt); আপশোশ, আফসোস [ap(h)ʃoʃ] sorrow, regret (afsās); আবলিঙ্গ [aʃl] ebony (abnūs); আবোবার [aboab] heads (of taxation) (abwāb); আদী [amir] prince, nobleman (amīr); আনার [anar] pomegranate (anār); আলফ (f) [albot, albat] certainly (albatāb); আল্লাহ [aʃlā] God (Allāh); আশরকী [aʃpop(h)i] a gold coin (aʃraf +1); আবলিঙ্গ [aʃl, aʃl] genuine (asl); আশাম [aʃm] (one in a list of) names > a rent-paying cultivator; a culprit (asāmī); আবার [aʃbā] furniture (asbāb); আহাশেক, আহাশেক [aʃməmk, -muk] fool (aʃmaq-); আমেজ [ameʃ] shade, faint trace, unance (amēz); etc., etc.

When in Arabic words the ء [ʔ] occurred initially, it was changed to the hamzah ə in Persian; and in Bengali ə normally became আ = [a]: e.g., আলফ [aʃl] wisdom > sense (aql); আলফ [aʃlɔf], strange (ajab); আরজ [aroʃ] petition (arz < ard-); M.B. আদাস, আদাস [ardaʃ, addaʃ] petition (arz-dast); আবা [aʃb] a loose coat (tabā); আয়েস [aʃl] comfort, luxury (ayṣ); etc.

(ii) Persian ə in initial syllables after a consonant generally becomes ə in Bengali. This ə is umlauted to [o] through influence of a following [i] or [u] (see pp. 396-397). E.g., কডম [kɔdɔm] foot-print, step, pace (of a horse) (qadam); কডর [kɔdɔr] merit, value (qadr); কোর, কোর [kɔboʃ, kɔboʃ] receipt, voucher (qabz < qabdit); কোর [kɔbor] grave (qabr-); খবর, খবর [knobor, khobor] news (xabr); খাস, খরাড় [korar, -ar] condition (qarar); খরেশ [kɔrəʃ] hare (xar-gōs); কর [kɔr] debt, loan (qarz < qard); খরেশ [kɔrəʃ] expense (xarb); কম [kɔm] less, small quantity (kan); গাজ [gaʃ] yard (measure) (gaz); গজল [gaʃoʃ] a metre, a kind of melody (gazal); গোরজ [goʃɔʃ] interest, concern (garaq < garaq); গর্ডা [gɔrdɔ] dirt, lees (gardah); কফকী [ʃkɔmɔki]
flint-stone (Turkī caqmāq);  הזמר [フותkhom] wound (zaxm); जबन [フータban] word (zabān);  גלד [フータd] quick movement in music (jald);  גלן [フータma] gathering (jam' < jam');  תקמ [フータma] badge (Turkī tama);  תטק [フータkτo] throne (takt);  תונח, תנקה, תנקה [フータkha, תנקha] pay, honorarium (tanxwāh);  תודא [フータdorok] arrangement, enquiry (tadāruk);  תבל [フータbla] small drum (tablāh);  תור, תורפ [フータp] side (tarf);  נקח [フータкаf] carver, engraver (naqqās+1);  נכד [フータd] cash (naqd);  נער [フータd] channel (nahr);  תנא [フータnma] prayer (namāz);  פורה [פורהd] screen (pardah);  פפא [פפאw] wool (pašm);  כפה [פפהte] victory (fath);  ברק [フータknd] matchlock-man, armed attendant (barq-andāz);  בוק [フータk] back-stitch, sewing with long stitches, stitched and repaired cloth > something not new and good (baxyah);  בז' [フータc] in place, intact (ba-jā-e);  בז'יא [フータjat] vicious (bad-zāt < -zāt-);  בוחר [フータc] ocean, extent (bahār);  מטלב [חוטl] intention (maṭlāb);  רפה [רפה] arrangement, finishing (rafī);  שלד [שולd] city (sahr);  סדר, סדר [שוד, שוד] chief, headman (sardār);  זכ[זכ] truth (haqq);  זך, זך [זך] letter of the alphabet (harf); etc., etc.

Cases of change of «a» > [o] to [o]:  כומ [フータm] less, but כומי [フータm] smallness in quantity (kam);  קובל [フータbul] admitting (qabūl);  קॱרמ [חורי] buying, קבד [חודה] buyer (xarīd, xarīdār);  כולס [フータh] caliph, (slang) a clever man (xaliṭfah);  גוריב [フータb] poor (garib);  צורב [צורב] grease (carbī);  גומי [フータmi] land (zamīn);  גורי [フータr] gold lace (zarī);  גולדי [フータd] quick (jaldī);  תופס [フータf] details (tafṣīl);  תוב [フータm] threatening (tanbih, tambih);  דולי [フータl] document (dallīl);  ד стор [ד стор] order, order of business (dastūr);  נאיר [フータ] precedent (nazīr);  פווע [フータ] a short coat (fatoq);  בקרין [フータ] the Baqr-ʿĪd festival (baqr-ʿĪd);  בונק [フータd] rifle (bandūq);  הווק [フータk] truth, facts of a case (haqīq); etc., etc.

Also words with initial [m], like מחל [フータ] suite in a large house, quarter (maḥl), occasionally have [o] for [o] although there is no following [i] or [u].

Post-consonantal «a» in initial syllables, however, becomes ア [α] and not א [י] in some cases. We have [α] when one of two consonants
following is dropped: e.g., बाली [khaʃɪ] a castrated goat (xasi, xassî); टाल [ṭu dhe] subscription (candah); नागरा, नाकरा, नाकरा [nagra, nak(a)ra] kettle-drum (naqqārah); मामुद [mamud] a name (mahmūd-); पालोन [palōn] wrestler, professional athlete (pahlwān); कादाली [kaḍali] a tune (qawwāl +1); खोट [khota] note-book, blank-book (xaṭt-hā); नार [malla] for *माल (mālī) sailor (mallaḥ); दलाल [dalal] broker (dallāl); ताबु [tabu] tent (tambū); सनक [fənok] china or pewter dish used by Mohammedans (saḥnak); etc.

But quite a number of other words show [a] instead of [o]. These [a] words are due, either to the influence of native words of similar sound with [a]; or to post 18th century influence of Hindōstāni. Hindōstānī [ə] now is normally represented by ə [a] in NB., but in Late MB., ə [o] would be used. [a] forms in Bengali thus are generally recent. Examples:

काम [kamān] bow; कबाब [kabāb] roast meat (kabab); बादम [badaṃ] almond (bādām); चापका [capkan] tunic (capkan); जहाज [jhaʃaʃ] ship (jahāz); जहाङ्ग [jhaʃaŋgəm] hell (jahānnum); ताकिया [takaʃa] bolster (takyah); तामान [tamam] all, end (tamām); तालाक, also तालक [talak, tallak] divorce (talāq); तामाद, तत्ताद [tamadi, tābadi] barred by limitation (tamūdī); तर, तार [tora, tara] manner (tarah); दामान [damama] drum (damāmah); गाज [gaʃa] punishment (saʃa); खलास [khalas] freed (xalās); मन [mana] prohibition (mana?); कालदर [kalandr] mendicant (qalandar); कांत [kanat] awning (qanāt); लागाम [lagam] rein (lāgām); हाबली, हाबली, हाओली [həbe(i), həu(li)] palace (hawālt); हाराम [haram] forbidden (harām); हाफ [haʃər] thousand (hazūr); हाँला [hala] a sweetmeat, pudding (halwā ḥalī); हावर [haʃa] wind, air (hawā); हाब [haʃ] Negro, Abyssinian (habši); बाहार [bahar] spring; बाहार [bahdhar] brave (bahādur); हांगामा, (also हंगामा [həŋgama], see p. 322) disorder, riot (hangāmah); etc., etc.

The frontal [a] pronunciation of Persian is represented by [e, ə], written ə, in some words; but these [e, ə] forms are rare, and occasionally they are brought about through influence of a contiguous [e, i].

Examples: सेलाम, खालाम, हालाम [selam, selam, ʃelam] salutation (salām);
'A' in initial syllables, & interior 'A' 577

beside राजाई [raːjai, raːjai, raːjai] quilt (raːjai); असाद, असाद, beside कासद [phæʃad, pʰe-, pʰa-] difficulty, turmoil, troubled situation (fasād); फेरेब [phereb] deceit (farēb); मारमत [məramət] repairs (marammat); जेरा [ʃeɾə] a little (ʒara < ʒara?); रेजा [ɾeʃə] a name (raːza < radə); कराममि [karamət] miracle (karāmat); जेरेस्ता [ʃeɾeʃta] court office (sarrištah); हेस्टनेस्टो [hestonesto] final settlement (hast-nist); नमर्ज तौफीक, नमर्जी, नमर्जिया, नमर्जिया prayers (namāz); नेकर [nəkra] trickishness, courtesans (naxrah); जेनाना [ʃeʃana] beside जानना [ʃiʃana] women's apartments, women (zānānah); M.B. एककार beside NB. आकबर [eːkəbər, aːkəbər] Akbar (Akbar: cf. the Portuguese transcription of the Moghal Emperor's name, « Equebar »); अजिद [aʃiʃd] a name,ヤジド (Yazid).

- in initial syllables also occurs as [i, e]: e.g., बिखाब [kʰaːxhab] brocade (kam-xwāb); बिला>केला [kilə>keḷa] fort (qal'ah); नेमक [nemāk] salt (namak); मिही [mihii] fine (mahīn); शिक्षित [ʃikxèɾ] crest worn on turban (sar-pēc); इसालंड [ʃiʃalɔnd] seed of the flax (asb-ŋol, isb-ŋol); रिपु [ripu] sewing (rafū); etc. Also as [u, o] in चुंब्र [χuʃub] presence (χuʃub); गलां [polo] dish of rice and meat with butter (Early Pers. palāw, Modern Pers. [philaːv]); and in a few other words, which thus show a special modification of the 'a' of Persian in India. Cf. also रोजान [ɾoʃaʃ], beside रोजान [ɾoʃaʃ] the Ramadan month (ramāzān < -dān); बोगदाड [boʃdəd] Bagdad ( Başdād); मकबुल [moʃbub] a name (maqbul); कोमर [komor] waist (kamar), etc., which show [o] in NB.

(ii) Interior 'a' normally becomes [ɔ] in Bengali, and owing to the phonetic habits of Bengalis (see p. 400), this [ɔ] is liable to be changed to [o]: বকাল [okalɔt] advocacy (wakālat); বকল [bokɔl] arm-pit (bagal); কমর > কমদ [komor > komor] waist (kamar); মসরা [ʃmaʃkara] joke (masxarah); রসদ [roʃd] supplies (rasad); মালবা [maʃlab] Persian and Arabic scholar (maulavi); হালাচ [ʃɔlɔp(h)] oath (halaf); বিষবং [ʃʃɔbɔt] bribe (riswat); কাগজ [ʃagɔʃ] paper (kāgaʃ), etc., etc. But in a few instances, through the influence of a preceding [a], we find [ə] rather than the expected [ɔ] in the interior of words: e.g., আচাকা [aʃʃkaː] loose
tunic (aekan); अलबांग beside अलबांग [albat, albót] certainly (albattah); अमदानी [amdanî] importation (āmadānti); रापणी [raptāni] export (raftāni), on the model of the preceding word.

*ā* connected with e* figures as [a] in the interior of words in Bengali: দাবী [dabi] claim (dā'wāt); ধানী [dāni] a name (the celebrated Persian poet) (Sa'dī); নাল [nāl] horse-shoe (nā'īl); লাল [la'l] ruby (la'l); কাবর [kābār] temple at Mecca (ka'bah); বাদ [bād] subtraction; after (= post position) (bād); জাল [jāl] cryptography (jā'īl); জাজিস [jājis] shrine (jā'īyah); বাজজ [ba'jāb] strange (ba'jāb); বাজিদ [ba'jīd] instruction (ba'jīm); মানে [ma'ne] meaning (ma'ānta); ভালান [talikan] list (ta'liqah); etc., etc.

Influence of *y* changes *ā* to [e]: কারেন [kā'ēm] established, fixed (qāyām, qā'im); আলেম [alēm] coming (ayandah, ā'indah); কেফাইত [kefā'ēt] sufficiency, profit (kifāyat), etc.; in হেব [hēb] Jew (yāhūdī), we have [i] for *ya*. Initial *wā* similarly becomes [o, o̯, u]: e.g., উক্ত [okto] time (waqt); অজেন [ajēn] a name (Wāzīd); উকীল [ukil] pleader (wakīl), etc. *ā* in connection with *xʷ* changes to [u, o] in Bengali: e.g., আখুন্দী [akhundī] a Mohammedan title = teacher (ā'xwandījī).

A preceding [i, e, e:], through Vowel Harmony, modifies *ā* to [e] (cf. p. 400): সেকন্দর [sekon̄d̄ar] a name, also সেকন্দর [sekon̄dar] (Sikandar = Alexander); রেভন্নিনি [rebennini] beside রেভন্নিনি [rebennini] (China) rhabarbh (revand-e-īnī), etc. Through Vowel Harmony, we have change of interior *ā* to [u]: e.g., মৌলী beside মৌলী [moulubī, moulubī, moulubī] Mohammedan scholar (moulavī) (see p. 392); হুযর [finur] art, cleverness (hunār); চাকির চাকির [chakir, chakir] service (sākārī); সুবুর [subur] clerk (muharrir); উজবুক, উজবুক [uzbuk, uzbuk] idiot, fool (uzbak); মোরকুবুর [morkubur] permanent and hereditary tenure (muqarrar, mawrūṣ); মুরবুবুর [murubbur] patron (murabbi); মুমারকুবুর [mumarkubur] accountant, controller of a firm (mutasaddīf); etc., etc. In তাজিয়, তাজিয় [tagut, taut] strength, beside তাজ [takat] (taqat), and MB. সাজিলাস [saqilat] a costly stuff (saqalāt), we have [u, o] for [a] in the place of *ā*.

There is loss of interior *-ā-* through the dominant initial stress of Bengali: see below, under 'Dropping of Vowels.'
(iv) Final [a] of Persian, written with the « hā-i-muxtafi » (i.e. the imperceptible final « h »), becomes [a] in Bengali: *e.g.*, बांट [banda] slave (bandah); किनारा [kinara] edge (kinārah); खाजा [khājah] [a] (khājanā) tax (xazānah); खलिफा [khilif(h)a] Caliph; a clever man (xalifah); बेठा [beṭha] pitiable person (bēcārah); खाजा [khājah] a title (xwajah); etc., etc. This « hā-i-muxtafi » frequently represents the Old Arabic feminine forms in َه (-at-, -ath-?). Persian < -ah, > [a] > [a] is the normal change in Bengali which is found by the score—no other change being admitted.

Final < ؕ, -a> of Arabic words, pronounced [a?] in Persian, normally becomes [a] in Bengali: *e.g.*, जमा [jama] collection (jamā); मान [mana] prohibition (manā); मोह [mohal] torch (masāl); ताबिज [tabijā] amulet (tawīd), etc.

Apocope of < -a >: see below.

(2) Short < ı, e > of Persian (= kasrah, zēr).

314. The « kasrah » in Early Persian, as in Modern Persian, had the sounds of both short [i] and short [e]. Modern Hindōstānī prefers the [i] sound. In Modern Bengali, there is occasionally an attempt to bring in the close sound through Hindōstānī influence, but in the bulk of the words naturalised, we find [e]. Examples: इहार, इहार, इजर [ejhar, ijar, ejer] trousers (izār); इजरा, एजर [ijjarā, ejjarā] lease (ijārah); इज्ज [ijjot] honour (izzat); एहाम, एहाम [ enam, inam] present, gift (inām); एनजाफ, इनगाफ [enjāf, injāf] justice (insāf); इनाम [inām] religious guide (imām); एरादा, एरादा [erada, irada] desire (irādah); एलाह [elāh] God (ilāhī); इलाक [illak] filth (illat); इशाद [išād] witness (ishādī); इशारा [ishāra] beckoning (isārah); एक्सेंसरी [esemseri] permanent (istimrah); एक्साक, इस्ताफ [estophā, istophā] resignation (ista[fā]); दिख [dīkich] banner (nīsān); दिल [mīsīh] procession (misl < miṭl); जिंग [jinjgir] chain (jinzir); कोटी [kisti] coat (kistī); केता [keta] section, measure (qitāh); किशाम [kishām] dried raisins (kīsīmās); दिक [dik] marriage (nikāḥ), also नेक [neka(h)] [nekah] marriage (nikāḥ); एक्सार > एक्सार [ekṣar] command, power (ixtiyār); एक्सार [ekṣar] court (ijlās); एक्सार [ekṣar] agreement (iqrār);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER VI

एजहार, एजहार [esfahar, esfèhar] deposition (izahār); एजेला, एजेल [et(e)la] news, information (italā'); एलका [elaka] jurisdiction (ʾilāqah); केशब [ketab] book (kitāb); केष्ष [keṣha] story > scandal (qissah); केहल [khelet] present, robe of honour (xilbat); केसां [khefarot] damages (xisānat); केल [kela] district (ẓilah < ẓilāh); केंग, -क [demag, -k] brain, intellect, pride (dimāg); पेला [peala] cup (piyālah); पेलोराय [beloari] crystal, glass (billauri); पिंजेर [pınjer, -p] pietrus (migrāb < midrāb); पेन, पेन [sreph, serep(h)] unmixed, only, merely (sirf); पीड [pīdu Hindu (hīndū), beside हिंदु (hindū), हिंदू (hindū); हेन [hena] the Hennah plant (hīna); चेहार, चेहरा [chehara, chehera] portrait, figure (cihrah); मेहरवाली [meherbani] kindness (mihrbānt); भिंडत [bhisti] water-carrier (bhīstī); etc., etc.

वाकिफ, वाकिब [oakiph, -b] knowing (wāqif); वारिस [oariʃ] heir (wāris < wāriθ); कुरिश [kurnis] congratulation (kūnīs); चाँदिर [khatir] regard, respect (xātir); तारिक [tarikh] date (tārīx); हारेश [fiāres] a name (hāriθ); सालिस [jālīʃ] third party, arbitrator (sālis < θāliθ); दाकिल [dakilt] entered (dāxil); नाजिर [nāziʃir] supervisor (nāzir); नालिश [nalisʃ] complaint (nāliš); फानिल [phansiʃil] excess, superficial, impertinent (fāsīl < fāšil); हाजिर [haʃīr] present (adj.) (hāzir < hādir); कादेर [kader] a name (qādir); मोजाहेम [moʃāhēm] strict (muzāḥim); अलेम [alem] scholar (ālim); etc., etc.

The े kasrah-i-izāfat े = [i, e], is rendered by [e]: शाह रम [ʃaferum] Emperor of Turkey (sāh-i-Rūm), तक्ते ताउस [takte tauʃ] peacock-throne (taxt-i-tĀnis); सोबे सदेक [ʃobe fādek] true dawn, early dawn (subh-i-sādiq), etc., etc.

In a few cases, we find [o] for the expected [e] or [i]: e.g., साज [ʃaʃoʃ] collusion (sāziš); नाबलक [nabalok] minor (nābalīg); सनाक [ʃonaktlo] identification (šīnāxt); मोजिम, मोजम, मरजम [mouʃom, mouʃum, morʃum] season (mausim), etc. Cf. also सुपारिस [ʃuparif] recommendation (sīfāriš), with [u] for १, and अतर [atəɾ] otto (ʾitr), with [a] for ौौ <ौौ. In अबाई [ʃobai] beside, beside [ʃobe(ʃa)] killing an animal by cutting its throat (jabih), we find change of the े kasrah े to [ai].

For Aphæresis, Syncope and Apocope of [i, e], see infra: also for Anaptyxsis of [i, e] in Bengali.
315. The remarks made with reference to <i>, <e> of Persian are also applicable with regard to <u>, <o>. Bengali prefers the [o] sound, but [u] is also known: but unlike the [i, e] forms, [o] and [u] are kept apart, the same word not ordinarily appearing with both the vowels.

MB. उरुडु [urudu] camp (urdū, Turkī ordu); कुलूप [kudrat] power (qudrat); कुलूप [kulum] pad-lock (Indian Persian qulf < qulf); खुक्क [kudō] dry path, dry chaff (xuk-); गुजरान [gūjaran] passing, (as time) (gudrān); जुलू [julō] separate (judā); जूलु [julum] tyranny (sulm); जुलू [julpi] hanging side-locks (sulf); तूक [turuk] Turk, Mohammedan (turk); तुनिया [dunia] world (dunyā); तुम्मन [dujmān] foe (dušman): तुम्म [dumba] sheep (dubah); तुर्स [phurfot] leisure (furasat); तुर्स [burī] bastion (burj); तुर्स [bulbul] nightingale; तुर्स [mucumhuddi] accountant, partner of firm (mutasaddi); तुर्स [murdaphoruf] remover of corpse (murdah + farōs); तुर्स [munjep(h)] a judicial officer (munsif); तुर्स [muluk] country (mulk); तुर्स [rujuf] filing of a plaint (rujū); तुर्स [turki] red > brick-dust (surx-); तुर्स [hukum] command (hukhm); तुर्स [hulī] description of man wanted (hulyah);

अमर, अमर [omor(h)] noblemen (umrā); अमर [ostad] master, especially in the arts (ustād, āstād); अमर [or(phe)] alias (urf); अमर [omar] a name (umār); अमर [ojmān] also ṭ अमर [osman] a name (uśmān < uṣmbān); क्रोक [kro:k] attach (properly) (Turkī qura); क्रो [khod] self (xwud); गोसा [khoda] God (xudā); गोसा [kholosa] clear (xulāsah); गोसा [gonā] sin (gunā); गोसा, गोसा [gojā, gojā] anger, fit of sulks, dudgeon (gussah); गोलप [golap] rose < rose-water (gulāb); गोलप [golat] quick, well-set, elegant (cyst); गोलप [golap] a purgative (julāb); गोलब [jolbā] a loose garment (jubbah); गोल [tophā] splendid, beautiful (tuḥfah); नोक [nokta] a dot (nuqtah); नकस, नकस [nokṣan, lokṣan] loss (nuqṣān); नोक [posta] plaint (puṣtah); नीचक [bāeka] bundle (Turkī būcēah); मोहम्मद [mohommād] (Muḥammad); मोक्स [mokaddomā] also मक्स [mokaddomā] lawsuit (muqaddamah); मोल [molla] Mohammedan priest (Perso-Turkī mullā)
< Ar. mawlá); मोक्षम [mokkhóm] strengthened, secure, unambiguous (muḥkam); मोगळ [mogol] Mogul (muğal); मोरग [morog] fowl, cock (muru).

बुज्जरक [būjjaruk] impostor, miracle-worker (buzurg great); नाखोदा [nakhoḍa] captain of a ship > a Mohammedan trading class (nāxudā); कृष्ण [kṛṣṇa] fault (qasur < qusur); चाबुक [cābuk] whip (cābuk).

In a few words, we find अ, ॠ [०, ॠ] for ृ, ो of Persian: गावँ [gaʊ] witness (< gāwāh=guwāh); मध्यो[मौज्जु] [m Mathematical Jōj] country district (mufassal); नबब [nabub] Nabob, prince, ruler (nawāb, nawwāb < nuwwāb): सबुद [sabud] as in सबुद सबुद [sabud sabud] witnesses (šubut < šubut); मनिब [manib < *mouib] beside मनिब [mouib] master (munib); सबुद [moʃʃur < *moʃʃur] labourer (mázdūr < muzdūr); मक्कदा above; अवसन [orʃo] to cleave to (as a fault) (urs); तदरुक [todoruk] enquiry (tadār), ताकूल [takullab] cheating, forgery (taqallab); सहरं beside सहरं [shorot, shorot] publishing (as by beat of drum) (šurat); सहरं [shorot] companionship (suhat); etc.

Syncope of ृ, ो: see infra. Anaptyxis of [u, o] in Bengali: see also infra.

[II] Long Vowels.

The quantity of Persian has entirely been modified according to Bengali phonetic habits. (See ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §§ 53ff.)

(1) Long ॰.

316. Persian ॰ normally occurs as [a] in Bengali, initially, medially and finally: e.g., आइन [aǐn] law (aʔin); आदब [adob] politeness (ādab); आदम [adami] man (ādamā); आवारी [ābkāri] excise, relating to intoxicants (ābkāri); आ [aːm] public (ām); आबक [ābru] honour (āb-rū); आ (ālā), आल्ह [aːlti] God (allāh, ilāh); कानुन [kanun] law, custom (qānūn); कागज [kūgɔ̃] paper (kāga); काफेर [kupher] infidel (kāfīr); केंद्र [kenturb] book (kitāb); किनार [kīnār] edge (kīnārah); खारा [kharā] bad (xaráb); खोदा [khood̩] God (xudā); खोंडा
PERSIAN 'A' IN BENGALI 583

[khondakar, khon(d)kar] reader > Mohammedan surname (xwand-kar);
گرگرکار, گرگر [g(e)reptar] arrest (giriftarp); جبر [jiabaran] word (of honor) (zabun); گسکه [jgeg] place (jaegah); جواب [jebub] reply (jawab); جماسپ [jomasp] gathering (jamapat); جکرمان [jophron] saffron (zafran); گلاب [taltof] search (talas); گاپی, گاپدی [takdo, tagada] call or demand for payment (taqadda); گاب [taby] dependent, inferior to (in grade) (tabi)
; گال [tala] as in گالاگال [alla-tala] God is exalted the Exalted One (tasala), also گالا [tala, tašulo]; گارگی [doroğ] superintendent of police (doroğah); یونیور [dunio] the world (dunya); گاک [nakoğ] (to make) defective, to cancel (nagis); گوران [korun] the Koran (quran); گز [boştu] arm (bazu); مات [ma:t] dead, finished (mat < ma:ta he died); گلا [malla] sailors (mallah); شیطان [boetan] devil, Satan (saitan); گاجار [hafçur] thousand (hazar); گالا [hala] lawful, properly killed (animal, for meat) (halal); گالو [haluro] sweetmeat, pudding (halva); یمان the [fişra] Hegira era (hijra); etc., etc.

Change of <a> > [a] through Umlaut and Vowel-Harmony to [e, o, i, u] is found in a few instances: إس [{i}er] trousers (izar);
إس [{i}r] gesture (isarah); گلاب > گلاب [bilut > bilet] Europe (wilayat); گیسکیکیتی > گیسکیکیت [hişeb < kitab > hişeb-kiteb] books and accounts (hisab, kitab); گنی [nifan] banner (nisin); وکلک [nike] wedding (nikah); گدک [koddar] buyer (*khardar < xardar); گدک > گدک [toir > toer] prepared, ready (taiyar); گدک > گدک [diste] quire (distah);

In گورود [tōphar] son of the girl (tārifah), we have change of the group -a[-> to [oe]; so گورود [poemal] destroyed, crushed (= pāri-mal). Cf. گورود [horkora] peon, post-boy (harkarah); گورود [borgi < borgi] a Maratha
raider (bārgīr light cavalry); and कला [phal] a fruit (fālsah), through influence of फल « phal ». 

Persian « yā, tā, ēā » in the initial syllable after a consonant become [æ, æː] in Bengali, in a number of words (see pp. 412, 421): e.g., पेल [pe, paː] cup (pyāla); पेल [pe, paː] cup (pyāla); पेल [pe, paː] footman (pyādah); जेम [jēm] much (ziyādah); देव [dēv, dēː] wall, beside देव [dēv] (drwāl > *dtāl); पेल [pe, paː] onions (pyāz); मेद [meːd] term, imprisonment (miyād); खेल [khēl] wish (xyāl); बाराम, बाराम, बाराम [bearum, be(e)rum] disease, illness (bē-ārām); लक [lak] impelling, urging (siyāqat); etc.

For Syncope of Persian « ā », and Anaptyxis of [a] in Bengali in Persian loan-words, see below.

(2) Persian « i, ē ».

317. The « mafrūf » and « majhūl » pronunciations of ɛ, which obtained in Early Persian, are both found in Bengali, as [i, e]. Initial or medial [ɛ] is ignored.

« i » > ई, ई [i]: ईमान [iman] faith, honesty (īmān); ईरान [iran] Irān, Persia (iran < ērān); ईद, ईद [īd] the ‘Īd festival (īd); ईस [īs] Jesus (īsā); नौका, नरका, मुज [mir distrust, mīrāh]; अमीर [umīr] prince (amīr); चीज [chēj] article (eṣṭ); बी [bī] saddle (zīn); चार [tār] arrow (tār); पील, पिल [piːl, pilkha] elephant, elephant-stable (piːl, pil-xānāh); बीमा [bīma] insurance (bīmāh); फिरोज [phiroj] light blue colour (frōzāh); शिक [fī:k] iron spit (sīx); शिर, शिर [shīn, shīni] sweets, milk etc. (offered to a saint) (sīnī, sīrmī); अच्छ [acch] testator (wast); आईन [ain] law (ān); आखुश [akhunʃi] a reader, a teacher (axwandʒi); बाज [bāj] sport > trick, magic (bāʒ); आम [um] survey-officer < a trusted one (amīn); कोट [kot] a kind of embroidery (kaštādah); काज [kaj] a Mohammedan judge (kāj < qādī); तक्षबास [khoj] evil spirit (xabis < xabīth); बाइल [bīl] land granted for service (jāgīr); ताजबीज [tajbiʃ] investigation (tajwīz); तिब्बत [tibbat]
constitution (of the body) (tabīyat); তবীর (tofīr) picture (taswir); তবীল (tobīl) funds, treasury, cash (tafīwil); তবীল (tāmil) execution of an order (tāmil); তবীল (tāmil) officials, officials; তবীল (tāmil) near (nazādīk); কন্তুম (fīkīm) doctor practising the Arabic system of medicine (ḥakīm); কন্তুম (fīkīm) present (baxīsī); মুনিব, মুনিব (munīb) master (munīb); মুনিব (munīb) land (zamīn); শারিক (fīrīk) sharer (ṣarīk); শিরিশ, শিরেশ (fīrīf, fīrīf) glue (Sirī, Sirī); etc., etc.

< ē > এ [e]: আমেজ (amej) shade, faint trace, nuance (amez); আমেজ (amej) reflection, concern (andēzah); ইংরেজ (iŋrej) English (ingrez, angréz, Arabic inklis-); জেব (jeb) pocket (jeb < Ar. jayb); তেজ (tej) sharp, quick (tēz); শের (jēr) lion (sēr); দরবেশ (dorbeh) Dervish, Mohammedan religious mendicant (darveš); পেশ (pej) presenting (as a suit in law) (pēz); দারবেশ (dorbasj) papers (in a law-suit) (dāyēr); মূল্যাত (deon) minister, manager, office master (dēwān), also দেওয়ান (dean); নেক (nek) good (nēk); পেশ (pej) trade, occupation (pēzah); ফরেব (phereb) deceiving (farēb); বে (be) prefix of negation (bē-); বেশ (bej) well, good (beṣ); রেশম (rejum) silk (reṣam); সাদে (fēlėh) white (safēd); হাবেলী (habeli) mansion, palace (haweli); হাবেলী (habeli) always (hamēsah); সরেখেল (jorkhel) commander of a troop (sar-xēl); etc., etc.

In ইংরেজ (iŋrej), as a variant of ইংরেজ (iŋrej), we have an irregular change of < ē > to [a]: cf. a phrase like ইংরেজ-রাজ (iŋrej-raj) the English rulers, in which the jingle is responsible for the change in the vowel.

For loss of Persian < 1, ē >, and insertion of Bengali [i, e] in Persian loan-words, see below.

(3) Persian < 1, ē >.

318. Like ু, Early Persian ু had two sounds, which are both preserved in Bengali, as [u, o]. Examples:

Persian < ু > Bengali উ, ও [u]: আবুলরাশ (abul) ebony (abnūs); ইউনানী (junani) Greek > Arabic (system of medicine) (yünāni); ওড় (orō)
ablutions (waza > wudu); उद [urd] the Urdu language (urd); इज्जी [ij joy] Jew (yehudi); कानुन [kanun] law, customs (qanun); कुर्निज [kurni] bow (before a prince) (kurni); हू [khu] joy (xub + i); हू [khu:b] much (xub); खुन [khu:n] blood, murder (xun blood); ताराज [tara] scales (tarazu); तरॉबल [durbin] telescope (durbin); नुर [nur] light (nur); रुमाल [rumal] handkerchief (rumal); फूरत [furat] beauty (furat); फुरु [fur] beginning (fur); बाँक [barud] gunpowder (barud); फुद [fud] interest on money (sud); फुरा, फुरा [fur] broth, soup (furwa < sorba, surba); फुहू बिरन [furu] presence > lordship (fazur > hudur); हू [huri] fairy, heavenly nymph (huri); etc.

Persian [ø > o] Bengali [o]: कोप्ता [kopta] pounded meat-balls in soup (kofta); आफशेश [ap(h)of] grief (afsos); कानुनग [kanun-go] registrar of a district (qanun-gi); कोसाम, -मोट [kojomad, -mod] flattery, fawning (xos-ad); गोट [gota] meat (goat); गोर [gor] grave (gor); गोल [gol] crowd, noise (gol); जोर [jor] strength (jor); तोक [tok] iron collar (for punishment) (tak < pawq); तोता [tot] parrot (tota); तोप [top] cannon (top); तोबा [toba] repentance (toba); तोक [tok] mattress (tosak); दारोगा [daroga] superintendent (of Police) (dargah); दोकान [dokan] shop (dokan < dukan); पोदर [poddar] cashier, money-changer (fotah-dar); बौद्ध [boudh] arrangement (bandobast, band-u-bast); बौ बौ [bo, bo] wax (moh); बौ, बौ, बौ [bo, bo, bo] smell, perfume (boy); बौज्ज [boj] illumination (boj); बौज [boj] day (boj); बौर [bor] din, tumult (bor); etc., etc.

[ø] and [o] being interchangeable, in a few cases we have [ø] for [o] in Bengali: e.g., बर = बो [bo, bo] above; लबान [lobun] gum, incense (loban < Ar. luban); मौर [mouo] hereditary (mouros < mawru); बौद्ध [boudh] arrangement (bandobast, band-u-bast); etc.

For changes of a general nature of [u, ò], see below.

[III] The Diphthongs.

(1) Persian [ai].

319. Persian [ai] becomes [oi] in Bengali when the next syllable has [i, j] in the original form: e.g., कोपीं [koipiot] explanation
(kaifiyat); গৈব (goibi) secret (gaibt); but cf. গাইব (gaeb) secret (gaib); নেতৃত্ব, তড়িৎ (toiar, toer) ready, prepared (taiyar); সৈয়দ (jûd) a descendant of the Prophet of Arabia, an Arab Mohammedan, a class among Mohammedans (saiyad); etc.

In other cases it becomes [æ], [ai, æ], or [e]: e.g., খৃষ্টপ্রেরিত [khœræt] charity (xairæ); খৃষ্টীয় [khœrkhæ] well-wishing, loyal (xair-xwâh); বন্ধ [mœda] flour (maideh); মাইদান [mœdan] field (maidan); কোল [kœd] imprisonment (qaid); বনেত [baet] verse, couplet (baït); বনাম [boet] Satan (sâitân); বন্ধু [bœfæla] agreement (faisalâh); বন্ধুবান [bœfæræ] and the rest (wâqairâh); বন্ধুবাস [çfœelæp] inundation (sailâb); বন্ধুবার [çfœran] worried (hâirân); etc.

গাইব (gaeb) hidden (gaib); পাক্ষাঠা, পাইখানা, পাইখানা [paekhana, paikhana] water-closet (pâ-i-xânah); পাকার [paikar, paiker] wholesale dealer (paikâr); বায়না [bâena] advance money (baijânah); etc.

যাকেকাস (alekom) as in সেলাম যাকেকাস the Mohammedan salutation = peace be with you (sâlam ʿalaikum); পেগমবর [pegmbar], beside পেগমবর [pegmbar, pægmbar] prophet (païgambar); শেখ [jeikh] a title (sâx); etc., etc.

Instances also occur which show the transformation of ʿai to [o] and [a], by syncope of the second element: e.g., গাইব (gaeb) hidden, also গাপ [ga:p] (gaib); কিত [kæfi] scissors (Turki qâinei); বেগোর [begor] without (bi-gaîr). The case of তোকমারী [tokmari] the seed of ocymum pilosum (tuxm-i-raïhân) is due partly to folk-etymology (cf. মার *মার* kill), through intermediate forms like [*tokmerean, *tokmarea*].

(2) Persian ʿau.

320. Persian ʿau commonly occurs as [ou] in Bengali: it is also found as [ö], and occasionally also as [au, ao] and [o]: e.g., তোফিক [toufik] a description roll (tajith); দৌলত [doulat] prosperity (daulat); ফৌজ [phwj] troops (faïj); চৌধুর হ (choubæqa) tank, cistern (caubaceah); ফৌজ [phout] death (faut); দৌসম [mousim] season (mausim); মৌজ [mousj] area, district (mauzä < mawdaä); মৌজ, মৌজুল, মৌজুল [mousjud,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER VI

mo$\text{f}ud [existing, present (maujüd); mo$\text{r}u$fi [moufurfi] inherited (maurüš < maurübi); mo$\text{lo}bi, mo$\text{lo}bi [moulobi, moulovi] Mohammedi scholar (maulavi); rōgan, rōgan, rōgan [rougon, rougon, rougon] fat, polish (raugan); rōgan in rōgan tōkį [roufōn əfouki] Indian musical band (raušan-); sōgāt [ʃōgat] present (sauqāt); sōla, sōla [ʃōda, ʃōda] purchase, articles (saudāh); ʃāda [ʃaoda] howdah (haudah); nōbāt, nōbāt [noubot, noubot], also nōbāt [noubot < noubot, noubot] Indian musical band (naubat); hōjį [ʃoufį] cistern (hauch < hawd-); sōkįn [ʃoukhįn] desires (of fancy things), amateur, fancy (articles) (ṣauqin); ʃāvarţį, ʃāvarţį, ʃāvarţį, etc. [ʃourųfįeb, ʃourų-, ʃourų-], also ʃāvarţį [ʃourųfįeb] a name = the emperor Aurangzeb; etc., etc.

In a few words, < au > occurs as [ɔ] in Bengali: e.g., sāk (ʃak) pleasure (in fine things), good taste, luxury (ṣauq); mō$\text{f}ud [moj$\text{f}ud < moj$\text{f}ud], see above; jāh [ʃāʃo$] precious stones, gems (jaubar); nōbar, nōbar, nōbar [noonkōr, noonkār, noonkōr] servant (naukar); etc. This modification is based on the Hindōstäni value of < au > as [əə, ə].

Bengali belo$\text{r}a$ [beloari] made of crystal or glass (billauri) is based on an Indianised form < *bilawari >.

[IV] CHANGES OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

(1) Combination of Two Separate Vowels.

321. Two distinct vowels or syllables separated from each other by a semivowel or the < hamzah > in Persian (< hamzah > or < ʾayn > in Arabic) combine into a diphthong in Bengali: e.g., ʃāreni [ʃaena] coming, future, next ($a$indah, ayindah); ʃānen [ʃaena] mirror (a$inah); ʃān [ʃema] land given in (charitable) endowment (a$immah); ʃāneni [ʃenai] friendship > love intrigue (a$na$); ʃo$la$ [ʃo$la$] plating, gilding (qala$); ʃo$la$ [ʃo$la$] butcher (qasā$); ʃa$en [ʃaem] standing, fixed (qā$im); ʃu$la$ [ʃu$du$] rule, mode, manners (qo$idah); ʃo$la$ agent, sub-agent (na$rib); ʃa$la$ [ʃa$la$] profit (fa$idah); ʃo$la$ calamity (bāla$); ʃen$la$ [ʃer$la$] a short coat (mfráz$); ʃo$la$
DIPHTHONGISATION: LOSS OF VOWELS 589

claimant, suitor (muddati); রোশনাই [rośnai] illumination (rośanāī); শানাই [ʃanāi] a pipe (in music) (sah-nāi); সরাই [ʃorai] inn (sarāi); হালিই, হালওয়াই [ʃalui, ʃaloai] pastry or sweetmeat maker (halwāi); হাওই [ʃauai] rocket (hawāi); etc., etc.

Within Bengali itself, when there is hiatus after the dropping of an intervocal [ɦ] < Persian [h] = Persian < h>, Arabic [h, ɦ], the two u d v tta vowels combine into a diphthong: e.g., সেপাই [ʃepai] soldier, sepoj (sipāhī); সেরাই [ʃorai] earthen jar to cool water (surāhī); সাহাই, সাহী, সাহ [ʃai, ʃei] ink (siyāhī); সহ [ʃoij] signature, valid (sahīb); সাহেব, সাহেবে [ʃa(ɦ)eʃ] master, European (sāhib); ঢেনাস [khaʃ] desire (xwābiš); etc., etc.

(2) Dropping of Vowels.

(i) Initial Vowels (Aphæresis, Aphesis).

322. Dropping of initial syllables is extremely rare in Persian loan-words. The word সৃওয়ার, সৌওয়ার [ʃoar, ʃoar], noted at p. 313, is an Early MIA. borrowing from Old Persian (cf. asavārī - in the Bharhut inscriptions < Old Pers. asabāri >). In তেরোং [tect] caution, wariness (ihtiyāt) there is loss of initial i- ». Other examples are not found.

(ii) Vowels in the interior of a word (Syncope).

323. There is dropping or assimilation of interior vowels to a considerable extent.

[a] *-a-*: মুচ্ছলী [mucʃhudi] accountant, office-master (mutasaddil); মশলু [moʃlu] maxim, judgment (masalah); চাক্রনু [ʃukrnu] free land for servants (cākārān); মাতবর [matbər, modbər] respected person, elder (*muɔtəbər < muʃtəbar); তৃত্তন, তৃত্তন [toenat, toenat] appointment, duty (taʃyyunat); নাতৌয়াত [natoan] weak, feeble (nātūwān, nātūwān); নিমকী [nimki] salted (namākin); রাইয়, রাইয়, রেওং [raʃt, raʃt, reot] tenant farmer (raʃyyat); তুছুর [toʃhurup] embezzlement (tasāruf); মোকরর [mokrur] confirmed (muqrār); ফৌরাশ [ʃooraʃ] fountain (fawwārah); মোতফরক ষ্ট [motphorka] scattered, miscellaneous (mutāfarriq); বনজান
Mohammedan Lent (ramādān); etc., etc. There are cases of loss of internal <ā (ə) > by assimilation: e.g., rēstān [reat] protection, abatement (rēstāyāt); jumājēran [jumājarat] land and property (zamīn zirātāt); tānātī [toenati] relating to service (tānāyūnātī); bilāt [bilat] foreign land, Europe (wilāyāt); nōtāme [motāme] favorable (mutāwājjaḥ); nōtāme [motāme] appointed (mutāwāyynī); nōndā [modda] the thing asserted, matter under discussion (muddāta); mānē [mane] meaning (māfānī); hālādar [hūlādar] a surname < military or civil officer (hāwālāh-dār).

[b] -ī, -ē- generally after <ā>: e.g., ālā, ālāhīna [alada < ala(h)ida] separate (ālāhīdaḥ); āktar < āktarār [ektar < ektiar] authority (ixtiyār); kawājet [kawājet] regulations, parade of troops (qawāśid); āste [oste] slowly (ahistah); khāhār [kharharot] jewellery (jawāhirāt); kāstā [kasāst] excess (*zyāzti, *ziyātidī < ziyādāti); bīhisti [bhīisti] water-carrier (bihistī); etc.

The <ī, ē > of the < izāfat > is dropped in some cases in Persian itself: e.g., kānsāmā [kānsāmā] butler (kānsī-sāman); rājrā [rājrā] a Persianised title = chief (rāj < rājā) of chiefs (rāj-ī-rājān); etc.

Cf. also hājard [hājand < hājand] attendance (hāzir < hādir), ḫūre [morfaj] a song of lament of the Kerbelā day (mariyyaḥ < mariyyaḥ), etc., through Bengali contraction by Umlaut and Vowel-Harmony.

[c] -ū-, -ē-: māmlā [māma] law-suit, affair (muťamlaḥ); mafrāk [mafrāk] suitable to, agreeing with, in measure with (muwāfīq); mākēl [mākēl] client (muťaqal); mātbar [mātbar] elder (muťatbar); tānātī [toenati] appointment (tańāyunātī); taffāt [tophat] distance (tańawut); tōkkā [toakka] reliance (tawāqqūt); maena [maena] view, inspection (muťāynah); kābulī [kabli] beside kābulī [kabuli] of Kabul (Kābulī). Cf. MB. tāps [tāps] search, NB. tāps in tāttwā-tābāḥṣa enquire after well-being (with presents of sweets): see footnote, p. 213.

[d] -ū-: kānsā [kānsa] rent tax (kānsānī); tānāad beside tānjāri [tāri < toiari] prepared (tānajān); bānā [bāna] advance money (bayānān); mōla [mōla] ingredients, spices (māśālaḥ < -liḥ); māśānā, māhīnā [mā(hi)ne] monthly pay (māshānāh, māshānāh); rōona [roona] departed (rawānān); hāwā [hāwā] rocket (*hāwā < hawā).
[e] -০-, -৬-: after Epenthesis and Harmonic Change: গল্পে <
gলিপালিতা [galep < galipat] carpet (galicah); ফরমবাল  
[phormal] order, commission (farmali); খদের [khoder] buyer (xaridar);  
পলতে > পলিত [polte < polito] wick of a lamp (fatihah > *falitah);  
হাবলী, হাউলী [hobli, hoquli] mansion (hawelt); etc.  
[f] -৮-, -৮-: loss rare: আফিম, আপিম [ap(h)im] opium (afyüm);  
দাস্কলুনি [daskhoni] a kind of rice (dāgūd-xānī)—here we have change by  
epenthesis to দাস্কলুনি [daskhoni] first: see p. 379.  

(iii) Final Vowels.

324. The final short vowels of Arabic forms were dropped in Persian.  
Excepting -৮হ > -৮-, final short vowels are non-existent in New Persian.  
Bengali as a rule preserves the final vowels of Persian. The words আলবাগ,  
আলিবাগ [albat, albat] certainly (albatāh) and নবাহাক [nabak] all (bā-bāq)  
are among the very few instances in Bengali where a final sound,  
expected to be retained, is dropped.

(4) Addition of Syllables.

(i) In the interior of words. Anaptyxis.

325. Persian versification recognises a short vowel, the -৫ম-  
fathāh or half-fathāh, between consonants (a liquid, aspirate, nasal or  
sibilant, or semi-vowel, followed by another consonant). A short anaptyctic  
vowel was thus present in the Persian speech in early times. In some  
cases, this indistinct glide vowel has developed into a full sound in  
Bengali: e.g., নাজেহাল [najeuhl] extreme trouble (< *nazaʔ-hāl < naẓaʔ-hāl);  
আহারুক [aharmmuk] a fool (*ahamaq < ahmaq); সাহরিজ [hoxorot] publishing,  
as news (*soherat < suhrat); মাহকুমা [mahkumā] sub-division (of a district)  
(*mahkumah < mahkumah); মেহনত [mē̃hnot] labour (*mē̃hnot <  
mihnat); বেলোমনী [beloouri] glass, crystal (*billawerti < billauri); etc.

Anaptyxis of short vowels characterised the Persian transformation of  
Arabic words (cf. P. Horn, ‘Neupersische Schriftsprache,’ pp. 39-41, in
the 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie'). Anaptyxis is also found in Bengali: also intrusive vowels between two stops ending a word. (See pp. 374 ff.) Forms like «qarz, wazn, naql» etc. of Persian were not tolerated: they were modified to «qaraz (or qarza), wazan, naqal» before becoming Bengali.

Insertion of [a, o > o]: आकलमदी [akolmondi] cleverness (<əqalmandi>); आतर [ator] otto (<ətr < ətër); आत्र [ətr < ətër]; आज्ञा [əjna] command (wazn); आज्ञा [əjna] objection, excuse (<əqer < ədr); आज्ञा [əjna] religious trust (property) (waqt); कब्र [kbr] receipt (qabg < qabd); कब्र [kbr], also कब्र (kbr) borrowing (qarz > qard); कब्र [kbr] oath (qasm); कब्र [kbr] grave (qabr); कब्र [kbr] value, worth (qadr); कब्र [kbr] expense (xarc): कब्र [kbr] husband (xasm); कब्र [kbr] warm (garm); कब्र [kbr] eye (eašm); कब्र [kbr] wound (zaxm); कब्र [kbr] quick (in music) (jald); कब्र [kbr] side (tarf); कब्र [kbr] pain (dard); कब्र [kbr] soft (narm); कब्र [kbr] channel (nafr); कब्र [kbr] wool (pašm); कब्र [kbr] ice (barf); बहर बहर [bhor] sea, width (bahr); मगज [mogz] brains (magz); मगज [mogz] text, reading (mafn); महार [mahor] seal (muhr); रकम [rakm] sort (raqm); शहर [shhr] city (shahr); शहर [shhr] headquarters (sadr); शहर [shhr] shame (sarm); शहर [shhr] letter of the alphabet (barf); etc., etc.

[i, e]: आकल [akel] sense (in man) (əqal); एलेम [elem] learning (əilm); जिजिस [jisin] article (jins); जिजिस [jisin] courage (jigr); जेलेड [jelled] (leather) binding of book, volume (jild); जिजिस [jisin] scales, balance (nirx); फतेह [φotēh < *φotēh] victory (fath); फिक [phil] trick, ruse, plan (fiqf); मिचिल [michil] procession (miśl < mišl); जेलेड [jelled] meherbāni, kindness (mih∂∂ān); etc., etc.

An intrusive [i] occurs before the suffix «-ānah» in Bengali forms of some Persian words: e.g., মাহিয়া > মাহিয়া, মাইনে [māhīnā, māhīna, māine] monthly pay (māh-ānāh); সালিয়া বেশী সালানা [sālīnā, sālānā] annual (sāl-ānāh); শামিয়া [ʃamīnā] awning (šam-ānāh); সাহেবিয়া [ʃāhebīnā] affecting European ways (sāhib-ānāh); etc. Cf. also জরিমানা [ʃorimānā] fine (jar-mānāh), Hindōstānī < jarīmānāh > (so Hindōstāni < ganjīfah > playing cards = Persian < ganjāfah >).
ADDITION OF FINAL VOWELS

[u, o]: কুলুপ [kulup] padlock (qufl < qufl); কোরোক, কোক [korok, kro:k] attachment of property (Turki quru); জুলুম [julum] oppression (zulm); বুরুজ [buruz] bastion (burj); মোরগ, মোরোগ [morog] cock (mury); হুকুম [hukum] order (hukm); etc., etc.

(ii) At the end of words.

Final groups of two stops, or of a fricative or sibilant plus stop, ordinarily take the [ə, ø > o] vowel finally in Bengali (see p. 304). E.g., ওক্তা [okta] time (waqt); গোতা [gostা] flesh meat (gōst); চোতা [chosta] quick, clear (est); ঘোঁকার [khondokar], beside ঘোঁকার, ঘনকার [khonkar, khonkar] a title (= reader) (xwand-kār); † কুম্ভ [kumbh] beside কুম্ভ [kumbh] battle (jang); তুক্তা [tokuṭa] throne (takṣ); বর্ধুন [borda] petition (dard-xwast); দরিয়াও [doriupta] enquiry (dar-yāft); দস্তখট [dostokhot] signature (dast-xatt); দস্তক [dorostko] right, fit (durust); পুরুষ [purusha] choice (pasand); পৌকাটা [poktā] ripe, seasoned, cooked (puxt); ফোর্টা [phorda] list (fard); ফোর্টা [phosta] bleeding, opening a vein (fasd); বর্ধাটা [bordastā] tolerate (bardāst); মনকুট [mankut] writing exercise (maṣq); রঞ্জ [rōptō] practice, habit (rabt); জন্য [jāydo] punished, punishment (zabt < dabt); লাজবন্ধ [lajbordō] lapis lazuli (lājaward); সনাক্ত [sonakto] identification (sināxt); সর্বর [sarto] condition (sart); সোপরোদ্দা [sporoddo] charge over, hand over (supurd); হাঙ্গ [hando] limit (hadd); হেতুনেত্র [heṭunesto] final settlement (hast-nist); etc. In ফিরিষ্ট, [phiristi] (fihrist) list, জুলপী [julpī] side lock (zulf), and বালাই [balai] calamity (balā), we have a final [i] added.

Some of the above words, with liquid or nasal, ought to have taken a vowel in the interior rather than at the end.

Words with a final < -h >, which was pronounced in Persian, either drops the < -h >, or retains it and takes a final vowel [ə, ø] after it (see p. 557); e.g., রাহ [rahaft] way, journey (rāh).

Nasalisation of vowels: this is treated under the Nasals, below.

THE CONSONANTS.

[I] The Glottal [h], and [ʕ] of Arabic.

326. The Persian [h] sound represents also the Arabic [h, ʕ].
Bengali, Persian < h > becomes ह [fi]: but except where initial, Bengali [fi] is a very unstable sound, and is frequently dropped.

Initial < h - >: हज्त [hajat] digestion (hazm < hadm); हप्त [hapt] week (haftah); हाओ [haoa] air (hawa); हाजर [hajar] thousand (hazir); हामे [hamja] always (hamesah); हें [hend], हिं [hindu] [höda, hidda, hindu] Hindu (Hindu); हृद [hunur] skill (hunar); हृ [hrok] truth (haqq); हज़्र [hazrat] presence = exalted person (hazrat < hadrat); हैकिम [hakim] judge (hakim); हृद [hodd] limit (hadd); हृद [hoolap(h)] oath (half); हृदेज [hadeh] protector, one who has the entire Koran by heart (halb); हाज [hajat] lock-up (hajat); हाल [halal] lawful (meat) (halal); हामल [hamla] attack, raid (hamelah); हुक [huka] hookah (huqqah); हिसाब [hisab] accounts (hisab); हृ [huri] heavenly nymph (huri); हौस [hou] cistern (hauz < hawd); etc., etc.

In parts of East Bengal, initial [fi] becomes [ʔ]: see p. 269.

Interior < h >:

(i) Intervocally it generally remains, although its articulation is very much weakened: e.g., आला, आला [alaha, alaha] separate (alalahid); एविहार, एविहार [esthe, istha-] notice (istihār); अजहां [ažfat] causes, grounds (wajahat); अलाह [alah] God; magnificent (ažāh); जेहाद [jehad] religious war (jehad); जाहां [jahān] the Emperor Shāh Jahān (Sāh-jāhān); जय (jāhir) manifest (sāhir); बहाल, बहाल [bahl, bahal] confirmed (bahl); बहेश, बेहेश [beh, beh] senseless (be-hēś); बहम [ma'oommad] Muhammad (muhammad); मोहरम [mohəm] the Muharram festival (muharram); एजाहर [ezfat] deposition (izahār); बेहिय [behai] excuse (as a fault or debt) (rihāʔ); नेह [neh] excessive (nihayat); सह [sah, seb] gentleman, European (sāhib); बहस [bhas] argument, dispute (bahs < bahd); etc.

Intervocal [h] in Bengali frequently disappears: see p. 552. Examples from the Persian loan-words—क्षेत्र [khet] desire (xwāhis); आला [alada] separate (alalahid); सैन [soi] signature (sahib); अव्वल [aste] slowly (abistah); हाम्राई [hamra] succouring, eager to help (ham-rāhi); etc. In भिषं [bhasti] water-carrier (bihiśti), we have aspiration through contact by loss of intervening vowel.
INTERIOR & FINAL 'H' OF PERSIAN

(ii) *h* forming the first element in a consonant nexus (a) either requires the prop of an intrusive vowel to remain; or (b) is dropped, modifying in some cases the preceding vowel; or (c) it is changed to [i, e]:: e.g., (a) ته‌هیل [toňil] beside ته‌هل [tofi] treasury (taňil); (b) تیره‌نیزی [fi(h)iristi] list (fihrist); (c) مه‌هیهناد [mešñonnut] labour (miñnat); (d) ته‌هیهای [teherya] -ara] figure, portrait (eihrah); (e) ته‌هیهای [mońor] seal, a gold coin (muhr); (f) ته‌هیهای [toñobil] purse, treasury (tañwil); (g) ته‌هیهای [bońor] sea, width (bahır); (h) ته‌هیهای [sańbat] association (sańbat); (i) ته‌هیهای [şahr] city (şahr); (j) ته‌هیهای [mońokuma] a part of a district (mańkumah); etc., etc.;

(b) ته‌هیهای [topha] fine (toňfah); (c) ته‌هیهای [doli,ši] portico (dańliz); (d) ته‌هیهای [paloan, połan] beside ته‌هیهای [połan] wrestler, athlete (pahlwan);

(j) ته‌هیهای [bolom, bolom] beside ته‌هیهای [połan] wrestler, athlete (pahlwan);

(k) ته‌هیهای [janek, ġanki] plate (sańnak); (l) ته‌هیهای [maju] tax, postage, fare (mańšıl); (m) ته‌هیهای [mamud] a name (mańmud); (n) ته‌هیهای [šetkhana] water-closet (sań-xañah); (o) ته‌هیهای [maćap] temporary roofing (of mats) (miňrāb); etc.; (e) ته‌هیهای [dajat, doşat] alarm, fear (daňsat); (f) ته‌هیهای [bañna < bañana] excuse, plea, demand (*bahna < baňnah); etc.

In ته‌هیهای [mońor] prince > sweeper (mińtar), there is metathesis followed by aspiration.

*<h*> forming the second element of a consonant group is dropped:

* e.g., ته‌هیهای [iđi] witness (išādi); (l) ته‌هیهای [mołom] ointment (marham); (m) ته‌هیهای [šaręŋ] master of small steamer (sar-hang); etc.

Final *<h*>. The *<h>-i-muxtaf* of Persian is changed, with the preceding <a>, to [a] in Bengali: see p. 579, ante. *E.g.,* ته [ta:] sheet of paper (tah); ته [ťan] fresh (ťañah); ته [dana] grain (dānah); etc. Final *<h>* after <a> where it was pronounced in Persian, is generally retained in Bengali, with the prop of a final vowel: *e.g.,* ساه (sāh) [ťan [sańa] beside ش [ša:] king (şah); (a) ته [raňa] way (rāh); (b) ته [raňa] supply (sar-barāh); (c) ته [raňa] high-way robbery (rāh-zañ); (d) ته [niša] marriage (nišāh), etc. In other cases *<h>* is merely dropped: *e.g.,* ساه, سا [taři] signature (sařih); (a) ته [tombi] chiding, threatening (tanbiḥ); ته [touši] district (tanjih).
Final \( \text{h} \) (=Arabic \( \text{h} \) after a consonant) normally becomes [\( \text{e} \)] in Bengali: e.g., ফতে [phate] victory (fath); সোলে, সোলে [jole, jhole, sole] agreement (sulh); সোবে [jobe] dawn (subh), but cf. সুবা [juba] province (subah: subah-i-Bangālah = সুবা বাঙ্গলা [jube bayla]).

327. Arabic [\( \text{r} \)], in Persian resulting in the glottal stop [\( \text{ʔ} \)]. This is lost to Bengali, normally: e.g., আজব [aʃrow] strange (aşab); আতর [aʃtar] otto (aʃtr < ʃitr); ওয়াজ [aʃr] sermon, preaching (waż); আজ [aʃr] petition (aşr < ʃard); আরবে [arbi] Arabian, Arabic (aşarb-); ইহাস [iʃr] honour (iṣṣat); ইতর [iḍ] the Ḥid fastivel (iḍid); ওয়ার [iʃr] excuse (iṣr > ʃudr); আশেশ [aʃʃ] pleasure, comfort (ašis); ওয়ার [okur] place (waqār); ইনান [inam] largesse (inām); ইতালা [etala] summons (itāla); কেলান [kholat] robe of honour (xilat); জমাম [jumma] collection, deposit (jumā); শুন শুন [doa] prayer (dua); মোহন মোহন [monopha, munopha] profit (munaфа); সোলাস [soʃir] district (maḍa > mawda); তাবে [tābe] in a subordinate position (tābi).

In a few cases, however, interior [\( \text{r} \) > \( \text{r} \)], when pre-consonantal or intervocal, or final [\( \text{r} \)], has developed into a palatal semi-vowel, \( \text{y} \) (= [\( \text{e} \)] in Bengali): e.g., ডাঃ [torak] enumeration, sum, approximation (taḍā); জামাত জামাত [jamāt] gathering (jamāt); বিদায় [bidā] farewell (vīḍā > : commonly regarded as a Sanskrit formation = vīḍāya); তালালা [taleda] the Exalted One (Allāh taala God is exalted); নিমিষ নিমিষ [niʃmat, niʃamot] grace, gift (niʃmat); সাঁসেট, সাইম [ʃaʃeet, ʃaʃit] time, watch (sāihat).

[II] The Uvular stop [\( q \)], and the Velars [k, g; x, xw, g].

328. [\( q \)] of Arabic,= both [k] and [g(g')] in Early Persian, and [\( q \)] of Turki, occur normally as \( \text{k} \) [k] in Bengali, but there are a few words which show \( g \).

\( [q] > [k] \): Initial: কোদে [kɒed] imprisonment (qaid); কদম [kɔdɔm] pace, step (qadam); কলনদর [kɔlɔndɔr] mendiant, ‘calender’ (qalandar); কোরান [koran] the Koran (qurˈan); করবনি [kɔrbɔni] sacrifice (qurˈbant); কুলাপ [kulap] padlock (quil); কবজ [kɔbɔʃir] receipt, bond (qabz < qabː); কোরোক, কোক [k(o)roko] attachment of property (Turki qurq); কাসাই
[koʃai] butcher (qasāp);  [kella] fort (qilṣah);  [kalia] meat (qalyah);  [kudrot] might (qudrat);  etc.

Medial:  [akkel] also [akol] sense, wisdom (aql);  [ekrur] acknowledgment (iqrār);  [eloka] jurisdiction (ilāqah);  [okto] time (waqt);  [fūka] hookah (huqqah);  [hukuk] facts (haqqūq);  [baki] remaining (bāqī);  [bebok] without remainder, all (be-bāqī);  [monokka] dried grapes (munaqqā);  [fokmoki] flint stone (to strike a fire) (Turkī caqmāq);  [išku] knife (cāqū < Turkī);  etc.

Final:  [hok] truth, true, rightful (haqq);  [tobok] dish, layer, stratum (tabaq);  [to:k] ring for the neck (for punishment) (tōq > taq, tawq);  [taqdiq] proof, verification (tasdiq);  [laek] fit, worthy (la'iq);  [maşq] copying (maşq);  [jo:k] desire or taste for fancy articles (saqūq);  [sindūq] chest, box (sindīq);  etc.

[q] > Persian [g] > [ʈ] in Bengali:  [tagoda, takōду] demand for payment (taqādah);  [tagut, takōt] strength (tāqt);  [nogd] cash money (naqīd);  [nogaru, nako] keftedrum (naqqārah);  [tagabi, takabi] money advanced to farmers (taqāwī);  [saglād] beside (saglāt).

[kh] is found as [kh] in a few words:  [kh, ḥ][ʃaũq], see above;  [aḥāmakh, -muk] fool (aḥmaq);  [ʃukhminia] scammony (a drug) (suqmūnīyā).

In the word [tāwt], as a variant (rather rare) of [taqāt], we have loss of intervocal [q].

329. Persian unvoiced velar stop [k]. There is no trace in Bengali of the Modern Persian aspiration of this unvoiced stop to [kh].
Medial: আকাবর [akbor] Akbar; উকীল [ukil] pleader (wakil); তক্রার [torkar] argument (takrār); রেকাব [rekab] stirrup (rikāb); চাপকান [capkan] tunic (capkan); চাকর [cakor] servant (cākar); সরকার [sorkar] government, administration (sarkār); হরকা [harkot] commotion, damage (harkat); etc.

Final: থাক [kho:k] earth (xāk); তাদাক [tadork] supervision (tadāruk); তোষক [tojok] mattress (tōšak); চাবুক [cobuk] whip (cābuk); নেমক [nemok] salt (namak); সানক [sanok] plate (sānhnak); etc.

[k] is softened to [g] in † পোহায়ালীর [khod-fugimi] arrogance (xwud-hākim), তাগিদ [tagid] pressure, reminder (tākid), and নগিজ [nogij] neighborhood, nearness (nazdik).

In গোসা [kho:sā] beardless man we have [kh], for [k], from Arabic < kusah > scant-bearded.

330. Persian [g] remains in Bengali.

Initial: গ্রম [gorom] warm (garm); গরু [gorda] dust (gardah); গোলাপ [golap] rose (gulāb = gul); গোনা [guna] sin (gunāh); গুমন [gumon] pride (gumān); গোর [gor] grave (gōr); গোস্ত [gost] flesh-meat (gōst); etc.

Medial: কাশনগোল [kunungolo] district officer, keeper of records (qānūn-go); খরগুল [xorgul] hare (xar-gōš); জিগির [jigir] encouragement (jigr); দরগা [dorga] shrine of a saint (dargāh); লাগাম [lagam] rein (lagām); পরগণা [porgono] part of district (parganā); Persianised Skt. word = pragāna; etc.

Final: Persian words with final -g are very few in Bengali.

A few cases of hardening of [g] to [k] are found: e.g., বুধরক [budāruk, -rak] impostor, miracle-worker (< buzurg great) shows hardening of [g] to [k]. There are a few words ending in -ng [ŋg], which either preserve the final [g] by adding a vowel at the end, e.g., জংনামা [jang-namā] the history of the fight (at Kerbelā) (jang-nāmah), or reduce the [ŋg] to [ŋ]: e.g., সারে, সাং [ʃare, -rā] master of small steamer (sar-hang).

A few cases of hardening of [g] to [k] are found: e.g., বুধরক [budāruk] for < buzurg >, as above; খানকী [khanki] woman of ill-fame (xānah-gī belonging to the house > a mistress); জিকির [jikir] beside জিগির [jigir] < jigr > above.
331. Persian [x], representing both native [x] and Arabic [x], normally becomes খ [kh] in Bengali, which intervocally, finally and pre-consonantally is deaspirated to [k] as a normal thing, the aspiration remaining only initially.

Examples: initial: ঘর, ঘর [khôr, khôr] news (xabr); খারাপ [kharap] bad (xarâb); খারাত [khôrat] charity (xairât): খা [khâ] a title (xân); খুন [khûn] murder (xûn blood); খোদা [khôda] God (xudâ); খাতির [khatir] respect (xâtir); খো [khôt] letter, writing (xatt); খাত (i)ন [khôf(a)no] tax (xazânah); খোদ, খুন্নি [kho:f, kho:fi] glad, happy, beautiful (also nouns) (xû, xûfi); খালো খুলা [khuło] empty, freed, finished, (xalâs); etc.

Medially: নাঘোদা [nakhoda] captain of ship (nâ[w]-xudâ); বেদে খো [bok(h)ea] back stitch, stitched and darned > bad (baxyah); বাধ্য > বাধসিস [bok(h)i] largesse (baxsi); আচ্ছানি [ak(h)ni] broth of meat (yaxni); আগের [akher] final (âxir); মরন [mokora] jest, joke (masxarah); etc.

Final: লেখ, লেখ, লেখ [lek(h)] Shaikh (saix); লিখ, লিখ [li:k(h)] iron spit (to roast meat) (ezîx); লুক [lo:k] thread to fly kites (nax); নিরিখ, নিরিখ [nirik(h)] scales, weighing (nirx); etc.

Persian < -xt > becomes [kt]; আক্ষ [aka] castrated (axtah); এক্ষার [ekt(i)ar] authority (ixtiyâr); বক্ষার [boktiar] a name, Balhtyâr;
কমক [kombok] luckless person (kam-baxt); ভাল [tokta] plank (taxtah);
পট [pokto] seasoned, cooked (puxt); মোক [moktor] pleader (muxtâr);
কথ, কথ [jokto] hard, stiff (saxt); সন্নাক, সন্নাক [sonko] recognition (sinâxt); etc.

332. Persian [xw]: the character of this sound has been described at p. 562. The labial element is preserved in a few words: e.g., আক্ষ [akhunj] teacher > a surname (axwand-jô); খোদ [khôd] self (xud < xwad, xûd); খোদ [khôda] God (xudâ); খোদার, খোদার, খোদার, খোদার [khond(ô)kur, khonkor, khônkur, khônkur] reader, teacher > a surname (xwand-kâr); খুঁকিপোক [khûnjîpòf] tray-cover of cloth (xwîncâh-pôs); খোদার [khôr] contemptible, base (also noun) (xwar); খোদার [khôr] contemptible, base (also noun) (xwâr); খোদার [khôrb] sleeping chamber (xwâb-gâh); খোদার [khôrb] sleep > dream (xwâb); etc.

[xw] is dropped: also e.g., খাজা [khajj] a title of respect (xwajjah), also খোজা [khôjja]; খোদের খা [khoer khâ] loyal, well-wisher (xair-xwâb); তন্ত্রা,
333. Persian [g], representing the native sound, as well as Arabic [γ]. This spirant seems to have been pronounced without much friction, so that the Indian equivalent became ꜱ [g], and not ꜫ [gf] which would have paralleled ꜱ [kh] for [x].

Initial: गजन [gojol] a kind of verse, a melody (gazal); गाजी [gaṭi] a warrior for Islām > a name (gāzi); गोसा [gaṭa] anger, sulks (qussah); गैबी [gaibī] secret (gaib); गोरिब [gorib] poor (garib); गोलाम [golam] servant, slave (gulām); गालिचा [galiṭa] carpet (gāliṭah); etc.

Medial: छोग [ḍog] a loose robe (cōgh); तगलब [ṭogollah] cheating, embezzlement (tagallub); दरोगा [daroga] a police officer (dāroghah); बङल [bogol] armpit, side (baγal); बागान [boγan] garden (bāγwān); बागिचा [boγίṭa] (pleasure) garden (bāγ-caḥ); पोंगबर [poŋgambor] prophet (paŋgambar).

Final: चएराग [ḍerag] lamp (eirāq); बाग [baγ] garden (bāγ); देमाग, also देमाक [demag > demük] pride (dimāγ); दोराग [morag] cock (murg); etc.

There are a few cases of hardening of [g] > [g] to [k]: नाबालक [nabolak] minor in age (nābāliγ: cf. बालक < bālak< boy); बौलिका [boγīκa] bundle (Turkī buγcaḥ); तकम [takma] badge, crest (Turkī tamγah); चुक [tuk] plan, trick (surγ); देमाक [demük] above; देग, देग [deg, dēg] caldron, big pot but भेक [dēkeṭ] small pot to cook (dēg, dēγ-ei), also (dēg); etc.

[III] The Palato-alveolar Affricates, [ʧ, ʤ].

334. Persian ꜱ [ʧ], transliterated < c>, remains practically unaltered to Bengali চ [ʧ]. In East Bengali, this is regularly altered to [ts].

Examples: Initial: चौकर [ʧakor] servant (cākar); चष्ट [ʧọsto] quick, fine, smooth (eust); चौबाचा [ʧoubača] cistern (caubaccah); चरबी [ʧorbi] fat,
grease (earbī); চারুক [c̥abuk] whip (c̥abuk); চেহারা [ceːhara] figure, portrait (cihrāh); etc., etc.

Medial: আচার [aːkən] tunic (aekan); খাজাফি [khaːʃanfi] treasurer, accountant (xazān-oî); কাভি [kʌbi] scissors (qainet); etc.

Final: কুড় [kʊːd̪] march (of troops) (kū); খরচ [khɔɾəʃ] expense (xarę); পেঁচ [p̥eːʃ] twist (p̥eː); শিকারের [ʃিkəɾeɾ] gem on turban (sarpē); etc.

In ছিনিম [mişnim] earthen cup for tobacco and fire in the hookah (cilam) we have aspiration of [ʃ] in Bengali.

335. Persian [d̪], representing the native Iranian affricate and the Arabic palatal stop, is retained as [ʃ] in Bengali. This [ʃ] regularly becomes [dz, z] in East Bengal.

Initial: জম [ʃɔm] collection (jam); জান [ʃɔ:n] lie (jān); জাম [ʃɔm] coat, shirt (jām); জাগীর [ʃɔgir] fiʃ (jāgr); জাভাব [ʃɔbob] reply (jawāb); জোল [ʃɔloː] brightness (jilā); জলুশ [ʃɔlʊʃ] splendour, brightness (jalūš); জোসন [ʃɔsn] young, strong (jawān); জাল [ʃɔ:l] forgery (jal); জোবরা [ʃɔbob] a loose robe (jubbah); জিহিদী [ʃiʃiːd] Jew (Persian jahūd < Ar. yahūd: cf. also Bengali জিহিদী [iʃiːd]); জেব [ʃeːb] pocket (jeb, jaib); etc.

Medial: হাজার [ʃɔʃɔm] barber (hajjām); তাজাব [taʃɔbob] wonder (taʃajjub); দাজাল [dɔʃɔl] vicious (daʃjāl Satan); অঞ্জাম [aŋʃɔm] arrangement (anjam); খসর [ʃɔʃɔr] dagger (xanjar); জিজিহ [ʃiʃiːhir] chain (zinjir); উজাহ [ʃuʃiːhat] excuses (waʃūhat); এজামল [eʃɔmal] joint possession (ijmāl); etc.

Final: খাজাফি [ʃɔɾəʃ] separated (xāriʃ); তাজ [tːʃæj] crown (tāj); মেজাজ [meʃiːʃiː] temperament, pride (mizāj); বুজুর [buroʃ] bastion, turret (burj); etc.

In সতরফি [ʃoːʃiːʃiː], beside সতরফি [ʃoːʃiːʃiː] cotton rug (ṣatranji), we have optional hardening of < j > to < c >.

জোববাম্বি [ʃiʃɔbob,ʃiʃiːbbi] loose robes, robes and trappings possibly shows aspiration of জোববা [ʃiʃɔbob] = < jubbah > loose robe.

[IV] The Persian Dental Stops [t, d], and Dental Fricative [ʃ].

336. Persian < t > represents, in addition to the native sound, Arabic
[t, ʈ] (as well as Arabic [th] in a final position: see p. 566). In Bengali it remains as the interdental ṭ [ʈ].

Initial: তক্তা [tɔktə] plank (taxtah); তবক [tɔbɔk] stratum (tabaq); তবলা [tɔblə] drum (tablak); তজমা [tɔɾdʒɔma] translation (tarjamah); তোতা [tɔtə] parrot (tota); তালাক, তারাক [tal(ə)q] divorce (talaq); তুর্ক [tʊɾ(ə)k] Turk, Mohammedan (turk); তীর [tir] arrow (tir); তারিখ [tɔɾɪk] date (time) (tārix); etc.

Medial: আতর [atɔɾ] otto (ʔitɾ); আতরবাজী [utɔɾbɔʒi] fire-works (ātāɭ-bāzit); আতবাং [albat] certainly (albattab); এতলা [etula] summons (ǐtalā); শরতান [ʃɔtɔn] devil (saitān); কোপা [kɔpta] meat-balls in gravy (koftah); গেপ্টার, গেরেপ্টার [g(e)ɾpotəɾ] arrest (giriftār); কেতাব [ketab] book (kitāb), etc.

Final: মৌত [mɔat] death (maut); দৌলত [dৌলত] riches (daulat); ওকলাং [ɔkolɔt] pleading (wakalat); তুক্ত [tukeɾ] strength (tāqat); দুলাৎ [dɔləɾ] signature (dast-xatt); সনাতক [ʃonəktəɾ] identification (sināxt); বরুণ [baruɾ] commission, business (baruɾat); বিলাত [bilat] Europe (wilāyat); মারফত [marfot] intermediacy (maɾfat); মুফত [mufat] free of cost (mufat); হাজার [ʃaɾāɾ] jail, custody (hājat); শর [ʃɔɾ] condition (ṣart); etc.

Final ʈ is optionally softened to [d] in a few words, e.g., বাব [bəb] heads, grounds (hābat); বোদ [boed] verse (bait); মোহুব [moʔhəb] strong, enduring (mażbūt); গলা [gəɾdəɾ] fault, mistake (galt); জাহ [ʃoɾbəɾ] punished (ʒabt < ɬɔabt); সাব (ʃəɾbəɾ) witnesses (*ʃəbūt < ʃəbūt); etc.

337. Persian ɖ ɖ occurs as ɖ [d] in Bengali.

Initial: দাফা [dɔfəɾ] one time (daʃəɾ); দোকান [dɔɾkɔɾ] necessity (dārkā); দরিয়া [dɔɾi] river (dārī); দাগ [daɾ] mark, stain (dāq); দোকান [dɔɾkɔɾ] shop (dōkān, dukān); দেমা, দেমাক [deməɾ, -əɾ] brain > pride (dimāg); দিন [diɾ] religion (dIn); দরাজ [dɔɾaʃi] long (darāz); দারু [dɔɾu] wine (dāɾu); দুর্বীন [dɔɾbın] telescope (dūr-bīn); etc.

Medial: কোশা [ʃoɾʃa] God (xudā); আডব [adəɾ] polished manners (ədab); উদ [urdu] the Urdu speech (urdū); তামি [təməɾ] barred by limitation (tamāɾī); কালন্দর [kəɾlɔɾ] mendicant (qalandaɾ); ইশার [iʃaɾ] witness (iʃāɾ); বদল [bəɾdəɾ] exchange (badal); বরাদ্দ [bɔɾdəɾ] tolerate (bar-dāɾ); বংশ [bəɾdəɾ] rifle (bandūq); মোদ [məɾdəɾ] flour (maidah); etc.
Persian 'd, dh (z)' in Bengali

Final: ːdi, ːd [iːd] the 'Id festivals (ʾīd); ːhadd [hɔddɔ] limit (hadd); ːjɔdd, ːjɔdd [ʃiːd, ʃiːd] importunity (gidd < ːdidd); ːkɔeru [bərəd] gun-powder (bārūd); ːkɔinən, ːkɔinən [buniod > boned] foundation, plinth (bunyād); ːkɔrən [phɔrɔd] petition, appeal (fāryād); ːbɔd [boːd] subtraction (ba’d); ːʃoord [phɔrdɔ] list (fard); ːkɔer [kɔed] imprisonment (qaid); ːɾɔfɔd [rofɔd] receipt (rasid); ːɾɔfɔd [rofɔd] rations, food-stuff (rasd); ːɾɔd [nɔǥɔd] cash, ready money (naqd); ːlɔwɔ [lɔwɔbɔrdɔ] lapis lazuli (lājaward); ːʃu:d interest on money (sūd); ːɾɔdî [roddi] worthless (as of goods) (raddt); etc.

In sindûq [ʃîndʃuk], beside sindûk [ʃînduk] chest, box (sindûq), we have aspiration of 'd'.

Final ːd is unvoiced in a few cases: tɔit [tait] aid, voucher (tād); ʃɔstɔ [phɔsta] bleeding by cutting a vein (fasd); ːmɔd [mɔdɔt] help (madad); ːmɔʃi [mɔʃi] beside mɔdi [mɔdi] mosque (masjid); etc.

'ːd' is cerebralised in ːdih [dīhi] a tract (dih), ːdʒ [dʒeq], ːdʒeqi [dəeq, ːdeq] metal cooking pots (dēq, dēq-ci, dēq).

'ːd' is dropped in some words: oʃtɔǥɔr [ostugɔr] master craftsman > a tailor (ustād-gar); ːnɔ́iʃ [nɔgiʃ] nearness (nazaifik); ːnɔdər beside ːnɔkɔr [khɔndɔkɔr] teacher > a title (xwand-kār); ːreboŋʃi [rebongʃini] China rhubarb (ravand-ein). It is assimilated in ːbɔŋʃi [boŋʃi] vicious (bad-ʃat < -dāt).

An intrusive [d] is found in tundur [tundur] oven to bake loaves (tanūr, tanūn).

338. Early Persian 'ῶ' either became 'z', or was restored to 'd' in later Classical Persian and Modern Persian (see p. 562). It has had a two-fold treatment in the Indian languages, either as a [ʃ] (for the 'z' value), or as a dental stop (for the 'd, ō' value).

Examples: kāgāt - paper gave an Old Nepal form kāyagada, Hindī, Marāṭhī kāgāt, Assamese kākāt, Bengali kāgāt [kɔgoti] a paper-making caste, beside Bengali kāgaj [kɔgɔtik]; xiōmat service is found as kheʃmat [kheʃmat] in Late Middle Bengali, besides xhedmāṅ, xhedmāṅ [khiðmat, khedmat]: cf. Anglo-Indian kitmutgar servant, table servant = xiɔmat-gār; guʃār, guʃāstan to pass time gives Bengali guʃaṇa [guʃraṇo], beside Marāṭhī guḍaṇī; ziyādaṭi excess through a
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER VI

Stage *ziyāṣṭī* is the source of ज़ाष्टि [ज़ाष्टि], also found in other Indian languages, Aryan and Dravidian; *qawārid > qawārid* rules, *processes is the source of काओरा[काओरा] military drill. In Late Middle Bengali, we have names of places like समाराबाज [समाराबाज], सिलमाबाज [सिलमाबाज], फोटेबाज [फोटेबाज] etc., besides forms in -ड [-ड], for *sayyad-हद, salim-हद, fath-हद*. The Arabic word *taqīdah* seems to have become *taqīdah* in Persian, whence we have तागाड [तागाड] demand for payment in Bengali: ड > ढ would have given तागाड [तागाड]; similarly the name *Faḍl* occurs as फूड़ [फूड़]. in MB., now = फूड़ [फूड़], and *Khîdr* as खन्दिर [खन्दिर].

[V] The Persian Labial Stops [p, b], and Denti-labial Spirant [f].

339. Persian *p* remains in Bengali.

Initial: पीर [pi:r] a saint (pr); पिल्हाना [पिल्हाना] elephant stables (पिल-हान); पोलाओ [पोलाओ] rice and meat with butter (पाल्ल); पोश [पोश] wool (पाश); MB. पातिशा[ह] [पातिशा(ह)] emperor (पाती-ह) (the NB. बादशा [बादशा] is from the Hindōstānī modification of the Persian word); परवाह [परवाह], beside परवा [परवा] mandate, order (परवाह); वनास [पनास] cheese (पनास); पागांबर [पागांबर] prophet (पागांबर); पियाज [पियाज] onion (पियाज); etc.

Medial: दोप [दोप] returning (वापस); सोपर [सोपर] committal, handing over (सुपर); पोत [पोत] pear (पाँट); ज़ीर्पेश [ज़ीर्पेश] gem on turban (सर-पेश); etc.

Final: तोप [तोप] cannon (तोप).

340. Persian *b* remains.

Initial: बांदा [बांदा] slave (बांदा); बस्ता [बस्ता] packet (बस्ता); बहर [बहर] sea > width (बहर); बाकी [बाकी] remainder (बाकी); बाहिच [बाहिच] garden (बाहिच); बहादूर [बहादूर] brave (बहादूर); बराबर [बराबर] brother, caste-fellow (बराबर); बराबर [बराबर] in front, straight up to (बराबर); बरबाद [बरबाद] glass, crystal (बरबाद); बरबाद [बरबाद] a loose robe
(jubbah); জবাব [চৌবর] speech, word (zabān); কাবাব [চৌবৰ] roast meat (kabāb); আবর [চৌর] honour (āb-rū); আকবর [চৌরাহর] Akbar; কবর [কোবর] grave (qabr); জায় জাফবদা punishment (zhāt < dābt); etc.

Final: আজিব [আজীব] strange; বাব [বোব] door > head of expenditure (bāb); আফরাব [আফবাব] furniture (asbāb); নবাব [নবাব] Nabob (nawāb); জবাব [চৌবব] reply (jawāb); জানব [চৌনব] your honour! (janāb); হিজাব [হিজব] accounts (hisāb); কেতের [কেতব] book (kitāb); etc.

Final and medial *b* in some cases becomes [p]: ধারাপ [খোরাপ] bad (xarāb); খপর beside খবর [খপোর, খবোর] news (xabr); গাপ [গাপ] beside গাজেব [গাজেব] secret (gaib); গোলাপ [গোলাপ] rose (gulāb); শরাপ [শরাপ] wine (saraāb); মোরাপ [মোরাপ] temporary roofing of mats (mihrāb); তলাপ beside তলব [তলপ, তলব] wages, summons (tālab); cf. also রাপ্ত [রাপ্ত] habit, familiarity (raht).

Final *b* is found as [m] in a few words: e.g., MB. গালিম [গলিম] conqueror, enemy (gālib); বিমানজিম [বিমানজিম] by reason of (bi-maujib).

*ب* is assimilated in নসিপুর [নসিপুর] name of a place (Nasibpur); and it is probably dropped in the personal name নসিরাম [নসিরাম] (= nasib-rām?).

In সূরব [জুরার] soup (sūrbā), we have vocalisation of *b*.

341. Persian *f*'. Initially, medially and finally, it became ফ [ph] in Bengali: but initially, [ph] often changes to a spirant [f] or [v]; medially, it generally remains [ph], but occasionally it is deaspirated, and [f, v] modification of intervocal [ph] is also quite common.

Examples Initial: ফরাক, ফারাক [ফোরাক, ফাহাক] distance, space intervening (farq); ফকির [ফোকির] mendicant (faqīr); ফারস [ফোরাস] paper lantern; glass dome of lamp (fānūs); ফালান [ফোলান] so-and-so (fulān); ফাহাজ [ফোহাজ] light blue colour (fīrozah); ফাহারা [ফোহারা] artificial fountain (fawwārah); ফাহাল [ফোহাল] army (fauj); ফাল্ল [ফোল্ল] crops (fāl); ফারাইড [ফোরাইড] petition (faryād); ফারাম [ফোরাম] mandate, order (farrām); ফরিঙ্গি [ফরিঙ্গি] Portuguese, Eurasian (fingī); etc.

Medial: অপিন, অপিঙ, অপিম, অপিম [অপিম] opium (afṣūm); কোফিহল [কোফিহল] excuses (kaifiyat); কাফর [কাফর] infidel (kāfir); অপোক্স, অফ- [অফ] regrets (afṣūs); খোলিয়া [খোলিয়া] the
Caliph (xaltafah); তুফান [tuphan] storm at sea (tufān); তুর্পন [turpun] awal (turfān); তোফা [topha] fine, excellent (tuḥfah); খাগার, খাগাল [kha(p)pa] angry (xafā); লেফাফা [lephophu] envelope (lifāfah); মোনফা [monopha] gain (munafa); বর্ফী, বর্ফী [borp(h)i] cream ice, sweetmeat of sugar and cream (barft); রোপু, রোপু [rip(h)u] sewing (rafū); কুলুপ [kulup] padlock (quf); সপুরী [juparī] recommendation (sifarīs); MB. বোপাস [topaʃ] search, enquire (tafaḥlus); etc.

< ft > becomes [pt]: গেরেপার, গেরেপার [g(e)reptar] arrest (gıriftār); দোপাল [doptar] book (daftar); রোপানী [roptani] export (raftani); বাপ্পা [bapta] woven stuff, a kind of silk stuff (bāftah); বাপ্পা [tapta] a fine silk or woollen stuff (tāftah); বাজেরাক্ত [bajteupto] confiscated (bāz-yāft); দরিয়াপ্তা [doriaptap] enquiry (daryāft); হাপা [hopa] week (haftah); etc.

Final < f > [ph] is commonly found in NB. as [p], and at times as [b]: e.g., তফফ, তফফ [torop(h)] side (tārf); ওয়াকফ, -প [oakop(h)] religions trust (waqf); খেলাপ [kholup] contrary (xilāf); গেলাপ, গেলাপ, গেলেপ [gelap, gelab, gelab] covering, sheath (gilāf); তকলিফ, তকলিফ [toklip(h), toklib] trouble, suffering (taklif); বরফ [borop(h)] ice, snow (barf); বেকুব [bekub < *beukupph] foolish, idiot (bē-wuqf); মোকুব [mokub] settled, fixed (mauqūf); সাফ, সাপ [sap(h)] clean, pure (sāf); সেরেপ, সেরেফ, সেফ [serep(h), sre:p(h)] only, merely (sīrf); হলফ, হলফ [holop(h)] oath (half); হরফ, হরফ [horop(h)] letter of the alphabet (harf); সংজাব [jɒŋʃab] border, fringe (sanjāf, sajāf); etc.

In the NB. word ডাবাস as in ডাবাস [tottotabaf] enquires with presents of sweets, fruits, etc. = MB. বোপাস [topaʃ] search, we have change of < f > to [b] (tafaḥhus): see p. 213, foot-note.

In the word কুরি আম [dabifori am] pear, quava, lit., mango that has travelled, we have change of < f > intervocal to [b(f)] in Eastern Bengali (safari).

Persian < v >: see infra, under the Semi-vowel [w].

[V] The Nasals: Velar [ŋ], Alveolar [n], Labial [m].

342. The sound of [ŋ] occurs in Persian only before < k, g > and < q >, and it is written ṭ < n >. [ŋ] as a rule is preserved in Bengali.
**PERSIAN NASALS: ‘N’: NASALISATION**  

\*ng* = [ŋg] of Persian is ordinarily reduced to [ŋ], and before another consonant, in a few words, this [ŋ] is altered to [n]. Examples: آنُرَّ [anur] grapes (angūr); فِرِينگ [phiringi] Portuguese, Eurasian (firangī); انگرِز [ingrez] English (ingrēz, angrēz); آورْنجَزَب [orangzēb] orange; اورْنجَزَب [orangzēb] Aurangzēb; چهَنامائ [χe-nama, χe-gōn-a] the Jang-nāmah, a poem on the Kerbelā battle; etc.

343. Persian *< n*> ordinarily remains in Bengali, but there are cases where it nasalises the contiguous vowel and is itself no longer existent as a separate sound.

**Initial:**  
- نَوکَر [nokor] servant (naukar); نماز [nomaż] prayers (namāz); نئم [norem] soft (narm); ناشب [nashb] luck (naśib); نئف [naf] a dot (nuqtah); نائوقَان [natoan] weak, feeble (nātawān); نائِج [naqir] overseer (nāqir); نیشان [nišan] banner (niśān); etc.

**Medial:**  
- خان [khan] dagger (xanjar); جُنَد [jundur] oven (tannūr); پَنا [panda] hand with five fingers, grip, mark with the hand (paṇḍāh); سانک [sankta] identification (śināxt); نِسخ [nisxa] gain (munafā); دنیا [dunia] world (duñya); etc.

**Final:**  
- ایمان [iman] faith (īmān); کانون [kanun] laws, customs (qānūn); کامان [kaman] bow > gun (kamān); شن [khu:n] blood > murder (xūn); دِئوآن [deovan] manager (dīwān); etc.

Persian *< n*> also becomes [l] in a few words (see pp. 545, 546 supra):  
- لک [lo:k] thread, twine (nax); لُکسَان [loksan] loss (nuqsān); ابُلوُس [ablūs] ebony (abnūs).

344. Nasalisation of Vowels from *< n*>. In Arabic, the *< tanwin >*, or *< n >* affix of indefiniteness which was added to nouns, probably early became a nasalisation (although the full *< n >* is still preserved in Central Arabian dialects): i.e. *< -un, -an -in >* became *< -ū, -ā, -ī >*; but this is not preserved in Persia or India, as the short final vowels of Arabic were dropped. Nasalised vowels are unknown to Persian and Turkī. In India, in the Hindōstānī area, long vowels of Persian (Perso-Arabic and Turkī) when followed by *< n >* are optionally pronounced as nasalised, i.e., either as *< -ān, -īn, -ūn >*, or as *< -ā, -ī, -ū >*. This *< nūn-i-gūnna >*, or nasalising
n, as a rule is not found in Bengali, but there are a number of words in Bengali which are based on a Hindoostani < gunnah > pronunciation: e.g., 

[miə], [miə], [mə] a title of respect > a common term in addressing 
a Mohammedan (miyān); [kʰn] a title (xān); [kʰn] a title (xān); 

[kaʃa] < [kaʃa] refuge of the world (jahān) < jahān; [kʰni] < 

[kaʃ] land (zamīn); [miʃ] = *miʃi < *miʃi] fine (mahīn); 

[kaʃ] running water > a fine muslin (ābīrawān); [ʃiɾi] < [ʃiɾi] Shīrīn, the 

beloved of Farhād (ʃīrīn); [kʰʃ] scissors (qānī); etc. The group 

< -wān > of Persian became [wā, o], written ऊ in Late MB: e.g., the 

Musalmān Bengali spellings নোশাবর [noʃaɾa, -wā] = the Persian King 

Nūšāvar; রাস্তা [ɾasṭa] emerged (rawānāh). 

A pre-consonantal < n > after a short vowel also nasalises the vowel: 

e.g., [ɕːdə] subscription (candah); [ɕː], [ɕː] [ɕːd, ɕːd] Hindu 

(hindū, hōndū); [kːt, kːt] candied roses (gul-qand). 

Spontaneous nasalisation is also found in a few words: [ɕː] [ɕː] hem, border, edging (hāshāh); [ɕː] [ɕː] senses (hōs); [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] 

clever (hōsyār); [ɕː], [ɕː] hookah (huqqāh); [ɕː], [ɕː] gang, 

[ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] plunge (as of a paper kite in the sky) (gaut, 

gautāh); [ɕː] [ɕː] twist, wrench (pē); [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] baggage 

(buqeh); [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] big stick, cudgel (qutqāh); [ɕː], [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] 

danger, difficulty (fasūd); [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] brick-kiln (pazāwah); [ɕː] [ɕː] [ɕː] the taziyahs in the 

Muḥarram festival (gahwārah cradle), also গম্বর [gorm]; cf. also सन 

[ʃonə] beside sand [ʃonə] letters-patent (sanād); মোঁহল [mɔːhλə] 

embroidered rug (*māhənd < masnād); and সাফার [ʃonəb] border (sajāf, 

sanjāf).

345. Persian < m > remains. [m] before [b] is written ऊ < n > in 

many words in Perso-Arabic.

Initial: মাফ [mɔːf] fun (mazā); মস্ত [mɔːʃ] brains (mās); 

[moʃə] fine flour (maidah); [moʃ] minor (minār); [moʃ] 

a title (miyān); মাহল [moholen] quarter, wing of house (maḥal); মালক 

[malek] proprietor, king (mālik); etc.
PERSIAN 'M' AND 'R' IN BENGALI

Medial: ইমাম (imam) religious guide (imām); গম্বা বা (gumbā) tower (gumbaz, gunbā); কমান (kaman) bow > gun (kamān); তামাব (tamaːb) fun, joke (tamāsah); তামাদ (tamād) barred by limitation (tamādi); পোম (pōm) destroyed, crushed (pai-māl); রুমাল (rumal) handkerchief (rūmāl); মুকাদ্মা (mokaddama) lawsuit (muqaddamah); etc.

Final: সেলাম আলেকম (salam alekom) the Mohammedan salutation, 'Peace be with you' (salām ʿalaikum); হকাম (hokām) physician (ḥakīm); হারাম (harām) forbidden (harām); কাস্ম (kaasm) established, fixed (qāsim); সুলুম (ṣūlum) oppression (ṣulm); মোকাম (mokām) abode (muqām); etc.

When it occurs with [h], [m] is doubled: আহমদ (ahmad) the name Ahmed (aḥmad); আহমদুক (ahmadduk) fool (ahmaq).

In গাপ (kharā) sheath (= xām?), we have a possible case of change of [m] to [p].

Nasalisation through [m]: কোমানী (khārī), also কোমানী (khārī) lassitude after hard drinking (xumārī).

[VII] The Liquids, [r, l].


Initial: রবাব (robāb) a stringed instrument (rabāb); রফা (rofa) settlement (raf); রমজান (romjān) the Ramadan festival (ramāzān < ramāzān); রাস (rūs) reins (rās: ? MIA. *rasī < OIA. rašmi); রিপ, রিল্ল (rip(h)a) sewing, darning (rafū); রূজ (ruż) placing a complaint (ruju); রোজ (roż) day, daily wages (rōz); রেশম (rešam) silk (rēsam); etc.

Medial: ইজান, ল (iran) Persia (Iran); অক্রান (ekra) acknowledged (iqrār); ফার্স (pharṣ) abscending (fīrār); ফারসিস (parsi) Persian (pārsi, fārsi); চরা, চরখা (chork(h)a) spinning wheel (carxhah); নারম (narm) soft (narm); শরম, শরখ (jorom) shame (šarm); বলি (borji) Maratha raider (bārgīr); etc.

Final: আনার (anār) pomegranate (anār); কাহিতির (khotir) respect (xātir); তক্রার (tokrār) discussion, wrangle (takrār); তৈর (toir, toer) ready, prepared (taiyār); তৈর (tir) arrow (tīr); পীর (pir) saint (pir old person); etc., etc.
In a few words, Persian < r > occurs as [ l ] : e.g., निजादोल [nija rol] sal-ammoniac (naušádur); मलम [maläm] ointment (marham); देर [der] wall (diwār); जाल [jála] huge earthen jar to hold water etc. (jarrāh); मस्त [mást] as in मस्त-कीन [mást qīn] notorious thief (māshur); दक्ष [dákš] beside कुर्नूं [kost] physical exercise (kasrat); etc.

Persian < r > also occurs as ड [dr] in some words: e.g., तागड़ [tagdr] mason's lime-pit (tagdr); तोरा [thora] plume, errest, nosegay (turrah); परोरा [khor] rough draft of a document (xasrah); मोड़च, मोड़च < मरिच [more, more < *moriq] rust (mōreah, mūreah); कड़वे beside कर [kār, kar] agreement (qarār); गोरीभ [gori bh] beside गोरीभ [khoari, khoari] morning effects of hard drinking (xumāri); etc.

There is dropping of the < r > in a number of words, in a preconsonantal and final position (see p. 541): e.g., सदार beside सदार [jodđar, jordar] chief; head (sar-dār); अद [ mod ] man, strong man (mard); कांदानी, कर्दानी [kaddani, kordani] practicability, power, skill (kardani); शिवी, शिवी म [sini, sini] sweets, milk etc. offered to a saint (sīrni); जरेस्त [jarest] office (sar-rīstah); मोहरम [mohorom] the Muharram festival (muḥarram); भूरी [mufuri] clerk (muḥarrir); मोकर [mokr] permanent (muqarrar); etc.

An intrusive [ r ] also is found: मोकर्म बीसवे मनक्ष (modkāma, modkūm) lawsuit (muqaddamah); मरगुम beside मोर्फ [morjum, moujum] season (mausim): see p. 542.

347. Persian < l > remains in Bengali.

Initial: लफर [lofkar] troops (laškar); लागम [lagam] bridle (lagām); लायक [laek] worthy, fit (laqi); लाल [la:] ruby, red (la'); लास [lo:] corpse (lass); लाभजन [lobajān] hardpressed, at the last gasp (Hindōṣīndī lab-pāi jān life at the lip, Pers. lab+ jān); लहम [lohm] a twinkle, a moment (lāmāh); etc.

Medial: अल [alla] Good (allāh); इल [ill] dirt, impurity (illāt); इलाम, इलम [islam, eslam] the Mohammedan religion (islām); दलाल [dalal] broker, middle-man (dallāl); नालिश [nališ] complaint (nālis); ताल, ताल [tola, tolla] search (tola); फिलहाल [philhal] at the present day, now (ft-l-hāl); कला [kolla] boasting, quarrelling (kalah); कल [kolma] the
Mohammedan creed (kalimah); কুলে [kulle] in its sum total, in all, all told (kull-, kullihi); etc.

Final: আল [amol] rule, tenure (?amal); কোল [kobil] admitted, agreed (qabul); দিল, দেল [dil, de:l] heart (dil); হালাল [halal] lawful (halal); হাল [hal] condition (hāl); অসল [asol] original, pure (asal); ক্ষেল [kheal] whim (xiyāl); গজল [gaʃəl] a song, a melody (gazal); etc., etc.

[l] and [n] are interchangeable in Bengali (see pp. 545-546): e.g., নাগাত, নাগাৎ beside লাগাত, লাগায়েং [nagat, nagad, naga(e)t] to the end of, inclusively, approximately (li-qayat > laqayat); ছাড় beside লংস্কর [naʃkɔr, laʃkɔr] troops > a surname (laʃkɔr); নসর beside লংস্কর [naʃ(g)or, laŋ(g)or] anchor (langar); etc.

[VIII] The Sibilants: Palatal [ʃ, ʒ], Dental [s, z].

348. Persian [s, ʃ] fell together in Bengali, in which they normally become [ʃ], written শ, স, সে সে সে সে. In numerous instances, [ɔh, ɔ] were arrived at by the Bengali [ʃ] (see p. 551). In the nexus <st>, however, the dental sibilant remained, and Persian <śt> [ʃ] was changed to [st] in Bengali (see p. 546). Persian [s] represents not only the native Iranian sound but also Arabic [s, θ, s].

Some Mohammedan writers seek to bring in the Persian dental [s] sound, and following the East Bengali pronunciation, they write it ছ < ch = s >: e.g., ওষমান = «uṣmān», ছোবে ছাডেক = সেবে সাডেক = «subh-i-sādiq» (see p. 580), etc. This is against the spirit of Bengali phonetics, especially when naturalised words and names with স [ʃ] are interfered with.

Initial: সন [ʃɔnɔd] deed (sanad); সন [ʃɔn] year (san); সরাই [ʃɔrai] (sarāi); সাবেক [ʃɑbek] old (sābīq); সেপাই [ʃepɔi] soldier (sipāhi); সাজা [ʃaʃa] punishment (sazā); হুরকী [ʃurki] brick-dust (surx red); সালিস [ʃuliʃ] third party > arbitrator (sališ < əsliθ); সদর [ʃɔdɔr] head-quarters, metropolis (sadr); সবর [ʃɔbur] waiting (safr patience); সানক [ʃɔnak] plate (sahnak); সাই [ʃɔi] signature (sahih); শত (শত) [ʃɔ̄(ʃor)] king (sah); সরব, সরব [ʃɔram] shame (sarm); সাবাস [ʃɔbɔʃ] brave! (sabās); সরব [ʃɔrɔt] shereb (šarbat); শহর [ʃɔhor] city (sahr); etc. etc.
Initially we have [ʧʰ] for the Persian sibilant in a few words: چرب [ʧʰobi] portrait, picture (Sanskrit chavi beauty); چانی beside چانی [ʧʰani, ʃaṇi] second (hearing, revision) (sāṇi < ṣāṇi); چولب [ʧʰolab] inundation (sail-āb); چیرکا, چیرکا [ʧirkə, ʃirkə] vinegar (sirkah); etc. In سر [ʃreːp(h)], beside سر [ʃreːp(h)] only (sirf), we have change to a dental sibilant before [ɾ].

Medial: খানসামা [khaŋʃama] butler (খান-ী-সুমন); মুসলমান [muʃolман] Mohammedan (musalmān); আমরক [ʃomafʃuk] bond (tamassuk); মাদানা [madraʃa] Arabic and Persian school (madrāsah); আমরান [ʧmān] sky (asmān); মোস্ত [mouʃリフォ] hereditary (tenure) (mawrūṣ ṣ < mawrūḥ); আসল [ʧol] true, pure (asl); সাই [ʃāʃai] butcher (qasāi); ফুসন [ʃurfɔt] leisure (fursat); রসন [ʃoʃɔd] rations (rasad); খাশী [ʃoʃiʃ] castrated goat (xasət); ইশাদী [ʃiʃdΩ] witness (išādī); মশাল [moʃul] torch (maʃāi); পশ পশ [ʃoʃɔm] wool (paʃm); হামশাহ [ʃumafʃuʃ] always (hamēšā); পেশা [ʃoʃuʃ] business, trade (pēšah); আশরাফ [ʧrɔp(h)iʃ] a gold coin (aʃraft); etc.

[ʧʰ] for [ʃ] in the interior of a word is also found: e.g., আকাশ [ʃak̡ar] frequently (aksar < ak̡ar); মোহলাম, মোহলাম, মুহলমান [moʃholmān, moʃformān, moʃfurmān] a Mohammedan (musalmān), beside forms with the palatal and dental sibilants; মিল [moʃhɔl] procession (mi-ʃ < miʃ); চিৰেশ [ʧiʃhiʃ] testator (wast); চিৰশা [ʧiʃila] excuse (wastlah); কেহা [keʃʃa] story, scandal (qisāh); তজরুপ [ʃoʃhɔp, toʃruf] embezzlement (tasarruf); মশাল [moʃhlɔnda] embroidered velvet rug, ‘musnad’ (masnad).

Persian * st * remains [ʃt] in Bengali: পশ্চা [ʃtast] master (uʃtād); কিস্ত [kostiʃ] instalment (qistiʃ); দস্তং [ʃtɔstɔŋ] signature (dast-xaʃt); ওয়ান্ত [ʃtoʃta] intermediacy, connexion (wāstah); ইস্তাফা [ʃtɔʃupa] resignation (istaʃfa); দস্ত [ʃtɔʃʃ] friend (dost); বস্তা [ʃtɔʃta] packet (bastah); হেন্তনেশ [ʃiestonesto] final solution (hast-nist); etc.

Persian * št * become [ʃt] in Bengali: পোশ [ʃtost] meat (gost); কিস্ত [kostiʃ] boat (kiʃt); বন্দাস [ʃtɔʃdɔʃt] endurance (bar-dāʃt); কুশি [ʃtusti] wrestling (kusti); etc.

Final sibilant: অবলুপ্র [ʃloʃʃ] ebony (abnūs); লাস [ʃlɔʃʃ] body (rās); বীরী [ʃloidʃ] tradition, cue (hādiʃ < hādīθ); ওয়ার্থ [ʃarʃʃ] heir (wāriʃ < wāriθ);
PERSIAN 'S, Š' AND 'Z' IN BENGALI

The [khaːʃ] private (খাস); the [khaləʃ] free (খালিশ); the [kɪʃmiʃ] raisins (খিসমি); the [khəɾəʃ] hare (খরগোশ); the [bək(h]ʃ] large, the tip (খাস); the [baʃərəʃ] gilded shawl (খালিপোশ); etc.

The [ʃ] for final sibilant: the [nəkoʃ] cancelling (নাগিস); the [taːɡəŋ] broken and scattered (তাহস-নাহস); MB. The [təɾəʃ] torkoʃ, the [koʃ] quiver for arrows (তৌরা), beside the form with the sibilant. In Musalmān Bengali, Persian [s] is written ৷, and generally pronounced [s], following the East Bengali habit; and Persian [ʃ] is written শ, শ, শ. The difference in the original sounds in Persian loan-words is thus sought to be maintained, through the influence of the Maulavi, but common West Bengali and Standard Bengali ignore it. The ৷ orthography is partly responsible for introducing the [ʃ] rather than [f] pronunciation in a few words in the Standard Colloquial, in which the [s] value of ৷ is unknown.

349. Persian [z] representing both the native sound, and Iranian [dz], as well as Arabic [z, ɬ, z (dʒ), ʃ (ʃ)] becomes ঢ [ʃ] in Bengali. In East Bengali, this [ʃ], as well as [ʃ] from Persian ڿ [dʒ], becomes [dz, z].

Initial: the [ʃoːkʊm] wound (খাঁড়ি); the [ʃəbən] speech, word (খানন); the [ʃəmi] land (খামন); the [ʃərə] gold lace (খারি); the [ʃəːr] prolongation, continuation (খর); the [ʃəpə] side-lock (খুল্পি); the [ʃəː] a little (খারী); the [ʃə:mə] custody (খিমো); the [ʃiːlə] district (খিলাব); the [ʃələm] oppression (খুলি); the [ʃərə] urgent (খারী); the [ʃorə] force (খর); etc.

Medial: the [ʃɔːrə] honour (খালিশ); the [ʃəː] weight (খান); the [ʃəː] prince (খান); the [ʃəː] minister (খাজান); the [ʃəː] taxes (খাজান); the [ʃəː] spirit, temper (খাজান); the [ʃəː] excuse (খাজান); the [ʃəː] judge (খাজান); the [ʃəː] plectrum (খাজান); the [ʃəː] sight (খাজান); the [ʃəː] present (খাজান); etc.

Final: the [ʃəː] approximation (খাজান); the [ʃəː] falcon (খাজান); the [ʃəː] ship (খাজান); the [ʃəː] day > daily wages (খাজান); the [ʃəː] brains (খাজান); the [ʃəː] debt (খাজান);
614 PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER VI

कागज [kagaz] paper (kāgaţ < kāgaţ; सयद-बाज [s Yad-abāţ, -bāţ]; etc.

There is hardening of final [z] to [z] in a few words: कबज [kobaz, < kobaf] bond, receipt (qabţ < qabāţ); कागज beside कागज [kagaz, -aţ] paper (kāgaţ, -aţ); and cf. क [ko] below.

350. Persian ḷ = [š] [ɔ]. It is a comparatively rare sound in Persian itself. The normal Indian equivalent would be [z] > [z], [d].

In the word क [kāţ] for क [kāţ] a small irregular piece attached to a regular plot we probably have a Persian word in ḷ: कāţ (also ḷ) crooked, curved, irregular.

[IX] The Semi-vowels ḷ and ḷ.

351. Persian ḷ was probably both a spirant [j] and a semi-vowel [i, j]. Both the values are absent in Bengali.

Initially, Persian ḷ becomes ḷ [i] (see p. 533): e.g., इड [i] remembrance (yād); इर [iar] friend, boon-companion (yār); इन [iun] Greek > Arabic (system of medicine) (yūnān); ईश ईश [ifudi] Jew (yahūdī); ईस [iup(h)] a name (yūsuf); ईकबु [iakub] a name (yaqūb); etc. In ईश [akhni] soup, broth (yaxnī) we have dropping of ḷ; and ईश becomes ई in ईश [esid] a name (yazid).

Interior ḷ- [yā] becomes ई, ई [e] in Bengali, which generally forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel or is assimilated or dropped: e.g., आइ [aen] coming (āyahāndah, ā'indah); केप [kepo, kep] benefit (kifāyat); जो [jō, jō(e)d] a Saiyād (saiyād); दो [do, doen] second (dōyam); तो [tōm] third (siyam): बिल [bil] Europe (wilāyat); पाय [pāy] leg (of furniture) (pāyāh); ने [nehd] [nehf] excessively (nihāyat); बाय [bo] seller (bhāya, bhāy< bhāyī); etc.

In the group ईश [i-yā-], the ḷ > [j] is a mere glide, which is dropped in quick speech [i] > [ia, ea, e, e] (see pp. 412, 417): ईश, ईश [miyd, mead, me:d] term, term of imprisonment (miyād); ईश [i] जय [ji, jey(e)d] much (ziyādah); जय [jey] [jey] forger (jā'aliyāt): तो [to] ready (taiyār); पेय [pe] [peal,
Persian ‘y’ and ‘w’ in Bengali

PERSIAN ‘Y’ AND ‘W’ IN BENGALI 615

pe(e)la] eup (piyâlah); ṭeṣāṃ [teat] caution (ihtiyâf), etc.; cf. also ṣekkâdâ,
ṣekkâr [ektîar, ektekîr, ektek, ektar] authority (ixtiyâr).

<yā-, yâh> after a consonant becomes [iâ, ea]: ḍawēka [bâk(h)e]a
back-stitch (baxyah); ṭâkkiya [tâkkiya] bolster (takyah); ṭunînâ [duniâ] world
(dunâ); ṭirikâ [dorâ] river (daryâ); ṭunînâdâ [bûnîdâ], also ṭunînâdâdâ [boned]
foundation (bunyâd); ṭâkkiya [phorîk] petition (faryâd); ṭâkkiya [fâtûja]
border of shawl (hâskyâh); etc.

Final <y> at the end of a syllable remains as [e], and occasionally as [i]: e.g., ḍastra [ṣī ara], also ḍakhi [ṣī ara] place (jây); ṭâstra [râ ara] judgment
(rây); ṭâkâlâ, ṭâkâlâd [poemâl, poemâl] destroyed, crushed (pây-mâl); etc.

<yâhûdî, also jahûdî in Persian), and in ṭâgâdâ [roṣîdod] statement
(rî-y-dâd = rû-i-dâd).

352. Persian <w> was probably both a semi-vowel [w, u] and a
spirant [v, v]. Both these articulations are represented in Bengali, the
former by vowels, and the latter by v [b] (and in recent times by v =
[þi, v, v]).

Initial <w>:

Persian <wâ-, wû- > Bengali [o, o]: ṣokâlâ [okolot] advocacy
(wakîlât); ṭov, ṭov [okto, okto] time (waqt); ṭovhi, ṭovhi,
ôsi] heir (wasi); ṭovhîla, ṭovhîla] excuse (wastîlah);
ţovhûng [oṣhûng] reasons (waujûhît); ṭovv [oṣon] weight (wazn);
ôli, ôli [oli, oli] a name (walî); ṭovv [oṣed] a name (wazîd):
ţovv [oku, oku] place of occurrence (waqû < wûqû); ṭovw,
ţovv [oṣu, oṣu] ablutions (wazû < wûdû); etc.

Persian <wâ-, wû- > Bengali [u]: ūkôlî [ukil] pleader (wakîl);
ôjîr [uṣhîr] minister (wazîr); ūli [uli] beside ôli, ôli [oli,
oli] a name (walî); ūvul, ūvul [uʃul] realisation, recovery (of
money) (wusûl).

Persian <wâ- > Bengali [oə]: this is recent: oṣakf [okəph]
religious property (waqîf); oṣkkâhî [oṣkibi] a sect (waqqhâbi);
ôwâdâ [o ddâ] a stated period (waḍâh). Persian <wâ- > is also
found as [bə] in bôgaira [bøgøerø] et cetera (waqairah) etc.
Persian < wi- > = [vi-, vi] became [bi]: बिलां [bilat] Europe (wilāyat); विद्यार [bidae] farewell (विदा)
Persian < wâ- > Bengali [oa]: ওয়াকিফ, -ব [oakipb, -b] knowing (wâqif); ওয়াপস [oapob] returning (wāpas); ওয়ালিল [oa'ijil] collections and balances (wāsil); ওয়ালিব [oa'ijib] necessary, proper (wâjib); ওয়াতা [oasta] intermediary, reason, sake (wāstah), etc.

In Musalmānī Bengali, following the M.B. tradition, [oa] is written ও as well as ও

Interior < -w- >: it is found as the [ौ] glide, or as [u]; or following the spirant pronunciation it is changed to [b], mainly before [i, e]: e.g., ওহাওয়াস [oa'ob] sound (awaz); ওবোয়ান [obob] heads of expenditure (abwâb); ওবেরাজ [kobaeraj] manœuvre, drill (qawā'id); ওবোলান, ওবোলান [de(o)an] minister (dīwān); ওবোয়ার, ওবোয়ার [fe'æ, fo(o)æ] without, in addition (sǐwāy); ওবোলাই [da'bai] medicine (dawā'); ওজ [eob ] exchange (sǐwaţ < sìwād); ওবোলাও [meoa] fruits, dried fruits (mewāh); ওবোলাও [hoba] air (hawā); ওবোলাও, also ওবোলাও [huloc, hului] sweet-meat maker (halwār); ওবোলাও [tōoakka, tokkā] care, recking (tavaqqu'); ওবোলাব [jooal] question (sawāl, suwal); etc. ওবোলাব [fobab], pronounced also [fobub] reply (jawāb); ওবোলাব [tobob] enquiry (tajawīz); ওবোলাব [durbeʃ] a Dervish (darwēs); ওবোলাব [nōob] a Nabob (nawwâb); ওবোলাব [nobiʃ] writer (navīs); ওবোলাব < ওবোলাব [buburefi < baburefi] cook (bāvarei); ওবোলাব, [fabeli], also ওবোলাব, ওবোলাব [fuculi, fcblbi] mansion (havelī), ওবোলাব [moulobi] a Mohammedan scholar (maulāvi), ওবোলাব [multobi] adjourned, postponed (multāvi), ওবোলাব [mufurdeo] draft (musavvadah), ওবোলাব [rīfbo] bribe (riśvat); ওবোলাব [jibi], beside ওবোলাব [juli] Christian (সাবাদ); ওবোলাব [alibori] a name (salmurdā); ওবোলাব beside ওবোলাব [pejfof3, pejfof3] a dancing girl's gown (pēsvâz, -bāz); ওবোলাব [tagabi] money advanced to farmers (taqâvi); ওবোলাব, also ওবোলাব [tobolbil, tobil] treasury (tahvīl), ওবোলাব [goribne(o)af, nebof3] kind to the poor (garib-nawâz); etc.

< w > occurs as [bli, v, v] in some words, in the recent pronunciation and spelling, frequently through the English transliteration with < v >: e.g., ওবোলাব < maulâbhi > [moulovi, -vi] Maulāvi; ওবোলাব < hâbhelt >
PERSIAN ‘W’: CONSONANTAL METATHESIS

[flavel] a mansion; गजनवी [gajnabhi] गजनवी, -vi] a surname of Ghazna (gaznavi); टाकवी [takavi, -vi] teccan grant; जनदेवता जेनाबहस्ता; a recent word = Zend-Avesta (zand-avastah); etc.

Interior < -w- > is assimilated or dropped (cf. p. 349): e.g., बागान [bagan], Late MB. बागान [bagoan] garden (bāgān); नातान, beside नातान [natan, natoan] weak (nātawān); तोफात [tophat] distance (*tafāwāt, tafāwut); उमेदार, earlier उमेदोर उमेदार < उमेदोर < उमेदोर] applicant, client (ummedwar); देवाल beside देवाल [deal, deol] wall (diwal), also देव, जाल [de:l, de:l, de:l]; रक beside रक, रक [ro:k < rok, roak] ledge, platform of masonry (rawāq), see p. 408; पराना, पराना beside पराना [porna, porana, porana] write from king or authority (parwānā); ज्ञेल [jinchol < jinchol] jewellery (jawāhirāt); मकेल [mokkel] client (in a law-suit) (muwaqqil); बेकुब [bekub < *beukuph] fool, idiot (be-wuqf); etc.

< -w- > becomes nasalised [w > m] through the proximity of < n > in a few words; see supra, p. 608; cf. also हामदित्त, हामदित्त [hama(n) dista] mortar and pestle (hāwan-dastāh); and गोरिंदा, गोरिंदा [gōra, gomra] the empty biers carried in the Muharram procession (gahwārah cradle) shows spontaneous nasalisation of < w >: so also in पोजा [pājha] brick-kiln (*pajha < *pajāwā < pajawah).

Final < -w- > remains as [o]: टालां [talao] tank (talāw, talāb); गोराग [polao] pillau (pulāw, pilāv); देओ [deo] a giant (in Musalmānī Bengali) (dēw).

[X] Consonant Changes of a General Character.

353. Vocalisation of < -y- > and < -w- >, and hardening and softening of stops and affricates, have been touched upon before.

Metathesis.

Examples are: फर्ता [phoeta] prayers (*fāhitā < fātiḥah); प्लेट < पलिट [polte<polita] wick (fatīlah); फेज़ [phoijot] quarrelling, wrangling (*fāhizat < fādāhat); तकमा [tokma] badge, crest (Turkī tamga); नहरम नहरम [dohorom mohorom] intermixture, familiarity (dar-ham bar-ham); लहमा...
Elision (by Assimilation generally).

Elision of *y, w* has been noted before.

नज़र [moʃür] daily labourer (*mādzūr < mūzdur); मसौद, मसीम [moʃjīd, it] mosque (masjid); केनकार, खसार [khonkar, khōŋkar] a Mohammedan surname (xwand-kār); आखू [akhunjī] teacher (āxwandjī); रेबनचिन [reboṇjīnī] China rhubarb (ravand-i-čın); पिलहु [piʃuljī] brass lamp on stand (fatil-sōz); नसीपुर [noʃipur] a place-name (nasīb-pur); नसीराम [noʃīram] a personal name (nasīb-rām); etc.

Double consonants are occasionally simplified (always so when final):
हक [hɔ:k] true (haqq); जेस, जिस [ʃe:d, ʃi:d] importunity (zidd < did); मोकर [mokrɔr] confirmed (muqarrar); मुहरी [muʃuri] clerk (muḥarrīr); आलबां [albat] certainly (albalbat); महरूक [moʃuk] bond (tamassuk); जेरेस्त [ʃeʃɛʃt] court office (sar-risṭah); मोकरका [motphorka] miscellaneous (mutafarriq); दालाल [dalal] broker (dallāl); खात [khata] notebook (xāt-hā); तोहरू [toʃhɔːɾ] embezzlement (tasarruf); etc.

In MB, जास [ʃaʃu] spy (jāsūs) there is loss of final *s*; and of *r* in बरगी [borti] Maratha raider (bārgīr), मुहरी [muʃuri] clerk (muḥarrīr).

Loss of pre-consonantal *r* has been noted before (p. 610).

Insertion of Consonants.

Euphonic insertion of consonants is found in a few words: e.g., of [d] in तूंदर [tundur] oven (tannūr, tanūr); of [r] in मरहम [morʃum] season (mausim), मकर्दम [moʃardoma] law-suit (muqaddamah); of [ʃ] in नकबात [noʃobat] Indian musical band (naubat); and probably of [p] in चोरगोश्त for *चोरगोष्ट [ʃɔrəgɔptə <gotta] crouching like a thief (*gātah* plunge: influence of Skt. *gupta*).
In printing, we often find र्, र्द्, र्द्, र्द् for द्, ज्, ज्, श् - र्द्, -र्ज्, -र्म् - for
-द्ध, -ज्ज, -म्म - etc.: e.g., हर्द् = हार्द्ध for ह्रद् [ह्रद्ध] limit (हड्ड),
तार्ज्जि तार्ज्जुद् for ताज्जि [ताज्जु] strange (ताज्जु), सांज्जि सांर्ज्जुड् for सांज्जि [सांज्जु] a name (साज्जि); हार्म्माम् for हार्म्माम [हार्म्माम] bath (हार्म्माम), केरिया for केरिया [केरिया, केरिया] story, scandal (किसाद). This is generally met with in Musalmān Bengali
printing. It is due to the fact that Bengali type sets were first prepared
on the model of Sanskrit as written in Bengal, so that Prakritic groups of
double consonants generally do not occur in ordinary founds, and printers
were obliged to be content with what was available,—apart from the
tendency to regard the intrusive [r] as a learned characteristic (see p. 542).

Spontaneous doubling of consonants is not rare: आकेल [akkel]
wisdom, sense (‘aql); आहमद [aḥmmad] beside the recent आमेद [amed]
a name (aḥmad); आहमद [aḥmmuk] fool (aḥmaq); खँपा [khappā] angry
(xañ); एङला [ettela] summons (itāla); लोहुद् [lo̯huddo] handing over,
placing before (supurd); तालक [tallak] divorce (tālāq); केला [kella] fort
(qil‘ah); बिख़ा [bikhat] price (qimat); तालम [tallaf, tallaf] search
(talās); हालक [hailak] fatigued (halāk); समहं [sm כתוצאה labour (mihnat);
बेंका [bennakā] untimely (बें-माउंढ़); महाबल [mahabbar] elder, chief
(muṭtabar); बिमोजीम [bimunjim] in accordance with (bimaujib); etc.

Spontaneous nasalisation, presupposing the insertion of an ‘n’, has
been discussed before, p. 608.
CHAPTER VII

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PORTUGUESE

354. An account of Portuguese activities in Bengal has been summarised by J. J. A. Campos (in his 'History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919). The Portuguese first came to the province in 1517, and they exerted a very great influence down to 1668, when Shāyista Khān destroyed their power at Chittagong. Before that the capture of Hugli by the Moghals in 1632 had put a stop to Portuguese aggrandisement in West Bengal. After the decline of their power and prestige as traders, pirates and conquerors, and controllers of the sea-board of Bengal, the Portuguese were content to remain in a humbler rôle and to make room for their rivals the Dutch, the English and the French; but Portuguese missionary activity continued, and Portuguese influence in Bengal was in a flourishing state down to the end of the 18th century. The Portuguese element in Bengali came in during the period extending from the latter part of 16th down to middle of the 18th century, or even later, when there were settled communities of Portuguese, or Portuguese speakers, at Hugli, at Chittagong, at Dacca, and at other places in the Delta. Already in the 'Caṇḍi-kāvya' of Mukunda-rāma (c.1580) we find the word हङ्गारा < हङ्गारां or हङ्गारा < हङ्गारां < ग्यारां = Portuguese 'armada'. The phonetic characteristics of the Portuguese loan-words show that they were borrowed during the Late MB. period. The extent of the Portuguese element in Bengali has been noted before (p. 214). It is quite likely that there were a good many Portuguese words in Bengali of the 17th and 18th centuries which are now lost, or are found as class-dialect words, specially pertaining to religion, among Bengali Christians whose ancestors were converted by the Portuguese and among Luso-Indians who have become Bengalised. Portuguese words (unlike a number of Persian and English words) came into Bengali through contact
between Portuguese and Bengali speakers, and not through the literary influence of Portuguese on Bengali. The words were therefore not transliterated, following some system. Dialectal phonetics also undoubtedly presented some slight variations in the Bengali forms. Folk etymology also played its part. The forms in the Standard Colloquial are taken into consideration, as these are the recognised ones. The general closeness of the Bengali loan-words to the original Portuguese forms, however, is striking.

Accounts of Modern Portuguese pronunciation are to be found in the paper by Henry Sweet (1883, in the 'Collected Papers,' Oxford, 1913, pp. 465-498); in Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Vianna’s 'Portugais, Phonétique et Phonologie, Morphologie, Textes' (Leipzig, 1903, in Teubner’s 'Skizzen Lebender Sprachen'), and in Louise Ey’s 'Portuguese Conversation-Grammar' (Heidelberg, 1912). The basis of the Bengali loan-words was, however, 17th century Portuguese in the main, which certainly differed a great deal in its pronunciation from Modern Portuguese, as is the case with most languages. I have not seen any account of the early pronunciation of Portuguese. The phonology of the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali (and in other languages), however, will certainly throw some side-light on the phonetics of the former language as it was over 250 years ago. The phonetics and phonology of Modern Portuguese is one of the most complicated among European languages. The vowel system is not very rich, but the possession of some central vowels [u, o, i] as subsidiary forms of other vowels, and of some breathed vowels and diphthongs makes the phonology rather intricate. There are some peculiar consonants, e.g., breathed nasals and liquids; voiced stops occur as fricatives intervocally; the original [s] sound is pronounced as [ʃ] and as [ʂ]; [m, n] nasalise vowels and are dropped under certain circumstances, etc.; all of these bring in the complexity of the consonant phonology as well.

A number of the Portuguese words in Bengali are not native Portuguese (Latin), being themselves loan-words from different languages, but so far as Bengali is concerned, they are Portuguese, and nothing else.
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER VII

THE VOWELS.

355. In Modern Portuguese unaccented « a » is pronounced as [a], something like the English [ə] in above [əbəv]. This was probably also the pronunciation in Early Modern Portuguese of the 17th century.¹ The unaccented « a » as a rule is retained in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আনার [anār] pineapple (ananás); আলপিন [alpin] pin (alfinete); আলকাংরা (alcañçara) tar (alecrãao); কেদারা [kedara] chair (cadeira); গ্রিজা, গ্রিট্জ [grīja, grītja] church (igréja); জান(া)লা, জানেলা [jan(a)la, janela] window (janélla); টোলাল্যান > টোলালে [toalía > toalé] towel (toálha); কাফি [kaphi] coffee (café); সাগু, সাবু [sagu, sabu] sago (sagú); etc. But in a number of cases, it is dropped in Bengali, both initially and finally: e.g., কাফার [kafar] to end (as a month) (acabãr); নোনা [nona] custard apple (anóna); নেল্লে [nellé] arsenic ([*əsənjko] < arsenico); কাজ as in কাজগ্র [kajggor] button-hole (casa [de botoão]); মেজ [mej] table (mésa); কাসিস [kamis] shirt (camisa); ইংরাস [ipar] seal (espáda); বিয়ে [bijel] a shallow earthen pot to boil rice (tigéla); পিস্তল [pistol] pistol (pistola); ফিগুর [*fíguρ] a lean figure (figúra); বল্লেল [bollel] bottle (botélha). In disyllabic words, initial or final « a » remains: আটা [ata] custard apple (ata); আয়া [aoya] nurse (áia); তোকা [toka] a hat, an umbrella (tóuca); তোরেন্স [terentu] thirty (in a card game) (trinta); ফিপা [pipa] pipe cask (pipa); ফর্মা [forma] form in printing (forma); বাস্তা [basta] buoy (bóia); বাস্ত্রা [basta] rafter (vérga); বেহালা, বেহালা [be(n)ala] violin (vióla); বোমা [boma] bomb (bomba); মার্কা [marka] mark; স্টাম্প [márcia] stamp (márcia); সালাম [falta] sauce, sarsaparilla (sálsa); etc.

Stressed « á », pronounced as a central [a], or as [a] before the velarised [t] and before [u], remains in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আলমারী [almari] almíra (almário); কানেস্ট্রা, কানেস্ট্রা, কানেস্ট্রা, কানেস্ট্রা [kanastara, kanestara, kānēstrā, kānestra] canister (« canasta » large basket: there has been influence both in form and meaning of the English

¹ In the Portuguese words given within brackets, stress on the vowel is indicated, although stress is not represented in the ordinary orthography.
canister); কাফ্রি [kaphri] negro (cáfre); কাতান [katan] sword (catána); চাবি [chabi] key (cháve); গরাডিউ > গরাস্বে, গরাস্বিশ [goradia > gorade, -di] bars of a window (gráde); পরাত [parat] a large plate (práto); তামক, তামক, তামকু [tamak, tomak, tamaku] tobacco (tabáco); বাল্টি, বাল্টি [balti, -di] bucket (bálde); MB. হারাম (haram) beside a variant spelling হারাম (haram) Portuguese pirate-ship (armáda); etc.

Portuguese «a, á» are also represented by অ [o], through folk etymology in most cases: e.g., অনার [anara] pineapple (ananás): অল্যান্ডাস [olanda] Dutch (Hollandese); তামক beside তামক, তামক [tomak, tamak] tobacco (tabáco); MB. হারাম (haram) pirate fleet a variant of হারাম (haram) (armáda); তোলা < তোলা, *তোলা, *তোলা, *তোলা [tolo < tulua, *toila, *tola, *tola, *toila] a large earthen pot («tálha»: through influence of তোলা [tola] base, bottom).

In কোরেন্টা [korenta] forty, a term in card-game (quarénta), we have «a» as [o] through the influence of the «u» (Modern Portuguese pronunciation [kwu’rênta]). In গোলপ [golap] purgative (jalápa) we have influence of the Perso-Bengali গোলপ [golap] rose (gulab).

Change of «a» to [e, æ] is noticed in a few words: e.g., কেরান [kera] chair (cadiária); বেসালি [bésili, bésili] vessel, pail («vasilha» through Umlaut: «bésiliá > bésiliá > *bésiliá»); পেপ [pepe] papaya fruit (papaia). As in বেসালি < «vasilha», lha = palatal «i» + «a» [a], becomes «iya > ili» in Bengali in ভোগালিয়া > ভোগালি [toalia > toale] towel (toalha).

«a» is found as [i] in ইতি, ইতিরি [istiri, istiri] ironing clothes (estirar), through Vowel Harmony; and in ফাকলি [fakuli] bag with two mouths (saccóla), there is probably the influence of the final vowel of ফলী [tholi, tholi] bag.

Loss of «a»: through absence of stress: কামরা < *কামরা [kamra < kamara] chamber (cámara). In লোবা, লোবা [lobda, lobda] a loose gown, we have probably a case of assimilation of «loba» loose gown + «aba» tucked edging.

356: The nasal diphthong «ão», in a final position, was probably pronounced [âu] in Early Modern Portuguese. This regularly became
[āu, āo], and then [āō, ām, am, aŋ] in Bengali. See pp. 521-522. E.g., বোতম [botom] button (botāo); গুদাম > গুদাম by Vowel Harmony [gudam, -dom] godown, warehouse (gudāo); সাবাং [fabāŋ], also সাবান [faban] soap (< sabāo>: the < n > form is due to the influence of the Perso-Arabic < sābūn >); পাঁর, পাঁও in combination with রুটি [pāw-, pāo-ruṭi] European bread (pāo); নীলাম < *লীলাম [nilām < *līlām] sale (leilāo); বাড়া, বাইরাম, বৈষ্ণব [boṭam, boiam] earthen-ware or stone-ware vessel (boiāo). In ক্রিস্টান earlier ক্রিস্টান [kriston, kristāo] Christian (e[h]ristāo), and in ক্রিস্টান beside কোটন [kopton, kopten] captain (capitāo), there is influence of the English Christian, captain, with the [n]: cf. কুনান, কীটন, কৃষ্টান [krisṭān, khrisṭān], কাপান [kāpān] etc. The nasalisation is dropped in আলকাত্র [alkatra] pitch, tar for [*alkatrum] (alcatrāo).

357. The Portuguese < e >. When strong, it probably had in the 17th century, as now, the values of [e, ə]. When weak or unstressed, it was probably both short [i] and [ə] as now.

Final unstressed < e >, or unstressed < e > in a final syllable, is normally represented by [i] in Bengali: the 17th century Protuguese pronunciation was probably a short [i]. Before < s > + consonant, it occurs as [i] in Bengali, following the Portuguese pronunciation. E.g., কপি for কোপি, কবি [kopi, kobi] cabbage (cóuve); কাফি [knphri] negro (cáfre); বাঁধ পাঁজি [pūbi] key (cháve); পাত্র [padri] Christian priest (pádre); বাল্লি, বাল্লি [balti, baldi] bucket (bálde); বিন্তি [binti] twenty, a term in card-game (vinte); সর্ট [jurti] lottery (sórté); বের্দি [berdi] green colour (vérde); কালাপাঘাত কলোপাতি [kālapati] to correct, tinker, calker (calafáte); গাল্লি [goradi] bar (grade); পিরি [piri] saucer (pires); ইঞ্জিয়ার [ipat] steel (espáda); ইঞ্জিয়ার [istri] ironing (estirár). In an initial syllable, unstressed < e > remains [e]: e.g., পেক [pēk] turkey fowl (perú): in যুগ [jūgu] Jesus (Jesus), there is probably the influence of the English [dʒiːzəs]: we have also a rare বেস্ত [bėst], based on the Aramaic.

Stressed < e >, pronounced [e, ə], is retained in Bengali as ə [e]: কোরেন্টা [korenta] term in card game (quarenta); তিঙ্কেল [tiʃkēl] a vessel (tigēla); পেক, পেকেক [p(e)rek] nail (prégo); মেজ [mēʃ] table (mésa); বের্দি [berdi] green colour (vérde); রেস্তো [-o] balance, capital (résto);
PORTUGUESE ‘E, I’ IN BENGALI


In গিরণ, গীরণ [girʃə, griʃə] church (igreja), we have [i] for *é, through influence of the assimilated *i*: see also p. 357. In কাফি [kəphi] coffee (caffe), final stressed *é is changed to [i].

In বোতল [botol] bottle (botélha), it seems there is influence of the English word [botə].

Loss of *e*: আলপিন [alpin < *alpint?] pin (alfinite); গম্বল [gamla] large earthen or metal basin (gamella); জানলা [ʃənala] beside জানেলা, জানালু [ʃənara, ʃənala] window (janella).

The group *ei*, in Modern Portuguese = [ɛi] when stressed, [e] when unstressed, is differently represented in Bengali: e.g., *লিলাম > নলাম, নিলাম [*lilam > nilam] sale (leilão); কেদারা [kedara] chair (cadeira); প্রেমারা, প্রবারা [premara, promara] a card game (primeiro); বোম্বাটু > বোমেটু [bambatia > bombete] pirate (bombardeiro).

358. Portuguese *i*, stressed or unstressed, remains as [i] in Bengali: e.g., আলপিন [alpin] pin (alfinite); কামিজ [kamiʃ] shirt (camisa); ক্রিস্তান [kristan] Christian (eristão); ফিটা [phita] tape (fita); পিপা [pippa] barrel (pipa); পিরিচ [piriʃ] saucer (pires); ফিগু [phigru] lean of figure (figura); ফিল; কিরিজ [kirij, kiriʃ] Malayan dagger, bayonet (eris); আলমরি [almari] almirah (armario); বিন্তী [binti] a term in card game (vinte); মেরিনো [merino] a kind of woollen stuff (merino); ফিজেল [tʃəgel] an earthen pot (tigella); ওফ্স্ট [bifkut] biscuit (biscoito).

Intervocal *i* becomes the [ɛ] glide, rarely [i], in Bengali: e.g., বোমান, বোমাস, বোমান [boeqam, boiam] large earthen-ware or stone-ware vessel (boião); আয় [aæa] nurse (aia); বোয় [boeqa] buoy (bóia); সানা [ʃaæa] skirt, gown (saia); পেপে > *পাপাইয়া, *পিপায়া [pəpəp], *পাপায়া [pəpəp] papaya fruit (papaia).

In প্রেমারা, প্রবারা [premara, promara] a card game (primeiro), and চরেন্দ্র [terenta] a term in card game (trinta), the group *ri* behaves like *r* in Bengali words (see ante, p. 357). In বোহালা, বোহালা, also বোয়ালা [beala > beślala, beəla] violin (viola), there is change of *i* to [e].
In [fātra, fantara] orange, cf. सात्रागाहि [fātragāhi] Orange-tree, village near Calcutta, from Portuguese Cintra, we have change of the group in to [an, â].

Loss of i: अल्पिन [alpin] pin (alfinite); कप्तन [kapten] captain (capitão), through English influence; and जेको [jēko] arsenic (arsenico), where ni probably became ň and then a mere nasality of the vowel.

359. Unstressed o was pronounced as [u] in Early Modern Portuguese, as now. In Bengali o occurs as [u] and as [o]: e.g., তামকু [tumoku] beside তামক, তামক [tumok, tômok] tobacco (tabaco); মস্তু [mastul *mûstra] mast (mastro); in a number of 'Christian' words like এন্দিজু [entrudu] carnival, shrove-tide (entrudo), ইষ্টপিতুতো সাথ [išpîtu šantu] Holy Ghost (espirito santo), ইন্দিজু [injenu] incense (incipo), মানু [manu] brother (mano), রোসারী [rosari] rosary (terço), etc.; বোতাম [botam] button (botão); বোতল [botol] bottle (betélha); বোন্দে [bënade] towel (toalha); ব্যোমে [bómé] pirate (bombardeiro); মেরিনো [merino] a kind of woollen stuff (merino): may be through the English; রেস্ট, রেস্টো [resto, -to] remainder, capital (resto), probably through a stage *রেস্টু [restu]; জেকো [jēko] may be from a form *জেকুয়া [jēkua] arsenic (arsenico). Unstressed o occurs as [a] in খানা [khana] ditch (cano), and in প্রমারা, প্রমারা [promara, premara] a card game (primeiro).

There is loss of final unstressed o in আলমারী [almarî] almirah (armário); আলকাত্র লার [alcatrō < *alcatrāu] tar (alcatrão); কাতান লার [katan] sword (catano, catana); পারত [parat] large salver (prato); পেরেক, প্রেক [perek, prek] nail (prego); মার্ডল, মার্ডেল [martol, -tol] hammer (martello), বিস্কুট [biskut] biscuit (biscoito), due partly to a facetious analysis বিস্কুট *বিস্কিতা [bisq-kîta] poison-mass, biscuits as foreign food prepared by Christians being prohibited to orthodox Hindus.

Stressed o, pronounced [o, œ], occurs in Bengali as [o, œ] as well: বনু [bûn] buoy (bóia); নোনা [nona] custard apple (anôna); বোমা [boma] bomb (bômba); ফর্মা [phorma] form (fôrma). In জুটি [jurti] lottery (sôrte), the [o] is changed to [u] by vowel harmony (see p. 397). o occurs
PORTUGUESE ‘OI, U’: INTRUSIVE VOWELS: ‘B’ 627

as [a] in दक्कल [dakka] two-mouthed bag (saccòla), and in बेला [belea] violin (viola).

*oi*, pronounced [œi], occurs as [u] in बिस्कुट [bisku:t] biscuit (biscoito).
*ou*, pronounced [o, ou] in Modern Portuguese, was probably [o] in the 17th century: In कपी for *कपी, *कोबी [kopi < kobi] cabbage (côve) and टोका [toka] a large bamboo hat (touca), this group is found as [o].

360. Portuguese < u >, stressed and unstressed, remains as [u] in Bengali, e.g., सागु [sagù] sago (sagú): पेक [peru] turkey bird (perú); काजु [ka∫ju] Brazil nut (cajú); गुडम [godm] godown, ware-house (gudão);
शीन [∫jju] Jesus (Jesus); कृष्ण, कुश [krus, kurus] cross (crúz); फिग्र [phigru] lean figure (figura); काकातूआ [kakatua] a white talking parrot, cockatoo (caetáu); फुदिल [phudil] funnel (funil). The word कोड, कोउ [kōd, kōu] bent double with age, probably from Portuguese < cunha > wedge, shows change of [u] to [o] through Vowel Harmony.

361. In groups like < cr, tr, pr > there has been an intrusive vowel: मिस्त्री [mistri] beside मिस्र [mistri] craftsman, artisan (mestre); पोर्ः [poru] plate (prato); फ्राङ्स [phora∫u] French (Francez); किरिच [kiri∫u] dagger, bayonet (cris); गरादिया [goradia] bar (grade); etc. < r > with a consonant has been treated as फ in Bengali (see p. 356): e.g., इग्रेजा > church > ग्रेज, ग्रज, ग्रिज [grijuu, gri∫u, gri∫u]; वर्गा, विर्गा > rod, pole, lintel > बर्गा, बर्गा [boraga, borga] rafter.

A final [a] has been added to some words: काकातूआ [kakatua] parrot (caetáu); गरादिया [goradia] bars (grade); and probably also *सेमुआ > सेंको [sêkoo > sêko] arsenic (arsenico).

Consonants.

362. Portuguese < b > remains as [b] in most cases: बो [boa] boy (bóia); बोबा [botam] button (botão); बालू [bal-total] pail (baldé); काबार [kobar] finish, last day of month (acabar). < mb > occurs as [m] in बोमा [boma] bomb (bomba). Intervocal < b > becomes [m] in तामक [tamak] tobacco (tabaço): the intervocal stop in Portuguese itself has the open pronunciation of < b > = [v].
363. Portuguese "c" before "a, o, u", and before consonants = [k] in Bengali: e.g., कांथु [कांथु] Brazil nut (cajú); कप [कप] cabbage (cabbage); कुश [कुश] cross (cruz); काबर [काबर] finish, last day of month (acabar); काकातु [काकातु] cockatoo (cacto); टोक [टोक] large bamboo hat used as umbrella (touca). In खान [खान] ditch (cana), we have a case of "ca" = [kha], through influence of native word like खात [खात] fosse < √খন < খান to dig, etc.

Portuguese "ce, ci" pronounced [se, si]: जात्रा [जात्रा] orange (Cintra): see p. 626, supra.

364. Portuguese "ch" is now [ʃ], as in French; but in earlier times it was a palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ], as in Old French and in Spanish (Castilian). In North Portugal (Tras-os-Montes), the affricate sound is still found (F. Diez, Grammar of the Romance Languages, French trans., Vol. I, Paris, 1874, p. 358). In the 17th and early 18th centuries the value of "ch" in all likelihood was [tʃ]: for (East) Bengali ৎ [tʃ, ts], is represented by Padre Assumpção by "ch", and by "s", and Portuguese "ch" normally became ৎ = [tʃ = tʃ] and not श, श = [ʃ] in Bengali; besides, [tʃ] of other languages is written "ch" by the early Portuguese authors. Examples in Bengali: ची [ची] tea (chá); खज [खज] key (chave); अचार [अचार] pickles, conserves (achaar).

365. Portuguese "d" is generally rendered by the dental द [d] in Bengali: गार [गार] bars (grade); केद [गार] chair (cadeira); पाड़ि [पाड़ि] Christian priest (padre); बेडि [बेडि] green colour (verde); etc. In some words it is cerebralised in Bengali, in the group "nd": ओंद [ओंद] a kind of pea (Hollanda), but cf. ओंदा [ओंदा] Dutch, (Hollandês), which may equally be from the French; बालि, बालि [बालि] place-name near Hngli town (Bandel < Pers. bandar port); and लंद [लंद] an early Bengali name for London (Londra). There is unvoicing of "d" in बालि beside बालि [बालि] bucket (balde), and in इपाट [इपाट] steel (espada sword).

An intrusive [d] occurs in फुंदिल < *फुंदिल [फुंदिल] funnel (funil).
366. Portuguese \( \langle f \rangle \) occurs as \( \simph \), which is pronounced as
\[ [\text{ph}, v, f] : \text{féita}, \text{fitet}, \dagger \text{fite} \text{te} [\text{phita}, \text{phite}, \text{phite}] \text{tape} \text{ (fita);} \]
\[ [\text{phúdil}] \text{funnel} \text{ (funil);} \]
\[ [\text{phestora}] \text{feast, holiday} \text{ (festa);} \]
\[ [\text{kophri}] \text{negro} \text{ (cafre);} \]
\[ [\text{kafir}] \text{beside} \text{ kafir} \text{ [kap(h)i]} \text{ coffee} \text{ (café).} \]
It also occurs as \( [p] \) in \[ [\text{dilpin}] \text{ pin} \text{ (alpinite), and kalarpati} \text{ [kalarpati]} \text{ tinker} \text{ (calafate caulk).} \]
In the Dacca dialectal (‘Portuguese Christian’) word \[ [\text{kangar, kherwar [kany(k)]far} \text{ to confess} \text{ (confessar), we have change of} \]
\[ [\text{nf} \to [n(k)].} \]

367. Portuguese \( \langle g \rangle \) before \( \langle a, o, u \rangle \) and before consonants \( = \)
\[ [g] \text { in Bengali: gamal [gumal] large basin} \text{ (gamella);}
[\text{gudam} \text{ warehouse} \text{ (gudão);} \]
\[ [\text{goro}] \text{ rafter} \text{ (verga);} \]
\[ [\text{girga}] \text{ church} \text{ (igréja);} \text{ etc. In perek [perek] nail} \text{ (prego) there is hardening of} \text{[g].} \]
Loss of intervocal \( \langle g \rangle \), pronounced as an open consonant in Portuguese,
has given rise to the form \[ [\text{jabu} < \text{mawu}] \text{ beside} \text{ sahu [jagu] sago} \text{ (sago);} \]
and \[ [\text{figura} \text{ figure has given in addition to} \text{figru [phigru, fikku} \text{ [phikru as well as} \text{fikru} \text{ [phibru] lean and thin.} \text{ (tigella).} \]

In Modern Portuguese, \( \langle g \rangle \) before \( \langle e, i \rangle \) is pronounced \( [\text{g}] \), as in French. Probably the old pronunciation was \[ [\text{d5}] : \text{tigela} \text{ [ti} \text{gela} \text{ a large earthen vessel} \text{ (tigella).} \]

368. The letter \( \langle h \rangle \) was not pronounced in Early Modern Portuguese, as now: \[ [\text{holu} \text{ [olhada] a kind of pea} \text{ (Hollanda).} \]

There is prothetic \( [\text{f}] \) in MB. \[ [\text{rmarada, harmad} \text{ [formod, haramod] pirate} \text{ fleet} \text{ (armada), and euphonic intervocal [f] in bejela [beshpul] violin (viola).} \]

369. \( \langle j \rangle \) is \( [\text{z}] \) in Modern Portuguese, but formerly in all likelihood it was \( [\text{d3}] \). In Bengali it occurs as \( [\text{z}] \); \[ \text{janela} \text{ [janela] window} \text{ (janella);} \]
\[ [\text{zui} \text{ [zui]} \text{ Jesus} \text{ (Jesus);} \]
\[ [\text{k01u} \text{ [k01u] Brazil nut} \text{ (caju).} \]

370. Portuguese \( \langle l \rangle \) ordinarily remains: \[ [\text{eg.}, \text{alkatara} \text{ [alkatara] tar} \text{ (alcharão);} \]
\[ [\text{janela} \text{ [janela] window} \text{ (janella);} \]
\[ [\text{salsa} \text{ [salsa] sarsaparilla} \text{ (salsa);} \]
\[ [\text{phudil} \text{ [phudil] funnel} \text{ (funil);} \text{ etc. In nilam [nilam] sale} \text{ (leilao),} \]
initial \( \langle l \rangle \) is changed to \( [n] \), and in \[ [\text{ingre} \text{ [ingre} \text{ English} \text{ (Inglés), we have [r] for} \langle l \rangle \). \]

The group \( \langle lh \rangle \) has the value of a palatal \( [\text{k}] \) in Modern Portuguese,
but its earlier value seems to have been \( [\text{ly}] \): in Bengali, the basis of
change was a [l] sound, which was later modified: e.g., তলাম, *উলা, *তলা > তোলা [tola, toila, > tolo] a large pot (talha); তোলি > তোলিয়া [tolìya] towel (toalha); বালী [bauli, bauli] pail (vasilha); and বোতল [botol] bottle (botelha) seems to have been influenced by the English word = [boilt].

371. < m > remains: মার্কা [marka] mark (marea); ফার্মা [phirma] form (forma); কামরা [kamra] chamber (camara); গামিউ [gamlu] large basin (gamella); মাস্তল [mastul] mast (mastro); etc.

372. < n > remains: নোনা [nona] custard apple (anona); বিন্তি [binti] term in card game (vinte); জানেলা [janela] window (janella). Folk etymology has changed it to [r] in আনারস [anar] pine-apple (ananas), and it nasalises the vowel in আরাফি [aráfa] orange (Cintra a town), and in আরেকো [áoeko] arsenic (arsenico).

There is spontaneous nasalisation in পেপে [pape] papaya fruit (papaia).

< nh > has the value of [ɲ] in Portuguese. In the word কোনা, কোরা [konu, kuru] bent (with age), probably = Portuguese < cunha > wedge, we have a case of < nh > = [ŋ], * in Bengali.

373. Portuguese < p > is retained: পিপ [pip] barrel (piper); পাউ [pau] as in পাউর তি [pauru-ti] European bread, loaf (pāo); পেন্যারা [penura] gnavo (pere); পিস্টল [pistol] pistol (pistola); etc.

374. In কোরেন্টা [korenta] a term in card game Portuguese < qua > occurs as [ko].

375. Portuguese < r > is generally retained: রেস্তা [resta] remainder, capital (in card game) (resto); পিড্রি [pdiri] priest (padre); পেরু [peru] turkey fowl (peru); ক্রুজ [cruz] cross (cruz); কাবার [kabor] finish, last day of month (acabar); etc. It is changed to [l] in মাস্তল [mastul] mast (mastro) and in কামরে [camoro] almirah (armário): and it seems to have been be dropped finally in ইত্তে [istre] ironing (estirar).

376. Modern Portuguese < s > has four sounds, namely [s, z, j, ʃ], all of which seem to have obtained in the 17th century. The [ʃ, j] pronunciation appears in Bengali as ʃ, s [ʃ] (occasionally as ʃ [ʃ] in a final position), and the voiced ones, [z, ʒ], as ʒ [ʃ]. Examples: সাবান, সাবাঙ
PORTUGUESE 'S, T, V, X' IN BENGALI

[Jabon, -say] soap (sabāo); Sāsa [jača] skirt, petticoat (saia); Shresti [jurti] lottery (sorte); Sālā [jalā] sarsaparilla (salsa); Anār [anar] pineapple (ananas); Dēk [me:si] table (mesa); Kāmbi [komf] skirt (camisa); Īmas [ipot] steel (espada); Kaj in Kaj-bh [ka5-ghor] button-hole (casa); Īngros [ingros] English (Ingles); Pīri [piros] saucer (pires); Kōris, Kōis, Kiri [kiri] bayonet, dagger (eris); etc. In st, the dental [s] is retained: Pīstol [pistol] pistol (pistola); Mistri [mistri] craftsman (mistri).

377. Portuguese t is retained as t in most cases: Tāmāk [tāmāk] tobacco (tabaco); Tōo [tōo] towel (toalha); Tījel [ti5el] earthen pot (tigella); Binti [binti] term in card game (vinte); Mastul [mastul] mast (mastro); Phīta [phīta] tape (fita); etc. It is cerebralised in Tōka [tōka] umbrella-hat (touca), in Spelet [spelet] a plant (zapota, sapota), and in Biskut [biskut] biscuit (biscoito). Loss of t occurs in Alpin [alpin] pin (alfinite).

378. Portuguese v is regularly represented by b [b].

The dentity-sibiaspirant [v] was absent in Middle Bengali, and the bilabial spirant [v] seems equally to have been non-existent. The spirant pronunciations of b, v, are very recent, and do not seem to have been developed before the 19th century (cf. pp. 135, 443; also infra, under v in English loan-words). B bh became v, v first in the towns, among educated classes, and in the country-side in West Bengal the use of b for the foreign v, following the Modern Bengali transliteration, is not absent. If the spirant pronunciation of b had been developed in Bengali of the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries we would have found that letter, rather than b, for the Portuguese v. Binti [binti] twenty, term in card game (vinte); Bēsali [besali] pail (vasilha); Chabi [chabi] key (chave); Kobi kopi [kobi kopi] cabbage (couve); Berdi [berdi] green colour (verde); Borgan [bog(o)ga] rafter (verga).

379. Portuguese x has as its characteristic value the sound of [ʃ], although other sounds are known [ks, kʃ, z, s]. (See p. 547.) It is not found in any Portuguese loan-word in Bengali, unless it were crux as a variant of cruz.
380. «z» is found in cross (cruz), français (francês) French: final «z» was pronounced as [f] as now in Early Modern Portuguese. In sapote [spo xo] a plant, sapota, we have [f] for «z» («zapota», also spelt «sapota»), and «ananaz» > ananas (anar s) pineapple is also spelt «ananaz».
CHAPTER VIII

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: ENGLISH

381. The English first came to Bengal in 1651, more than a hundred years after the Portuguese had obtained a footing in the province. Calcutta was founded in 1689. The English thus came in touch with the people of Bengal in the middle of the 17th century, but it was not until the middle of the 18th that there was much scope for the English speech to influence Bengali. Among other reasons, one was that Portuguese influences ruled supreme, although Portuguese power was on the decline. The names of the English and of other European nations in 18th century Bengali are from French, or from Portuguese (Inríj, Phráśi[s], Olándáj, Dinémár, Alémán: see p. 215). A Portuguese jargon was for a long time the language of intercourse between European traders of various nationalities and their Indian agents. Barring one or two words like कॉम्पानी < kömpāṇi > company, it does not seem likely that any English words came into Bengali before the year of Plassey (1757). When the English assumed the reins of government in 1765, a number of English terms of administration at once came into Bengali, like गवर्णर जनरल < gabārnāra jāndārala > governor general, कौस्ली < kūsuli > counsel, कलेक्टर < kālektāra > collector, लाट < lāt > lord, तरीजुरी < tērijuri > treasury, पोलिस < polis > police, etc. From the third quarter of the 18th century, there has been a steady accession of English words into Bengali, and through an intimate knowledge of the English language and English culture among the educated classes—and ‘educated’ is now almost synonymous with ‘educated in English’—an unending stream of English words is now being admitted into Bengali; and the process was never more active than at the present moment: so that it is well-nigh impossible now to estimate the English element in Bengali, alike in its extent and in its phonology. Contact with English is now arresting further Bengalisation of English loan-words, as English-knowing people,
whose number is now on the increase, will not ordinarily pronounce these words in the ignorant way, and some would even use an approximately proper English form rather than a naturalised one like ডাক্তার *daktār* doctor, হাসপাতাল *hāspātal* hospital, অপিস *āpisā* office, দাবল *dābalā* double, etc.

In the present connexion, notice can only be taken of the naturalised words, which have completely accommodated themselves to Bengali phonetics, and are used and understood by most Bengali speakers. In introducing the English words into Bengali a rather archaic pronunciation of the language, based to a great extent on the spelling, is followed as the basis of the English forms. A hundred years of English schooling in Bengal has established a current Bengali pronunciation of English,¹ and some five generations of Bengali schoolmasters have been teaching an English pronunciation, of a sort, which obtains wherever English is used by Bengalis—in the law-courts, in the schools and colleges and the University, on the political platform, in government offices and in European firms, in literary and scientific societies—and which, though not unintelligible to even an unaccustomed English ear, is not, and cannot be English. The same thing has happened in Madras, and is happening everywhere in India. Extreme types of Indian provincial pronunciation of English, e.g., East Bengali pronunciation and Tamil pronunciation, are at times mutually difficult to follow.

The current Bengali pronunciation of English has at its basis Standard Southern English of about a century ago, modified to a great extent by the Scottish pronunciation, and by the spelling and the pronouncing dictionary, all of which have helped to give it rather an archaic character. The vowels [e, o] of 18th century English and present-day Scots English, have been diphthongised to [ei, ou] in Standard Southern English, as in the words cane, cone [kʰe:n, kʰo:n = kʰern, kʰoun], but they retain their

¹ The only scientific system of transcription of English sounds by Bengali letters, to teach a correct English pronunciation to Bengali children, is that of Syāmā Charaṇ Gāgulī, in his *Bengali-English Word-book,* New Edition, Calcutta, 1901, the introduction to which little work is valuable for Bengali phonetics as well.
monophthong character in Bengali, although occasionally [ei] also is found. Southern English drops the sound of [r] at the end of a syllable and before a consonant within a word, but it is retained everywhere in Bengali except that it is occasionally assimilated with a following [t, d]. Finer distinctions in the vowel sounds are avoided, and, naturally enough, Bengali approximations are used for all English sounds not found in Bengali.

Below is given a transcription (in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association) of the Story of the North Wind and the Sun in the Bengali pronunciation as followed in West Bengal by people who have no opportunity of coming in contact with native English speakers, or who do not care to acquire the correct pronunciation from such native speakers of English even though they meet and talk with them frequently:

[di nôrth u:n’d a:n’d di san o:er dîspû’ti:n fûii’d oaz di s’tônga:r, hoen e t’hêvlar (t’hêbîlär) kem a:løŋ ræp’t in e o:rm klo:k. de: egri:ð dæt di oan fîu: fàrst (pfàrst, fàrst, phàrst) me’di t’hêvlar tèk of: (oph) fìz klo:k fûd bi kòn’si’dar’d s’tônga:r dèn di a:ðar. dèn di nôrth u:n’d blu: u:ð æl fìz mait, bàt di mør fi: blu:, di mør klo:zì dì’d t’hêvlar fôld (pfôld, fôld, phôld) fìz klo:k s’râun’d fìm; a:n’d æt lâst di nôrth u:n’d ge:v (ge:bi) ap di æ’tem(p)t. dèn di san jôm a:u:ð o:rmli, a:n’d im(m)îfjëtli di t’hêvlar tûk of: (oph) fìz klo:k; a:n’d so di nôrth u:n’d oaz o:blai’d’d tû kôn’fes (kônphes) dæt di san oaz s’tônga:r of (oph) di tû:] 1.

The general line of change of the English sounds in Bengali is indicated below; and this is followed by a select list, with phonological notes, of naturalised English loan-words in the language.

**THE VOWELS.**

**382.** Quantity of vowels is entirely in accordance with Bengali habits. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§54 ff.) Thus, in all

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1 For phonetic transcriptions of the above story in the ordinary South English, Northern English, Scots English and American English pronunciations, see 'The Principles of the International Phonetic Association,' London, 1912.
monosyllables the vowel is always long: e.g., জুজ পিজ \\
[ফুট: ফুক; ফুরাই: ফুরাই; ফুট] ফুট (ফু), ফুল (ফুল): পিটিট: পিটিট পিটিট পিটিট (পিটিট); etc. No difference is made between full and fool, bell and bail in Bengali.

The stress is according to the habits of Bengali.

The vowel sounds of English, as in Standard South English, are the following: [i, iː; e, æ, aː, oː (=short ə), ø, u, uː, ø, øː] (see also e, o, a, æː) are also found. (See Daniel Jones, 'An English Pronouncing Dictionary,' London, 1922; 'The Pronunciation of English,' Cambridge, 1914; 'An Outline of English Phonetics,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1922; Lilias E. Armstrong, 'An English Phonetic Reader,' London, 1923; R. J. Lloyd, 'Northern English,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1908; William Grant, 'The Pronunciation of English in Scotland,' Cambridge, 1914).

383. [i, iː] both occur as ই ই [iː; i] = a rather low vowel in Bengali; [e] becomes এ [eː; e]; [æː] remains as [æː; æː], written এ, এ, এ, এ, এ, এ, the Bengali sound being rather lower than the English one; [aː] is found as অ [aː; a], slightly more advanced than the English sound.


At the present day, [o], the so-called short [ə] sound (as in lot [lot]), and long [oː] (as in law [lɔː]), are both rendered by ঑ [o, əː] in Bengali: e.g., কলেজ [kolej] college [kbolej], ল [lɔː] law [lɔːː], etc. This is now the nearest Bengali equivalent of the English sounds. But in the late 18th and early and mid 19th century transcriptions of English words and names in Bengali, we find the use of ঑ [aː; a], for the English vowel now pronounced [o, əː], and not ঑ [o, əː], as we would expect. ঑ = [o] is also found, but ঑ [aː] is more common; and this ঑ [aː] tradition in spelling, as an equivalent of the New English [o, əː] sounds, is carried down to the end of the 19th century. Early naturalised loan-words from English all show ঑ [aː] and not ঑ [o]: e.g., অগর [agor], beside অগর [ogor] which is recent < auger; কার্পিস, কার্পিস [karnij] < cornice; কার [kaːr] < cord; হাল [hāl] hall; কাক [kaːk] cork; অপিস [apiː] office; অর্ডালি [ardali] orderly; ডাকতার [daktar] doctor; লাট <
ENGLISH 'ɔ' AND BENGALI 'ā'

*লাঞ্চ [laːt < *laːd] lord; পালিশ [palij] polish; কাপি [kapi] copy; বাং [bako] box; etc., etc.; and also quite a number of English names in early 19th century Bengali, e.g., জেন [ʃaːn] John; তামেস [tamɔ] Thomas; জেরে [ʃərəs] George; লার্ড মর্গার্টেন [lɔrd marərətən] Lord Mornington; etc. The use of আ [a] in Bengali was due to the fact that the pronunciation of o, au, aw etc. in English of a hundred years ago was to a great extent open: it was quite distinct from the present-day [o, œ:], and acoustically was rather like [a, a:] both short and long, possibly with but little rounding of lips. This old [a]-like pronunciation of o, au, aw is still found in American English. (Cf. Otto Jespersen, 'A Modern English Grammar,' Part I, Heidelberg, 1909, under [œ:], pp. 318, 316: Kenrick in 1773 identifies the vowel sound in soft, oft, cloth, call, hawk, caul, George with that in French dame, pas; and Pegge, 1803, says that "daater, saace, saacer, saacy" =daughter, sauce, saucer, saucy, savour rather than an affected refinement than vulgarity. There were fluctuations between [o, œ:] and [a, a, a:] in the 18th century. See also under the treatment of [a] in Jespersen). It is also to be noted that in the 18th century and early and mid 19th century transcriptions of Indian names and words into English, the Indian sound of [a, a:] was almost invariably rendered by o, au, aw: which is strong corroborative evidence for (at least acoustically) an [a] pronunciation in English itself: e.g., কলটায় কান = *Ali Khan; কাল্লারাণ দাশ = Kàl-lārāṇ Dāś; পার্বান =パン্জাব = Panjab; Daw(n), Law, Shaw, Paul = the Bengali surnames দা = Dā, লা = Lā, হালাই = Lā(ha), লা = Lā = Sā(ha), গুল = Pāl; Loll = Lāl; Jau = Jān; Juggernaut = জগরাই = Jaggernāth = Jagannāth; Meer Cosseem = Mīr Qāsim; Cossipore = কাশিপুর = Kāshipur; pawnee = পানী = pānī = water; shraub = সরাব = sharāb = wine; dolly = ডালী = dāli = basket (of fruits or flowers, as a present); dholl = দাল = dāl = pulses; shawl = সাল = sāl; etc., etc. Early Bengali forms with আ [a] of English loan-words are thus based on a more open pronunciation which obtained in English itself. At the present day, when the [o, œ:] pronunciation has been definitely established in English, many early 19th century Bengali borrowings from English are being revised according to this later pronunciation. Thus although we retain ডাক্তার [daktar] doctor,
The slight difference in quality between the sounds of the short [o] as in not [nɔt] and the long [ɔ:] as in law [lo:] is not taken into account in Bengali.

385. [u, u:] are rendered by [u:, u], written উ, and occasionally উ. The English sound of [ɔ] as in dull, sun, son, is now changed to ও [ɔ] in Bengali, but its older transformation in Bengali was অ [ɔ]: e.g., গবর্ণের = গবারিনি, = government, ঝবল = ঝাল = double; হারিকেন = হুর্রাকেন = hurricane (lantern), নাম্বার = নাম্বার = number, হাবার = হাবার = hundredweight, টোন = টোন = ton, টব = টব = tub, ডাখন = ডাখন = dozen, etc., and in names like বোর্ন = বোর্ন = Burton, গালিবার = গালিবার = Gulliver, etc. Most of the naturalised words introduced into the language early in the 19th century retain the [ɔ] sound in Bengali.

The [ɔ] sound for Modern English [ɔ] is based on an earlier value of the short *ʊ, ɔ*, of English, which is still found in dialectal English, as for example, in Ireland. Present-day English [ɔ] rather approaches [ɔ]: possibly in the late 18th and early 19th, it approached the back sound of [ɔ] to a great extent. In Modern Bengali transcriptions, the equivalent of [ɔ] is ও [ɔ], and the use of অ [ɔ], in pronunciation as well as in writing in Bengali, is now regarded as old-fashioned.

386. [ə], the so-called neutral vowel, is not found in Bengali, and the other strong vowels (of which it is the weakening in English) are used for it: e.g., এপ্রিল [epril] April, beside আপ্রিল [april] in late 18th cen., and আপ্রিল [april] in early 19th cen. transcriptions; এমেরিকা, আমেরিকা [amerika, amerika] America; লেপ্টেনাংট [leptenant] lieutenant; হোমিওপাথি
THE ENGLISH GROUP 'ER,' & DIPHTHONGS

[homeopathy] England; [China]. When this [ə] occurs with [r], which is not pronounced in Modern Southern English, it is now found as [ə] in the earlier transcription, however, it became [ə]: e.g., farther [gəfar] beside hand [gənd] governor: liver beside old-fashioned [nəbər] = infantile liver; revolver; number, an old borrowing; etc. The use of ar for er is not unknown in the orthography and pronunciation of English itself. The commonest equivalent of [ə] in Bengali would be [ə]. Initial [ə] is found to be dropped in a few cases: e.g., turn [tərn], also [tərn] attorney; gîriment [girimentə] agreement. [ə], the so-called long form of [ə], as in birth, shirt, her [brə, fət, heə], occurs only in connexion with [r], and it is generally rendered by [ə]: e.g., shirt [ʃərt] shirt, sergeant [ʃərtə] sergeant (in police), also surgeon, etc. The word kernel [kərnəl] colonel [kənəl] is probably influenced by the spelling in o.

387. [eə] of Modern Southern English is ordinarily denoted by [eə], following earlier English and present-day Scotch pronunciation of [eə]. It is only rarely that the Southern English diphthong value is followed: e.g., feel [fɛəl], rarely fœl [fœl] fail; meel [mɛəl tɛn] mail train; jœl [ʃɛəl] jail; etc.

[ə] is regularly denoted by [əi]: time; type; faint. High Court; vice-man, mechanic; bicycle, etc. The first element of this diphthong was probably of a higher quality than now, but that was not taken into consideration in Bengali.

[au] = English ow, ow, etc. The equivalent of this group now is [au], e.g., house [həʊ] house, town [təʊn] town, aunt [əʊt] out, council [kaʊnʃəl] council, foul [fəʊl] foul, etc. In the earlier borrowings in Bengali, on the other hand, we find [əu]: e.g., house [həʊ] (commercial) house, out [əʊt] out, counsel, hall [təʊn həl] Town Hall, etc. Here, too, as in the case of early Bengali [ə] for English aw, au, o, the [əu], or rather [əu],
pronunciation obtained in English itself a hundred years ago. (Cf. O. Jespersen, op. cit., pp. 235, 236.) We would expect to find [au] in Bengali in the late 18th and early 19th centuries for ou, ow, if the first element in the diphthong were a low-back or low-central sound, and not a mid-back-wide-round one.

The South English diphthong [ou] was at one time simply a long [o:], which is the value preserved in Scotland. Bengali renders it by [o:, o], e.g., বুট (bo:t) boat, রোড, রোডসেস (ro:d, ro:sd) road, road-cess, কোট (ko:t) coat, etc.; and occasionally by [o], following Bengali phonetic harmony: e.g., ফটো (fo:tou) photo (German) photo (graph) = [fo:tou, fo:tougra:f], মটর (mo:tir) motor (mouto).

[o:] and [o:] are represented by ওয়া (o:u) : বোয় (bo:o) boy (bor, bor), রোডার (ro:d:ar) Reuter (rote). For [iə], we have [iu]: ইন্ডিয়া (india) India, রাশিয়া (ra:shi:a) Russia; and the [r] is preserved when [iə] occurs in connexion with that consonant: e.g., বীর (bi:r) beer, ‘বীরার’ (bi:ra:r) cheer; ইয়াং বাইরে (ia(r)-ri) earing. [au] would similarly be উর, উর (uo), উর, উর (uor) or উর (uor): বুর, বুর, বুর (buor, buor) Boor, Boer; ‘পুরার’ (puor) poor. The diphthong [ə], also pronounced [ə:], is from earlier [eə], written ore, oor, and it is rendered by ওর (o:r) in Bengali: স্টৌর (sto:r) store (stoo, stoo).

[ə] of South English is based on the group [ə] + [r], and the group [eə, e:e] brings in a glide [ə] — [eə, eə]. In earlier transcriptions, this group became [eə]: e.g., হার (he:m) Hare, a name; হার (he:r) chair; কার (ka:r) car; হার (he:r) share etc. In recent renderings, we have এর (er) : লার, শের, হেলার (e:r, i:e:r, i:e:r), etc.

388. Regular loss of vowels is rare: see under [ə], supra.

There is addition of vowels [a] in the interior of words, by anaptyxis—e.g., গ্লাস (gla:ʃ) glass; ট্রেন (teren) train; টেলিগ্রাফ (teligerap(h)) telegraph; ও টেরেজুরী (terez:ʃuri) treasury (an obsolete form); টোর (tor) trunk, পোর (peleg) plague; বুর্স (buriʃ) brush; লেট, লেট (felet, felet) slate, ইন্সপেক্টর (inespekta:r) inspector, etc., etc.; [b] at the head of words beginning with *s*+stop: e.g., অস্টবল (astabol) stable; ইস্কুল (iʃkul) school; এস্টেম্প (eʃtempo) stamp; ইন্সিটিউ (iʃtju:n) also ইন্সিটিউ (iʃtʃan) station;
INTRUSIVE VOWELS : ENGLISH ‘K, P, T, G, B, D’ 641

In Bengali, ইপিরিল {ij-p(i)riŋ} spring, etc.; and ে at the end of words ending in two consonants, where both are retained, without one of the consonants being dropped or assimilated, or where there is no intrusive vowel in between: e.g., বেঙ্কি {bendo} bench; কেটলি {ketli} kettle; ডেস্ক, ডেস্ক {dekfo, defko} desk; বাঙ্কা, বাঙ্কা {bako, bako} box; গিলটি {giliti} gill; লিটি {liiti} list; ল্যাম্প or ল্যাম্প {lamp, lampo} lamp, etc. Cases of dropping or assimilation of one consonant—রিপোট {ripot} report; কার {kar} cord; ল্যার {lort} lord; ল্যান্থন {lonthan} lanthorn, lantern; ওয়ারিন {oarin} warrant; হান্ডর {hender < *hondordor} hundredweight; পিকে, পিজেট, -বোড {pie-, pikbot, -bod} paste-board, etc.; and cases of intrusive vowel in a final consonant nexus, e.g., বাইডিকিল {bajlikil} bicycle; ফার {pharom} form; টারম {tarm} term, etc.

The above are the normal modifications of the English vowels in Bengali. There are cases of irregularity due to folk-etymology, to the influence of Sanskrit, and at times to a humorous attempt at punning to which foreign words with even a very slight resemblance to native ones lend themselves (although these latter may be wide apart in significance); but such cases cannot be taken into account generally.

Occasionally, especially on the printed page, there is an attempt to give continental (Italian) values to the vowels in European and other names, personal or geographical: e.g., অসিয়া {asfa} rather than এসিয়া {esfa} for Asia, বুলগারিয়া {bulgaria} Bulgaria, প্লাটো (n) {plato(n)} Plato [pleto(n)], etc. This is rather exceptional, and it is the English forms which generally obtain in the spoken language, as most speakers having occasion to use foreign names are familiar with English.

THE CONSONANTS.

389. The Stops and Nasals, and Affricates.

The slight aspiration of unvoiced initial stops of English, [kh, th, ph], is dropped in Bengali. In প্রিয়, প্রিয়ন (প্রিয়, প্রিয়ন) [khriʃtɔ, khriʃtɔn] Christ, Christian, the aspiration is due to the original Greek: cf. ক্রিষ্টান, ক্রিষ্টান [kriʃtɔn], from the English.

The voiced [g, b] remain. English alveolar [t (th), d] are regularly changed to the cerebral ত, ড [ʈ, ɖ] in Bengali. But it is curious to note
that in the earlier adaptations of English words and names the dentals \( \text{t}, \text{d} \) are frequently employed for the English sounds. This was partly due to the fact that transcription in Early Modern Bengali books and printed documents was done by, or under the inspiration of English scholars and orientalists, who equated the so-called English dentals with the Bengali dentals. Examples are, among obsolete forms, \text{অক্টোবর} [\text{əkt\text{"o}bər}] \text{October}, \text{দিসম্বর} [\text{di\text{"o}mbər}] \text{December}, \text{থামস} [\text{təməs}] \text{Thomas}, \text{কলেক্টর} [\text{ka\text{"e}ktər}] \text{collector}, \text{লেপেনেট} [\text{lep\text{"e}ntənət}] \text{lieutenant}, etc., and among living words, \text{ডক্টর} [\text{dək\text{"o}tər}] \text{doctor}, \text{হাসপাতাল} [\text{həs\text{"o}p\text{"o}tal}] \text{hospital}, \text{গার্ড} [\text{gərdəd}] \text{guard} = \text{lock-up}, \text{তেরেঞ্জী} [\text{tərəfər\text{"i}r\text{"i}r\text{"i}r}] \text{treasury}, \text{তারপিন} [\text{tər\text{"i}p\text{"i}n}] \text{turpentine}, \text{তারপোল} [\text{tər\text{"o}p\text{"o}ln}] \text{tarpauline}, etc.

English [\text{ŋ}, \text{n}, \text{m}] are retained. Final [\text{n}] sometimes, and in a few words final [\text{m}], become [\text{n}] in folk-Bengali (this is independent of the same change which is observable in spoken English of the uneducated classes): e.g., \text{এক্টোকিন} [\text{e\text{"a}kt\text{"o}k\text{"i}n}] \text{stockings}, \text{এক্টনি} [\text{e\text{"a}kt\text{"i}ni}] \text{working as a substitute} < \text{acting} + < \text{i}, \text{টাইন} [\text{t\text{"a}in}] \text{time} (\text{cf. আপিন, আপিন, আপিন} [\text{ap\text{"i}, \text{ap\text{"i}, \text{ap\text{"i}}}] \text{opium}, \text{from Perse-Arabic} < \text{afy\text{"u}m} >).

The affricates \text{চ, \text{ʃ}, \text{ʃ}} [\text{tʃ, \text{ʃ}}, \text{ʃ}] \text{regularly become} \text{ʃ}, \text{ʃ} [\text{ʃ}, \text{ʃ}] \text{in Bengali}: \text{ফিননি} [\text{ʃin\text{"i}ni}] \text{chimney}, \text{জ} [\text{ʃʃʃ\text{"i}ʃ}] \text{judge}. \text{In East Bengali, these as usual become} [\text{tʃ}, \text{ʃ}].

390. The Liquids. The equivalent of the English ‘clear’ and ‘dark’ \( l \) \( [l, \text{ɻ}] \) is the \( l \) \( [l] \) of Bengali, the velarised ‘dark’ \( \text{ɻ} \) \( [ɻ] \) being ignored. The \( r \) sound of South English is a fricative, \( \text{ɻ} \) \( [ɻ] \), and in Scots English it is a trilled sound. It becomes the ordinary trilled or flapped \( r \) \( [r] \) in Bengali. \( r \) is commonly dropped before \( t, \text{d} \) \( = \text{English alveolar} \ [t, \text{d}] : \text{e.g., লার্ড} [\text{lar\text{"a}d}] \text{lord}, \text{বোর্ড} [\text{bo\text{"o}rd}] \text{board}; \text{also after consonants}. \text{Its retention in Bengali is due to a great extent to a spelling pronunciation of English.}

391. The Fricatives. The English \( h \) is an unvoiced sound, \( [\text{h}] \), and it is altered to the voiced \( h \) \( [\text{ɦ}] \) in Bengali: \( \text{e.g., হাইকোট} [\text{h\text{"a}ik\text{"o}k\text{"o}t}] \text{High Court} \). \( s \) and \( \text{ʃ} \) of English fall together in Bengali as \( s, \text{ʃ} \) \( [ʃ] \); [\text{ʃt}] normally becomes \( \text{ʃt} \) \( [ʃ\text{ʃ}] \), but the pronunciation [\text{ʃt}] is also heard, and occasionally we meet with the spelling \( \text{ʃt} \) in an attempt to be more faithful to the English original (\text{cf. the recent দেবনাগরী ligature} \( [\text{st}] \).
THE ENGLISH FRICATIVES IN BENGALI

[z] and [ɡ] become [ʃ] in naturalised words, e.g., Қebra zebra, Қul ű Zulu, ҚeJar-геlaʃ measure glass, etc., but the [z] sound is often heard. This [ʃ] becomes [dz, ʃ], as usual, in East Bengali.

The equivalent of the unvoiced spirant th [θ], as in thin [θin], is the aspirate ɣ [th], e.g., Қhеटar theatre. The voiced dental spirant [d], as in then [ðən], regularly becomes the dental stop ɣ [d]. We would expect consistency in this matter by meeting with ɣ [dθ] for [ð], which is the regular Marāṭhī and Gujarātī substitute for the English sound: but as in the case of ɣ [kθ] and ɣ [ɡ], unvoiced aspirate and voiced stop, for the spirants [x, ɡ] of Persian (see supra, pp. 572, 599, 600), the voiced spirant becomes a mere stop. Hindōstānī agrees with Bengali in employing [th] for [θ] and [d] for [ð].

The unvoiced denti-labial spirant [f] is written ʃ in Bengali, with its three-fold pronunciation of [ph, ʃ, f]. Intervocally and finally, the sound tends to become a mere stop [p]: e.g., Қapīʃ office, Қhaːp [haːp] half.

The treatment in Bengali of the voiced denti-labial spirant [v] of English shows how recent the spirant pronunciation of ɻ - bh - is in the language. (See supra, pp. 442, 443). During the first half of the 19th century, English [v] is ordinarily represented by ɽ [b]: whereas at the present day it is invariably ɽ = [bθ, ɽ, v]. In the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali, we have only ɽ [b] (see p. 631); and in the Roman-Bengali of Padre Assumpṣam, in the early part of the 18th century, we have ɻ - ph - for ʃ, and ɻ - bh - for ɻ, never ɻ - f, ɻ - v. So long as the modern spirant value of ɻ - bh - did not develop, the stop ɽ - b - was used for the foreign denti-labial or bilabial spirant as its nearest equivalent in Bengali (cf. also p. 616, for treatment of Persian ɻ - w, ɻ - v in Bengali). We have typical early 19th century English loan-words and names like the following: Қiʃviʃiʃ - bisubiyaʃ - Vesuvius; Қaʃaʃ - bəɾniʃ - varnish; ɻəɾ, ɻəɾəɾ ɻəɾə - governor; ɻaiʃəɾzt - ɻiʃəɾzt - viscount; ɻəɾʃiʃ - ɻəɾʃiʃ - Virgil; ɻəɾəɾ - ɻəɾəɾə - November, etc., etc. It seems that the spirant pronunciation of - bh - became established (at least among certain
speakers of the Standard Colloquial) during the middle of the 19th century: in the Hutilom Pērācār Naksā (1862), 梓 is used in transcribing some English words, e.g., डूईबिंग < डूईबिंग > driving, इंसाल्केट < इंसाल्केट > insolvent, सिंविलिजेसन < सिंविलिजेसन > civilisation, शेभेजर < शेभेजर > scavenger, बहालम्य < बहालम्य > voluminous, etc., but व also is used. We see that व < b > for [v] is almost the rule in the first quarter or first third of the 19th century, but from the second half व < bh > is seen to be coming into prominence: but the व < b > tradition holds its ground well on towards the end of the 19th century: thus spellings like क्लाइव < क्लाइव > Clive, वर्प्कुलर < वर्प्कुलर > vernacular, बाइसर < बाइसर > -ray < -ray > viewray, बीबर < बीबर > beaver (the animal), कल्बिन < कल्बिन > Colvin, बिक्तोरिया < बिक्तोरिया > Victoria, डोवेटन < डोवेटन > Doveton, बिलिबिलियान < बिलिबिलियान > Tribiliyan, कल्किन डुसाल < कल्किन डुसाल > Bālantin-Dubal > Valentian Duval, बालियार < बालियार > Voltaire, बिन्सेंट < बिन्सेंट > etc., are found, among hundreds of similar names and words, in Bengali literature and periodicals of the second half of the 19th century.

The spirant pronunciation, however, seems to be spreading now. Beames remarked in his Bengali Grammar (Oxford, 1891): 'it takes a Bengali boy many years' training before he can pronounce the English ू, and many never attain to it ...... Some Bengal writers have conceived the erroneous idea that the European ू corresponds to their ू bh, thus they transliterate भोभा 'an assembly' as shova, which is absurd' (p. 9). But there cannot be any doubt that the transliteration शोभा indicates a spirant pronunciation, [ʃɔva, ʃɔva]: the spirant in extremely quick articulation loses its friction and so disappears. Thus, the word शोभा ूभा, pronounced [ʃɔva, ʃɔva], results in [ʃɔa], and even [ʃɔ:], in Calcutta, as in शेरबाजार > शेरबाजार [ʃɔbabaʃgar > ʃɔ(ू)ababaʃgar > ʃɔ:ababaʃgar] name of a quarter in Calcutta town (see p. 403—[wa:, øa] becomes [ə: in Bengali). Present day transcriptions like अविलाश, आमितव, बिबास, बिंदिया, विरम, व्याश्य, ग्रांट, and even व्यवहार > gentry and देववारम for भबनाथ, आमितव, बिबास (विबास), राधा, चुलभा, दुर्लभ, भिषम, भ्रमर, भद्रालोक, महाभारत, etc. have a real basis on the pronunciation.
THE ENGLISH SEMIVOWELS: WORD LIST

392. The Semivowels \( y, w = [j, w] \) of English.

The palatal semivowel is always dropped before \([i]\), e.g., डाइंक्लिन [darkklin] Dyeing and Cleaning, in Calcutta shop signs; and it becomes a full vowel, \([i]\), before the other vowels. Intervocally and at the end of a syllable, it is changed to \( \acute{\epsilon} \) [ē].

\([w]\) is dropped before \([u, o]\). Before \([i]\), it becomes \([u]\); and before the other vowels, it is lowered to \( \acute{\epsilon} \), written ओ "ō". E.g., उड, उद्धरण [ud-, ut-penfil] wood pencil; उल [u:l] wool; the word woman is ordinarily pronounced ओमन [omn]; ओइल [u:il] will; रेलोय [relo] railway; ओयर्ड [oard] Wordsworth. For an attempt to represent the \([w]\) (as well as the \([v]\)) sound of English by the letter ब "b", see pp. 554, 555.

The usual consonant changes—voicing, unvoicing, elision, metathesis etc., are present in the English loan-words.

Typical Naturalised English Words.

393. Below are given some common English words naturalised in Bengali. The phonological alteration in most cases is plain, but in some instances they are complicated, through folk- etymology. Extreme folk- forms are often very widely removed from the original.

examination; एकटिनक [ekak̪] stockings; ओतैरिंन, -रेन [oarīn, -ren] warrant (legal); ओरेंटिंग रूम [oet̪iŋ rum] waiting room;


also डॉक्टर [daktor] doctor; डॉक्टर also a recent डॉक्तर [dombol, dambel] dumb-bells (for exercise); डॉप्टर डॉप्टर [deputi, dipiti] deputy = deputy magistrate; डेस्क, डेस्क [desk, oekto] desk, showing metathesis;


man o'war, battleship; मार्किन [markin] American, with loss of initial [ə] [əmsrɪkən]; मास्टर [məstər, mətər, mətər] master, teacher; मिउनिसिपा[ल(ɪ)] [munişipal(ɪ)] municipality (see p. 216); मेम [məm, mæm] European lady < मा'म, माम; मोटर [mətər] motor [mətə], influenced by the native word मोटर [mətə] pe; मामलेट [mamlet] omelette, with prothetic [m];

राफेल [ra'fel] rascal; रिपिट, रिपिट [ripɪt, ripɪt] rivet; रिपोट, रिपोट [ripoʊt, ri'pɔʊt] report; रिवल्वर [rɪvəlvr, -vəl-] revolver; रिसिवर, beside रिसिवर, रिसिभर [rɪ'sɪvr, ri'sɪbər] receiver (of property); रेजिस्टर [re'zɪstr] register, registered; रॉड [rɔ:d] round, as of a policeman: change of [n] to nasalisation of vowel; राधिश [ra'dɪʃ] rubbish;

जल्दी, जल्दी [la'dɪ, ri'dɪ] lozenges (sweets), influence of native root चू [ca] suck, and peculiar change of [l] to [r] in the alternative form; लाम [la'm] lantern, lanthorn; लॉम, लॉम [ləm, ɫəm] lamp; लॉट [la:t] lot (of goods); लॉट [la:t] lord, governor of province; लिबर [libər] (infantile) liver, also लिबर [nιbər]; लॉट for मॉट [loʊt < noʊt] note (money), showing vulgar change of [n] to [l]; so लूट [lu't] notice; लायंसेट [laɪ boːt] long boat (attached to a steamer) = satellite.

समन [samən] summons (law), influenced by शमन < səmən > God of death; शाशि [ʃaʃi] window sash, also a form with intrusive [r], शाशि, ससी [ʃəʃi]; शील, शील [ʃi:l] seal; शिलेट, शिलेट [ʃi'let, ʃi'let] slate; सान्निध्य, साण्निध्य [ʃop(h)ɪnə] sub-poena, with exceptional aspiration; स, सब [ʃab, ʃub] sub, in words like सबज [ʃabaj] sub-judge, सब डेपूटी [ʃab'dəpətɪ] sub-deputy etc.; सिगरेट, through initial stress जिगरेट [ʃɪgəret, ʃɪgəret] cigarette; सेमिज [ʃəmej] chemise; सोडा [ʃoda], beside a vulgar लॉट [ʃoda] soda.

हंडर [fəndər] hundred-weight (see p. 641); हाप [hai] half: हापसाइड [ha'pəsəɪd] off-side, in game of foot-fall, with prothetic [h]; हिब्र [hi'bru] Hebrew; ह्यार्मोनियाश [harmənɪəm] [harmonium], with vulgar dropping of final [m]; हूल [huil] fishing wheel; हेट, हूट [hæ:t] hat; etc., etc.
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