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1955

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IN ADMIRATION AND AFFECTION
CONTENTS

1. Lexicological Gleanings from the Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra
   By Constantin Regamey, Fribourg, Lausanne, Switzerland ... 1

2. Védique Nirūṭi
   By Louis Renou, Tokyo ... 11

3. The Caste Dialect of the Mucis in South-East Burdwan
   By Sukumar Sen, Calcutta ... 16

4. Vāntam Āpātum
   By L. Alsdorf, Hamburg ... 21

5. Notes on the History of the Infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan
   By L. A. Schwarzschild, Melbourne ... 29

6. Anuttama and Anuttara, 'Unexcelled, Supreme'
   By Franklin Edgerton (of Yale University) Laramie, Wyoming, U.S.A. ... 35

7. Vedic Ga(m)bharma-: Avestan Gufra-
   By Manfred Mayrhofer, Würzburg ... 38

8. Signed Verses by Sanskrit Poets
   By M. B. Emeneau, Berkeley, California ... 41

9. Reflections on Sarva- in Vedic Texts
   By J. Gonda, Utrecht ... 53

10. Vedicca
    Von A. Debrunner, Bern ... 72

11. Védique Karūḍatīn-
    Par E. Benveniste, Paris ... 83

12. Three Lexicographical Notes on the Gopālakēlaṇḍuṇḍikā
    By F. B. J. Kuiper, Leyden (Holland) ... 86

13. Zero and Pānini
    By W. S. Allen, Cambridge ... 106

14. Indica Et Iranica
    By H. W. Bailey, Cambridge ... 114

15. The Intrusive -ṛ- in Indo-Aryan
    By P. B. Pandit, Ahmedabad ... 120

16. Jāyasī and Alāol
    By Satyendranath Ghoshal, Visva Bharati ... 124

17. About Viśeṣakārākaśab in the Nirukta II. 3
    By M. A. Mehendale, Poona ... 128

18. A Passage from Haribhadra’s Samarādityakathā
    By A. M. Ghatage, Dharwar ... 144

19. Marāṭhī Elements in a Prākṛti Drama
    By A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur ... 147

20. Linguistics in India
    By Irach J. S. Taraporewala, Bombay ... 153

21. Vācārambhānam
    By J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Poona ... 157

22. A Khwarz Tale
    By Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo ... 163

23. A Study of Personal Names in Caṅkam Literature
    By V. I. Subramonian, Trivandrum ... 170

24. Telugu Loans in Tamil
    By S. V. Subramanian, Tuticorin ... 179

25. Sanskrit Kava- and Related Words
    By T. Burrow, Oxford ... 187
26. On the Interpretation of a Rule of Paṇini  
   By Kasitth Chandra Chatterji, Calcutta  
   ... 194

27. A Study of Accent in Relation to the Alpha-Phonoid Theory  
   By C. R. Sankaran, P. C. Ganeshasundaram, B. Chaitanya Deva and  
   A. D. Taskar, Poona  
   ... 198

28. Certain Verb-Compounds of Sanskrit and Some Parallel Formations in Awadhi  
   By Baburam Saksena, Allahabad  
   ... 204

29. Language and Literature  
   By Siddheswar Varma, New Delhi  
   ... 206

30. A Note on the Morphemic Values of Consonants in Tamil  
   By P. C. Ganeshasundaram, Poona  
   ... 209

31. A General Note on the Andamanese Languages  
   By Dwijendra Nath Basu, Calcutta  
   ... 214

32. Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics—History of the Diapers, Idli and  
   Dosa, between a.D. 1100 and 1900  
   By P. K. Gode, Poona  
   ... 226

33. Interpretation of Two Oriya Words  
   By Siddheswar Hota, Puri  
   ... 232

34. Change, Analogical and Semantic  
   ... 233

35. Paṇini’s Rules and Vedic Interpretation  
   By S. S. Bhave, Baroda  
   ... 237

36. Pronouns in Vaḍḍarādhane  
   By G. S. Gai, Dharwar  
   ... 250

37. A Merged Verbal Root of Telugu  
   By K. S. R. Sarna, Poona  
   ... 252

38. Jimūta—M.  
   By Walter Wüst, München  
   ... 255

39. Lexicographical Notes on Caturanagadhipkā of Śūlapāṇi  
   By E. D. Kulkarni, Poona  
   ... 267

40. Observation of some Common Peculiarities in the English Speech of the  
   People of Orissa  
   By Golok Behari Dhall, Agro  
   ... 276

41. The Phonology of a North Indian Village Dialect; the Use of Phonemic Data  
   in Dialectology  
   By John J. Gumperz, Ithaca, New York  
   ... 283

42. Derivation of Verbal Forms in Modern Telugu  
   By K. Mahadeva Sastri, Madras  
   ... 296

43. The Term Eļuttu in Tamil Grammar  
   By A. Chandra Sekhar, New Delhi  
   ... 302

44. The Nasal Phonemes of Kannada  
   By H. S. Biligiri, Bangalore  
   ... 306

45. A Phonaesthetic Aspect of Retroflexion  
   By Bishnu Nath Prasad, Patna (Poona)  
   ... 309

46. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit  
   By V. Raghavan, Madras  
   ... 313

47. On Two New Indo-Aryan Words  
   By S. M. Katra, Poona  
   ... 323

48. Sinhalese Dictionary  
   By Julius de Lamerolle, Ceylon  
   ... 324

49. An Analysis of the Syllable in Boro  
   By J. Burton-Page, London  
   ... 334
PREFACE

It was during the first winter session in November-December 1954 of the three Schools of Linguistics sponsored by the Deccan College during 1954-55, that the Members of the Faculty of the School met to consider, among other matters, the question of honouring Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in a suitable manner. The Faculty Members discovered that Dr. Chatterji would be completing 65 years on the 26th of November 1955, and this gave them an opportunity of organising a Jubilee Volume as a token of their affection and respect for his scholarly attainments and personal qualities. The Faculty resolved to organise such a volume and bring it out as volume 16 of Indian Linguistics, the official organ of the Linguistic Society of India. With the happy merger of this Society with the Indian Philological Association of Poona in the same month, and the accession to the strength of the new Society by the enrolment of scholars registered at the first and subsequent Schools, who warmly welcomed the project of the Jubilee Volume, the Faculty Members felt emboldened to undertake the onerous task of organising the Jubilee Volume. I was authorised to issue the appeal to scholars to send in their literary contributions and with the assistance of Dr. Sukumar Sen, Secretary and Dr. Madhukar A. Mehendale, Joint-Secretary of the Linguistic Society of India, the volume was organised and printing arrangements made with the G. S. Press in Madras.

The success of the present volume has been largely due to the spontaneous co-operation from friends and admirers of Dr. Chatterji and the Manager and Staff of the G. S. Press, Madras. It is a happy augury for the future, ensuring regular publication of Indian Linguistics in its new format, under new auspices of the combined Linguistic Society of India and the Indian Philological Association. With increasing interest in Indian linguistics shown by the large attendance at the three Schools sponsored by the Deccan College and by several new Universities sanctioning new posts in Linguistics, there is every hope that the Linguistic Society of India will establish
itself as an active Society undertaking many of the fundamental researches necessary for recording the fast disappearing material scientifically and assisting in the planning and execution of the proposed new Linguistic Survey of India.

Now remains the pleasant duty of acknowledging the ungrudging help extended in the accomplishment of our objective. To the authorities of the Deccan College and the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation must be expressed our first thanks, for without the encouragement that linguistic studies have received from these two sources, the strengthening of the Linguistic Society of India would have been delayed by decades. We are grateful to the Executive Committee of the Linguistic Society for allowing us to bring out the sixteenth volume of INDIAN LINGUISTICS as the Chatterji Jubilee Volume. The Executive Committee is grateful to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan for having graciously agreed to present this volume on behalf of the Linguistic Society to Dr. Chatterji, and to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference at Annamalainagar for providing a venue for this formal presentation. For the editorial supervision I have had the unstinted co-operation of Dr. Mehendale who has completely taken over these responsibilities. Finally, but for the loyal co-operation of the staff of the G. S. Press and their able Manager the volume could not have been completed within the stipulated time and in a form which is worthy of the occasion. All credit for the comparative freedom from errors and the fine appearance goes to this enlightened Press which I have pleasure in acknowledging at this place.

26th November, 1955.
Autumn School of Linguistics,
Deccan College, Poona.

S. M. Katre
Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji
(Student in London, July 1921)
CURRICULUM VITAE
of Professor
SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJII, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit.
(London), F.R.A.S.B.,
Bhashacharya, Sahitya-vachaspati,
Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics, Head of the Department of Comparative Philology, and Lecturer in the Departments of Sanskrit, Pali, Modern Indian Languages (Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Assamese, Oriya), English, French and Islamic History and Culture, in the University of Calcutta.

1890
Born at Sibpur in Howrah near Calcutta (November 26).

1899-1919
Studied in Calcutta (Motilal Sil’s Free School, Scottish Churches College and Presidency College). Graduated 1911 with First Class Honours and First Place in English; M.A., 1913, Class I with the First Place in English, with Old and Middle English and Germanic and English Linguistics as special subjects. Passed Second Examination in Vedic Sanskrit, Bengal Government Sanskrit Association Examination, 1918. Awarded Premchand Roychand Research Studentship and Jubilee Research Prize of the University of Calcutta.

1913-1919
Professor of English, Vidyasagar College, Calcutta, 1913. Asst. Professor of English, Calcutta University Post-Graduate Teaching Department, 1914-1919.

1914
Married. Wife, nee Kamala Mukherji. Has one son, Suman (born 1927) and five daughters, Ruchi (born 1929), Rama (1931), Nila (1932), Sati (1934) and Suchi (1936).

1919-1922

In London, worked with Prof. Daniel Jones and his assistants (Phoneticians), Dr. F. W. Thomas (Indo-European Linguistics), Dr. L. D. Barnett (Prakrit and Indo-Aryan), Sir E. Denison Ross (Persian), Prof. Robin Flower (Old Irish), and Professors Chambers and Grattan of University College (Old English, Gothic).

Studied in the University of Paris, 1921-1922, at the Sorbonne, the College de France and the Ecole des Langues Vivantes
Orientales (Professors under whom he studied: Prof. Jules Bloch, Prof. Antoine Meillet, Prof. Jean Przyluski, Prof. Paul Pelliot. Subjects—Indo-Aryan, Slav and Indo-European Linguistics; Austro-Asiatic Linguistics; Sogdian, Old Khotanese; History of Greek and of Latin).

Travelled over England, Scotland, and parts of France, and in Italy, Greece and Germany.

1922 Returned to India (November). Appointed Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics, and made Lecturer in the main linguistic subjects in the University of Calcutta. Studied Avestan with Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

1926 Brought out from the University of Calcutta 'the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', in two Vols., pp. xci + 1179.

1927-1928 Published 'Bengali Self-Taught' (in Marlborough's 'Self-taught Series', London) and 'A Bengali Phonetic Reader' (University of London Press).

1927 Travelled as a Member of Rabindranath Tagore's Party in Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Siam (three months). Gave lectures on Indian Art and Culture and on Rabindranath Tagore's School and Ideals in the course of this tour.

Read a paper on the Pre-Aryan Background of Indian Civilisation before the Koninglijk Genootschap van Kunst en Wetenschap of Batavia (later published in the Journal of the Genootschap).

1935 Second visit to Europe as Representative of the University of Calcutta at the Second International Conference of Phonetic Sciences, London: presided over the Indian Section of the Conference. Travelled in Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany and France. Lectured before the Oriental Institute of the University of Berlin.

1936 Elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.


1938 Third Visit to Europe: represented the University of Calcutta at the Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences at Ghent, at the International Congress of Anthropologists at Copenhagen and at the International Congress of Orientalists at Brussels. Travelled in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Poland, Germany, Belgium and Italy.
Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji
Sketch by Kosetsu Nosu, Japanese Artist (Frescoes in Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath)
Elected Honorary Member of the Oriental Institute of Poland, Warsaw.

Presided over the All-Bengal Bengali Literary Conference at Comilla, East Bengal.

Lectured on invitation before the Gujarat Vernacular Society Post-Graduate and Research Department. Eight lectures published as a book—'Indo-Aryan and Hindi', Ahmedabad, 1942.

Published 'Languages and the Linguistic Problem' (No. 11 in 'Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs': third edition in 1945).

Presided over the National Language Section of the 34th All-India Hindi Literary Conference, Karachi.

Elected Honorary Member of the Societe Asiatique, Paris.

Elected Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society.

Pratibha Devi Lecturer, Government of Assam, on the subject of the Contribution of the Mongoloid Peoples in the Evolution of Indian Culture (with special reference to Assam).

Fourth Visit to Europe, as University of Calcutta and Government of India delegate to the International Congress of Linguists and the International Congress Orientalists (Paris, July 1948) and to the International Congress of Anthropologists (Brussels, August 1948).

Visited Egypt (Cairo) for a week. Awarded the title of Sahitya-Vachaspati by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, December 1948, for services for Hindi Language and Literature.

January: Elected Honorary Member of the Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Viet-nam.

December: took part in an International Committee on the Braille Alphabet called by the UNESCO in Paris. (Fifth Visit to Europe).

Travelled in Italy, England, Holland and Turkey (Istanbul) on an educational enquiry tour on behalf of the University of Calcutta (January).

Attended another UNESCO Conference on the Braille Alphabet (March).

Attended third UNESCO Conference on the Arabic and Persian Braille at Beirut, Lebanon (February).

September-1952 January: Called to Philadelphia to act as Visiting Lecturer in the School of South Asia Studies, Pennsylvania, for one semester.
December: Visited Paris from America to attend UNESCO Conference on the Braille Script. (During stay in America called to lecture from Columbia University, New York, Yale University, New Haven and Washington Linguistic Circle, in 1951).

February, March: Traveled in Mexico for one month on a Rockefeller Foundation subvention (Visited Mexico and surrounding places, Pueblo, Oaxaca, Tehuantepec, Merida, Uxmal & Chichen-Itza).

June: Returned to the West Bengal Legislative Council (Upper House) as an Independent candidate from the South Bengal Graduates' Constituency.

Unanimously elected Chairman of the Council.

Made Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology by the University of Calcutta for 38 years' long and distinguished service.

February: Elected President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (served for 2 years 1953-1955).

March: Elected Honorary Member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, Oslo, Norway, in its Philosophical-Historical Section.

July-August-September: Visited West Africa (via Egypt & Libya)—Gold Coast, Nigeria & Liberia, for 3 weeks on a subvention from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

Attended International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge, August 1954, as a delegate from the Government of India, Ministry of Education.

October-November: Attended Congress on Indonesian Language called by the Indonesian Government at Medan in North Sumatra as Government of India Education Ministry Representative. Visited Bangkok on way back.

November & December: Participated in the work of the Winter School of Linguistics (as Honorary Professor) under the joint auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Deccan College at Poona.

January: Awarded the Padma-Bhushan Order by the President of India.

September 26th to November 2: traveled in China as a Member of the Indian Universities' Delegation invited by the University of Peking and the Peoples' Republic of China: visited Hongkong, Canton, Peking, Mukden, Shan-Yang, An-Shan, Fu-Shan, Nan-king, Shanghai and Hangchow."

CURRICULAM VITAE
Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji
(from a sketch made by Samuel Mello Lopez, Artist from Argentina in Mexico City, on 12 March 1952)
Elected Member of the Utrecht Society of Arts and Sciences, Holland.

Awarded Ratnakar Prize and Medal by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras for Hindi book on the Rajasthani Language.

Invited by the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., to act as Visiting Lecturer for Indian Linguistics in the Department of South Asia Regional Studies.

Travelled extensively in India. Connected with the Universities of Dacca, Patna, Cuttack (Utkal University), Banaras, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Bombay, Poona and Nagpur as Examiner for Doctorate and other examinations, as Member of Selection Committees, and as invited Lecturer. Several times Sectional President in the All-India Oriental Conference; Vice-President of the Council of the Conference. Elected Correspondent for Indian Languages, Institute of Cultural Co-operation, League of Nations, Geneva. Made a Member of the Permanent Council for the International Conference on Phonetic Sciences, London and Ghent; of the International Editorial Board for the 'Acta Linguistica', Copenhagen; of the Permanent International Council of Linguists, Paris and Nijmegen, Holland.

Formerly Vice-President, Vangiya Sahitya Parishad (Academy of Bengali Literature), Calcutta; connected with the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal as Vice-President and Philological Secretary; Honorary Member of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Hindi Literary Academy), Banaras; Honorary Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Bombay; Honorary Member, Sadul Rajasthani Research Institute, Bikaner, Rajasthan. Connected with other Universities and Research and Cultural Institutes in India.

Connected with the Visva-Bharati University founded by Rabindranath Tagore as a Member of its Governing Body for a long number of years.

Appointed Member of some Educational and Linguistic Committees and Boards of Experts by the Government of India and the Government of West Bengal.

In addition to the books mentioned above, author of a large number of papers and monographs, in English, Bengali and Hindi, on linguistic, literary, historical, art, travel and general topics. One
of the well-known prose writers of Bengali; has written extensively on his travels in Europe and Asia, and on linguistic subjects. His 'Dwipamaya Bharata' or 'Indonesia' won warm praise from Rabindranath Tagore.

An Educationist of 36 years of standing. Acknowledged to be a Leader in the domain of the Linguistic Science in India. Rabindranath Tagore dedicated his book on the Bengali language to him, and gave him the title of 'Bhashacharya' or 'Master of Speech'.

Is interested keenly on the question of International Kinship and Co-operation in Cultural Matters. Has prepared for the UNESCO a monograph on the Culture of India and its Value in the Modern World. Has studied and spoken as well as written on the Cultural Trends in Various Lands (Indonesia, Burma, West Africa, Mexico, Turkey, Egypt, etc.) Is well-known in Select Intellectual and Academic Circles in many countries of the world.
BRIEF SKETCH OF FAMILY HISTORY

Vitaraga, Samavedin (Kauthumi Branch) Brahman of the Kasyapa clan, ancestor of the Chatterji and a number of other Brahman families of Bengal some 30 generations ago, is believed to have come with four other Brahmans from Kanyakubja (Kanauj) in Northern India (Uttara Pradesh, U. P.), and settled in West Bengal in the 11th or 12th century A.D. One of his grandsons Sulochana, the son of Daksha, was honoured by King Ballalasena of Bengal (1158-1179) and granted the village of Chatutti in West Bengal, whence the family name 'Chaturjya' or Chatterji, Sanskritised as 'Chattopadhyaya'.

After the Turki conquest of West Bengal in the 13th century, the family is believed to have migrated into East Bengal. Eleventh in descent from Vitaraga was Avasathin Sarvesvara, who performed some Vedic sacrifices. Eighteenth generation from Vitaraga was Ravikara, early 17th century, who became a member of the Sarvananda 'Mel' or Group of West Bengal Brahmans. Twentieth in descent was Yadava Sarvabhauma, a great Sanskrit scholar. Twenty-sixth was Bhairava Chandra, great-grandfather of Professor Chatterji, who came from East Bengal and settled in Hugli District in West Bengal. Iswar Chandra, one of his sons, Professor Chatterji's grand-father (died 1906), studied Persian and English, and served the East India Company in North India during the 'Mutiny' (or War of Independence) of 1857. He built his house and settled in Calcutta. Professor Chatterji's father Babu Haridas Chatterji (1862-1945) served in an English mercantile firm in Calcutta for over 40 years, and he was a good Poet in Bengali and a Musician (Violinist) of note. Professor Chatterji is the second of four brothers, one of whom, the eldest, Anadi Krishna, passed away some years ago.
LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS OF DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

(A) In English:


(3) A Bengali Phonetic Reader, University of London, 1928.

(4) Edition of the Varṇa-ratnakara, the oldest Maithil Text Extant (with Pandit Babua Misra), with critical and linguistic introduction: Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940.

(5) Indo-Aryan and Hindi, Ahmedabad, 1942 (Translated into Gujarati and Hindi).


(9) Linguistic Introduction to the Uktīvyaktī Prakarana, a text in Sanskrit and Old Awadhi, as edited by Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, Bombay, 1953.

(10) The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Intermixture in India: being the Presidential Address delivered before the 17th All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, 1953.

(11) Assam and India: A course of Lectures delivered before Gauhati University: 1954.

Besides over 180 published articles on linguistic, cultural and general subjects, and over 100 Radio talks, in English.

(B) In Bengali:

(1) An edition of the Portuguese work on Bengali Grammar by Manoel da Assumpção (1743), with Bengali Translation, in collaboration with Prof. P. R. Sen.

(2) Chaṇḍidāsa-Padāvali (A Critical Edition of the Padas of Chaṇḍi-
dāsa) in collaboration with Pandit Hare-Krishna Mukherji, Sahitya-ratna; Vol. I only: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1933.

(4) Dwīpamaya Bhārata (Travels in Indonesia with Rabindranath Tagore in 1927): Calcutta, 1940.


(8) Bhārata-Sāṃskṛiti (the Culture of India): Essays: Calcutta, 1944.


Besides, a number of Text-books, and over 180 published papers, articles, presidential addresses and introduction to books in Bengali and over 100 Radio talks.

(C) In Hindi:


(2) Ritambhārā (A Series of Essays, Literary, Historical and Cultural), Allahabad, 1951.

(3) Bhārat-Kī Bhāshāeṇ aur Bhāshā-Samasyāeṇ (The Languages and Linguistic Problems of India): Allahabad, 1951.


Besides a score of published articles, and introductions to books, as well as over a score of Radio talks in Hindi,
LEXICOLOGICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KĀRAṆḌAVYŪHĀSŪTRA

BY

CONSTANTIN REGAMEY

Fribourg, Lausanne, Switzerland

The Kāraṇḍavyūha (cited in subsequent lines as Kv.) is a text belonging to the third class of Escorial's classification of Sanskrit Buddhist literature; it means that here both verses and prose are composed in a language intended to be current Sanskrit, tolerably correct in grammar, but showing frequently Prakritic features of style and construction and using a particular "Buddhist" vocabulary. According to the more detailed classification of Professor John Brough, Kv. would present the characteristics of the late Avadāna style and of the medieval Buddhist Sanskrit, frequent in tantric works, though not confined to them. Moreover, it was undoubtedly a work of popular character and as such has preserved in its vocabulary, along with a lot of well known Buddhist technical and semitechnical terms, a certain amount of words unrecorded elsewhere. From that point of view it is a rather important document for the study of the history of the Sanskrit popular vocabulary.

A great part of these lexical features have been listed by Professor Franklin Escorial in his invaluable "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary". But the author of that monumental work had at his disposal only a noncritical printed edition of the Kv. and he could not consult either the Tib. or the Chin. versions. This printed edition is a very peculiar one; its readings differ almost in every line from the evidence of the majority of the Mss., and there is no possibility to control how far these readings are based on a particular (and obviously very corrupt) Ms. or represent the emendations of the editor.

The present writer is preparing a critical edition of the Kv. on the basis of many Nepalese Mss. (from the 14th till the 19th centuries); he had the privilege to consult the unfortunately incomplete Ms. of the Gilgit collection and could compare all those readings with Tib. and Chin. translations. On the basis of these sources, the lexical peculiarities of the Kv. appear in a new light. The work on the edition of Kv. being not yet finished, the data that I can present here are necessarily incomplete. But I hope that the already acquired results are of certain interest for the scholars working in the field of Indian historical lexicography. And with this hope I allow myself to offer these few gleanings as a token of my deep esteem for the guru of modern Indian linguists and the highly respected friend Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

Words recorded till now exclusively in the Kv.

I

1. Garments and ornaments.

"uttaryā "ornamental covering."

This word appearing exclusively as the second member of a Tatpuṛuṣa seems to be of feminine gender; in longer compounds it has the form "uttaryā- and its Plural "uttaryāni does not prove that it is also neuter, since the ending -āni is in the Kv., as in many other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, a general plural termination for all the three genders (cf. in the Kv. stambhāni, vrksāni, upā-nahāni, etc.). Its meaning is undoubtedly "covering," and Edgerton's explanation of this word as derived from the Skt. and Pali uttarīya "upper or outer garment" through AMG. uttariya in the way of hypersanskritization is very convincing. This hapax legomenon of the Kv. appears in three Tatpuṛuṣas: karnapṛṣṭhottaryā (two references), hastottaryā and karnottaryā. The exact meaning of these compounds must have been obscure already to the Tibetan and Chinese translators of the Kv. The first mentioning of karnapṛṣṭhottaryā (printed edition 7-20) is completely misunderstood. We find in the Tib. text phyi-rol-na rin-po-che'i gdu-bu. Rin-po-che is probably a misreading rata for karna and in phyi-rol-na we can find either the translation of "outer" of uttaryā or an awkward rendering of pṛṣṭha (though phyi-rol-na means generally "outside", phyi alone has also the meaning of "back"). The Chinese translates "variegated lotus flowers", which can correspond to a false reading karbuṣṣepotpāla. At the second mentioning of this word (pr. ed. 30-12) the Tib. refrains from translating and the Chinese

5. BHS Dictionary, s.v. 1 uttaryā.
repeats his "flowers". And yet one can observe precisely on Tibetan statuettes of female goddesses a characteristic ornament covering the posterior and upper part of the ears which corresponds very exactly to the etymology of kARNAPRŚOTTARYĀ.

kARNOTTARYĀ denotes a similar ornament. Here the Tib. translation is clear: sūn-gyi gon rgyan "the upper ornament of the ear."

To hastottyā, left untranslated in Chin., corresponds in the Tib. text se-ral-gyi rgyan. The meaning of se-ral, unrecorded in usual dictionaries, can be deduced from se-ral-kha "garment covering the shoulders until the armpits" and from the Mahāvyutp. 6030 se-ral-’phreñ = pārśvasūtraka. Thus hastottyā seems to denote a vesture for shoulders (short pelerine? epaulets?)

AṅGuśTAVIbhEDIKĀNI.
AṅGuśṣṭa "finger-ring, thumb-nail" (?)

The last of the above mentioned enumerations of ornaments (pr. ed. 78·21) contains a hapax aṅGuśṭAVIbhEDIKĀNI. Edgerton accepts in his Dictionary the translation proposed already by Schmidt, Nachträge and repeated in the Additions to the new edition (1951) of the Dictionary of Monier-Williams: "thumb-separater, a kind of mitten with separate hole for thumb." Linguistically it is undoubtedly the best interpretation of this word. Yet, the Tib. version gives for that word the translation sOR-gDUB-gYi rMAm-pa which means "(different) kinds of finger-rings". This interpretation presupposes 1.) that vibhediKA can have the same meaning as vibheda and 2.) that aṅguśṣṭa can denote a finger-ring. The first eventuality is not quite excluded, especially if we impute to vihediKā a feminine gender (with the same general plural ending -āṇi). The suffix -āṇi can form such abstracts from verbal roots, e.g. āśikā "the act of eating", jivika "life", and also bhedikā "distinction". On the contrary the meaning "finger-ring" of aṅGuśṣṭa is till now unrecorded. But the Kv. itself seems to corroborate this interpretation. In an earlier enumeration of ornaments we find: (kumārīṇām) ....... hastottyā-kARNApRŚOTTARYĀ-hastāṅGULIYĀNĀM vāMāṅGuśṭHA sasamāyuktāṇām. The

7. So all the Mss. but one, which has kARNApRŚOTTARYĀNI. The pr. ed. (78·21) has a false reading pRŚOTTARYĀNI.


10. This reading is based on the majority of Mss. They all differ from the text of the pr. ed. (30·12) which drops vāMāṅGuśṭHA.
translation of the last epithet as "(girls) ... endowed with the left thumb" is of course absurd. The position of the words in enumeration does not allow one to consider vāṃṅguṛṭha as attributive to hastāṅguṛṭha. Accordingly, the Tib. translates separately hastāṅguṛṭha (sor-gdub "finger-ring") and vāṃṅguṛṭhasamānāyukta (nte-bo gyön-pa sor-gdub daṅ ldan-pa "endowed with rings for the left thumb"). If in the first case the Tib. interpretation was not very convincing, here this is the only reasonable translation. Would aṅguṛṭha in both cases represent an imperfect sanskritization of a MIA aṅguṛṭha derived from aṅguṛṭha "thumb nail"? Would it denote perhaps the long artificial metallic finger such as oriental dancers bear during their performances?

2. Onomatopoetic verbs

raṇa-raṇa-yate and jhanajhaṇa-yate "to tinkle, jingle"

The tinkling produced by the above mentioned ornaments is rendered in the Kv. by a series of onomatopoetic participles translated in the Tib. version uniformly by sgra ṣil ṣil mchi, but appearing in the Mss. in very divergent forms. The printed edition records three participle of that kind: raṇa-raṇa-yāmāṇa (30-4), sarasarāyāmāṇa (30-13) and ruṇa-raṇa-yāmāṇa (86-18). Though all these words are unknown to the standard Sanskrit and unrecorded in the dictionaries, Easton lists in his Dictionary merely sarasarāyāmāṇa (s. v. sarasāryate), that is precisely the unique of those words which is not found elsewhere than in the printed edition. In the Mss. we find: jha-raṇa-rāyāmāṇa, jharujhar-rāyāmāṇa, jhurujhirāyāmāṇa, surusurāyāmāṇa and completely corrupt forms like raṇa-rāyāmāna or arakrūyāmāna. Yet, this chaotic evidence is not so hopeless as it appears at the first view. The resemblance of the Nepalese akṣaras jha, a, y, sa explains the diversity of various readings and, on the other side, the similarity of the akṣaras ra and sa allows to reconstruct the original form, which could easily have given rise to all these monstrosities of the copyists, as jhanajhaṇa-yāmāṇa. And the interchange of ra and sa being constant in those texts, we come finally to the onomatopoetic verb jhanajhaṇa-yate well attested even in the Kāvya Sanskrit.

For the first reference the readings are not so divergent, and the great majority of the Mss. confirm raṇa-raṇa-yāmāṇa. Here we have a new word, recorded in this form only in the Kv., but which can be easily derived from the noun raṇa cited by Easton with the meaning "sound" (brahaṃsvarādhika-raṇa, Divyāvadāna 40i.3-4) and especially from raṇa-raṇa "tinkling sound" cited by Scu nth, Nachträde, from the Samayamāṭrya īi, 21. Thus sarasāryate must be cancelled in Easton's Dictionary and a verb raṇa-raṇa-yate must be added.
It is very probable that the original form of the third reference of the Kv. was also runarunāyamāna. But only two Mss. support this reading, all the others giving runarunāyamāna. The persistence of u in the variant readings (also in the cases like jharujhāraṇyamāna, jhurujhāraṇyamāna, surusurāya-
māna) is so great that, quite probably, we have here not a simple graphic lapsus, but a genuine neologism, the instability of vowels being normal in onomatopoetic words.

We find a similar interchange of vowels (but going in an opposite direction) in another onomatopoetic participle of the Kv. viz. in guḍaguḍāyamāna "producing a grumbling noise."

We cannot separate that word from the well attested guḍagudāyate (Suśruta, 2, 461, 16, Meghasūtra 288, 15, etc.) or guḷagulāyati (Meghasūtra 294·12). Anyhow, the Mss. of the Kv. being unanimous for guḍagud, there is no need for "correcting" their reading.

3. \textit{valkalā} "intestine"

The just mentioned word for grumbling is used in the Kv. to describe the noise produced by the burning entrails of men condemned in the hells to swallow pills of melted iron. The corresponding passage in the pr. ed. (37·6) runs as follows: teṣām oṣṭham api dantāni viśīryante tālāni viśpuṇtante kaṇṭham api tālum api ṣrīyaṃ api yantravat kalā niḍakāyamānā sarvaṃ taṃ kāyam dahyangante. The evidence of the Mss. and the comparison with analogous "clichés" in other Buddhist texts allows correcting many of these awkward forms: dantāpi for dantāni, nālam for tālum,11 guḍagudāyamānāni for nīgu- 
āyamānā, ni belonging to the preceding word. But precisely this preceding word is difficult and might have been enigmatic from the beginning, since the Tib. refrains from translating it and adds simply gzhon yan "and other (organs)". Yet, the readings of the Mss. are almost unanimous. We find once antravatkuvalāni, twice antravatkalāni and, in all other Mss., antraval-
kālāni.

My proposition is to consider this \textit{valkala} or \textit{vatkala} as a false sanskritization of a MIA \textit{vakkalā} which might have been derived from OIA \textit{vṛkalā} recorded in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa 12, 5, 2·5. The context, concerned with the rites of purification of a corpse, shows clearly that this hapax (\textit{vṛkalā sapūrśa}) can be only a name of a part or a kind of intestines. For the etymology of this word cf. Sanskrit \textit{vṛkka}, Pali \textit{vakkha} "kidney". With

\begin{footnote}
11. tālum, recorded by all Nepalese Mss., is not only grammatically incorrect, but the return in the enumeration to the just mentioned palate is not logical. The correct reading is supported merely by Gilgit (nālam api), but it is confirmed by the Tib. \textit{lkog-ma} "oesophagus".
\end{footnote}
this meaning the hypothetical *vakkalā would perfectly fit antra-. Both
vakkala and valkalā could be wrong sanskritizations of that word, but *vakkala
seems more probable, not only because it represents the reading of the ma-
jority of the Mss., but also because it can be more easily explained. The fortui-
tous identity of *vakkala with the MIA name of the bark of a tree can have
suggested an identical sanskritization valkala which in usual Sanskrit denotes
precisely the bark.

4. dhātvāvaropana “depositing of relics” (in a stūpa).

According to Edgerton’s Dictionary (s. v. avaropana) this compound
occurs exclusively in the Kv. Professor Baouc, however, has found this
word also in the Divyāvāyadāna, x, and in the colophon of the Subhāṣita-
ratnakaranḍa.12 As I have already pointed out,13 the correct form must have
been dhātvāropana, as shown by ṛopapati (Divyāvāyadāna 484·13 and 485·18)
meaning “to bury”14 and, for the Kv., by the unfortunately single and incom-
plete evidence of the Gilgit Ms. : ...tuāropana; the words with ॐ of the
Nepalese Mss. might have resulted from a misinterpreted sandhi (dhāt)
व.15 This form, however, occurs not only in almost all the variant read-
ings of the Kv., but also in the references cited by Baouc. Thus it seems
that, though the ancient and correct form (for which we have till now only
the evidence of Gilgit and of the variant readings of the Subhāṣitaratnakar-
ṇaḍa)16 was dhātvāropana, the corruption dhātvāvaropana must have been
old and adopted by the Buddhist tradition. As such it deserves to be accepted
as a real quasi technical Buddhist term and cannot be banished as a mere
false reading.

II

agnikhadā “fire-pit”

This word is by no means a hapax legomenon. It has been listed in
the Mahāvyutpatti (6622, with the Tib. translation me-mur-gyi ‘obs; in the

14. To which we can add now dhātus ṛopayate, dhātoḥ sampāroṇa, dhātum ṛopyaḥ and dhātvāropana quoted by Baouc, op. cit., p. 363, foot-note.
15. Baouc suggests in the same foot-note that avaropana may have resulted from
a contamination of ṛopana with avaropana. But I am convinced that dhātvu-avaroṇa
has never existed, since the meaning of avaropana (“withdrawal, cutting off, discrediing”
etc.) is opposite to the required sense of “depositing of relics”.
16. The two or three references of dhātvārṇpaṇa in Nepalese Ms. of the Kv. are
so rare in comparison to the majority of readings with *avaroṇa, that we can consider
them as graphical omissions of the aksara va rather than as evidences preserving the old
form.
Tib. version of Kv. simplier : me ‘obs), and numerous references are found in the whole Sanskrit Buddhist Literature (cf. Egoerron’s Dictionary, p. 4). But the history of this word is rather curious and deserves a larger analysis than those made till now.

U. WOGIHARA states in his work “Lexikalisches aus der Bodhisattva-
bhūmi” p. 26, that the Buddhists use khadā exclusively in the compound
agnikhadā. But Egoerron quotes (p. 203) also aṅgārakahadā “pit of coals”
from the Avadānasataka i. 221.8 And it would be difficult to separate the
latter from the till now mysterious Pali imghālakku (Therīgāthā 386) ex-
plained in the Therīgāthā Commentary as aṅgārakāsū. This Pali word seems
to point to the original *aṅghālakhā, the formation being of the same kind as
in vedāgū, pāragū, sabbhairu, viṅgū etc. Anyhow, this limitation of khadā
in the Buddhist tradition to the words denoting fire or coal pits is rather
striking, especially because this word is completely missing in the classical
Sanskrit. Yet khadā might have existed during all that time in the popular
language, since it is recorded so to say on both extremities of the history of
Indo-Aryan languages. In the Sanskrit literature it occurs only in the Kau-
śikasūtra of the Atharvaveda, in a text of an undoubtedly popular character
and containing many rare and elsewhere unrecorded words. The explana-
tion of this word given by Dārīlabhaṭṭa in his Kauśikabhāṣya—khadā=gartāh,
svabhāvajah—proves that we have here exactly the same word as in aṅgā-
khadā. On the other side we have in modern Hindi the verb khodñā “to
dig, to carve” and the noun khadān. Contrary to the old khadā, mean-
ing “natural cavity”, this khadān denotes rather “a ditch dug for some pur-
pose, a mine”. But there can be no doubt that we have here the same word,
though it seems rather astonishing that it has not undergone more important
phonetic modifications during such a lapse of time. It is also striking that
in NIA a word so similar to Sanskrit khadā occurs, as far as I could state it,
only in Hindi, other languages having either derivations and tatasmas of
classical Sanskrit khāni, khāta (this also in Hindi), etc. or words pointing to
MIA *khāda-, *khadda-, *khalla- (cf. Turner’s Nepali Dictionary s. vv.
khāyal, khāri, khālo).

Till now Sanskrit khadā seems to have escaped the attention of the
etymologists. In fact it is rather difficult to find any plausible OIA etymology

17. Paper included in WOGIHARA’s edition of the Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Tokyo, 1930-
1936.

18. Cf. The Kauṣikī-Sūtra of the Atharva-Veda; with extracts from the Commen-
taries of Dārīla and Keśāva. Ed. by Maurice BLOOMFIELD. JAOS, xiv, 1890, 32, 1. 45. 1.
19. It would be difficult to consider Hindi khadān as a Tatząna, since khadā was
practically unknown to the Sanskrit literary tradition.
for this word. Morphologically impeccable would be only the derivation from the root *khaḍ (Dhātupātha iii, 13) "to be steady, to kill, to eat", but it is highly improbable semantically, and besides, this verbal base seems to be quite artificial. Still less convincing would be the connection with khaḍ "to eat". There remains the derivation from the root khaṇ "to dig, excavate" which is quite naturally suggested by the signification of khaḍā, but morphologically this derivation is excluded only not because the suffix -da is extremely rare, but principally on account of the short a in the root, the weak form of khaṇ being regularly kha- (khaṭa, khaṭi, khaṭra, etc.). Yet, there is a possibility of defending this derivation when we consider khaḍā as a Prakritism. In Pali the past participle khaṭa interchanges with khaṭa which has also the meaning "dug up, uprooted" (cf. also pali khaṭa "dug round"). The latter form presents no artificial shortening of a, but results from the contamination, in MIA, of the verbs khaṇaṭi = OIA khaṇaṭi "to dig" and khaṇaṭi < OIA kṣaṇoti "to hurt, injure, wound". Thus khaṭa represents OIA kṣaṭa, but, owing to the confusion of both verbs, also takes the meanings of khaṭa. The voicing of intervocalic t is normal for the MIA, and thus we can easily admit that at the side of the genuine khaṭa (which since the oldest time had also the substantival meaning of "excavation, ditch, well, pond") there existed a popular form *khaḍa with the same meaning. There remains, however, the difficulty of explaining the feminine gender of the latter which is extremely rare in verbal adjectives with substantival function; āyataḥ "an arrow (put on), a musical interval", Vedic śītā "furrow" (from the IE *sče- "to sow"), jīvitaḥ "life" (at the end of compounds) are rather poor evidences.

But there exist more important difficulties for this etymology. Precisely if we consider khaḍā as a Prakritism, we cannot separate it from the vocables of the same meaning actually attested in Prākrit like khatta, gada "hole", khadda (feminine!) "mine" and also the above mentioned MIA forms suggested by the NIA. All these words cannot be derived from the same prototype *khaṭa/khaṭa. And when we find a series of words having practically the same meaning, resembling phonetically but defying all the rules of phonology and morphology, it is very probable that we are dealing with loanwords from a foreign language. And precisely our group of words has been recently dealt with by the specialist of Munda loanwords in IA, Professor F. B. J. KUIPER. He adds to the above mentioned MIA forms Vedic

20. And also by a close parallel between aśgārakhaḍa and Pali śaṅkhaḷaṭa, where khaṇ < khaḍa < khaṇ.


22. F. B. J. KUIPER, Two Rigvedic Loanwords, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, Festschrift Albert Debrunner, Bern 1954, p. 245. I am indebted to Dr. M. MAYRHOFER for having drawn my attention on this point of the paper of KUIPER.
There remain at the end a few remarks to be made which bring no new lexicological data, but can furnish slight corrections or supplements to some entries of Edgerton’s Dictionary.

anyonya in the meaning “various, different” (= anyamanya).

To add to the references listed by Edgerton (p. 42) also the Kv. The printed edition 31.21 has nāṇājanturūpena, but the Mss. inclusive Gilgit show anyonyarūpena or anya anyarūpena (only two Mss. give anyarūpena which is but a lectio facilior).

jṛmbhikṛta in the meaning “made to appear, caused to stand out.”

Edgerton was induced to this unusual translation of the reference of Kv. (pr. ed. 31.11) by the context which speaks of heavily locked and barricaded gates. Now, the Chin. and Tib. versions confirm this interpretation which has not been stated in any other text. The Chin. translator renders jṛmbhikṛtāni (āvārāṇi) exactly in the same manner as Edgerton’s “(the gates) were caused to stand out”. The Tib. translation bkum-mo is not clear: “(the gates) were crooked, bent together (?).” Anyhow, it does not support the meaning “opened”, and this peculiar meaning of jṛmbhikṛta in the Kv. deserves listing.

mahānagna “athlete.”

In this case, on the contrary, the Tib. version does not confirm the assertions of Edgerton. The pr. ed. of the Kv. 41.21 has an obvious mistake mahāmagna which is rightly corrected by Edgerton into mahānagna. We can add that at least 3 Mss. give here mahānāga, which is thus a form occurring not only in Pali, but known also to Nepalese copyists. Yet, both Gilgit and the oldest Nepalese Mss. confirm nagna. As to the meaning of this word, Edgerton (p. 423) states: “pw and Speyer, Av. Index render athlete, but this is only an attempt to explain the word etymologically; it is implausible, and opposed by Tib.” And he quotes the Tib. translations from Mahāvyutpatti and Lalita-
vistara tshan-po "dignitary, grandee". Now, the translation "athlete" is not an invention of occidental authors only, but it was known also to the ancient translators. The Tib. version of this place of the Kv. has the translation stobs-po che = "great athlete".

\[melan\text{du} (ka) \text{ "ink-bottle."}\]

The form meran\text{du} listed by Edgerton on the authority of the pr. ed. of Kv. (92.7) has to be cancelled. The constant confusion of \(r\) and \(l\) is the well known orthographical habit of Nepalese copyists. The great majority of the Mss. of Kv. give in this place the reading melan\text{du} or melan\text{du} and there is no evidence in the Kv. (till now, the only Sanskrit Buddhist text which, together with the Mahāvyutpatti, records melan\text{du}[\text{ka}]] which could suggest that there existed a genuine, not only graphical form of this word with \(r\). The original form of this word is of course Sanskrit lex. melāndhu derived from melā "ink" (of Greek origine?) + andhu.

\[vird\text{āpā}a "putting to flight".\]

To the evidences of this form from Gaṇḍavyūha and Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,\textsuperscript{23} listed by Edgerton under this entry, must be added Kv. 11.19. The pr. ed. contains the standard Sanskrit vird\text{āpā}a, but this is probably the unnecessary correction of the editor. All the Mss. of Kv. give here the genuine Buddhist Sanskrit form vird\text{āpā}a.

\textsuperscript{23} Cf. further references quoted from Siūtāpatra by H. W. Bailey in JRAS, April 1955, p. 23.
VÉDIQUE NĪRRTI

BY

LOUIS RENOU, Tokyo

Parmi les forces nocives que le Veda mentionne en abondance, se trouve le nom nīrṛti. La forme de ce mot est bien claire: dérivé en -tti (donc, comportant a priori quelque valeur dynamique qui le prête à la personification) de la racine r-(ar) indiquant un certain ordre fixé, un arrangement prévisible du temps, du cosmos, de l'activité humaine ou rituelle: c'est cette valeur d'ordre qui semble bien être à la base des dérivés rātā, rātā, āram, et même ārtha au sens de "destination".

Avec le préverbe nis, nīrṛti signifiera inversement le "dés-ordre", le terme notera un facteur d'"entropie" (s'il est licite de transférer ici ce terme issu de sciences exactes) dans les représentations védiques.1

Le mot n'apparaît pas dans la grande hymnologie du RV., mais seulement dans les hymnes ou passages de caractère magique, impliquant quelque déprécation personnelle. De là, sa relative fréquence dans les portions magiques de l'AV. Dans leur monde conventionnel, les Rṣi redoutent que s'installe le désordre, la dés-organisation du monde: ils se la représentent sous

1. Comme il arrive souvent dans les verbes védiques, la racine r- (ar-) présente des traces d'une ambivalence, en sorte qu'on a la valeur privative ou ségrettive dans l'adverbe rātē "sans", dans ses dérivés comme arānā, arātā, peut-être ṛīhak (qui est également ambivalent); le verbe lui-même figure au moins une fois au sens de "mettre en fuite, disperser" (L138,2) et le substantif rātē désigne une force nocive. Cet emploi "nocif" est aussi celui que mettent en évidence, outre nīrṛti, les dérivés à préverbe āvarāti et ārāti (l'un et l'autre aux côtés de nā dans AV. X,2,10), ainsi que sāmṛti. — D'autre part, un doublet de nā est le masc. nīrṛthā, hapax du maṇḍ. VII; on retrouve ce terme dans l'AV. en variante de RV. nyarthā (V,3,9) "perdition" (nyarthā s'oppose à ārtha, comme nīrṛti à rātē, dans un autre passage de RV. VII,18,9; cf. aussi nyāṛpita dit des arbres "prostrés" par le vent AV. X,3,15); on le trouve encore dans deux passages de l'AV., XII,2,14 comme épithète du feu "annihilateur" (MS. niṛṛtā); et VI,93,1 comme épithète de Yama. — Le groupe verbal nis+rē- indique une privation, une perte violente; mais le nom verbal affirment niṛṛta L119,7 abolisien le sens de niṛṛti lorsqu'il est employé L117,5 pour désigner Vandana "qui se désagrégeait" sous l'effet de la vieillesse et que les Aśvin durent réanimer (sām ṛēḥ-) comme un char; au vers correspondant L117,5 il est dit que Vandana "dormait au sein de la niṛṛti". Enfin l'absol. niṛṛtā AV. X,2,2 semble bien se référer aux dieux qui "tirèrent (du chaos?)" des parties du corps humain, pour former l'Homme.
forme d'un démon, d'une entité malfaisante; l'un de ces noms, et celui qui pousse cette donnée à l'extrême, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'idée de "destruction, néantise", est **nīrśta**.2

La plupart des passages du RV. où le mot est attesté (il s'agit partout, sauf une fois, du 10me mand.) sont peu instructifs, parce qu'il s'agit d'invocations assez banales, d'émumérations où n° est joint à āmati, ārāti, durhānā,3 au nom des rākṣas et autres entités malfaisantes, dont la liste s'allonge dans l'AV., sans éclairer davantage la notion. L'une des rares épithètes est durvidātra, qui semble devoir signifier (en liaison avec son antonyme suvidātra) "celle dont l'abord est funeste". Le seul souhait d'apparence positive qu'on adresse à n° est de lui demander de s'éloigner : le préfixe pārā "au loin" revient comme un leitmotiv L.24, 9 VI. 74, 2 X. 59, 1-4; 95, 14; 164, 1; de même, pārās X.164,1; ces mêmes et d'autres mots semblables, AV. passim.4 On associera à ce groupe, en dépit des objections de Ge., le terme pārāparā L.38, 6, entendu comme un āmṛēśita de pārā.5 La notion de n° semble en plusieurs passages coïncider plus ou moins avec celle de mṛtyu "la mort", ou en être la représentation dynamisée. Les deux mots6 sont situés

2. Un autre terme qui, sous une forme atténuée, semble également avoir désigné le désordre (sur le plan cosmique ou éthique) est āṅrta, le "non-ron". Là où le terme s'oppose à ṛā, ainsi L152,1, il indique que Varuṇa et Mitra laissent derrière eux "tous les désordres" (āṅrūnī vāśā) et "suivent la voie de l'ordre" (ṛēnē...amēche); traduire par Unrech ou Unwürdigkeit serait rétrécir et parfois fausser tout le sens profond du poème. Des mêmes divinités il est dit L139,2 qu'elles "extirpent de l'ordre le désordre", C'est le "désordre" qu'engendrent les Pasū en gardant prisonnières les vaches—symboles de la lumière (IL.24,6 et 7); cet acte trouble la marche régulière du cosmos. Mais le terme āṅrta s'est de bonne heure orienté vers la notion du "mal" pur et simple, et notamment du "mal" en parole, erreur ou mensonge. Nous n'entendons que restituer un point de départ plausible.

3. Encore une idée de "destruction", plutôt substantifique—étant la base des dérivés durhānāyaù et "yant—qu'épithète de n°, ainsi que la pose Ge. nd L38,6.

4. Les ārā īrā et "éloignements" (de temps en temps renforcés par pārā "lointains") de RV. et AV. (passim)—éventuellement précisés en "trois ārā īrā" ou "sept pārās" (AV. X.10,3) ou "99 cours d'eau" (AV. VIII.5,9) sont un équivalent indirect de n°: pour ne pas nommer ce "domaine" situé au loin, on l'évoque seulement par un mot désignant la distance. Ce n'est pas un hasard si pārās est rapproché de pāpatā (au plur.) dans un passage d'AV. XII.5, 64 "les mondes mauvais, les éloignements" (ou est destiné à aller le brahmaśaya, le violenteur du brahmāna et du brahma).5

5. Cf. avec une valeur analogue le préverbe āpa, qui figure X. 76, 4 en accompagnement de l'impératif hata et se sous-entend avec akāhyātā et sēdātā ibid. (cas de préverbe multivalent), d'où le sens insolite pris pour skabh-pour cet unique passage.

6. Mṛtyu est une entité neutre, je veux dire qu'elle est sentie comme une simple résultante des lois préétablies. Les hommes sont mṛtyubāndhu; la mort est leur propre, comme la non-mort (āmṛtā) est le lot des dieux. Mṛtyu et āmṛtā (avec cette disparité morphologique qu'on retrouve dans d'autres noms de couples contrastés) sont associés
près l'un de l'autre dans l'AV., ainsi X.3, 7 et XII.2, 3. Dans AV. III.6, 5 on invite la n°—sorte d'agent d'exécution de mṛtyu—"à lir ces (ennemis) avec les lacets inextricables de la mort", sinātva enān niṃṛṣṭir mṛtyoḥ pāsair anokṣiyatiḥ. La n° est invitée à mettre un licol (abhidhānti) à l'ennemi (AV. IV. 36, 10), tout comme on dit ailleurs que l'âge et la mort ont mis à l'homme un licol, "la bonne corde" de AV. III. 11, 8. Il est question dans le même texte "des lacets de la n°" (L.31, 2), de la "corde inextricable" que "la divine n°" a mise autour du cou du malade, VI.63, 1 et 2, de ce "carcan (drupādā) de fer", qui l'enserre de mille morts, ibid. 3; enfin des "liens mortels" (nairṛtā) de la maladie (grūhi) XIX.45, 5.

Déjà dans le RV., le pigeon (kapóta) annonciateur de la n° X.165, 1 était identique au messager de Yama-Mṛtyu, ibid. 4. Yamī invitant son frère à partager sa couche trouve cet argument "à quoi bon une soeur, quand la n° fera irruption!"; c'est-à-dire, que vaut le titre le "soeur", quand il s'agit de sauver la race? Quand Purūravas menace de se donner la mort, il exprime le vœu de "se coucher dans le sein de la n°" X.95, 14.

Mais il ne faut pas se hâter de conclure que n° = mṛtyu, que n° est une sorte d'hypostase de la mort. Elle peut s'opposer à la "mort", dans ce passage où est énoncé le souhait, mis dans la bouche d'un homme dont on désire prolonger la vie, "puisse la n° avaler ma vieillesse!" jarāṁ cin me niṃṛṣṭir jagraśīta V. 41, 17 : loin de conduire à la mort, la n° l'entrave ici bien plutôt. Elle a pouvoir même sur les dieux, sur Indra par exemple VII. 37, 7, lequel toutefois sait échapper aux n° (pluriel !). Dans l'hymne funèbre X.18 (10) où le mort est invité à ramper "sous la terre mère, la vaste terre amicale", le poète ajoute "puisse-t-elle te préserver du séjour de la n°!": ce séjour (expression qu'on retrouve X.161, 2, également pour un malade) n'est donc pas identique à la mort. C'est celui où tombent les méchants, ceux dont la parole est une drūḥ VII. 104, 9 et 14 : la notion de drūḥ, tout analogue à celle d' āyṛta, indique elle aussi un "désordre" oral et entraîne volontiers la mention de lieux funestes. De ce domaine funeste, on ne nous dit rien de plus, sinon qu'il est à l'autre bout du nāka VII. 58, 1 (les chevauchées des en maints passages du RV. et de l'AV., y compris (RV.) VII. 59, 12, que Pischel avait mis en doute et que l'ensemble des formules confirme. Incidemment, mṛtyu est apposé à jīvatu "vie", à arīṣṭātāti "intégrité physique" X. 60, 8. Le mṛtyu est la destinée que Yama a préférée à celle des dieux (X. 13, 4), plutôt que la non-mort (seconde interprétation de Ge.).—Dans l'AV. l'image de la "mort" s'éttoffe un peu davantage en empruntant aux emblèmes du dieu Yama les mṛtyupāda VII. 8, 10 et 16, les mṛtyoḥ... aghatā dūtha ibid. 10 (et 11), éventuellement mṛtyor āyam ibid. 18 "la brûlure de la mort".—Les autres noms de la "mort" n'ont donné lieu qu'à des tentatives, sauf une, assez instables: mṛtā, mṛta, mara, ṇmāra, maraṇa.
Marut von "de la n° jusqu'au firmament"), et nāka figure aussi au voisinage de n° AV. VI. 63, 3. On pourrait donc induire une localisation terrestre ou souterraine; de fait, l'AV. VI. 84, 1, décrivant une obligation destinée à "la bouche terrible" de la n°, ajoute que les gens du commun (jāna : ceux qui n'en jugent que par les apparences) croient (abhīprāmanvate; variantes pramāṇate ou vidūk dans le YV.) que la n°, c'est simplement "la terre": seul le poète sait, d'un savoir absolu, que cette divinité terrible est la nīrūtī.

L'idée dominante est donc bien celle d'une "force" ou d'un "séjour" se définissant par l'annihilation de l'être. Mais, comme nous l'avons laissé entendre déjà, l'idée première nous paraît être celle d'une force ou d'un séjour interrompant les lois du rtā, le lieu du "désordre". Le mot est juxtaposé à avamās VII. 58, 1 qui désigne "(l'espace) sans poutres", analogue à l'ākṛta yōṇi, au "séjour non fait, non façonné" de I.104, 7. L'"enfer" védique (puisqu'on en vient peu à peu à cette notion inéluctable, même si on s'étendue à l'éliminer), c'est d'abord le "désordre", ce qui rompt le cours régulier des choses et détruit l'harmonie.

Restent deux passages du RV.: (a) dans l'hy. à énigmes I.164 (32), il est question d'une entité qui, "cachée" dans le sein de sa mère, a pénétré dans la n° (tout) en ayant une nombreuse descendance: il doit s'agir, comme on l'a supposé, du "souffle" qui, revenu à son point d'origine, s'abolit en donnant naissance sans cesse à d'autres souffles (Ge.). La n° est ici une cessation (apparente) d'activité, une rupture du circuit (rtā) organique;

(b) dans X. 114, 2, on nous représente "trois n°" (ou : "les trois n°") qui assistent (au mystère rituel, en rāhṣya, que décrit l'hymne), "en vue de donner un"... ou une instruction" (deśṭraya). Quelles sont ces n°, ces divinités "instructrices", dont "les poètes (seuls) ont composé la connexion-ésothèque (le nidāna)"; "elles qui sont (immédiates) dans les lois secrètes les plus hautes (régiissant le cosmos)"; s'agit-il simplement, comme le pense Ge., sur le plan météorologique, de la "cession" du soleil, du feu, du vent; sur le plan rituel (joint au précédent?), de la "cessation" de l'hymne, de la mélodie, du souffle? Le rapprochement entre n° et deśṭra

7. N° est à cet égard semblable à un autre mot du groupe AV. VS. 88, nāstrā; en l'a dans AV. VIII. 227 ye nītṛṣyāva ākāsātaṁ yā nāstrā atītāydh, "ces cent et une morts, les destructions outre lesquelles on doit passer (si l'on veut continuer de vivre)".

8. Même expression dans l'hymne à Śūryā X. 85, 15, où les Āśvin jouent vis-à-vis de Śūryā le rôle de divinités "instructrices" (pour fixer sa place dans le char nuptial); en fin du même hy., figure aussi une deśṭra de la jeune mariée, sorte de déesse présidant à la cérémonie, ou peut-être de Devānī, fémininement personnifié. C'est cette même deśṭra qui est magnifiée dans l'AV., comme identique à la Virāj suprême ou à la Vāsā primordiale.
d'une part, et les entités suprêmes de l'AV. (dites déśṭrī) d'autre part, nous invite à viser beaucoup plus haut. Ces trois n° sont ces facteurs d'entropie (comme nous avons proposé de les dénommer), les forces de rupture du ṛtá sur les divers plans où se meut la spéculation ṛgvédique : espace céleste, aérien, terrestre, ou ("adhyātmam"). activités divine, rituelle, humaine. On peut imaginer d'autres affectations, mais la notion de n° doit bien être celle-là, une force dé-structurante, contre-partie équipollente des grandes entités positives de la pensée védique.

Ajoutons un mot encore. Comme nous l'avons vu, la n°, bien que ne désignant pas directement l' "enfer", devait y aboutir tôt ou tard. Elle y a abouti sous des formes subreptices : deux noms de l' enfer dans la littérature ultérieure, niraya et naraka, nous paraissent issus du vieux terme nīṛṛti. Le premier, niraya, est une simple accommodation, par substitution de la finale aisée -aya- à la forme malaisée -ṛtti-. Le mot naraka est, à première vue, plus difficilement conciliable. Mais d'abord il faut tenir présent à l'esprit que la forme ancienne est nāraka (AV.; nāraka du padap. est une modernisation) ou nārakā (Y.V.); nāraka n' apparaît que dans un texte védique tardif. Le passage en question de l'AV. est XII. 4, 36 "on appelle nāraka le monde de celui qui retient à son profit la (vache) qui lui a été demandée" athāhur nārakam lokam nirundhānāsyat yācitām. Nāraka est, à mon sens, le dérivé à vṛddhi d'un ancien *niraka (éventuellement *niryka), qui se sera substitué à nīṛṛti tout comme niraya et pour les mêmes raisons. La vṛddhi en -ā- sur un thème primitif en -i- est un procédé archaïque, qu'on retrouve dans kāverakā (AV.), śāyāsa (Y.V.), dārghasatra (P.) et autres formes citées chez WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER Ai. Gr. II. 2 p. 122 sq.
THE CASTE DIALECT OF THE MUCIS IN SOUTH-EAST BURDWAN

BY

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I came to know very recently that the Mucis (professional tanners, shoemakers and drummers) of the south-eastern part of the district of Burdwan in West Bengal use a dialect of their own when speaking exclusively among themselves. This dialect consists of a complete set of vocables for ordinary objects and ideas, which are entirely different from the vocables used in the local patois or in the standard dialect of the region. I have not yet been able to ascertain the extent of this class or caste dialect, but there is no reason to believe that it is strictly confined to those villages from which the data used in this paper have been collected.¹

The Mucis form the lowliest and most untouchable caste among the Hindus in West Bengal although as ceremonial drummers they have a definite place in all important religious ceremonies and ritualistic festivals. Being a totally excluded caste they could retain or develop a dialect of their own, which did not differ from the local dialect in grammar but mainly in vocabulary. By using their "code" words they could successfully hide or disguise their activities and behaviours which have been almost entirely different from that of the other people of the land. The dialect of the Mucis can very well be compared with the code languages (sandhyā-bhāṣā or sandhā-vacana) of the mystic caryā songs in Old Bengali.

The new political and social set up of the country is slowly but surely striking at the exclusion of the Mucis, and their dialect, I believe, is advancing on its way to extinction.

The vocables of the dialect presented here fall into three main categories: (i) archaic words lost in the standard and local dialects, at least in that particular sense; (ii) descriptive or onomatopoeic words that apparently originated in the dialect itself; and (iii) words of unknown origin and uncertain source. The numerals are shown as the fourth category.

(i) Archaic vocables lost elsewhere:

*bhit* ‘field for cultivation'; cf. St.² *bhīţā* ‘homestead’.
*bīšēl* ‘sufficient, enough’; cf. *visāla*.

1. I am indebted to Mr. Panchanan Mandal and to Mr. Tārakāś Mohanta for the collection of the material used in this paper.
cannä 'foot'; < carāya, bero cannä 'shoe'; lit.3 'inferior foot'.
cārā, cerā 'to do, to make'; < car-, māryā cerā 'come here!' gher cerā 'to pass stools', māryā masāi paltā cerān 'the master here gives (or earns) money.' cārkā 'go' cārkāi 'I have had a bath'; lūtiqe cārkhaāo 'go to bed.'
chei 'cut off'; < cēdayā.
cumri 'chin, beard'. cf. St. dāri comyāno 'to stroke one's beard'.
desāo 'give!' < desayā, desāpayā. It is likely that desāo came from St. de jāo through *dezāo; cf. nesāo 'take away!' < *nezāo < ne jāo.
ēderā 'night'; cf. Middle Bengali āndhiyāra, āndhiyārā.
gējāo 'beat (drum)! play on (instrument)!'; < *gañjāpayā, *garjāpayā, garjaya.
holārchā 'talk, speech'; cf. Apabhramśa hakkāra, St. hākār 'shout'.
kar 'hand'; < kara.
kerāi 'rolling one's eyes'; cf. Middle Bengali kijā 'to chastise, to show angry eyes.'
khārāo 'stand up!' cf. St. khārā 'straight up'.
khītche 'is eating, is biting'; cf. St. khēf 'a heavy meal' (pejorative).
khop 'home, hut, house'; cf. St. khop 'narrow aperture, cubicle.'
luto 'sleeping'; < lupta (?). lūtiqe 'to sleep'.
nabru 'cow'; < navarūpa (?); cf. St. goru < gorūpa.
neptāi 'bed'; cf. St. neptā 'to cover up, to wear tightly'.
parak 'cloth'; cf. St. parā 'to wear clothes'.
pātāri 'betel leaf'; < pātrākāra.
phalkāi, phalkāru 'fruit'; < phala +.
phalkāi 'testes'; < phala +
seṭo, sēto 'good, better, rich'; < śreṣṭha.
sibli 'water'; < śipāla, *śiphāla, śaibala 'water plant'. sibli chei 'toddy',
lit. 'water from scraping (a palm)'.
soj 'to understand'; < śudhya- (present base of śudh).
ṭelpe 'to push away, to throw away'; cf. St. ṭhelā 'push'.
ṭerāi 'eye'; cf. St. ār 'awareness, perception'; ṭerā 'squint-eye'.
thākur 'a Vaishnav'; cf. St. vaigav thākur 'a Vaishnav guru'.

3. Lit. = Literally.
(ii) Vocables evolving in the dialect itself:

bephas 'pen, goal'; cf. St. phas 'noose'.

bhāluk 'fever'; cf. St. bhāluk jvar 'ague of a bear'.

bhogol 'dog'; onomatopoetic.

bhruki 'hubble-bubble'; onomatopoetic. See phuphuli.

carboke phutke ' parched rice'; lit. 'exploding with a popping sound'.

cēckā 'child'; lit. 'crying one'.

cān rui 'fish'; lit. 'rohit fish caught in net'.

dātrip 'sugarcane'; lit. 'teeth-chewed' (?)

dhakāhake 'lantern'; lit. 'burning brightly'.

gambuj 'head'; lit. 'dome'.

ghastir pōd 'onion'; lit. 'bottom of a tuft'.

jibtek 'chilly, red pepper'; lit. 'pungent (?) to the tongue'.

khuttāi 'shoes'; lit. 'belonging to the upcountry'.

manpuri 'god, deity'; lit. 'that fulfils desire' < manah + pūra.

memāru 'goat'; onomatopoetic.

mulkādi 'mother'; lit. 'stem of a bunch'.

phāstiri 'bird'; lit. ' (target) of noose and arrow'.

phōpāsu 'snake'; onomatopoetic.

phuphuli 'hookah'; onomatopoetic. See bhruki.

pōdpal 'duck'; lit. 'that gives fruit from the bottom'.

ṭhokār 'goldsmith'; onomatopoetic.

ṭupo 'fermented drink, liquor'; lit. 'that drips', bāro ṭupo 'drink from fermented rice'; lit. 'inferior drink'; sēṭo ṭupo 'distilled liquor'; lit. 'superior drink'.

(iii) Vocables of indeterminate origin:

ābāng 'cold, winter'; < abhyaṅga?

ādṛe 'sweetmeat'.
ârphu 'tooth'.
ãsor 'pungent; scoundrel'.
ol 'courtyard'.
baitan 'cooked rice'.
bïlu bãgdi 'caste name'. Cf. dhâku.
bàoyâ 'tobacco'. ñëto bàoyâ 'cannabis indica'; lit. 'superior tobacco'.
bàro, bero, boro 'inferior; not good; low class man'. bero cannâ 'shoes';
lit. 'inferior foot'. bero ñëblãi 'pregnancy; lit. 'inferior belly'.
bero cenkãi 'kerosene'; lit. 'inferior oil'. bâr(o) tîupo 'rice gruel
fermented'; lit. 'inferior liquor'.
bàtpã 'hand'.
bhîsî 'tools'.
bhodo 'young woman, bride, woman'. thûro bhodo 'old woman'.
bhôrel 'wine seller'.
cadu 'man carrying a drum on back'.
carîng 'membre virile'.
cenkãi 'oil'. ñëto cenkãi 'mustard oil'; lit. 'superior oil'. bero cenkãi
'kerosene'; lit. 'inferior oil'. See cikan.
chôl 'speech, talk'.
cikan 'sun, moon, oil'. dhûp cikan 'sun's heat'.
ciyaní 'urine'.
cuyãrke 'public hair'.
dåyko 'påtikå plant'.
dáyke 'rice'.
dhêdel 'bridegroom'.
dhimi 'Muci (caste name)'.
dolã 'to speak'.
dumo 'any musical instrument'.
gajâlu 'pudendum muliebre'.
gher 'excreta'.
gheri 'Hãri (caste name)'; lit. 'sweeper'; cf. gher.
ghespi 'hair on the body'.
gûjke 'woman's breasts'.
hêkke 'sexual act'.

DIALECT OF THE MUCIS IN SOUTH-EAST BURDWAN
jhāgli ‘Hindu’.
jhāpti ‘Mussalman’.
jhopāl ‘mad man’.
jhupcero ‘rain-cover made of palm-leaf’.
kāngsār ‘witty man’.
kānsi ‘woman of higher caste’. sēto kānsi ‘lady’. kānsi sēto ‘good-looking woman’.
klālip ‘arrival of a dead cow in carrion ground’.
kham ‘mouth; wife’.
khine ‘rupee’.
kōdār ‘nightfall’. kōdār hāsi ‘sunset’; lit. ‘smile of nightfall’.
-kui: ghāskui ‘paddy straw’, tūskui ‘paddy; paddy-selling caste (Tili)’.
labsā ‘milkman’.
mābāsā ‘to bow down’.
mākra ‘men’.
mame ‘banana’.
mānrā ‘here’.
maru ‘Brahman (caste name)’.
moje ‘Aguri (caste name)’.
pakā ‘to start playing a tune’.
paltā ‘money’.
saggo ‘lady’s finger (vegetable)’.
suli ‘go! come!’
sulum ‘salt’.
tāblāi ‘belly, stomach’. bero tāblāi ‘pregnancy’.
ṭhānkāru ‘fuel’.
tiki ‘to move (something)’.

(iv) Numerals:
sikṭe ‘one’; < St. siki ‘four anna bit’ (?)
jorṭā ‘two’; < St. jorā ‘couple’.
neo ‘three’.
gonḍā ‘four’; St. ganḍā.
ad cāpar ‘five’; lit. ‘half a slap’.
cāpar ‘ten’; lit. ‘slap (of two hands ?)’.
VÁNTAM ÁPÁTUM

BY

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The 22nd chapter of the Uttarajjhāyā, the first Mulasūtra of the Jain Canon, tells the well-known story of Ariṭṭhāṇemi, the 22nd tīrthakara. Its title, however, is not, as we should expect, Ariṭṭhāṇemicariya but Rahapemijjaṃ, which is derived from the episode filling the last third (vv. 32-49) of the chapter. Ariṭṭhāṇemi’s former bride Rāyamaṭ, who after his pravrajyā has followed his example and entered the order, is caught by a heavy rain on her way to Mt. Raivataka; seeking shelter in a cave, she takes off her wet clothes. Ariṭṭhāṇemi’s brother Rahapeni, who has also turned monk, happens to enter the same cave, and on seeing her nude covets her and proposes to her to “enjoy pleasures” together and afterwards to return to “the path of the Jinas.” The frightened girl musters her courage and in a spirited reply convinces him of his folly so that “he returned to the Law like an elephant driven by the hook” (v. 46).

The ancient fame of this episode is attested by the fact that of the five stanzas spoken by Rāyamaṭ (41-45) three (42-44), plus the concluding statement v. 46, have been incorporated into the 2nd chapter of the Dasaveyāliyasūtta (= Das. 2, 7-10). The first two of these stanzas run as follows:

dhir-atthu te, jaso-kāmi, jo tam jīviya-kāraṇā
vantam icchasi āvēum! seyam te maraṇam bhave! 42/7
ahaṃ ca Bhoga-rāyassa, tam c’asi Andhagavanāko —
mā kule gandhaṇā homa! sanjāmani nihuo cara. 43/8

I add Jacob’s translation (SBE XLV, p. 118): “Fie upon you, famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life; it

1. No doubt this is the only correct translation. LEMANN has misunderstood the expression jaso-kāmi; he translates (ZDMG 46, p. 597): “Woh Dir in Deinem Ruhmverlangen” (“Woe be to you with your desire of glory”); SCBuMANN’s translation (in his edition and translation of Das., Ahmedabad 1903) “Fie upon you who are greedy of glory!” amounts to the same. Yet Rahanemi’s coveting of Rāyamaṭ and consequent intention to break his vows can hardly be ascribed to a desire of glory. I have no doubt that the Das.–Cūrti is quite right in explaining: “jaso-kāmino khaṭṭiyā bhāṃantu” (Haribhadra says: “he yaśaskāmin āti āśeṣyam kṣatriyāṃ sampantram”): Rāyamaṭ merely reminds the monk that he is a kṣatriya, which is exactly in keeping with the following
would be better for you to die. I am the daughter of the Bhoga-king, and you are an Andhakavrṣṣi; being born in a noble family, let us not become like Gandhana-snakes; firmly practise self-control!"

Obviously in order to explain the cryptic phrase mā kule gandhānā homo used in v. 43/8, the Das. has its quotation from Utt. preceded by the following stanza (Das. 2, 6):

\[ \text{pakkhande jatiyam jojā dhūma-keum durāsayam} \\
\text{nechhani vantayam bhottum kule jāyā agandhane,} \]

which Schumann translates: "Serpents that are born in a noble family would rather rush into a deadly fire that blazes and smokes than consent to swallow [the poison] they have sent forth."

This translation, as well as Jacobi's translation of Utt. 22, 43, is based on the explanation of the commentaries who describe a curious belief, further illustrated by a story reproduced by Laumann ZDMG 46, p. 604, that a snake-charmer can force a snake to return to the victim it has bitten and give it the choice to suck back (āpātam) from the wound the poison emitted (viśastu) by it or to rush into a fire kindled for the purpose; there are two kinds of snakes: the gandhāna will choose the former, the agandhāna the latter alternative.

A close parallel to the phrase kule jāyā agandhane of Das. 2, 6 is found Isibhāsiyāṃ 45, 40. V. 38 warns against abandoning the teaching of the Jina after having followed it:

\[ \text{telokka-sōra-garuyam dhimato bhāsitam imam} \\
\text{sammam kāṇa phāsettā puno na virame tato,} \]

"Having carried out to the full this teaching of the wise (Jina) one must not abandon it again." This exhortation is then stressed by three similes (vv. 39-41):

\[ \text{stanza where she appeals to him to remember his and her royal descent. That, however,} \\
\text{jāso-kāmi following after dhir-attih should be an address implying no blame seemed} \\
\text{improbable even to the ancient commentators, as is shown by the alternative (and doubt-} \\
\text{less erroneous) interpretation offered by the Čurni: "ahāvā dhir-attih te ayyas-kāmī,} \\
\text{ghanha-laṣṭhadattih samkāra lovaṃ kāṇa evaṃ pañjibhūjaḥ: dhir-attih te jāso-kāmī"} \\
\text{(Haribhadra: "atherā alcakā-pralīḍhad ayyācakāmin").} \]

2. Schumann, in his edition, understands kāṇa phāsettā as "taking in by the ear" and in his chāyā explains kāyenā by śrotrena. I see no difficulty in taking the phrase in the more literal sense of "having performed with one's body the rules laid down by the Jina."
VANTAM APATUM

buddha-cindho jadhā jodho vammārūdho thirayudho
siha-nāyaṁ vimunctītā palāyanto ya sobhāti 39
agandhane kule jato jadhā vāgo mahā-viso
muncittā sa-visan bhūyo piyanto jāti lāghaveṁ 40
jadhā ruppi-kul'ubbhūto ramanījyaṁ pi bhoyaveṁ
vantam pūno sa bhunjanto dhid-dhi-kārassa bhāyaveṁ 41

"As a warrior with his banner hoisted, clad in his coat of mail, with solid weapons, who utters a lion's roar and then flees, disgraces himself; as a very poisonous snake born in an agandhana family which emits its poison and then drinks it again becomes of no account; as one born from a ruppi family when eating food, lovely though it may be, which he has vomited, becomes the object of contempt ...."

Schubring blames the author for having confounded agandhana and gandhana; but agandhana is quite correct and in keeping with the two other similes: a snake which is really agandhana by birth disgraces itself by behaving like, and thus actually becoming, a gandhana one.

The strange expression gandhana in connection with kula, i.e., good family, occurs also in Pali. A stanza of the Itivuttaka (PTS ed. p. 64) reads as follows:

atijātāṁ anujātāṁ puttam icchanti pāṇḍitaṁ,
avajātāṁ na icchanti yo hiti kula-gandhana,  

"Wise men desire a son of higher birth or equal birth; they do not desire one of lower birth who is a kula-gandhana."

The introductory prose of the Itivuttaka offers the pious but hardly original explanation that an atijātā is the devout Buddhist son of non-Buddhist parents, the anujāta the Buddhist son of Buddhist parents, and the avajāta the non-Buddhist son of Buddhist parents; it has, unfortunately, nothing to say on kula-gandhana. For the latter the MSS have a variety of readings and explanations (kusajentuno, kulagandhano ti kulacchedako, kula-dhamso) merely testifying to the fact that kula-gandhana was unfamiliar and probably obsolete; but it is of course inadmissible (as suggested by the PTS Pali Dictionary s.v. kula) simply to remove the inconvenient word by "correcting" it to kulangāraka—the more so as the almost identical expression

3. ruppi (= rukmin) certainly seems hardly to make sense but Schubring's emendation sappa seems to me impossible: as shown by the ramanījyaṁ pi bhoyaveṁ, the stanza has no longer to do with the snake of the preceding one but introduces an entirely new and different simile.
kule antima-gandhīna occurs in gāthā 7 of the Kaṭhadīpāyanajātaka (Jāt. vol. IV p. 34):

pitaro ca me āsu pitāmahā ca
saddhā, ahū dānapati vadhāṇā;
tam kūllavattām ahuvattamāno
"māhaṃ kule antima-gandhīno [a]hun"
etassa vādassa jīgucchamāno
akāmako dānaṃ imam ādāmi,

"My parents and grandparents were faithful, they were liberal and bountiful; following this family custom—"may I not be the worst gandhīna in the family", shunning such talk I practise this liberality without liking it."  

In none of the Pali passages is there any mention nor even the faintest suggestion of snakes; and but for the commentaries and Isibbās. 45, 40 we should certainly never suspect that snakes were spoken of or alluded to in Utt. and Dass either. Further, in spite of the obvious kinship of all Pali and Pkt. passages quoted, there are important differences. The Itivuttaka speaks of a kula-gandhāna, where -gandhāna can only mean something like "destroying, spoiling, disgracing"; it seems difficult to separate the word from gandhāna "smell", and the explanation "one who brings the family into bad odour, who makes the family stink" might not be altogether unacceptable. In Dass. 2, 6 and Isibb., on the other hand, agandhāna is an adjective qualify-

4. The fem. antimagandhīnī occurs in the parallel gāthā 9, where the wife answers her husband's question why in spite of her avowed hatred she has faithfully remained with him:

ādī dūre na idha karāci atthi
paramparaṇa nāma kule ādāmiṃ;
tam kūllavattām anuvattamāna
"māhaṃ kule antimagandhīnī [d]hun"
etassa vādassa jīgucchamāna
akāmiko baddha carāmi tuyhaṃ.

paramparā is explained by the commentary as purisa-paramparā, "a series of husbands", i.e. there has never been a woman with more than one husband. KEW (Toev. s. v.) interpreted it as "defamation, ravishing", which hardly suits the context. I take it to stand for para-parā, "a woman intent on, devoted to, another (man but the husband)"; accepting for baddha KEW's reading paddha, I translate: "From olden times there has never on earth been in this family a woman devoted to another man but her husband; following this family custom—"may I not be the worst gandhīna in the family", shunning such talk I serve you faithfully, though I do not like it." — kule antimagandhīno is explained in Taddoika's Critical Pali Dictionary as "a blending of kula-gandhāna and kul'antima", which is probably right. The Jātaka commentary is not very helpful: it explains g. 7: chanattana kule saddha-pachchimako āvāna kula-palāpo ca mā assaṃ ti sullakkhetved etam kulantimā kula-palāpo ti vādāṃ jīgucchamāno . . . . . , and g. 9: attana kule pacchimakā palāpabhādu mā assan ti sullakkhetved etam kulantimā kula-gandhīnīti vādāṃ jīgucchamānā . . . . ; for the doubtful kula-palāpo cf. PTS Dict. s. vv. palāpo and palāsa.
ing the kula itself, not him who disgraces it; and in the strikingly parallel passages of Utt. and Kajhadičayanajāt, we have the locative kule as in Das. 2, 6, and Isibh., but with a nominat. gandhā, antimagandhino, ṛdhini similar to the -gandhāno of Itiv. Actually, the two passages Das. 2, 6 and Isibh. 45, 40 are difficult to reconcile with the rest, and if in them kula is not to mean "family, noble birth" at all but to denote two very strange species of snakes, this looks hardly original and genuine. The explanation of (a) gandhāna remains doubtful, and I confess my inability to explain how this term came to be connected by the Jains with snakes and snake-charming; but on the strength of the Pali parallels I am firmly convinced that in Utt. 22,42 Rāyamaś does not compare herself and Rahanemi to snakes of any kind. As to Das. 2,6, we shall see in the course of this investigation that this stanza, too, may at least originally have nothing to do with snakes but may have a very different and perfectly simple meaning.

The tale—it might be called a ballad—of Aritṭhanemi, Rāyamaś and Rahanemi is told in Utt. 22 very concisely, but coherently and complete, not necessitating reference to a fuller prose tale—with one exception. Rahanemi appears in the cave without even his name having been previously mentioned; we are not told who he is, let alone when and how he came to renounce the world. This lacuna is, of course, filled by the commentaries, and they tell the famous though unsavoury story of Rahanemi's previous wooing of Rāyamaś, when the latter, before her and his pravrājyā, in order to deter and convert him drinks a sweet beverage, vomits it with the help of an emetic into a gold cup and offers it to him; on his refusal to drink her vomit she explains that he is doing virtually the same in making love to her who has been "vomited" by Aritṭhanemi.

It has so far been taken for granted that this story is old and genuine and that Utt. 22, 42 is an allusion to it. Charpentier (ZDMG 64, p. 423) indeed remarks that it is virtually ("eigentlich") not found in the mula of Utt., but explains his "eigentlich" by adding that v. 42 (vantam icchasi

5. Does gandhāna represent the snake as sniffing when it sucks back its poison? Its bite is called a sniff-kiss Pancatantra 3, 81: aprāna api gajo hanti, jighrann api bhujangamah / hasann api yrio hanti, mānapann api durjanaḥ.

6. Another, and far less serious, lacuna—we should probably not feel it as such at all—was filled by the insertion of the three stanzas 21-23; they give details of Aritṭhanemi's pravrājyā no doubt considered theologically or otherwise important (participation of the gods in the celebration of the Great Event, location of the latter on Mt. Rāvatākā, date, etc.), but they most awkwardly interrupt the obvious connexion between v. 20 where Aritṭhanemi puts off his ornaments and hands them to his charioteer, and v. 24 where he plucks out his hair. That they are a later interpolation is further rendered absolutely certain by their being the only āryās in a chapter composed entirely in ślokas. This interpolation seems to have gone unnoticed so far.
ducum) would be absolutely unintelligible if we could not believe that the story was known also to the author of Utt.; later, in the commentary to his critical edition of Utt. (p. 360), he repeats that "the story is well known also to the author of the sūtra, which is to be seen from v. 42 infra." But is this really so?

That a girl scorned by a man, particularly a monk, can indeed call herself "vomited" by him is shown by Utt. 12, 21, where the princess Bhaddā says of the monk to whom her father had tried in vain to marry her:

*narinda-devinā 'abhivandienā jañ 'amhi vastā iṣṇā, sa eso,
"The monk, adored by princes and gods, by whom I have been vomited, that is he!"

But vom can, of course, have the more general meaning "to abandon", and in Jain and Buddhist scriptures it is particularly used with reference to the worldly belongings, the sensual pleasures and worldly desires one leaves behind and renounces when entering the order. In Utt. 14, 38 a king is called by his queen vantāsī "eater of vomit" because he has confiscated the property left behind by his purohita who has entered the order together with his wife and children:

*vantāsī puriso, rājana, na so hoi pasamsio,
māheceto pariccattato dhanāv adāum icchasi,
"A man who eats vomit, O king, he is not to be praised; you want to confiscate the property abandoned by the brahmin." In the parallel Pali story, the Hatthipāla-jātaka (509), the corresponding stanza (13) reads:

*avamī brahmāno kāme, te tevim paccāvaṃissasi;
vantādo puriso, rūja, na so hoti pasamsiyo,
"The brahmin has vomited the (objects of) sensual enjoyment; these you are going to eat again (prayā-ā-vamī)"; the second line is identical with the first line of Utt. 14, 38 except for the use of the synonym vantādo instead of vantāsī.7

7. With avamī brahmāno kāme may be compared Sūryaṇa 1, 6, 28: kohā sa māna ca taheva māyaṃ lobhāsu cauthama ajñātata-dosā / svātā vantā arāhā mahaśā na kusala pāve na kārave, "Anger and pride and delusion, greed as the fourth, having abandoned ("vomited") these inner faults the arhat, the great monk, does not commit sin nor cause it to be committed." Dhammapada 97 hatvāvaṃs'o vantāso sa ve utama-puriso is translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids: "with opening crushed, with longing spewed, he is indeed the man supreme." The PTS Dictionary renders vantāsā by "one who has given up all wishes." Cf. further Dhammap. 10 vantakaṭaṇa "one who has left behind all faults"; Dh. 261 vanta-mala "stainless"; Dh. 378 vanta-lokāmāsa "renouncing worldly profit." The contemptuous designation of the cow as vantāda may be rendered by "refuse-eater."
The preceding stanza of the Jātaka (g. 17), also spoken by the queen but not found in Utt., runs:

ĕte bhutvā vamitvā ca pakkamanti vihaṅgamā,  
ye ca bhutvā na vumimsu, te me hatthatham āgatā,  
"These birds who have vomited after eating fly away; but those who after eating did not vomit have come into my captivity." To explain this, the prose commentary tells a complicated story: in order to convince her husband that it was wrong to confiscate the brahmin's property, the queen had caused a heap of meat to be placed in the courtyard and to be covered with a net leaving only a small opening straight above the meat. Vultures were attracted and came to eat of the meat. The more intelligent ones, when having their fill, realized that they were too heavy to gain the opening and therefore vomited so that they became light enough to escape; the stupid ones swallowed the vomit of the clever ones, could not fly straight up through the opening and were thus caught.

Some outlines of this story may be genuine; the details are hardly to be trusted, and the point of the story is certainly distorted. In the gāthā there is nothing whatever to suggest a re-eating of the vomit; the meaning of the simile can only be: he who after having enjoyed sensual pleasures gives them up ("vomits them") attains salvation; he who does not do so "is caught" in the samsāra. The purport of the stanza, therefore, is not to warn the king against confiscating the brahmin's property but to induce him to renounce the world, which he actually does immediately after the next stanza (18, see above), thanking the queen in the following gāthā (19) for having saved him through her well-spoken gāthās. Clearly, therefore, the order of vv. 17 and 18 must be inverted: the queen first dissuades the king to "eat the brahmin's vomit" and afterwards contrives the simile which induces him to enter the order. And that simile furnishes another instance of the use of vam in the meaning "to renounce (the world)."

The closest parallel to Utt. 22,42, however, is found in Utt. 10,29, where a wavering monk is exhorted not to re-enter worldly life in these words:

ciccāna dhānam ca bhāriyam / pāvavo hi si anagāriyam  
mā vantam puṇo vi āśe. .................

"Having abandoned property and wife, you have entered the state of the houseless; do not drink again your vomit!"

If we read Utt. 22, 42 in the light particularly of this last passage, and without any preconceived ideas, there cannot be the slightest doubt that

8. The metre suggests a correction into anagāriyam (=aṇagāriyam, not aṇapāri-

mā).
Rayamaś's words "vantam iĉchasi āveṇa, seyaṁ te maraṇaṁ bhave" are nothing but a perfectly clear and intelligible warning against Raṇaṇemi's breaking his vows and thus re-entering worldly life; and Das. 2, 6 may have nothing to do with snakes but merely assert that a monk of good breeding who does not want to be a disgrace to his family will rather leap into a blazing fire than give up his monkhood and re-enter the world. In the two stanzas Ṣībh. 45, 40 f. quoted above, too, the drinking or eating of (one's own!) vomit is a simile for the defection from monkish discipline and relapse into worldly life. Thus, in Utt. 22, 42 there is not only no allusion to the story of the vomited beverage offered to Raṇaṇemi—we may even say that if Rayamaś had intended to remind Raṇaṇemi of that drastic scene she would certainly have chosen some more explicit mode of expression.

While Haribhadra in his Ṭikā on Das. 6, 7 explains vantar iĉchasi āveṇa by "vantam iĉchasy āpāṭum, parityaktaṁ bhagavatā abhilaśasi bhōktum", Devendra, in his Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā, contents himself with the Sanskrit translation vantar iĉchasi āpāṭum, but quotes the following āryā:

vijñāya vastu nindyaṁ tyaktva gṛhṇanti kim kvacit puruṣāḥ?
vantar punar api bhūākte na ca sarvaḥ sāraṁeyo 'pi,

which is clearly incompatible with Haribhadra's explanation as it speaks of re-eating one's own vomit and not, as in the alleged case of Raṇaṇemi and Rayamaś, somebody else's (i.e., Atriṭhanemī's). Moreover, the younger Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā of Kamalasamyama not only omits the story of the vomited drink altogether but gives the following perfectly correct interpretation of Utt. 22, 42. "vantam udgaṇaṁ āpāṭum iĉchasi, yathā hi kaścid vantar āpāṭum icchaty evam bhavān api pravrajjaṇaṇataṁ tyaktāṁ bhogāṁ punar āpāṭum upabhōktum iti", after which it quotes the same āryā as Devendra.

It is, of course, not inconceivable that after having been drastically repulsed by Rayamaś and thus caused to enter the order the monk Raṇaṇemi should at their later chance meeting in the cave suffer a relapse and renew his attempt to win her. This, however, implies that Rayamaś does not, as related Utt. 22, 28-30, renounce the world immediately after her bridegroom and under the fresh impression of his pravrajya and her consequent desertion (which is the only natural course), but that there is, as in Devendra's story, an interval between her wailing over her desertion and her entering the order, an interval allowing for Raṇaṇemi to woo her and be repulsed. I have no doubt that in reality the story of the commentators is a secondary invention due to the necessity to fill the gap in the tale of Utt. 22 noticed above and inspired by a mistaken interpretation of Utt. 22, 42—an interpretation stupidly taking literally what is nowhere anything but a figurative expression: vantar āpāṭum, "to drink again (one's) vomit."
NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE INFINITIVE IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

BY

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The major work on this subject, as on so many other problems of Indian philology, has been done by Professor S. K. CHATTERJI in his monumental "Origin and Development of the Bengali Language". This article is an attempt to elucidate some minor details.

As pointed out by A. MEILLET,¹ no precise general definition of any part of speech is possible, and the infinitive is particularly varied. It is closely allied to the nouns of action on the one hand, and to the gerund or absolutive on the other, and in some ways also to the past and future participles. The history of the infinitive is therefore complicated by constant intermingling and borrowing from these allied parts of speech. The gerund and infinitive in particular are often interchangeable. The basic distinction between the infinitive and the noun of action is generally held to be twofold: (1) syntactically the noun of action has a nominal, the infinitive a verbal function; (2) morphologically the noun of action is a normal noun with a full declension while the infinitive is more closely linked with the verbal system and does not decline. The development of these parts of speech on the whole is according to the following pattern:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \quad \text{C} \quad \text{B} \\
\text{absolutive} & < \text{infinitive} \quad \text{past participle and participle of obligation.}
\end{align*}
\]

The changes are normally in this direction, but in times of transition when there is hesitation between the usages, the reverse is also found.

In Vedic the distinction between the verbal noun and the infinitive is particularly slight,² and the infinitive is an old case of the verbal noun ending in -am, -tum, -e, -ase, -taye, -tave, -tavai, -dhyai, -mante, -vane, -as, -tos, etc. In classical Sanskrit as is well known only the old accusative infinitive in -tum has survived.

In the Prakrits the forms are again more varied. The most usual ending of the infinitive in Arda-Māgadhī is \(-\text{tte}\). There has been some argument as to the origin of this form. A. Weber\(^3\) derives it from the Vedic absolutes in \(-\text{tva}\), E. Müller\(^4\) from the Vedic infinitives in \(-\text{tve}\), and he is followed in this by G. V. Tagare\(^5\). R. Pischel\(^6\) suggests that it was derived from the Vedic infinitives in \(-\text{tavai}\), which are doubly accented and might therefore have a curious consonantal development. S. Sen\(^7\) agrees partially with Weber and suggests Vedic *\(-\text{tva}yi\).

The infinitive in \(-\text{tte}\) cannot be separated from that in \(-\text{ya}\) which is formed by some verbs ending in a long \(-\ddot{a}\) in Arda-Māgadhī. The endings \(-\text{tte}\) and \(-\text{ya}\) seem to have been kept clearly distinct from the absolutes in \(-\text{ya}\), \(-\ddot{e}\), and this in itself is sufficient to discredit the theory of Weber. Thus Arda-Māgadhī has the absolutes samāyā, sañchā, samuṭṭhā (Āyāraṇgasutta); and \(\ddot{a}\) still occurs in the popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī of the Vasudevahāndī. The infinitive however always has a short \(-\alpha\) in the ending and we find for instance in the Nāyadhammakaṇhā 28: \(\text{vā kappai...}\) bhottā \(\ddot{a}\) pāyāe \(\ddot{a}\) \(=\) "it is not meet to eat or drink." The dative of the noun of action in \(-\text{ana}\) was kept apart in a similar way\(^8\); the infinitive has a short \(-\alpha\)-while the dative of the noun of action ends in \(-\ddot{e}\), as in the frequent formula: pahārettha gamaṇā (e.g. Bhagavatisūtra XV 43) \(=\) "he set out to go". The brevity of the vowel in Arda-Māgadhī proves that the infinitive in \(-\text{tte}\) is a fixed survival and is to be separated in derivation from the normal dative of nouns and the absolutive.

An infinitive in \(-\text{tte}\) exists in Pali and in the Aśokan inscriptions where it is widespread except in the North-West, e.g. Girnār khamītava, Dhauli and Jaugāḍa khamītava etc. It seems most probable that the theory of E. Müller is correct and that the infinitives in \(-\text{tte}\) of Arda-Māgadhī are the direct continuation of the Vedic infinitive in \(-\text{tte}\). There is no real need

\(^3\) A. Weber, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati, Berlin 1866-7.
\(^4\) E. Müller, Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainapākti, Berlin 1876, p. 61.
\(^5\) G. V. Tagare, Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa, Poona 1948, paragraph 150.
\(^6\) R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakritsprachen, Strassburg 1900, paragraph 578.
\(^7\) S. Sen, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Indian Linguistics, Vol. XII, 1951, p. 126.
\(^8\) This is only contradicted by the N. W. Aśokan inscriptions where we find an infinitive in \(-\text{ya}\) which a short \(-\ddot{a}\)—e.g., kamsayā (Śāhāyāgarhi inscription XIII). This type of infinitive was continued later in Nāya Prakrit. It represents the shortened form of the dative of the noun of action (change A), but the original length of the vowel is proved by the endings in \(-\text{ya}\) found in Pali and in the Dhauli and Jaugāḍa Aśokan inscriptions, which have avāṣāyā. The Girnār inscription has niṣṭāyā. The shortening of the vowel of this dative infinitive ending is therefore only characteristic of the NW in this early period.
to postulate with Pischel a derivation from -tavai, which has little support, particularly as Professor Edgerton has recently explained the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit infinitive in -tavai not as a derivative of Vedic -tavai, but as a hypersanskritism for -tave. The doubling of the -t- can however scarcely be due to a simple phonetic evolution; it is probably due to the influence of the absolute where -to- > -tt- in Ardha-Māgadhi: -tvā, -tvānam > -ttā, -ttānam. This doubling of -t- is exactly parallel to what is found in -stu, -ṣṭu (a development from -tum, cf. Pischel, op. cit. paragraph 576), which was used as an absolute in Ardha-Māgadhi (change C). The tendency for doubling the -t- was further increased by the development of some consonantal roots where the doubling was phonetic, e.g. *bhoktave > bhottae. The loss of the -v- in the derivation of -ttae from -tave presents no real difficulty. An intervocalic -v- is quite often dropped in Ardha-Māgadhi e.g. jīva > jīva, āśrava > āśraya, pravṛttta > payatta etc. The weakness of the pronunciation of -v- intervocalic is further attested by the confusion between -k-, -g- > -y- and -v- intervocalic in a number of words in the Jain canon, and this feature is continued later by Jain Māhārāṣṭrī and Māhārāṣṭrī, e.g. in the Lilavākāhā, and by Apabhraṃśa. The loss of the -v- is thus not unusual and owing to the phonetic weakness of terminational elements it became the rule in the ending -tave of the infinitive in Ardha-Māgadhi.

The Sanskrit infinitive in -tum > -um, -ium, is occasionally found in the Ardha-Māgadhi of the canon, although it is by no means as frequent as the infinitive in -ttae. It seems to be favoured only in some fixed locutions as for instance with payatta. This is illustrated by examples taken from a few paragraphs of the Nāyadharmīmakaḥāː

77. tam icchāmo..parivasium.
78. citteum payattā.
87. anuparīyateum payattā.
90. uvasaggeum payattā.
90. na jujjasi..ujjhium.
99. tam seyam..khanāvettae.
99. icchāmi..khanāvettae.
99. khanāvėrum payatte yāvi hotthā.
130. uttarium payatte..hotthā.

10. R. Pischel, op. cit., paragraph 231.
In some cases where the infinitive in -tum is used in preference to that in -ttae it could very easily be replaced by an ordinary noun e.g. Nāyadharmamakahāo 25: dalayanti pakāmām dāwam pakāmām bhottam pakāmām pari-bhāeum, = "they give him as much as he likes to give away, to eat, to drink and to distribute." The only other case in which the infinitive in -tum is favoured is in composition, in fixed locutions inherited from Sanskrit, e.g. Nāyadharmamakahāo 141: ghalākāmā, pāukāmā. Apart from these locutions the infinitive in -tum is not very much alive in Ardha-Māgadhī, even if one includes cases where it has taken on an absolutival meaning (change C). It becomes slightly more prominent in the later canonical texts and in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī. Here the infinitive in -tum sometimes appears strengthened by the addition of the enclitic particle -je, hence the forms gīṣhium-je and gīṣheum-je etc. found in the Panāhāvāgarānāmī and in popular texts like the Mahānīśhhasutta13 and the Māhārāṣṭrī Dhūrtākhyāna.14 Dr. Szn15 writes: "The accusative infinitive in -tum was at best a dialectal feature in M.I.A.". It belonged however to the Midland dialect, Māhārāṣṭrī, and owing to the great literary importance of the Midland it spread and it has become the normal form of the infinitive in dramatic Māgadhī. It is also the usual form in Sauraseni, where it was almost certainly indigenous, and in Jain Sauraseni. It still occurs in Śvetāmbara Apabhramśa, where it is not only confined to passages under Prakrit influence. It is frequent in Sanaṭkumāracarita, generally with the loss of final -m, e.g. kahi, tasī, līhi, etc., and the Kumārapāḷapratibodha16 has jampī, hari, laddhu and kahium-pi, which are the only infinitives in that text apart from one example of an absolute used as an infinitive.

There is no evidence of the infinitive having survived any later in this form. Kramadīśvara allows an infinitive in -ātm, which is not mentioned by any other grammarian. The most usual form of the infinitive in Digambara Apabhramśa however is that in -aḥū. It is the most frequent type of infinitive in the works of Puspadanta and in the Karakaṇḍacarita of Kanakārama. It occurs for the first time in the Paramāṭmaprakāśa of the Digambara Joindu possibly of the sixth century A.D. It has probably survived into modern Marathi,17 in the infinitive in -ā. The infinitive in -aḥū is very rare indeed in

15. S. Szn, Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, Indian Linguistics XII, p. 125.
Śvetāmbara Apabhramśa and has left no remnant in modern Gujarati. The formation of the infinitive thus represents one of the major differences between Śvetāmbara and Digambara Apabhramśa.

The origin of the ending -ahū has not been clearly explained. At first sight it would seem likely that we have here a simple case of the so-called ha-śruti, the -h- being inserted before the old infinitive ending in -um. But Pischel18 warned already long ago: "-h- fällt weder aus, noch wird es zur Vermeidung des Hiatus eingeschoben," and he proves that all cases that had up till then been presumed to be examples of the use of the ha-śruti are really based on false etymologies. Such a categorical denial is now no longer possible. Old Western Rajasthani19 for instance occasionally shows insertion of -h- e.g., suhaṇaū < *suvaṇaū < suvaṇaū < svapnakam, but in Apabhramśa such a proceeding is extremely rare, even in late texts. For the Śandesārāsaka20 of Abdul Rāhmān it has been shown by Dr. Bhayani that the loss of -h- is doubtful in all cases, and that its insertion is not found in that text. The only dialect in which one can find any clear examples of the ha-śruti is the "Eastern Apabhramśa" of the Dohakośas21 and even there all cases are not convincing. The reason for the introduction of the ending -ahū must therefore be more than a mere matter of orthography.

The connecting vowel between the root and the ending is always a and not -i- or -e-, and this further helps to discredit the notion of a prakritic infinitive with the insertion of -h-; ahū thus appears as a complete remodelling of the infinitive in Apabhramśa. The use of the connecting vowel -a- which occurs also in Kramadāśvara’s -aum, which may be an intermediate form, is explained by remodelling on the general system of the conjugation of the present in Apabhramśa. In Prakrit -e- is very often used as the connecting vowel, while Apabhramśa has only -a-. Thus the 3rd person sg. present indicative in Prakrit is hareī, Apabhramśa harai; and therefore harīum, hareum are replaced by *harauṁ in Apabhramśa, and the stage described by Kramadāśvara is reached. There is a similar tendency for the weaker vowel -a- to be introduced in other parts of the verbal system, as for instance in the absolutes where -avi often occurs instead of -evi, -ivi. The present indicative and the imperative also used a number of personal endings containing an -h-, thus Prakrit haremi, -esi -ei, -emo, -eha, -enti corresponds to Digam-

18. R. Pischel, op. cit., paragraph 286.
bara Apabhramśa haratī, -ahī, -ai, -ahū- ahu, -antī or ahi; but what mostly helped to bring about the introduction of the -h- into the infinitive was the influence of the oblique of action nouns, with which the infinitive was felt to be associated. In the genitive sg. -ha(m) had replaced the Prakrit -ssa, and there even occurs a rare ending -hum in the genitive in Apabhramśa, which is admitted as a correct ending by Rāmaśarmatarkavāgīśa. The -h- from this source penetrated very early into the infinitive in Digambara Apabhramśa, and the intermediate form, without it, is not attested by the literary documents.

Although it is so frequent in Digambara Apabhramśa, the ending -ahū has survived only in Marathi, and not in Eastern Hindi as so many other features of Digambara Apabhramśa. In most of the eastern and western regions of northern India the obligatory participles have become the usual infinitives, according to change B. There are already examples in Prakrit22 where participles are used in the function of an infinitive e.g., Nāyadhama-nakahāo 128: tam icchāmi thām anāyam = “I wish her to be brought here.” In a similar way the obligatory participle could easily be drawn into the formation of an infinitive, particularly in Apabhramśa, where it had often lost its passive meaning. The use of the obligatory participle as infinitive falls into the very latest period of Apabhramśa. It is attested in Digambara Apabhramśa, but as a rare and late feature. The distribution of forms of the infinitive in the Apabhramśa period therefore only partially shows modern conditions. The obligatory participle as infinitive became usual in Gujarāt and Rajasthan as well as the Eastern languages, but in Western Hindi the infinitive based on the noun of action in -ana was too well established to be replaced.

22. For the use of the present participle as infinitive cf. the examples given by S. Sen, *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan*, L. L. 1953, pts. 3 and 4, p. 118.
ANUTTAMA AND ANUTTARA, 'UNEXCELLED, SUPREME'

BY

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The Sanskrit word anuttama, in the meaning 'highest, supreme' (we are not concerned here with other meanings), has not attracted the attention it deserves. It seems, on the face of things, that it could only be a compound of a (n)-, negative, and uttama, 'highest, supreme'. So Boehtlingk and Roth 1.204, analyze it; their definition is 'the highest' or the like, which seems to ignore the negative, and makes the word a synonym of uttama. Boehtlingk seems later to have had qualms about this, for in op. cit. 5.987 he gives the definition 'having no one higher above him; the highest'; and similarly in his minor St. Petersburg lexicon, 1.52, '(having nothing higher above him,) the highest...'. Similarly Apte's Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1922 ed.), 20, 'having no superior or better, unsurpassed, the very best or highest...' (without analysis of the word). There is no doubt of the correctness of these definitions. But there must, it seems, be something wrong about Boehtlingk's analysis. For uttama means not 'higher' but 'highest'; it is a superlative, not a comparative. On this, Apte, op. cit. 100, and Monier-Williams, Skt.-Eng. Dict. (2d ed.) 177, are quite right; they do not recognize the meaning 'higher' for uttama, as BR. do, op. cit., 1.887. Boehtlingk was misled chiefly by a few passages like Bhag. G. 15.18, ahām akṣarad api cottomah, in which the ablative of comparison is used with uttama. It is true that in German, and in English, it is natural to translate the word in such a passage by a comparative; we naturally say 'and I am higher than the imperishable too.' But this does not justify Boehtlingk in saying that uttama is 'used in the meaning of a comparative.' A more literal and precise translation would be 'and I am supreme in comparison with the imperishable too.' We must beware of being misled by idioms of languages into which we are translating. Other superlatives are used in this same way in Sanskrit, with a dependent ablative of comparison; see e.g., Renou, Gr. scite. p. 301, §221 D. In the other passages in which Boehtlingk I.c. attributes 'comparative meaning' to uttama he is equally in error; the word is always a superlative, never a comparative.

But how, then, can anuttama, seemingly a negative of uttama, mean just the same thing as uttama?
The essentially correct answer was given long ago by Charles R. Lanman in his Skt. Reader 116; but it seems to have been generally ignored. Lanman explains anuttama as ‘lit. “most best”, formal superl. to anuttara, which is itself logically a superl.’ And, just below, an-uttara... ‘not having a superior, i.e., best.’ Modern linguists would modify Lanman’s phraseology; anuttama is not exactly a ‘formal superl. to anuttara’ (this would be *anuttara-tama, or possibly *anuttara-ma). Nowadays we should put it this way: an-uttara ‘having no superior’ and so ‘highest, supreme, best’, seemed by its meaning to be superlative. Hence, in Sanskrit, the superlative ending -(ta)ma was substituted for the comparative -(ta)ra, by analogy with other superlatives, especially uttama. It is interesting to note that the oldest known occurrence of anuttama seems to be Chandogya Up. 3.13.7, where it is juxtaposed with uttama. The phrase is: anuttameṣu uttameṣu lokesu, ‘in the unsurpassed, supreme worlds’. In just such collocations, we may suppose, it was particularly easy for the ‘logical’ (to quote Lanman) superlative anuttara to be given the superlative ending of its synonym uttama. Thus we have the curious result that what appears to be a negative of uttama is, in fact, a synonym of that word.

But this is not all that arouses interest in this connection. Lanman failed to get to the bottom of the matter; and no one else seems to have done so, at least in print.

What about an-uttara, on which (as Lanman rightly says) anuttama is based? Lanman quotes it, as we have seen, as Sanskrit. But it is not Sanskrit, in the meaning ‘having no superior, supreme’; it exists in Sanskrit in other meanings, but they are irrelevant here.

True, several classical Skt. lexicons quote an-uttara in this meaning (the Amarakośa, Medinikāśa, Hemacandra’s Abhidhānacintāmani, and Trikāṇḍaśeṣa). But, so far as I can find, not a single occurrence of it in this meaning has ever been recorded in any Sanskrit text. In my opinion it can be regarded as certain that the lexicons which quote it knew it from only Middle Indic sources (including Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, which was very probably Trikāṇḍaśeṣa’s source, since that lexicon contains many BHS words unknown in genuine Sanskrit).

The word anuttara, ‘unexcelled, highest’, is very common in Pali. The (Copenhagen) Critical Pali Dictionary erroneously calls it a tatsama (relying no doubt on the lexicons which quote it as ‘Sanskrit’); the Pali Text Society’s Dictionary is here superior to the CPD, for it contents itself with the correct analysis (an- plus uttara) and cites no Skt. equivalent. The word is also very common in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (see my Dictionary s.v.).
likewise in Prakrit, at least Ardhamāgadhī, in the form anuttara (for which Sheri’s Prakrit Dictionary erroneously cites ‘Skt.’ anuttara).

But the true—and only—Sanskrit equivalent of Middle Indic anuttara is anuttama. And—note this significant fact—this anuttama appears to be entirely unknown in Middle Indic. At least, it certainly does not exist in Pali (else the CPD, a model of completeness, would surely have found it); nor is it recorded in Sheri’s Prakrit Dictionary; nor have I been able to find it recorded in any other Middle Indic source.

It looks, then, at first glance, as if Skt. anuttama had been changed in Middle Indic into anuttara! But that is, in my opinion, historically impossible. I agree with LANMAN that anuttara must have been older than anuttama, in the meaning here under consideration. It seems to me that the form anuttama ‘highest, supreme’ cannot be understood on any other assumption; it must be an analogical modification of the Middle Indic anuttara.

The net result of this little investigation is indeed curious. The certainly older word, anuttara, is (as far as our records show) exclusively Middle Indic; for surely the lexical quotations of ‘Skt.’ anuttara only show that these classical Sanskrit lexicons knew their Middle Indic, and failed to distinguish it strictly from Sanskrit. (We should not condemn them too severely for this; some contemporary scholars, even since the publication of my Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, continue to speak of BHS as ‘Sanskrit.’) And the certainly later word, anuttama, is exclusively Skt. (unknown in Middle Indic). I do not know of any precise parallel for this strange item of Indic vocabulary. Yet there is nothing inherently implausible about it. We know that the Rigveda itself contains forms showing Middle Indic phonology, and possibly also morphology (so one might look upon e.g. the RV. instr. plur. forms like sthātrebhīh, tēbhīh). And Classical Skt. certainly has vocabulary items borrowed from Middle Indic, as their phonology proves, tho some of them are not directly recorded in the Middle Indic dialects known to us.

Indeed, perhaps the only really unique, or at least the most surprising, thing about the range of usage of the two words here discussed is the negative side of the picture: the fact that one of them (and that the older), anuttara, was completely eliminated from Sanskrit literary usage; while the other (the younger), anuttama, was completely eliminated from all recorded Middle Indic, despite its frequent occurrence in Sanskrit.
VEDIC GA(M)BHĪRĀ: AVESTAN GUFRA

BY

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These two Indo-Iranian words are commonly separated. While Skr. gabhīrā- gambhīrā- “deep; inscrutable; profound, mysterious” (etc.) together with gambhā- n., gambhāra- n. “depth”, gabhā- m. “vulva”, gabhīr- “deeply down” and Iranian words like Avest. jafrā- “deep”, jafrā- “depth”, jaufrā- “with deep snow” are derived from an Indo-Iranian root *gambhīr- “gabhī- (a- < -m-) “deep”, Avest. gufrā- “deep, mysterious, wonderful” is supposed to be related to the Sanskrit “root” gup- “to guard, protect” (gup[i]tā- “protected”, guptī- “protection”, -gup “protecting”), Greek γυπής: κολώμα γῆς, θαλάμη, γηνία (Hesychios), Old English cofa “room, chamber, cave” and other words, see f.i. Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen I, 561 sq. But this etymological combination, although commonly accepted, seems to me questionable because Skr. gup- is most plausibly no inherited Indo-European root, but an abstraction (formed within the early history of Sanskrit) of gopā-, gopāyāti which are of course originally go-pā- “cow-herd, protecting (pā-) cows (go- “deep”)”, but where soon taken as Guna-forms of a root gup- and so produced forms like gup-tā-, gup-ti-, -gup-, etc. On the other hand there are so many concordances in meaning and textual use between Skr. ga(m)bhīrā- and Avestan gufra- that a connection of these two words — if we find a way to connect them formally and phonetically — would be highly preferable to a junction of the Avestan word with the Greek and Germanic words and even with the formally and semantically comparable Tokharian A kupār “deep”.

The meanings of the two words are in total harmony: Both Skr. ga(m)bhīrā- and Avest. gufra- mean “deep” (of water, esp. of the sea, of

1. The question of etymological relatives outside Indo-Iranian is not important for our little problem. Perhaps the Indo-Iranian root belongs to Old Icelandic kafa “to dip” etc. (??); but cf. nowadays T. Bresov, Sarūpa-Brahati or The Homage of Indology (Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume), Hoshiarpur 1954, pg. 6 (gabhīrā- etc. coming from *gravhīrā- etc. by dissimilation, comparable with Old Church Slavonic globokū “deep”).

2. See f.i. the Petersburg Dictionary a.v.; E. & J. LEUMANN, Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache (1907) pg. 90; M. LEUMANN, Indo-germanische Forschungen 57 (1940) pg. 220; P. THIEME, Festschrift W. Schubring (1951) pg. 9.
VEDIC GA(M)BHIRA- : AVESTAN GUFLRA-

streams) on the one hand, "secret, mysterious, profound" on the other hand; and concerning the latter meaning there is one correspondence in the texts that can hardly be produced by chance. In the Rg-Veda 1, 35, 7 Savitar (or Sūra?) is called gabhīrāvēpā āsuraḥ "the mysteriously-speaking Asura", while Yaṣṭ 10, 25 speaks of Mithra as āhurām gufraṁ (acc.) "mysterious Ahura". We may perhaps assume that *gabh-ṛā- "mysterious, profound, deep (in thoughts and mysteries)" was an epithet of *āsura- already in Aryan times and was inherited by the religious literature in both languages. For, as far as the word-form is concerned, it is well known that Skr. gabhṛā- has replaced an older *gabhṛā-, which is testified by the compound-form Skr. gabhī-śāk, Avest. ḣīva-vafra- (cf. ḣi-ṛṇā- : ḣṛṇā-, ḣīvīty-āṇo- : ḣivītā-, Greek νῦν- ἀντία : νῦνδῶτος, etc., see WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik II/1, 1905, pg. 59 Sqq.) and by Avestan ḫa-tra- which has drawn its initial ḫ- from forms with Indo-Europ. ḫ- while *gafra- (*gṃ-) ought to be the regular form. It is only the quality of the vowel that separates this *gafra-from our word gufra-.

Can we possibly explain the -u-? There have been made attempts to solve the question in a throughout phonetical way, but they were clearly not cogent. It might have been, however, that the sound was introduced from an associated word, that a blend of words took place. And once more the comparison of the Indian and Iranian texts gives us a cue on the nature of this influencing word: in the Rg-Veda 7, 87, 6 Varuṇa is called gambhīrā-śaṁśaḥ, plausibly meaning "whose recitations are mysterious, are inscrutable"; in Avestan, there is a similar state of affairs expressed by similar words, but instead of gambhīrā- we find a synonym — cf. guzra sōngănhō "the secret teachings, the secret speeches" (said of Ahura Mazdā), Yasna 48, 3. If we are allowed to assume that once existed besides Avestan guzra-

3. Cf. in Avestan: Yaṣṭ 19, 15 . . . . . būṃṭhām ānvaḥ gufrahe . . . . . "bottom of the deep see"; in Vedic: RV 3, 32, 16 "the deep river" (śindhu-); 7, 33, 8 "their greatness is inscrutably deep like that of the sea (samudrāyam)"; RV 8, 67, 11 gabhiré "in the deep (water)"; etc., etc.


5. See Gezer, loc. cit.; GEZNER, Der Rig-Veda (1951) I, pg. 43; cf. also gambhīrā-tvasat- (ṛśī-, ṛṣīra-) RV 10, 62, 5; AV 19, 2, 3.

6. The -m- of gambhiṁrā- is due to the full forms of the root like gambah-, gambahara-.

7. See A. Meillet, Mém. Soc. Linguist, 9 (1896) 379 (gufra- from *gamafrā-); on the often compared Avest. pūzda- "the fifth" see FieBNER, KZ 27, 199 sqq.; BARTHOLOMAE, Indogerman, Forschungen 1,462; DEBRUNNER-WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik II/2 (1954) pg. 721 (with bibliogr.), and others.
+ sêngha- an Avest. gafra-sêngha- corresponding to Ved. gambhûrâ-samasa-
(old *gabhûrâ-samasa-) it is well thinkable that the isolated *gafra- (whose
belonging to the group of jafra-, jafnu- was perhaps no more felt, since
the whole word-family had introduced the j-) has received the vowel-quality
from the synonymous word, gûzra-. Perhaps the "sacral" character of the
sound -u-, well fitting to a word meaning "mysterious, deep, secret", favoured
the influence of gûzra- on *gafra-.

To sum up: Indo-Iranian had an adjective *gabhûrâ-, in compounds
*gabhû-, denoting "deep", and "secret, mysterious, profound". In Indian
gabhû- is preserved, *gabhûrâ- transformed into ga(m)bhûrâ-; Iranian pre-
served both, but introduced initial j-, regular only in forms with Indo-Europ.
eg-, in jafra-, jaiwi-. Only an archaic *gafra-—used in the "poetic" sense
of the word (whereas jafra- has only the "profane" meaning of "deep")
and in old inherited formulas (as *gafra-ahura-, *gafra-sêngha- [?]) pre-
served the g.; this isolated word was influenced by a synonym: Avestan
gûzra- (cf. Skr. guh- "to hide"). It took this word's vowel-quality and
resulted in Avestan gûfra-.

8. W. Havets, Zur Entstehung eines sogenannten sakralen u-Elementes in den
indogermanischen Sprachen, Anzeiger der oesterreichischen Akad. der Wissenschaften,
phil.-hist. Kl., Jg. 1947 Nr. 15; F. Specr, Zum sakralen u, Die Sprache (Vienna) 1
(1949) pg. 43 sqq., etc.
SIGNED VERSES BY SANSKRIT POETS

BY

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In his history of kāvya literature, S. K. De speaks of signed verses as 'not rare in Sanskrit.' These verses are 'cleverly constructed to contain the name itself' of the author. The reference is, of course, not to verses in which the poet gives autobiographical details, but to those in which by some verbal ingenuity he introduces his name in a way that is secondary to his main subject.

Verses with such ascriptions are not uncommonly found in the anthologies. The Kavindravacanasamuccaya, for example, has six verses of this kind, though, to be sure, three of the six had to wait for inclusion in later anthologies before the ascription was made. Given that, as Thomas says (p. 17), we may not 'allow too much weight to [any anthology] ascriptions, so often carelessly set down,' we may view with the eye of suspicion any anthology ascription to a poet of a 'signed' verse if the verse does not occur in an otherwise preserved long work of the poet. The habits of the Sanskrit poets of the decadence were such that any artificiality may be expected of them. At the same time, artificiality was the vice also of most of the writers on the theory and practice of poetry, and of the anthologists with them. Consequently, although there is a chance that the following verse (Kavindravacanasamuccaya 29) was actually the work of Murārī, its reputed author, who is otherwise known for his bad play Anargharāghava and for numerous other anthology verses, it is only a fifty-fifty chance, since the last word of the verse, murāreś, no matter who wrote it, might well have seemed to the anthologist a heaven-sent chance to find in it the punning signature of the poet.


2. Closely allied in spirit to such verses are those found in the introductory material of several of the plays attributed to Bhāsa. In these the names of the characters are interwoven. The figure of speech involved is called mudrāloka by R. V. Jagirdar, Drama in Sanskrit Literature (Bombay, 1947), 74.

3. Kavindravacanasamuccaya. Edited by F. W. Thomas. (Bibliotheca Indica, work 208, issue no. 1309; Calcutta, 1912.)
vande bhujabhramitamandaramathyamäna-
dugdhābdhidugdhakapavicchuritacchavikam
nakṣatrakarvuraviyatpratirodhinindad-
unnidrakairavataṭāgam uro murāreb

'I venerate Murāri's (i.e. Viṣṇu's) breast, its skin besprinkled with milk
drops from the milk ocean which was being churned with Mount Mandara
twirled by his arms, so that it (his breast) seemed to be a pool of full-blowed
white lotuses rivaling and mocking the sky bespeckled with stars.'

A woman poet called Jaghanacapalā is given by Thomas as the author
of his verse 518. A detailed examination of this case yields instructive
results.

The word jaghanacapalā as a common noun has two meanings. It
denotes 'a libidinous woman,' this conventional (rūḍha) meaning being
derived obviously from the etymological (yoga) meaning of the compound,
'shaking as to the hips or buttocks' (Weber, 'die mit den Hüften wackelt').
As a common noun it also denotes a variety of the āryā meter, in which
in the second hemistich the 2nd and 4th gaṇas (feet of 4 morae each) are
amphibrachs (०—०) and each is flanked at each of its ends by a long vowel,
the hemistich being:

००—०—०|—०—०|—००|०|०००००|०४

This word as the name of a meter is a compound of capalā, which is the
technical name for the type of āryā hemistich just described, and jaghana—
which denotes the second hemistich of the āryā verse (as it does also in
jaghanavipulā, in which vipulā denotes 'the type of āryā hemistich which
lacks a caesura after the third gaṇa'); cf. also mukhacapalā, the reverse of
the jaghanacapalā, with the capalā type of hemistich in the first half of the
verse (mukha- 'head').

It is, then, somewhat accidental and with different analyses of the
compound that the two meanings of jaghanacapalā are carried by the same word;
the meanings are not derivative from one another. However, the writers of
Sanskrit have not failed to see their opportunity to make a pun. The word
in its meaning 'a libidinous woman' is somewhat rare, and, in fact, I have
found no example (except for some of the secondary variants of the Pañcatantra
verse given below) in which it did not occur in a verse in the jaghana—

5. As Weber indicated, (ibid., 171.)
capalā meter. This was to be expected in the examples in treatises on metrics; the striking thing is its application elsewhere. Halāyudha, the commentator (cir. 950 A.D.) on the earlier (probably much earlier) treatise on metrics, the Piṅgalasūtra, gives three examples, all containing descriptions of the libidinous woman, with consequently an easy way to use the word in both its meanings as a common noun.

An earlier and somewhat more ingenious example is the following. In the sixth-century astrological work, Varāhamihira’s Brhatsamhitā, chapter 104 on the ‘planetary movements’ (grahagocarādhyāyaḥ) is famous, or notorious, for the fact that in its first two verses it announces by a series of puns that the chapter will treat of the grahagocaras in verses which at the same time exemplify the various meters, and that then it exemplifies the meters in 63 verses, each of which contains the name of its meter used punningly. Verse 2 ends: āryā mukhacapalatvam kṣamadvam naḥ ‘O noble ones (āryā by sandhi for āryās), pardon our loquaciousness (mukhacapalatvam)!’ and exemplifies and names the type of āryā called mukhacapalā. Verse 3 exemplifies and names the jaghanacapalā meter:

māṇḍavayagirāṁ śrutvā na madīyā rocate ‘tha vā nai ’vam
sādhvī tathā na punsāṁ priyā yathā syāj jaghanacapalā

‘Or rather [i.e. far from my style needing the pardon mentioned in verse 2], when you have heard [my predecessor] Māṇḍavya’s utterance [which is good, but unadorned], mine in this way will not fail to please. A chaste woman would not be so dear to men as a libidinous one (jaghanacapalā).’ The sentiment in the second half of the verse seems to be motivated only by the need to introduce the name of the meter with its other meaning as a common noun.

One other verse with this word is found, with a number of variant readings, in two of the Pañcatantra recensions and in a number of the antho-

6. Since the occurrence of the word known to me were nearly all found with the aid of the usual dictionaries, it is probable that there are other occurrences, some of which may be different in type from those discussed.—It is to be noted that not all jaghanacapalā verses contain the word in the other meaning; e.g., the verse illustrating this meter in the Bhāratiya-nātyaśastra does not have it, though it has both the elements of the compound separately (Manomohan Ghose’s translation in the Bibliotheca Indica 272 [Calcutta, 1951]; XVI 167).—I cannot refrain from pointing out that Kalidāsa seems to have approached very close to this literary trick in his play Abhijñāna-śākuntala. His first example of the mandākrāntā (‘slow-motion’) meter in this play (I.14 in Pischau’s HOS edition) has in its last quarter the word mandamandam (‘very slowly’). This surely is not mere coincidence; the poet really intended to tickle the cognoscenti by his playful suggestive skill,
logies. Relative dates for the earliest of these versions are not quite certain, nor are the readings in all cases firmly established.

Probably the earliest of the texts is the ‘textus simplicior’ of the Pañcatantra, which is dated between cir. 900 A.D. and 1199 A.D. The editions\(^7\) do not give a critical text, nor has enough information been published about the manuscripts to guarantee the readings. The verse occurs twice in the textus simplicior in two slightly different forms.

**Book 1, vs. 173:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{durdiveśe} & \text{'sitapakṣe duḥśamcārāsū nagaravīthiṣu} \\
\text{patyau videsayāte param sukham jaghanacapalāyāḥ}
\end{align*}
\]

‘When the city streets are difficult to move about in on a rainy day in the dark half of the month, and her husband has gone to a foreign country, there is great happiness for a libidinous woman.’

**Book 4, vs. 53:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{durdiveśe ghanatimire duḥśamcārāsū nagaravīthiṣu} \\
\text{patyau videsayāte paramasukham jaghanacapalāyāḥ}
\end{align*}
\]

The only difference in meaning here is ‘on a rainy day dark with clouds’ instead of ‘on a rainy day in the dark half of the month.’ The difference in reading paramasukham instead of param sukham makes no difference in meaning, but the verse in its form in book 1 is in the jaghanacapalā meter, and that in book 4 is in an undifferentiated āryā.

The anthology Kavindravacanasamuccaya,\(^8\) which has come down to us in a manuscript of about the second half of the twelfth century but may have been put together between one and two centuries earlier, is possibly earlier than Pūrṇabhadra’s version of the Pañcatantra, called Pañcākhyānaka. It gives this verse (no. 518) with a somewhat different first quarter:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{durdinaniśthapavane niḥśamcārāsū nagaravīthiṣu} \\
\text{patyau videsayāte param sukham jaghanacapalāyāḥ}
\end{align*}
\]

---

7. *Pañcatantra I*, ed. F. Kielhorn (Bombay Sanskrit Series IV; Bombay, 1869); *Pañcatantra II and III*, ed. G. Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series III; Bombay, 1888); *Pañcatantra IV and V*, ed. G. Bühler (Bombay Sanskrit Series I; Bombay, 1868). This verse does not occur in any other Pañcatantra version than this and Pūrṇabhadra’s, and is one of the textus simplicior’s ‘enormous number of unoriginal stanzas,’ to quote from Franklin Edgerton, *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed* (2 vols.; New Haven, Conn., 1924), vol. 2, p. 29.

8. See note 3.
'When the city streets show no movement of wayfarers in the wind on a night of rainy weather, and her husband, etc.' The differences in the first quarter-verse between the Pañcatantra verses just given and this verse, make it certain that both were copied from an earlier text. Furthermore, since this verse and the verse in book 1 of the textus simplicior of the Pañcatantra agree in their reading param sukham and consequently in the jaghanacapalā meter, we may be sure that this reading and this metrical form were in the source from which both texts copied. The original form of the verse, then, is of the punning type discussed above, with the word jaghanacapalā carrying both its meanings as a common noun.

It is hardly worthwhile to discuss all the variants that the verse shows in its later history. Pūrṇabhādra (1190 a.d.) copied from manuscripts of the Pañcatantra textus simplicior in his book 1, vs. 133 and book 3, vs. 177. The first hemistichs are very like those of the textus simplicior. The second hemistichs, as printed in the edition, are both of the form:

patyur videosagamane paramasukham jaghanacapalāyāḥ

'upon her husband's going to a foreign country, there is great happiness for a libidinous woman.' Neither verse, then, is in the jaghanacapalā meter. However, one of the editor's manuscripts, namely Bh, has in book 3, vs. 177 a second hemistich identical with that of the textus simplicior, book 1, vs. 173; the verse, consequently, is in the jaghanacapalā meter in this manuscript. It is difficult, considering the eclecticism of both Pūrṇabhādra and some of his copyists (including that of manuscript Bh.), to be sure what Pūrṇabhādra really wrote here, nor need we attempt to decide.

Five anthologies after the Kavindravacanasamuccaya quote the verse, usually with differences of reading, which in the first hemistich usually approach closer to the Pañcatantra variants. The anthologies are: Vallabhadova's Subhāṣītāvali, which has a nucleus of the 12th century but was com-


10. G. L. KOSMERTEN'S Panchatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens (Bonn, 1848, 1859) is partly textus simplicior and partly Pūrṇabhādra in origin. The verse appears three times in this edition, with some further variants; no version is in the jaghanacapalā meter. Otto BÖHRLING, Indische Sprüche (St. Petersburg, 1870, 1872, 1873) gives the verse from Kosmerten and the Bombay edition, as no. 2663. We may neglect the verse as given in the textus ornator of the Sukasaptati, since story 38 in which it occurs is a borrowing from Pūrṇabhādra; the meter is not jaghanacapalā. This text was published by Richard SCHMID, Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 21.2 (1898-9). 317-416.
pleted not earlier than the 15th century; the Sūkṣtimuktāvalī, later than 1257 A.D.; Hari Kavi’s Subhāṣītahārāvalī, Venīdatta’s Padyaveṇī and Lakṣmaṇaprabhaṭṭa Ankolakara’s Padyaracanā, all of the 17th century. By the time of these 17th-century anthologies the second hemistich had been sufficiently corrupted through contaminations and accidents to have lost the characteristics of the jaghanacapalā meter. However, the Padyaveṇī and the Padyaracanā added the complication of an ascription of the verse to a poetess Jaghanacapalā, punningly referred to by the final word jaghanacapalāyāḥ.

Finally, the recent anthology by Jatindra Bimal CHAUDHURI and Roma CHAUDHURI, Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A, adopts the ascription of the 17th-century anthologies. The CHAUDHURIS have doubts about this poetess, because the word jaghanacapalā is also the name of the meter in which the verse is composed. S. K. De also feels doubtful because of the name of the meter, because this is the only verse ascribed to this author, and because Jaghanacapalā is a ‘rather strange and unusual’ name, as indeed it is for anyone but a courtesan, since it could be (somewhat rudely) translated as ‘Switch-bottom’! Even without these additional reasons, however, the lateness of the ascription is sufficient indication that the poetess is only a figment of the anthologists’ imaginations.

One point in the history of this verse is noteworthy. It was undoubtedly composed to illustrate the metrical type, the jaghanacapalā āryā. But that this was so, failed to be recognized by many of the copyists and anthologists; hence the verbal changes which destroyed the old meter. Nor did this recherché point take the attention of most of the modern editors and

11. The Subhāṣītahārāvalī of Vallabhadeva. Edited by Peter Peterson and Pandit Durgaprasada. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 31; Bombay, 1886.) S. K. De has made it at least probable that it was quoted directly in 1169 A.D., but that our present text contains many later additions and in its present form is not earlier than the 15th century. His controversy on the subject with A. Berriedale Keith is found in the following articles: De, JRAS 1927, 471–7; Keith, BSOS 5, 27–32 (1928); De, ib. 499–503 (1929). De gives this dating in History 413, but his views seem not to be known to his collaborator in this volume (538 f.), nor to M. Krishnamachariar, History of Classical Sanskrit Literature (Madras, 1937).

12. Thomas in his exegetical note on p. 236 of his Kavindravaṃśamamuccaya says that Jaghanacapalā is the name of the author of verse 518, and he gives a reference to verse 29 and the other ‘signed’ verses listed in the note on that verse. However, he is merely following the 17th-century anthologies, as he makes clear in his listing of Jaghanacapalā on p. 122. V. Raghavan has a note on this fictitious poetess as named in the Padyaracanā in his article “Sanskrit and Prākṛt Poetesses,” Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, 25 (1934–35), 49–74, esp. 63.

commentators; in general they were not so discerning of metrical niceties as the Chaudhris and S. K. De.

Is the evidence sufficient to allow one to guess that the word jaghancapala was first compounded as a technical term to label the variety of arya meter so called, and that then it was re-used punningly in the meaning 'libidinous woman'? Certainly the rarity of the word in the latter meaning—in fact, its failure to occur except in combination with the other meaning (if, of course, our dictionaries can be taken as evidence that it really does so fail)—looks in this direction, and makes us think of the writers of erotic poetry as inventors of meters and names of meters, for whom Hermann Jacobi made such a strong case.15

Aufrecht16 listed a number of occurrences of 'signed' verses in the Sargadharapaddhati17 (cir. 1363 A.D.), without voicing any suspicion that the ascriptions might be fictitious. When, however, a verse containing the word rudati (no. 3420; 'the weeping woman') is attributed to Rudatipandita ('the pandit of the rudati-verse'), and a verse containing the word nirdaridraha (no. 3454; 'suffering from want of sleep') is attributed to an author Nirdaridraha, we may justly think that the names have been derived from the verses.

Another of the verses thus signed has a complicated history of ascription. In the quasi-anthology, Ballala's Bhojaprabandha,18 a poet Kridacandra rebukes King Bhoja for his bad manners in asking newly-arrived scholars their names, and speaks a verse (no. 115) in which one of the key words is identical with his name, as Kalityasa deduces. The verse is:

cyutam indor lekhama ratikalabhagnam ca valayam
dvayaam cakrikrya prahasitamukhi sailatanaya
avocad yam pasye ty avatu sa sivaah s ca girija
sa ca kridacandro dasanakiranapiritatanuh

"The Mountain's daughter [Pavrati] with smiling face said, "Look!" to Siva when she had formed into a disk these two, the crescent of the moon fallen [from Siva's head] and the bangle broken in the strife of love. May protection be granted by that Siva and the Mountain's daughter and that Moon

16. Ibid., 27 (1873). 3.
17. The Paddhati of Sargadharata. Edited by Peter Peresson. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 37; Bombay, 1888.)
formed in play (krīḍācandra), whose body is filled with rays from [the
couple's dazzlingly white] teeth.'

This verse occurs otherwise in three of the anthologies. In Śrīdhara-
dāsa's Saduktikarnāmastra of 1206 A.D. it is verse 1, 11. 5, attributed to
Vararuci. In the Sāṅgadharapaddhati (cir. 1363 A.D.) it is verse 96, attrib-
uted to Krīḍācandra. In Vallabhadeva's Subhāsitāvali (12th to 15th cen-
turies) it is verse 66, attributed to Candaka or Candraka. The author of
the Bhoja-prabandha flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of
the 17th century.

It is obvious that Ballāla in giving the verse to Krīḍācandra is follow-
ing the attribution of the Sāṅgadharapaddhati. It seems almost equally ob-
vious that the Candaka or Candraka attribution is somehow connected with
the name Krīḍācandra. When there is no other evidence, it is impossible
to be sure which of the two occurrences of a verse, that in the Sāṅgadharapaddhati
and that in the Subhāsitāvali, should be given priority. In the
present instance it seems plausible (on the principle of the lectio difficilior)
to assume that the poet Krīḍācandra, who is found nowhere else in Sanskrit
literature or literary history, has been replaced by the somewhat more
familiar Cand (r)aka. And yet, the reverse is not entirely ruled out, if the
verse belonged to the original nucleus of the Subhāsitāvali. The earliest
attribution of the verse, that to Vararuci, need not be discussed at length:
the verse may originally have been his, or we may guess that his name, like
other famous names, attracted unattributed verses for one reason or
another. For Sāṅgadharā, then, the verse was either without attribution,
or attributed to Cand (r)aka; he invented a name for its putative author on
the basis of the striking word krīḍācandra, just as he invented Rudatri-
paṇḍita, Nidrādārīdārī, and others.

'Signed' verses, then, seem with varying degrees of probability to be
attributable to the poets to whom they are ascribed. Even the most innocent-
seeming ascriptions often are contradictorily treated in the series of anthol-
gies, and Thomas's warning, that we should not 'allow too much weight
to such ascriptions,' seems justified.

19. Saduktikarnāmastra of Śrīdharadāsa. Edited by Pandit Rāmāvtāra Śarma. (Pun-
jab Oriental Series, 15; Lahore, 1933.) In it the last word reads: dasanakiramāpūritakalā
'whose digits are filled up with rays...'
20. See note 17. The verse is given and translated by Aufrecht, ZDMG 27.18 f.
21. See note 11.
22. For whom see Dr. History 119.
23. For a thumbnail sketch of Vararuci and the various works attributed to him,
see Dr. History 10, fn. 5.
In the following two verses, however, that are found in one work, the poet, whose name is sure beyond any shadow of doubt, inserted a signature by means of puns in which parts of verses were short sentences having reference to him as well as to their proper subject matter.

These examples are found in Bāṇa’s Candīśataka. Quackenbos in his translation has seldom missed the elaborate śleṣas of the poet, but both these instances were neglected by him (and by the commentary followed by him) since they are only fragmentary puns and do not, like the elaborate puns generally found, give complete double meanings for a whole verse. They are, as it were, fragmentary and fleeting secondary suggestions that are to be recognized by sensitive auditors. Although they add nothing to the sentiment (rasa) suggested primarily by the poet, they add a fillip to the auditors’ pleasurable appreciation through their recognition of the poet’s skill in the handling of his difficult technique.

Verse 24, pāda a: śārīgin bāṇam vimuṅca bhramasi balir āsau saṃyataḥ kena bāṇa, has already two meanings, according to the Sanskrit commentary in the Kāvyamālā edition used by Quackenbos. Candī speaks in derision to one of the gods who were unsuccessful against the demon Mahiṣa: ‘O Bowman (Viṣṇu), let fly thine arrow; thou art mistaken [in supposing that] this (Mahiṣa) is Bali; why is thy arrow held back?’ Or: ‘O Viṣṇu, let Bāṇa [the demon Bali’s son] go; thou art mistaken [in supposing that] this [thy captive] is Bali; why is Bāṇa held in captivity?’ The words bāṇam and bāṇa undoubtedly suggest also the poet’s name. Even more—bāṇam vimuṅca and saṃyataḥ kena bāṇa mean: ‘Release Bāṇa [from the saṃsāra, the bonds of existence]’ ‘Why is Bāṇa bound?’ This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as a prayer to Viṣṇu (śārīgin) or to Candī herself to whom the verse as a whole (and the poem) is addressed.

Most of verse 30 is addressed by Śiva to his wife Candī in admiration for her feat in slaying Mahiṣa. In pādas c and d he says: vyatathayasi mahiṣam nai ‘kam anyān api tvam ye yuddhyante 'tra nai 'va ‘thou didst discomfit not Mahiṣa alone, but also others who did not fight there at all.’ These ‘others’ are indicated in pādas a and b by puns. Pāda a, consequently, has two interpretations, the first referring to Mahiṣa’s death, the other to victory over the demons Bāṇa and Bali. It reads: kṣipto bāṇaḥ kṛtas te trīkavainatitato nirvalīr madhyadesaḥ. The interpretations are: ‘The arrow (bāṇaḥ) was sped (kṣipto), and thy (te) abdomen (madhyadesaḥ), stretched taut by the

24. The Sanskrit Poems of Mayāra ... together with ... Bāṇa’s Candīśataka. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, 9; New York, 1917.) Translations are taken from this, usually without change.
twisting of thy shoulders (trikā-vinātī-tāto), became (kṛta) free from wrinkles (nir-valir); and: Bāna (bānaha) was laid low (kṣipto), and the Middle Region (madhyadesaḥ; i.e. the central part of the north of India, from about Delhi to Allahabad), being stretched in obeisance to the three sacred syllables (trikā-vinātī-tāto), became (kṛta) freed from Bali (nir-balir). In addition, the fragments: kṣipto bānaha kṛtaḥ ... trikāvinātatato, mean in reference to the poet: Bāna (bānaha), having thrown himself down (kṣipto), became (kṛta) stretched out in obeisance to the three poets (trikā-vinātī-tāto).

It remains to identify the ‘three poets’ (trikāvī). I have been unable (so far) to find closely parallel phraseology in a kāvya text or elsewhere. However, Rājasekhara’s narrative of the origin of kāvya in the 3rd chapter of the Kāvyamānasā clearly provides an interpretation. The three first kavis in Rājasekhara’s account are Uśanas (also called Śukra, Kāvya, and Kavi), Vālmiki, and Vyāsa. Uśanas is well known in this role from the Bhagavadgītā 10.37, where Kṛṣṇa, in stating his manifestations as the chief of every category, says: kavīnām uśanā kavī ‘of the kavis [I am] the kavi Uśanas’; it was on this passage that Rājasekhara undoubtedly relied in making Uśanas the original kavi.

It need not be demonstrated that Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, is commonly known as the ādi-kavi ‘the first poet.’

The Mahābhārata, of which Vyāsa is the reputed reciter, is hardly a kāvya in the technical sense. It has been thought, however, that it makes a claim to being a kāvya. All the passages making this claim, so far as I can discover, were in the first two chapters of the vulgar text. Examination of the critical edition shows that all are interpolations made later than the fixed text from which all our manuscripts derive. That they are interpolations well established in several branches of both northern and southern recen-

25. This interpretation was suggested by one of my students, P. L. Guille; I have developed it.

26. This treatise on the art of poetry, of the 9th-10th centuries, published in Gakwad’s Oriental Series, vol. 1, was translated into French by Nadine Szczupak and Louis Renou, La Kāvyamānasā de Rājasekhara (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, VIII; Paris, 1946). The narrative is on pp. 40-54 of the translation, and is provided with copious notes which I have gratefully used, especially those on Uśanas.—The three classes of kavis of progressively decreasing merit, which were established by Rājasekhara in chapter 4, can hardly be invoked here, since, quite apart from the bad meaning that would be involved, the chronology is out of order.

SIGNITED VERSES BY SANSEKRIT POETS

sions is significant of a fairly general, but comparatively late, Hindu attitude towards this epic, but it has no more weight than that. All that is left in the established text is the claim that the epic (called merely itihāsa and ākhyāna) provides sustenance and ideas to kavis (who are preeminently elaborators of epic themes). The passages relevant to this point are both in the second chapter of book 1, a chapter that, though like its neighbouring chapters 1 and 3 it occurs in our earliest fixed text, yet will be granted by 'higher criticism' to have less claim than most of the epic to be nuclear.

The attitude towards Vyāsaka as a kavi that is displayed in the epic interpolations is backed by a scatter of literary and critical passages. The literary theorist Anandavardhana (cir. 850 A.D.) in the commentary on the Dhvanyāloka verse 1.131 applied the term kāvyā to the Mahābhārata. Rāja-

28. The passages in vol. 1 of the Poona critical edition are as follows. To the 1st chapter, Appendix 1, passage 1, lines 13, 34, 35, and also line 1 of the further interpolation given in the footnote to the passage; it is line 13 that contains the phrase kāvyām paramapājītām quoted by Hopkins, op. cit., p. 50, fn. 1. To the 2nd chapter, the interpolation given in passage 187* as occurring after 1. 2. 241:

asya kāvyasya kavyo na samarthā viśeṣāḥ
sādār iva grhastraśa śeśās traya ivā "śrāmaḥ"

'Kavis are as incapable of surpassing this kāvyā [i.e. the epic] as the other three āśramas the excellent āśrama of the householder.'

The use of the word kāvyā in the Mahābhārata is an interesting problem that I am unable to solve for lack of a word index. It is clear that it occurs designating one of the sages and as a secondary adjective referring to him; see Sōrenson's Index of Names in the Mahābhārata, s.v., and also these meanings and references in PW (1. kāvyā). All the Mahābhārata instances, however, of kāvyā in the sense of 'poem' or the like (PW's 2. kāvyā) have turned out to be in interpolations (including PW's somewhat problematic reference 2,453 [otherwise referred to as 2. 11. 36; interpolation 130* after 2. 11. 26 in the critical edition]), on which, as a reference also to the drama in the epic, Hopkins, p. 55, spitt a deal of ink). Is it possible that there are no instances of kāvyā 'poem' in the critical text of the Mahābhārata?

29. 1. 2. 237ab:

ithihāsottamād āsmāj jāyante-kavibuddhayāh

'from this best of histories proceed the ideas of the kavis.'

1. 2. 241ab:

idam sarvaśi kavivarair ākhyānam upajīvya
dayāprepaśhīṁ bhītyair abhijāta īve 'śvāraḥ

'All the excellent kavis are sustained by this narrative, as servants desiring elevation by a highborn lord.'


śekhara (9th-10th cent.), whose Kāvyamāṁśā has just been cited, in the first verse of his drama Karpūramaṇjařī also used the word vāsāḥ [the poets], Vyāsa and the rest. The earliest allusion to Vyāsa that I have found in this vein \(^{32}\) is by Bāṇa himself (first half of the 7th century), in the third introductory verse of the Harṣacarita:

namah sarvavidam tasmai
vyāsāya kavīvedhase

'Homage to that Vyāsa who is all-knowing, the creator among poets...'. This last phrase may well allude to the epic's claim that it provides sustenance and ideas to kavis.\(^{33}\)

These three, then, are the kavis to whom Bāṇa does obeisance. They are Ṛṣis, and Kālidāsa, whom one might be tempted to make the third in the triad with Vyāsa and Vālmīki, is after all only a man.

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\(^{32}\) Further search of the literature is almost sure to bring more passages to light.—It is not necessary to do more than mention J. Noad’s misconception, to the effect that the Mahābhārata ‘is not called a kāvya by Indian tradition’ (The Foundations of Indian Poetry [Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 16. E. 9; 1925], p. 5).

\(^{33}\) So, in fact, the commentator Śaṅkara (in Führer’s ed., Bombay Sanskrit Series, 66) interprets, quoting Mahābhārata 1. 2. 237ab which I have given in note 29, and saying that the word kavi is used figuratively (upacārt) for kavi-buddhi, kavīvedhase—being then ‘the creator of the ideas of the kavis.’
REFLECTIONS ON SARVA- IN VEDIC TEXTS

BY

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In perusing those passages from the ancient parts of Vedic literature which contain the word sarva- or compounds with sarva- we soon get the impression that translators have often disagreed with regard to the exact equivalent of these words in particular contexts. Cases are not rare in which even translations from the same pen are at variance with each other. An attempt may therefore be made to examine this word more closely. The comment made by GRASSMANN on the meaning of sarva- in the Rgveda is still worth quoting. The basal meaning "undivided, complete" ("ungeteilt, vollständig"), this authority says, prevails in this corpus, the idea of "all" being mostly denoted by viśva-, seldom and only in the younger parts by sarva-. GRASSMANN is no doubt right in vindicating, contrary to the Petrograd Dictionary, a meaning "undivided, whole, uninjured" ("ganz, ungeteilt, unversehrt").

This sense is perfectly evident in the following passages: RV. 1, 41, 2 yām bāhūteva pīprati pānti mātryam rishāh | ārīṣṭaṁ sarva edhate "the mortal being, whom they (the Adityas) bring over (i.e. save), so to say, in the arms and protect from injury, prospers 'complete' (i.e. in sound condition) and unhurt (or rather: safe, secure)"; 8, 27, 16 praḥ sā kṛṣyam tirate... | praḥ prajābhir jāyate...ārīṣṭaṁ sarva edhate "he increases his house..., he propagates offspring..., he prospers safe and sound". In 10, 161, 5—which, being the last stanza of a sūkta intended to release a patient from consumption, also occurs, as 8, 1, 20 in the Atharvaveda—it reads: sārvāṅga sārvam te cākṣuḥ sārvam āyuḥ ca te 'vidam "whole-limbed one! I have won your sight and your life safe and sound".

The translations given for the same adjective when occurring in the Atharvaveda seem to be, in places, in need of modification. AV. 18, 4, 8 (funeral verses) mahimānam agnīr...sāmanavāh sarva ṣapa yāhi "do thou, with thy limbs, 'complete in all parts', i.e. safe and sound, go unto Agni's greatness". The adjective not infrequently refers to the completeness or totality after an enumeration of the parts or constituents: 2, 31, 5; 19, 5, 1;

1. H. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda, column 1489.
cf. also 4, 20, 4 sārvam...yās ca śūḍrā utāryah, and RV. 10, 163, 5 and 6. AV. 8, 2, 25 sārvo vai tātra īśvāte gaur āśvah pūryaḥ paśūḥ...—which forms part of a series of stanzas intended to be used in ceremonies for continuation of life and vitality—was translated by Whitney-Lanman\(^2\) as follows: “every one, verily, lives here—ox, horse, man, beast, where this charm is performed, a defence unto living”. There is, however, as far as I am able to see, no objection to an interpretation: “unhurt, safe and sound”; “cow, horse, man... live and are uninjured, where...”. In the corresponding stanza in the Taitt. Ar. (6, 11, 12) the first pāda, though different in wording, harmonizes in sense: nā vai tātra prá miyate. AV. 16, 4, 6 the adjective occurs in the same context as suasti—“well-being”, a combination which is to recur on one of the following pages: suastiy ādyogyado dvāyāḥ ca sārva āpah sāvagano aiśya “may I, O waters, attain today dawns and evenings with well-being (i.e. well) safe and sound, and my train safe and sound” (“whole and with my whole train” Whitney-Lanman).

The sense of sarva- may also be illustrated by passages such as Ait. Br. 6, 31, 2 na vai sārvo dvaśgre sarvah sambhavaty, ekākaṁ vā aṅgaṁ sam-
bhavataḥ sambhavati “not at once...does it come into being whole, separately each member comes into being as it comes into being”. Hence also the compound sarvaṅga- (RV. 10, 161, 5; AV. 8, 2, 8 etc.) “whole-limbed, entire or perfect in limb” (joining ariṣṭa—“unhurt”), and “complete” (in general).

The combinations of sarva- and viśva- are therefore not necessarily tautological in character: TBr. 3, 1, 1, 1 yasyena viśva bhuvanāni sarvā may have meant “...all these worlds in their completeness (entity)”, viśva-pointing out the inability to proceed after a certain total number has been counted, sarvā- emphasizing the idea of wholeness and completeness and the inability to discern defectiveness.

Let us now turn to the compound asarva-. In AV. 9, 2, 14 āsarvavīraś ca
caratu...dvēṣyo mītāṅgaṁ parivargyāṁ svānāṁ the translation given by the American scholars “with his heroes not safe” is doubtless preferable to that of the Petrograd Dictionary: “whose people are not complete” (“seine Leute nicht voll beisammen habend”). The adjective is of some frequency in the brāhmaṇas: Jām. Br. 3, 123 is very instructive: kumāri, sīhaviro vā ayaṁ asarva nālāṁ patīvanāya “girl, this old man, who is decrepit, is no adequate husband”. The sense of the word no doubt is “defective, not complete, lacking something essential”; ibid. 124 yuvāṁ vā asarva stho, yau devau santān

asomapau stahā "you are 'defective' (incomplete)—or: there is something wrong with you, because through being gods you are not admitted to drink the soma juice". Cf. also Sat. Br. 4, 1, 5, 10 ff. na vai susarvaṁ īva stho na susamṛddhau "you are neither quite complete nor quite perfect". A person who is neither a nobleman nor a purohitā is incomplete: asarva-, the same brāhmaṇa says (6, 6, 3, 12).

In an interesting pericope of the Jaiminiya-upaniṣad-brāhmaṇa, 3, 1, 1, 1 ff. the reasons are given why some powerful beings may be called asarva-: in that the sun has gone to setting, it has gone to the seizers who are in the west, therefore it is not complete: tena so 'sarvaḥ; the moon and the asterisms are for the same reason "incomplete"; the fire is asarva-, because it dies out; day and night, because they pass; the quarters of the sky, because they are confounded and cannot be distinguished at night; the god of rain, because he loses and draws water²; the waters, the herbs, and the forest-trees, because they are exhausted. Here the sense of asarva- is very much in evidence: what is not always and in all respects perfect, what in some respects falls short of the ideal standards, what loses part of the power or energy which it represents, is asarva-.

From a passage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (8, 7) it appears that the long formula devasya eva savitūḥ prasāve etc. etc. is not considered to be "complete" as long as it is not concluded by bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah. "If he is anointed without a complete formula, he is liable to depart before he has completed a full lifetime" (yad asarveṇa vāco 'bhiṣikto bhavatiśvaro ha tu purāṇaḥ praitoh...). The vyāhṛtis, indeed, are sarvāpti- i.e. they represent "the obtaining of completeness",¹ and by adding these the institutor of the sacrifice is liable to complete a full lifetime, to live the whole of an āyus; by conquest he obtains "sarvam": īṣvaro ha sarvam āyur aitoh, sarvam āptad vijayena. It may be added that the commentary explains asarveṇa by sam-pūrtirahitena "destitute of completion".

In connection with the sacrificial horse the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 5, 1, 4, 5 observes that it was produced incomplete (asarva-) when it was produced from the waters, because something belonging to it was left behind; by means of that one completes the horse and makes it whole (samardhayati kṛtsnam karoti). The wife, the same brāhmaṇa (5, 2, 1, 10) holds, is one half (i.e., the complementary part: ardhaḥ) of his own self; hence, as long as

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² I am not able to understand Ostrarr's translation: Parjanya rains and holds up (व एत ग्रहणः: H. Ostrarr, in the Journal of the Amer. Or. Soc. 16, p. 159).

¹ Kērē: "an obtaining of all" (A. Berriedale Kērē, Rig-veda Brahmanas, Harvard 1920, p. 224).
he does not marry her, ... for so long he is incomplete. This observation is made in connection with the ritual mounting of the sacrificial post during the Vājapeya: in performing this the sacrificer attempts, for himself and his wife, to reach the sun: in ascending the sacrificer pronounces the words: sarva etūṃ gatim gacchāni “complete I want to go to that (supreme) goal.” Here man obviously endeavours to reach the high goal of union with the light of heaven in the same state of wholeness and completeness in which he tries to preserve his body while living on the earth. Another interesting passage illustrating the same thought is J. Up. Br. 3, 3, 5 “whoso thus knows this self of the uktha firmly established in the self, comes into being in yonder world with limbs, with a body, whole”: sāṅgas satanuś sārvas sambhavati.

In my opinion, the compound in AthV. 14, 2, 6, which according to Monier-Williams, in his dictionary, means “consisting of or relating to or accompanied by or leading all men or heroes”, and according to Whitney-Lanman “having all heroes”, rather expresses the idea of “with complete, saved men (heroic sons)”, i.e., “with the full number of them safe and sound”: sā ... rājīṃ dhēkī sārvavīram “do you give wealth etc.” The same expression, which would correspond to the Latin salvis viris, occurs AthV. 7, 9, 2 (where Whitney-Lanman give: “preserving heroes”): this verse which is, without variation, the same as RV, 10, 17, 5 (where GELDNER translates: “whose men are complete” (“vollzählig”) ) asks Pūṣan for safety and well-being: sō asmām abhayatamena neṣat svastidā ... sārvavirāḥ ... 3, 20, 8 “do thou (Agni) accord us wealth and make our men (heroic sons) to be in a safe and sound condition”; KERR, who translated the partly identical stanza Tatt, S. 1, 7, 10 c: “...wealth with all heroes”, added the following note: “sārvavirām may mean “with all (i.e., abundant) heroes (i.e., heroic offspring)”, or possibly “with heroes unharmed”?” AthV. 7, 8, 1 where WHITNEY-LANMAN, though translating: “with all his heroes” adds the note: “literally... “having his heroes whole””; KERR translates the corresponding line Tatt, S. 1, 2, 3 n by “... with all thy strength” (sārvavirāḥ); 18, 3, 14; 19, 49, 6 with the compound sarvavedas of similar sense: “with our possessions unharmed, in the uninjured possession of our property”; 3, 12, 1 ... sārvavirāḥ suvīrā āriṣṭavirāḥ.

The same compound which is of considerable frequency in the ancient documents—the Petrograd Dictionary taking it to mean “consisting of all

5. For this passage see also my ‘Reflections on the numerals “one” and “two” in ancient Indo-European languages’, Utrecht 1933, p. 31.
men, accompanied by all men" and "vollzählig" (i.e., with no one lacking) everywhere—was, as it would appear to me, not correctly translated by GELDNER in RV. 9, 90, 3 śārāgūṇāḥ sā rvāvir ṣāhvān jētā (not "with just men, with nothing but men"): it belongs to the very ideal of a conqueror to return with unhurt soldiers. Similarly: 6, 23, 4; 3, 62, 3; 2, 30, 11. With his interpretation of 1, 51, 15 ("mit heilen Mannen"); 105, 19 I can agree.

In Atharvaveda 6, 3, 3 Tvāṣṭar is invoked to make the persons on whose behalf the prayer is recited, prosper unto "completeness", i.e., "preservation, salvation, sound condition, unimpaired strength and faculties": vṛddhāya sarvātātaye. This concept is not foreign to the Rgveda: 3, 54, 11 Savitar is requested to procure sarvātāti-: ād asmābhīyam ā suva sarvātātim. In contradistinction to Sāyana's interpretation sarvam apekṣitam phalam, GELDNER translating the term by "Vollzähligkeit" ("completeness"), explained it as either the complete number of sons (cf. sārvāvira-) or the full lifetime. In view of the existence of the compound sārvāvira- the former assumption is, however, not very convincing. In 10, 36, 14 the same scholar rendered a similar line, to wit: savitā naḥ suva sarvātātim savitā no vagatān dirghām āyuḥ in a more satisfactory way: "Savitar must procure us perfection ("Vollkommenheit"), Savitar must give us a long lifetime". Here Sāyana preferred: sarvam abhilaśitam dhanādikam. A difficult passage, occurring in 10, 100, 1-11, is a sarvātātim aditīm vṛtāme. GELDNER, discussing the construction of this short sentence, arrives at the conclusion that LüHIG's interpretation, according to which aditīm is an abstract noun, should not be rejected. That means that, contrary to the translation presented in GELDNER's text: "we desire (entreat) perfection from Aditi" ("Wir erbitten Vollkommenheit von der Aditi"), the sense of the line would be "we desire salvation, guiltlessness" ("... um Heil, um Schuldlosigkeit"). There is, however, a third possibility, which might be considered on account of the order of words: Aditi defines, explains, or qualifies sarvātāti-. If, as seems probable, the name Aditi comes from dā-, dyāti "to bind", the meaning "being loose, freedom", proposed by OLDENBERG, must in all probability be preferred to "limitless, unlimited, undividedness, immensity etc." The 'goddess' represents, inter alia, the place of universal creation which must continually be protected from obstruction and narrowness; there can be no doubt that she is concerned with

9. GELDNER, o.c.—III, p. 313.
11. It may be recalled to memory that in the ancient Indo-European languages many words beginning with the privative prefix can better be translated by the positive contrary term. For examples see J. WACKERNAGEL, Vorlesungen über Syntax, II, Basel 1928, p. 284.
width, broadness and extension, with generation and motherhood. Nor is it problematic that the idea expressed by the term *aditi*- (or, if this might be preferred, *Aditi*) is no abstract concept in the traditional sense of the word, but one of those many potencies, or power-substances, which empirically, or within some form of experience, were supposed to be present in persons, objects, and phenomena, and by virtue of which these are influential, effective, endowed with something which is beyond the bounds of understandable common experience.

In *RV. 1, 106, 2* it is the *Ādityas* who are invoked: "a *gatā sarvātātaye approach in order to (confer) sarvātātī- (a safe and sound condition or something to that effect) on us". This means, Śaṅkara observes, *sahāntaḥ* *puruçais tatāya vistārītāya yuddhāya; yuddhe 'smākam sāhāyyam kartum ity arthah, an explication which is open to question. The same words recur in 10, 35, 11; the gods addressed are, again, the *Ādityas*. GELDEN, in his translation of the *Ṛgveda*, while rendering the former passage: "O *Ādityas* approach that we remain uninjured" ("dass wir heil bleiben!"); takes 10, 35, 11 to mean "for the sake of completeness" ("zur Vollzähligkeit").

Of special interest are those passages in which the term under discussion combines with *suasti-*, which literally means "well-being, fortune, prosperity". *RV. 9, 96, 4* Soma is addressed as follows: "ātayatē hataye panasva svastaye sarvātātaye byhatē which means: "flow off clearly in order to come off alive and victorious, in order to secure well-being and 'completeness' (a safe and sound condition)". It may be noticed that in the *Atharvaveda* (14, 2, 72) the word byhat-, an adequate English equivalent of which is very difficult to find, combines with *vājaštī- "the winning of vāja-, i.e., "a power or potency manifesting in animal and vegetable life, in strength and the capacity to live, to grow, to last in vigour". Whereas WHITNEY-LANMAN, very questionably, considered byhat- to be a substantive: "... in order to what is great, to winning of strength", GELDEN may be correct in regarding it an adjective qualifying sarvātati- (RV. 9, 96, 4). *RV. 9, 15, 2* the same byhat- qualifies another word in -tāti-, to wit derātātī-. If I was, in another publication, right in considering byhat- to mean something like "firm, solid, intrinsically powerful, reliable (and hence also great, firm, high, vigorous etc.)" the passage under

13. I may refer to my 'Notes on brahman', Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff; and esp. p. 35 ff. The adjective byhat- could also express such ideas of intrinsic and coextensive, potent and incomprehensible "firmness", "solidity" and "reliability" as may be considered a more definite description of the nature and limits of those potencies which are often called "gods" and which are representatives of energetic, but incomprehensible or at least suprahuman power.
consideration shows, first that sarvātāti- could be qualified by the same adjective as devatāti- and vajrasāti-, and in the second place that it could be called "firm, reliable, intrinsically powerful".

The above combination also occurs RV. 6, 15, 18 (addressed to Agni) jānīṣīvā devāvātaye sarvātāti svastaye "be born in order to afford enjoyment to the gods on account of a safe and sound condition," in order to well-being"; 6, 56, 6 (addressed to Puṣan) a te suastim imaha ārēgāhām śūpāvasum ādīyā ca sarvātātye śvā ca sarvātātye "we approach thee with the request for well-being from which evil is far, and which procures good things, in order to (obtain) a safe and sound condition today and tomorrow". Here it appears that "well-being", absence of evil, and the possession of vau- "good things, goods, property" are essential constituents of the concept called sarvātāti-. In 1, 94, 15 anāgāstvam "sinlessness" or rather "purity, virtue," if the form sarvātāti is a locative of motive, seems to belong to the same category: yāsmai tvām sudravino dādāte...anāgāstvam adite sarvātāti "to whom Thou (Agni), who art in possession of splendid treasures, Aditi, grants rest (ritual and moral) purity with a view to (in order to obtain) a safe and sound condition". If this be the correct translation, the sarvātāti- is the higher end, the object on account of which other advantages are wished for. A similar passage is 3, 54, 19: devānām dātāh...ānāgān no vocatu sarvātāti "the messenger of the gods...must declare us to be 'sinless' (pure) with a view to a safe and sound condition." Geldner, however, translated sarvātāti by "to the full extent" ("in vollem Masse"), and in 5, 69, 3 by "completely": prātāv den'im ad'itim i'ohavini madhyāmdina u'ditā sūryasya | rāyē mītrāvaruṇā sarvātātē tekāyā tānayāyā kām yōh "in the morning and at noon, when the sun rises," I invoke the goddess Aditi for wealth, O Mitra and Varuṇa,

14. It remains to add that most other words in -tāti- express ideas belonging to the same semantic sphere: ariṣṭātāti- "saftiness, security"; aṣṭakṣṭātāti- "health"; dakṣatāti- "ability" (joining, in AV. 8, 1, 6: jīṣṭu- "length of life"); jyeṣṭhātāti- "superiority"; aṣāntāti- (together with ariṣṭātāti- RV. 10, 137, 4) "happiness, welfare"; aṣṭātāti- "home", (i.e. the condition of being safe and having a fixed place of rest), etc. This group, like some analogical forms of later date, may be made an argument in favour of the supposition that sarvātāti- (which with ariṣṭātāti- is the most frequent) denoted "a condition of completeness or wholeness" rather than "the whole number". The opposite sense of gṛbhitātāti- "captivity" is easily intelligible.

15. I would prefer to regard this form as a nimittaspektum rather than Geldner's "in Vollzähligkeit" ("completely"). Cf. e.g. RV. 6, 19, 12.

16. For Puṣan see S. D. Atkins, Puṣan in the Rig-veda, Princeton 1941.

17. See above, and Geldner, o.c., I*, p. 123.

18. See Geldner o.c., II, p. 76. For the meaning of the form see also Grassmann's Dictionary, 1490, s.v. sarvātāt-.
with a view to sarvātīti; I implore (her) for welfare and happiness for the benefit of my children and offspring." If, again, I am not mistaken in my interpretation of the locative, "wealth" (or at least a sufficiency of goods) is an important element of the safe and sound condition which appears to be often present to the mind of these poets as an ideal of happiness.

In 6, 12, 2 Agni is addressed as follows: a yāsmin yajatva yāksad rājan sarvātītava nā dyauḥ "(thou) . . . in whom, O thou that art worthy of worship, heaven also (I am sure) worships so to say with a view to sarvātīti-, O king" (Geldner again translates by "completely"). Geldner is no doubt right in identifying "heaven" with its denizens; cf. also 6, 2, 4. Here it is taken for granted that the attainment of the condition denoted by the term under consideration belongs also to the objects of which the gods are eagerly desirous. There seems to be more uncertainty in the interpretation of this term in another passage (10, 74, 3) in which it occurs in the Rgvedasamhitā. It would be tempting to read in it the conviction that the text composed by the poet is a means of securing the high good, going by the name of sarvātīti-, to the gods: iḍam evam amṛtaṁ pūr saṁvātī mā kṛpaṇanta rātnam "this thought (prayer) is, with a view to sarvātīti-, intended for the immortals, who long for a (that) treasure". Would it not be preferable to consider rātna- "gem, treasure" to refer to sarvātīti-, not (as is Geldner's opinion) to the poet's composition? This word, which in documents dating from a later period occurs in connection with highly appreciated entities and concepts of very high rank—we may only recall the rataṇattaya or triad of gems of the Buddhists—, can also in the Rgveda be an expression for very valuable acquisitions (see e.g. 2, 38, 1; 3, 8, 6; 27, 8; 56, 7). If this be the meaning of this line the tenor of the whole stanza may be considered to express the thought worded also in the well-known stanza in the Bhagavadgītā (3, 11): devāṁ bhāvajatānena te devā bhāvayantas vah | parasparam bhāvayantāḥ śreyāḥ param avāpaśyathā.

Of a more dubious character are three cases which as far as their outward appearance is concerned can be a sg. loc. of sarvātīti- as well as an instr. of sarvātītā. The stanza RV. 7, 57, 7 ā stūtāso maṁ ṛtvu viśva utti āchā sūrin sarvātītā jīgatā ca, it is true, be taken to mean: "Since you have been praised, O Maruts, come, all of you, towards the institutions of the sacrifices with (your) promoting favour with a view to a safe and sound condition (viz. on our part, for our benefit)". Geldner, however, followed the Petro-

19. For the idea expressed in this line see RV. 10, 88, 7.
grad Dictionary, which gave the sense of “together” (“in Gesammtheit, insgemein, alle zusammen”) or “completely” (“vollzählig”). A similar interpretation, though possible: (sarrvátāti- for the sake of those who were ill-treated by the victim or: with the intention of the furtherance of his own’s sarrvátāti-) is, however, by no means self-evident in the case of 7, 18, 19: prātra bhedāṁ sarrvátātā musāyat. Here a translation “he (Indra) robbed “Bheda” by means of (through) his (own) sarrvátāt” (Grassmann) might in any case be preferred to “robbed him completely” (Geldner). Similar consideration might be devoted to 4, 26, 3 where Indra is described as boasting of his victory over Šambha: ahām puro...vij aśvam nāca sākān navatik šambarasya / satamam veśām sarrvátātā “I forced the ninety-nine strongholds of Šambha, as the hundredth their occupant(s)” with a view of (rather than: through?) my sarrvátāt- (?). Or should we subscribe to Geldner’s interpretation: for completeness’ sake (“zur Vollständigkeit”), the hundredth being the person or object which by joining a group or number completes it.

There are other words in which this function of sarrvā- may be still apparent. Can RV. 8, 31, 11, where some divine powers are invoked: aitu puṣā ṛavir bhāgaḥ svaṣti sarrvadhātamaḥ | urū dāhō svastōye in view of the afore-mentioned combination of svasti and sarrvātāti- have meant: “Puṣā must come, Wealth, Bhaga who more than others gives well-being and what is “whole” (i.e. a safe and sound condition), the broad road towards well-being”?

We cannot help being reminded of the Avestan phrase haurva dā “to make whole, complete, perfect, to bring to a state of completion”, cf. e.g. Nirangistān 37 yākā kaha-cā daḥmō staōta yesnya haurva deśāti “in whichever manner a real member of the Zoroastrian community brings to completion the hymns of praise which belongs to the sacrifice”.

Hence also the frequent occurrence of sarrvā- in combination with words which express an aspect of totality or denote a concept which is considered to be complete. As pointed out earlier sarvam āyukh means “a full

21. It is also worth mentioning that Renou, while translating sarrvātātā by “with plentitude, abundance” (“avec plénitude”), is of the opinion that -tātā is the instrumental of -tā- rather than the locative of -tā- (L. Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, Paris 1952, p. 219 and 172). Grassmann at the time translated sarrvātāti- by “a perfect or complete nature, perfect vigour, complete blessing” (“vollkommenes Wesen, Kraftfülle, Segensfülle”, Wörterbuch, 1990).

22. I refer to Geldner, o.c., I, p. 454.

23. Sāyana: sarrvātātā sarrvātātāṃ yajñā; similarly, 7, 57, 7; but 7, 18, 9 sarrvātātāu yuddhe ca.


The well-known phrase idam sarvam “this all” i.e., “the (complete) universe” occurs already in the Rgvedasamhitā: 8, 58, 2 (= Vāl. 10, 2), ēkaivōṣāṁ sarvam idam vi bhāty ēkaṁ vā idam vi bābhūva sarvam; JUṣp. Br. 1, 7, 1; 25, 2; 41, 1, etc. SaṭBr. 6, 1, 3, 11 adbhya hi idam sarvam jōyate. RV, 1, 39, 5 the Maruts are described as having advanced sārvaṛga viśā, i.e., “with their complete community” (cf. also 5, 26, 9; 8, 28, 3). According to the Saṃpathābhīmaṇa (7, 5, 1, 34; 9, 5, 1, 63) Agni, the fire, if not carried about for a year (which is a representative of completeness) is not complete (asaraṇa-).

Like other words of similar sense sarva- developed the meanings of “all, every”. In connection with words indicating a mass or collectivity “whole, complete”, meaning “including or concerning every part” becomes “all”: sārvaṁ bhōjanam (RV, 1, 83, 4) “the whole quantity of food” meant “all the articles of food”; sārvaṛga viśā “with the complete clan” (1, 39, 5): “with all the members of the clan”. In popular German usage die ganzen Menschen “the complete men” is in a similar way sometimes heard, to express “all men”. Such expressions as die ganzen Häuser “all the houses”, die ganzen Einwohner “all the inhabitants” were modelled upon die ganze Stadt “the whole town”, die ganze Schule “the whole school”. In becoming a word for “all, every” sarva- encroached upon the domain of the adjective viśa- which in this sense must have been more original (it is closely related to Balto-Slavonic words for similar ideas). The pronominal flection, adopted by sarva- in Ancient Indian, must be regarded as resulting from its younger function.

So the word sarvam can very significantly be used in such a way as to suggest a sense opposite to illness and death. In a stanza which with slight verbal variation is quoted in the Chānd. Up. 7, 26, 2 and the Maitri Up. 7, 11, 6 it reads: na paśyo mṛtyuṇa paśyati, na rogaṁ nota duḥkhatāṁ | sarvam ha paśyaḥ paśyati, sarvam āpnoti sarvaṛgaḥ “he who (truly) sees does not see

26. The reader might be referred to K. BEILMANN, Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität in den indogermanischen Sprachen, Univ. Leipzig 1893-4: esp. p. 29, 34 ff.; 43 ff.; C. D. BUCK, A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages, Chicago 1949, p. 91 ff.; see also E. SAPERS, Totality Language Monographs, VI, Baltimore 1930, where the differences between various terms for totality are discussed from a ‘structural’ point of view.

27. See also A. DEBRUNNER and J. WACKERNAGEL, Althindiache Grammatik III, Göttingen 1930, p. 561.
death, nor illness, nor any distress; he who (truly) sees sees the All (i.e., wholeness, completeness, integrity), he reaches (obtains) the All (wholeness etc.) in all respects (entirely)”. In contradistinction to distress, illness and death sarvam must be a condition in which man is safe and uninjured; in which one has overcome death and reached “life eternal”.

It is therefore not surprising to read that by acquiring the insight into the essence of Brahman, or more briefly, by the knowledge of Brahman (brahmavidyā) man becomes “All”: Br. Ār. Up. 1, 4, 9 tad āhuḥ, yad brahmavidyā sarvam bhaviṣyanto manuṣyā manyante, kim u tad brahmaved yasmāt tat sarvam abhavaḥ iti “They say, since men think that by the knowledge of Brahman, they become “All”, what then was it that Brahman knew by which it became “All”? And the answer simply is (10): brahma vā idam agrā ēsit, tad ātmānam evāved, aham brahmāsmīti; tasmāt tat sarvam, abhavaḥ “Brahman, indeed, was this in the beginning. It knew only itself: “I am Brahman”. Therefore it became “All”. “And the author adds that whoever of the gods, seers, or men became awakened to this, he indeed became that. “Whoever knows “I am Brahman”, becomes this “All””: sa idam sarvam bhavaḥ. And in the same upaniṣad, 2, 5, 10, the Self, the “Immortal”, the Brahman, the “All” are expressly identified: yaś cāyaṁ asminn āḻāśe tejomayo ’yrtamayah puruṣo, yaś cāyaṁ adhyātmam hṛdayākāsaś tejomayo ’yrtamayah puruṣo, ayaṁ eva sa ya’yam ātma, idam anytam, idam brahma, idam sarvam “this brilliant person which not being subject to death is in this space, and with reference to the individual, this brilliant person who is not subject to death and who is in the space in the heart, he is just this Self, this existence which is not subject to death, he is Brahman, he is Whole”. And being “whole” means being “safe”.

The identification of Brahman and sarvam is indeed frequently taught: Chānd. Up. 3, 14, 1 sarvam khalv idam brahma “verily, this whole (the universe) is Brahman”; MaitrīUp. 4, 6. Cf. also SB. 7, 3, 1, 42 sarvam u brahma praṭāpabh. Now the question arises what sense was attributed to sarvam by those who first identified brahma with it. Professor KUMARAPPA was of the opinion that those who straightway identified Brahman

28. I fear that I cannot subscribe to Professor RADHAKRISHNAN’s translation: “he sees everything” (Sri S. RADHAKRISHNAN, The Principal Upanishads, London 1953, p. 489).
30. J. Up. Br. I, 46, 2 sarvam . . . like bhadram “bliss”, samāptih “attainment”, etc., belongs to the sixteen aspects of Prajāpati (lit. to the sixteen parts into which he divided himself). Prajāpati is sarvam (Kauś. Br. 6, 15; 25, 12).
with “everything in the universe”, while prompted by a great zeal for the truth that Brahman is the unity which explains all this diversity, proceeded rather indiscriminately. Exulting in their discovery that nothing can exist without Brahman—was it not such a unitary principle which they so passionately sought after?—they too inconsiderately proclaimed: “lo, here, all is Brahman”. “But this wholesale predication of everything found in the universe as being of Brahman, if it was intended seriously, and not merely in an exaggerated way to refer to the all-pervading power of Brahman, could not continue for very long, for a little reflection suffices to show that if Brahman is everything all over again, He is not the unity which philosophers were seeking. That which explains everything cannot be the same as everything. Accordingly philosophers were not long in perceiving that Brahman must be very different in character from the “universe”.” It may therefore be a tempting supposition to hold the original value of the predication sarvam khalv idam brahma to have been, not “Brahman is everything here”, but “Brahman is the complete here, this whole (one)”, or: “Brahman is what is the whole, complete here, is what is entire, perfect, with no part lacking, what is safe and well etc., i.e. Completeness, Totality, the All seen as the Whole”. It then was only a re-interpretation of sarva- in accordance with the semantic development of this word which leads to the untenable conclusion noticed by Kumaraippa. Needless to argue that sarvaṃ in this sense goes very well with the well-known “identifications” of Brahma with amrita- (e.g. MaitriUp. 4, 6) and aksara- “the imperishable, immutable, unalterable” and with the conviction that Brahma is pure, free from evil, perfect, that it is truth, an indistinguishable unity, that “it transcends hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, old age and death” (B. ār. Up. 3, 5, 1; cf. Chānd. Up. 8, 1, 5; 7, 1). The sarvam is also aksayam “undecaying” (Sat. Br. 1, 6, 1, 19).

A knowledge of the original sense of sarva- may, in my opinion, also be of some help to a better understanding of the implications of the term sarvajña- “omniscient”. According to the definition given in Patañjali’s Yoga-sūtras, 3, 49, a sarvajña- i.e., “a man who is ‘omniscient’” is: he who has only the full discernment of the difference between the sattva and the Self; such a man has authority over all states of existence. “Being one who knows all”, the Yogabhāṣya observes, “refers to the intuitive knowledge, produced by discrimination and rising instantaneously into consciousness, of the aspects (guna) which are the essence of all, whether they be quiescent or uprisen or indeterminable. It is this perfection that is termed the “undistressed”, by

32. For aksara- see P. M. Moat, Aksara, a forgotten chapter in the history of Indian Philosophy, Thesis Kiel 1931 (Baroda 1932). The epic and purānic texts never tire of repeating that brahma is aksaram; the latter term was already in the oldest prose upanishads a designation for the highest metaphysical principle.
attaining to which the yogin "who knows all", whose hindrances and bondages have dwindled, takes his recreation as having mastery". It is evident that this omniscience is not a mere knowledge of an infinite diversity of objects and phenomena, though this ability may easily be considered a natural consequence of it. Elsewhere (on Pat. Y.S. 1, 25) the same commentary furnishes us with the explication that the omniscient is he in whom the germ of omniscience—i.e., the process of knowing the supersensuous—as it increases progressively reaches its utmost excellence. He in whom this limit of thinking is reached is the omniscient and He is a special kind of Self. "The intuitive knowledge proceeding from discrimination", Patañjali teaches (Y.S. 3, 54), is sarvavisayam and has all times for its object; it is an inclusive whole without sequence". This means, according to the same commentary, that there is nothing that is not its object, and that it has intuitive knowledge at all times of one whole (sarvam); besides, that it grasps one whole. As is well known, Brahma is sarvajña- and so are the Buddha and the Arhants of the Jains.

It is interesting to notice that the oldest text showing the term sarvajña-, Mund. Up. 1, 1, 9, uses it in connection with yânamayam tapah "austerity consisting of the higher knowledge", i.e. "the intuitive insight into the difference between the atman and the phenomenal world which leads to final deliverance": yah sarvajñaḥ sarvavid yasya yânamayam tapah tasmād etad brahma vâmarûpam annam caâyate "from him who is "omniscient", who is "all-knowing", whose austerity consists of yâna-, the Brahma here, individuality, and food derive their existence", that is to say: the One who (which) is "knowledge" transforms himself (itself) into objects: by this process creation takes place. In relation to the uncreated universe sarvajña- must mean "knowing the totality". Between the One and the many there is a relation of genetic dependence and existential contrast. In each of the many the transcendent unity is potentially latent, and by inversion of functionality it can be actualized as sarvajñatva-, i.e., (transcendent) consciousness of the Whole, of the All, in which the particular consciousness is annihilated.

A similar relation between the Sarvam, the Whole and the condition of being liberated, seems to be mystically expressed in AthV. 9, 7, 24 where

33. This is not to deny that it involved, or easily developed into, a universal knowledge of this kind. Compare also the descriptions given of the omniscience or kevala náma of the Jain emancipated (see e.g. W. Schürmann, Die Lehre der Jainas, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, p. 110). Interesting observations were also made by F. Heiler, Der Gottes Begriff der Mystik, in Numen, Intern. Review for the History of Religions, I, p. 170 ff.—He rightly states that the All of the mystic is no chaos, but a cosmos.


35. For the interpretation of this passage see also S. Radhakrishnan, o.c. p. 674.
the ox, who is extolled in this ‘hymn’, is described as belonging to all the
gods when being yoked, to be Prajāpati when yoked, and to be sarvam when
unyoked (or: released): yujyamāno vaiśvedevā yuktāḥ prajāpatir vinuktaḥ sarvam.

It now remains briefly to examine the relatives of the Ancient-Indian
sarva-. In Avestan, haurva- sometimes conveys the force of “whole, intact,
unhurt, sound”: Yasna 58, 6 haurva-fsau- “whose cattle is unhurt or safe”. Of
special interest is the substantive haurvatāt- (also haurvāt-)36 which is
usually taken to express the sense of “wholeness, completeness, perfect hap-
piness or prosperity, welfare”.37 This “concept” is also “deified”, that is to
say: haurvatāt- occurs as a divine power. Haurvatāt is one of the Amerta
Spentas38 and as such in a significant manner often mentioned together with
Ameratāt or Ameratāt “immortality”, or rather: “(possession of) full and
unimpaired vitality, life”.39

This pair, Haurvatāt and Ameratāt,40 are aspects of Ahura Mazdāh,
the Supreme Being. Their essence, or at least a very important aspect of
theirst, seems to be clearly indicated in Yt. 19, 96 where they are expected to
conquer both famine and drought. To Haurvatāt the care of the life-giving
waters was, indeed, entrusted.41 By his perfect union with Haurvatāt,
Ameratāt, and other powers, Ahura Mazdāh is able to recompense his devo-
tees (cf. Y. 31, 21). In Y. 51, 7 Ahura Mazdāh is requested to give these
two powers to men; and the phrase expressing these is followed by tavāt
utayūthi “force, and bodily welfare, well-being and endurance (longevity)”;
the latter pair is generally and rightly regarded as referring to two other "power-substances". In Y. 33, 8 it is Haurvatât and Ameretât themselves who are implored to accord well-being, bodily welfare and perpetuity of life (utayūti-) to man. So, it would be difficult to deny that Haurvatât and Ameretât are closely connected with food, endurance, and perpetuity of life. In Y. 34, 11 they are even explicitly stated to be, or to serve as, food. Besides there is, as far as appears from the documents which are preserved to us, a correspondence between Haurvatât and the above utayūti-. The conclusion seems to be warranted that this 'concept' and 'divinity' represents bodily welfare, the enjoyment of perfect health and of full strength and vigour based on and resulting from a disposal of the life-giving water. It is not surprising to find that the term can directly apply to water (e.g., Y. 8, 1, where ameretât represents its complement, the plants), and as a divinity is the "lord of waters". For "health, soundness, continuance of a safe and sound condition" the Avesta uses dravatât- (often in combination with tanu- "body"); the word drea "firm, healthy, sound" is identical with the Skt. dhrava- "fixed, immovable, permanent, lasting, eternal".

So the conclusion might be that the idea of "completeness" was of considerable consequence in the ancient Indo-Iranian culture. This "completeness" appears as bodily integrity, as preservation of perfect health, as an unimpaired condition in a more general sense. It was not, or not merely, a natural desire of man in daily life, it played an important rôle among the objects pursued in religion; it even was a highly desirable condition or a 'potency' of rank.

The etymologic connection of sarva- and haurva- shows that the idea conveyed by these words: "being whole, i.e., being complete, intact, in a sound condition", was already known at an earlier period; besides, that it was the more "original" sense of the Indo-European solvo-s to which they must go back. The latter part of this conclusion is not new, but the importance of the etymology: AInd. sarva-: Lat. salvus: Gr. o'klos (hòlos) etc. from the point of view of the history of civilization has, as far as I am able to see, not been duly recognized by my predecessors. In Latin, salvus means "well-preserved, whole, sound, healthy, well, unhurt, intact, uninjured, alive, safe". The poet Plautus gives a kind of definition: Aulularia 207 salvam est si quid non perit "it is safe, that is: if it is all there, if nothing is lost". We come across such phrases as salus et servatus "well and safe"; salvus et sospes "well and unhurt"; salvus et sanus "safe and sound". The word is also ap-

42. Cf. also Y. 45, 10; 34, 11.
43. For a discussion of utayūti and tapāśī see Nyberg, O.C., p. 140 ff.
44. I refer to Nyberg, l. c.
plied to lifeless objects, inter alia to law, justice, or conscience. In contradistinction to the Anc. Ind. *sṛvau*, the Latin *salvus* did not develop into a pronominale. This adjective is etymologically related to the Latin *salus* which denotes the condition of the person who is *salvus*, the safe and sound condition, health, welfare, well-being. As a divinity *Salus* was identified with the Greek Hygieia, the goddess of health. Her cult must have been of considerable antiquity. She represented not only “Health”, but also “Public Welfare”: as *Salus publica* she was the divine representative of the general public welfare. In this quality she is often mentioned together with Fortuna “Fortune”, or Felicitas “Success, Happy Issue”. The substantive *salus*, however, also served to denote the idea of deliverance from death or ruin, also: safety, security. When opposed to “ruin, destruction, death” it could mean “life”: *salutem débère aliqui* means “to owe a person the preservation of one’s life”. The word, which survives in such well-known English terms as *salutary* (used in physical and moral sense), *salvage*, *salvation*, was also used in the sense of “welfare wished”, i.e. “salutation, salute”; the imperative *salve* “be well”, which was a general form of greeting can still be used: “Hail! God save you!” The ancient *salus*, which often occurred in such contexts as may be considered “religious”, was, under the influence of the Gr. ὅσιος “safe and sound, alive and well; whole, intact” and its relatives adopted by the Christians to express the idea of “hail”. From the derivative *salvare* they coined the new term *saluator* “Saviour”, and *salvatio* “the act of saving” came to mean “redemption (in a spiritual sense), deliverance from sin and its effects (in the Christian sense of the word)”, and also “the state of being saved”: cf. such expressions as “In Christ is our salvation”.

The Greek member of this family of words, the Homeric ὅσιος (όλος) and Attic ὅλος (ὁλός), denoted, in a comparable way, the ideas of “whole,

45. The reader may for some particulars be referred to A. Ermouy et A. Meillet, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine², Paris 1961, p. 1043 f.

46. See also A. Meillet, in the Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 28 (1928), p. 40 ff., who is no doubt right in considering the term a remainder of an ancient family of words of religious significance.

47. For particulars see G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer², München 1912, p. 131 ff.


49. In explanation of the Latin phrase *digitus salutaris* “forefinger” R. B. Ongans, The Origin of European Thought², Cambridge 1954, p. 498, n. 1 supposes the original meaning of the Roman greeting by holding up the hand, perhaps the finger, towards another to have been a beneficent act, to wit the bestowal of life, the hand being a frequent means of transmitting the spirit or vital power. The verb *salutare* “to greet, salute” indeed originally meant “to give salus to a person.”

50. There is no use in explaining *salve*, with R. Thurneyser, Kuhn’s Zeitung 28, p. 160, n. 2 as an original vocative of *salus*. 
entire, complete in all its parts”, of persons as well as objects: in connection with bread it meant a “whole” loaf, with the moon: “full”. Joining the word ἴγις (hugía) “healthy” it must be translated by “safe and sound”. As a substantive τὸ ὅλον (to hólon) means “the universe”, but this term differs from τὸ πᾶν (to pán) in that it implies a definite order. Whereas ὅλον (óle) was in use as a form of salutation “health to thee”, ὅλος (hólos) could also stand for πᾶς (páss) “all” and “every”. As a first member of compounds ὅλος- (hólo-) means “completely, entirely” (before adjectives) or “whole” (before substantives). Space forbids to consider some of the compounds in detail. Two related words may however not be left unmentioned: the verb ὅλοεται (hóloëtai) which according to the lexicographer Hesychius means “to be sound or healthy” and ἔλος (hélos) which is explained by the same authority as μόνος καὶ ὅλος (mónos kai hólos) “alone and whole”.

That the idea of “whole” or “complete” in a more general sense was often expressed by words denoting also “sound, whole in body, unhurt, well” is a well-established fact. What is important is that the relevant terms came to be used also in contexts bearing on “thought” and religion, in the philosophy of life or nature of the prehistoric and ancient peoples,—provinces of their culture which while coinciding with each other for a considerable part, cannot be separated from their daily life. Whereas—as might have been expected—the Romans gave the group of words apart from a “religious” also a political sense, and the Greeks used τὸ ὅλον (to hólon) as a term for “the universe”, the ancient Iranians made Haurvatât one of the “energetically powerful Beings who are beyond the reach of Death” (Amerta Spentas), and who may be regarded as aspects of Ahura Mazda himself, the Indians, identifying bráhman and sarvam, choose this term for “intact, uninjured, entire, complete” to denote the Whole of Existence, the All, which in being eternally complete, is always free from decay, illness, and death. By realizing that he is sarvâ-, a man escapes death and its precursors.

The idea expressed by this word was, in the second place, combined with that denoted by the Ancient Indian amṛtaeva- and its relatives in other languages, that is to say with that of “continuance of life”. The harbingers of death, all that which is injurious to health, hurtful, and prejudicial to the interests of earthly life was considered “harm, injury, loss, diminution, incompleteness”. This thought is reflected in the ancient languages. In the Veda, mi- (mināti etc.) means on the one hand “to lessen, diminish” (inter alia:

51. See also C. D. Buck, o.c. p. 918f. The majority of words for “harm, injure” (and those for the corresponding nouns) were, as far as can be seen, originally applied to living beings, with reference to bodily injury, and secondarily applied to material objects: see Buck, o.c., p. 760.
āyuḥ "a full lifetime, outward beauty etc."); "to violate, transgress" (law, ordinances etc.); the intransitive forms bear the force of "to decrease, perish, die". The etymological relatives show that the sense of "to reduce; to become smaller etc." must be regarded as "original". The verb riṣ- (reṣati, riṣyati, riṣyate) "to receive harm, suffer wrong, to be hurt or injured"—cf., e.g., RV. 1, 89, 9 mā no madhyā riṣitāyuy gāntoh "do no harm to our full lifetime (don't inflict loss on it) in the midst of our path (of life)"—can also mean "to be lost, to perish". The Vedic mer- (marcāyati etc.) "to hurt, injure" is related to the Avestan mahrka "destruction, death" and the N. Pers. marr "death". The Skt. kṣan- (kṣanoti) "to hurt, injure, wound" cannot be disconnected from the Greek αἰνέκιν (aipoteina) "to kill". In a recent publication P. Thiemem32 attempted to show that the I.E. root *nek-—which is represented, inter alia, by the Skt. naṣyati "to be lost, perish, come to nothing etc."—properly referred to the decomposition of a dead body. Since those words which belong to this root denote a corpse have no special reference to its decomposition—the Greek νέκως (nekros) means: "a dead body, a dying person; pl. the dwellers in the nether world; dead, inanimate"; νέκος (nekos) "corpse; pl. the spirits of the dead; dead"; the Avestan nāsu "corpse, part of a corpse; name of a corpse-witch"—, and since, on the other hand, most words belonging to this family refer to injuries or violence which may cause death, this supposition does not seem to be very plausible. In defending the old etymology of the Greek νέκταιρ (nektaur) "the nourishment of immortality", proposed by J. Grimm and Frellwitz—and recently endorsed by J. B. Hofmann—Thiemé is, however, probably right: the original force of this word seems to have been: "what saves from the destruction of death" (-tār: cf. the Ved. -tur "passing over, overcoming, rescuing, saving").

On the other hand, many words for "safe" primarily meant "whole, well, sound, unhurt", and part of them developed into expressions for "the state of being finally or permanently saved, salvation (in the religious sense)". The afore-mentioned Greek σωτ (sōs) "safe and well, alive and well" (of persons); "safe, whole, preserved, extant, intact" (of objects), "sure, certain" (of events)—hence also σωτείλο (sōteiulo) etc. "to save from death, keep alive; preserve; observe (laws)", and σωτηρ (sōtēr) "saviour, deliverer also of gods, rulers, and in the Christian usage of God"; σωτηρία (sotería) "deliverance, a means or way of safety, safe return, salvation (Christian)", etc.—must be etymologically connected with the Vedic tu- tauti, tavitī "to be strong, have power" and the Avestan tu- "to be able, have power", and tāvīti (see above). The Irish sláin meant "well, in good health" and "safe". The Gothic hails

"sound, whole, well, unhurt, complete"—also serving as a salutation—which is related to Slavonic words for "whole, complete; to salute; health" is on the one hand identical with the Engl. whole, the Engl. health "state of bodily (or mental) well-being" and the Dutch heel "whole, entire, complete", and on the other with the Engl. hail, i.e., "be thou hail i.e., healthy, prosperous", the Dutch heil "welfare; good; salvation (of the soul)"—whence Dutch heilig "holy"—, and, moreover, with the Engl. holy, the last-mentioned word deriving from hail, cf. the above heil etc. in the sense of "in good health, sound, uninjured" and originally conveying the ideas of "uninjured, inviolate, representing well-being" (and hence) those of "pertaining to God or to saints, hallowed, sacred; divine etc." The likewise cognate O. Norse heill meant "a favourable omen" and "happiness, fortune". The German and Dutch derivative Heiland serves to translate the Latin Salvator "the Saviour"; interesting enough the medieval Dutch term was ghesontmakere "who makes healthy", healthy or whole being again considered the normal condition the endless continuance of which after death is eagerly desired. Words for "not injured" not infrequently adopt the sense of "safe": the Sanskrit aksata- (e.g., Manu 8, 124); similarly, the Rumanian nevătămat "not injured" > "safe".

53. Cf. also H. HARTMANN "Heil" und "heilig" im nordischen Altertum, Heidelberg 1943.
VEDICA

VON

A. DEBRUNNER, Bern

I. SIMONS KĀṬHAKA-INDEX.


Das ist deshalb besonders misslich, weil zwar der Wortschatz der VS. im grossen Petersburger Wörterbuch ausgiebig berücksichtigt und für die TS. wenigstens handschriftliches Material verwendet werden konnte, während für die MS. erst im ersten Band des kleinen Petersburger Wörterbuchs wenigstens die künftige Ausgabe erwähnt und im Fortgang der Arbeit Stellen eingearbeitet sind. Umso dankbarer sind wir für den Index von Simon.

Allerdings ist hier der Brauchbarkeitsgrad der Werke von GRASSMANN UND WHITNEY nicht erreicht. Dem Vorbild WHITNEYS entsprechend hätten (etwa durch ein Sternchen) diejenigen Wortformen gekennzeichnet werden sollen, die aus dem RV. oder AV. stammen; auch eine Unterscheidung zwischen den Opfersprüchen (Mantras) und dem übrigen Text (Brāhmaṇaprosa) wäre unbedingt nötig gewesen; und endlich hätte der Akzent da angegeben werden sollen, wo er handschriftlich überliefert ist. Nach dem Vorwort fallen diese Mängel dem Zettelmaterial zur Last, das Simon von L. von Schroeder


S. 17 abhiṣāṭ: es fehlt abhiṣāhyas 39, 11 (128, 1).

S. 29: āgneyya steht wie ein besonderes Wort da; es ist aber Instrumental von āgneyi, das richtig unter āgneya verbucht ist; vgl. āgneyi und āgneyya in derselben Zeile K. 8, 11 (94, 21).


S. 57 kanīnikā: s. zu S. 137.

S. 59 fehlt kilāsambhāvāt “vor dem Aussätzigerwerden” 33, 4 (30, 8), das nicht als kilā-asambhāvāt zu erklären ist. Oertel 2, 58 Anm. 2.

S. 94 b Zeilen 7f.: es fehlt ādi 16, 14 (237, 7); 20, 4 (21, 17), MS. 2, 7, 14 (95, 8); 3, 2, 5 (22, 2) = MSS. ādām VS. SB. Kp. 25, 5 (98, 13); 31, 6 (152, 21), ā dade TS. ApSS. "ich habe an mich genommen" (Oertel 1, 82). Wackernagel Festgabe Jacobi 15 weist nach, dass statt ādur K. 35, 16 (61, 12) ādur zu lesen, āttām 18, 21 (281, 19) zu ad- "essen" zu stellen ist und das ā von ā...dattam 40, 3 (137, 8) zu etu gehört, nicht zu dattam.

S. 135 fehlt pretvānas 19, 12, (15, 13); vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 662 § 487 cA.

S. 135 Druckfehler pśitam statt pśitam.

S. 137 lies bahiṣ kanīnikē (Oertel 2, 59 Anm. 2).

S. 174 fehlt pra-nāpayati 11, 2 (145, 17).
S. 201: statt sanmāsas 26, 2 (154, 11); 33, 7 (33, 7, 16) ist san māsas "scha Monate (lang)" zu lesen (Sommer Münch. Abhandl. N. F. 27 (1943) 56 Anm. 2).

S. 205 unter san sä: sanemi 13, 14 (196, 10) von san- "gewinnen" wäre eine Uniform. Der Vers sānemī asmīd yuṣuvānu āṁīvaḥ stammt aus dem RV. (7, 38, 7d): "vollig sollen sie die Krankheiten von uns fernhalten!" Das Adverb sā-nemi kommt im RV. auch sonst vor. Das Missverständnis von sanemi ist wohl durch eine ungenaue Erinnerung an das ungewöhnliche sanem des Mantra ubhaḥ lokaḥ sanem ahām TB. 1, 2, 1, 15 und Parallelsten verursacht (das korrekte sanēyam im Mantra sanāv asī TS. K. u.s.w.).

S. 207b Zeile 3: mit samānā 40, 7 ist offenbar samana 40, 7 (141, 9) = RV. 4, 58, 8a gemeint; die Stelle ist unter samana nachzutragen.


II. agnīḍh-


Ueber dieses Wort lehrt Wackernagel I 82 § 75c; ein Schwa ist geschwunden "in dem Wurzelsubstantiv v. agnīḍh- Priesterstitel eigtl. "Feuersetzer" (vgl. v. agnī-dhāna- "Feuerstätte"), was von Samh. an zu agnīḍh- als Komp. mit -dh- "anzündend" umgeformt erscheint; schon v. die Ableitung āgṇīḍhra-"; im Wesentlichen gleich II 1, 98. 130. 219 § 42aA. 55f. 91e und Macdonell 18 § 26, 2. Dagegen tritt Oldenberg SBE. 46, 189 und Noten zu RV. 2, 1, 2 für die Ursprünglichkeit des langen 1 ein. Die Verfolgung der Stellen in Simons Index ergab vier Opfersprüche, die das Wort enthalten; dabei fand sich's, dass das K. jedesmal eindeutig den Nominativ agnit hatte im Gegensatz zum agnit der Parallelinte, dass aber fast alle Stellen des K. in der Vedic Concordance von 1906 (und deshalb auch in den Vedic Variants II von 1932) fehlen; später sah ich, dass schon Özzerl, 1, 57 und GGA. 1934, 190f, dieses Versehen bemerkt hat. Es sind die folgenden vier Mantras, die je zweimal im K. (und teilweise auch in der Kp.) stehen:

(ācittapājā oder ācayutapājā agnīt) K. 9, 9 (112, 1) = agnīt MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 11), TA. ŚSS. Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1); entsprechend K. 9, 12 (115, 3f.) = MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).
(tvāstā) gnit K. 9, 8 (110, 14 = -gnit MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 3), TA. ŠŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (113, 5) = MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

(rudrō) 'gnit K. 9, 8 (110, 18) = MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 7; agnīt), TA. ŠŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (113, 8) = MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

(viyātām) agnit K. 9, 8 (110, 12f.) = agnit MS. 1, 9, 1 (131, 2), TA. ŠŚS. Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4); entsprechend K. 9, 11 (112, 11f.) (ohne Parallele).

Alle vier Mantras stehen in der VC., aber von den acht Kāthaka—stellen fehlen sieben, und eine ist fehlerhaft (9, 8 statt 9, 9 [112, 1]); auch die beiden Stellen aus MS. 1, 9, 4 und die eine aus 1, 9, 5 fehlen (ebenso bei OERTEL 1, 57). Die sonstigen Mantrastellen mit agnit (ausser den in der VS. mit diesem Wort beginnenden kenne ich nur VS. 7, 15 und Parallelen dūṣa agnīt) kommen im K. (und wohl auch in der Kp.) nicht vor.

Auch in den Brāhmaṇastellen kennt das K. nur i gegenüber i der Paralleltexte:

9, 15 (118, 9, 11) agnit = MS. 1, 9, 8 (140, 1) agnīdhe, (140, 2) agnit. 28, 8 (163, 2, 4) agnit = MS. 4, 7, 4 (97, 5, 5, 13), TS. 6, 5, 8, 5, Kp. 44, 8 (264, 4f, 8) agnit.

Für agnit führt SROX eine einzige Stelle des K. an: 25, 5 (108, 15) agnīst = Kp. 39, 2 (214, 16); allein die Pluti kann auch einen kurzen Vokal betreffen (RKNOU, Grammaire de la langue védique 76 § 93).

Das K. kennt also im Nominativ agnit nur kurzes i, die Kp. nur longes ī.


Das K. und die Kp. kennen also ausserhalb des Nominativs Singularis nur agnīdh.-

Das Gesamtbild der Belege für agnīdh- und agnīdh- gestaltet sich demnach schon jetzt reicher als zur Zeit der beiden Petersburger Wörterbücher. Es ist belegt:

agnīdh-
im RV. 2, 1, 2b = 10, 91, 10b tāva neṣṭrīṃ tvām agnīd rāyataḥ; 10, 41, 3b agnīdham vā dhṛtādaksam dāmūnasam. Beide Verse sind ohne sonstige
Parallele; im ersten wäre statt des i metrisch eine Länge sehr erwünscht, wenn auch nicht obligatorisch; im zweiten Vers ist die metrische Stelle quantitativ indifferent.

Sonst beschränkt sich agnidh- ganz auf das K.;

8mal agnit in Mantras gegen agnit aller Parallelstellen,
4mal agnit in Brāhmaṇaprosa gegen agnit aller Parallelstellen,
1mal agnit mit Pluti agniṣṭ; ebenso Kp.
2mal agnidham und 1mal agnidhe mit Kp. gegen MS bezw. TB. agnidh-.

Außerhalb des RV. und des K. finden sich keine Spuren von agnidh-.

agnidh-


Es fragt sich nun, ob die seit der Kontroverse zwischen Wackernagel und Oldenberg bekannten gewordenen neuen Stellen etwas zur Entscheidung des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses zwischen agnidh- und agnidh- beitragen können.

Prüfen wir zunächst die beiden Etymologien je für sich. Am einfachsten und sichersten erklärt sich agnidh- aus *agni- idh- "das Feuer anzündend". Vom Formalen aus bietet sich die Hilfe von v. sam-idh- "Brennholz" (II 1, 176f. § 75f; II 2, 17 § 7c) und den Infinitiven v. sam-idham und sam-idhe und der geläufige Kompositionstypus v. havir-ād- "Opferspeise essend" (Ai. Gr. II 2, 4 § 3a; II 1,174f. § 75b). Syntaktisch ist im RV. agnim das häufigste Objekt von (sam) idh- "entzünden"; daher heisst es auch nach einem jüngeren Kompositionstypus RV. 1, 182, 5a agnim-indenthā- (II 1, 181 § 76 b8), das als Priestertitel neben dem Hotṛ und dem Adhvaryu steht wie in anderen Fällen, z.B. 2,1,2, der agnidh- (Weber Indische Studien 10, 141.376; Oldenberg Die Religion des Veda, 34. Auflage 389); agnimindenthā- ist also geradezu ein Beweis dafür, dass jedenfalls der Verfasser des Hymnus 1,162 den Titel agnidh- als *agni-idh- verstand!

Das Adjektiv "zum agnīdh- gehörig" könnte nach Ai. Gr. II 2, 134 § 40c *āgnīdh-<sup>a</sup> heissen; das eingeschobene <i>r</i> reiht das Wort nachträglich in die Namen für Priesterämter wie v. neṣṭrā- potrā- aus v. neṣṭr- pōṭ- ein (Ai. Gr. II 2, 858 § 686e und schon Oldenberg zu RV. 2, 36, 4); der Akzent blieb aber erhalten und stimmte nachher zum späteren Typus paṭṭra- (Ai. Gr. II 2, 705 § 517b β).


Syntaktisch bedeutet agnim dhā- nach Grassmann 661 Nr. 6 "den Agni in den Häusern u.s.w. (L.) einsetzen oder aufrichten, auch ohne Lokativ." In der Tat sprechen unter den 14 Beispielen (wenn ich recht gezählt habe) 8 davon, dass agnim- unter den Menschen (mānuṣeṣu, [mānuṣeṣu] vikṣu 1, 58, 6a; 1, 60, 4; 2, 4, 2b. 3a; 3, 5, 3a; 10, 46, 4d), im Haus (7, 7, 4c), auf der Erde (7, 5, 2a) eingesetzt wird, 2 davon, dass er zum Opfer bestellt wird.
(3, 28, 3c; 4, 7, 1a); die übrigen sind ganz anders gestaltet. Auch agni-
dhānam, auf das sich WACKERNAGEL beruft, ist nicht "Auflegen, Anlegen des
Feuers", sondern "Feuerbehälter, Feuerstätte, Herd" (1. RV. 10, 165, 3b =
AV. 6, 27, 3b; 2. AV. 12, 3, 35d; 3. MS. 1, 8, 2 [116, 12] = K. 6, 2 [50, 17] =
Kp. 4, 1 [37, 9]).

WACKERNAGEL'S Erklärung krankt also an zwei Schwächen: an der
völligen Vereinzelung der Stammbildung und an der Bedeutung von agnim
dhā-. Es ist also von agnidh- aus *agni-idh- auszugehen, das nach der Bil-
dung, nach dem Akzent und nach der Syntax völlig normal ist und dem v.
agnidhra- zugrunde liegt. Das agnidh- des RV. ist dann dem Einfluss des
häufigen sam-idh- zuzuschreiben (OLDENBERG), fällt aber wegen der
zweimaligen Langmessung des i im Nominativ agnīt erst einem Redaktor zur
Last; das durchgängige agnidh- des K. beweist dann, dass sein Verfasser
diese Redaktion des RV. kannte; die Kp. schliesst sich mit agnidh- wie
gewöhnlich dem K. an, gewährt aber dem zu seiner Zeit herrschenden
agnīt Aufnahme.

III. Eine Lücke in der Vedic Concordance

Von den acht Mantras des K. mit agnīt hatten sich sieben als
in der VC. fehlend ergeben, davon drei aus K. 9, 8, drei aus 9, 11, eine aus
9, 12; und die achte war mit 9, 8 statt 9, 9 falsch angegeben. Durch diese
Versehen aufmerksam geworden, prüfte ich die Kapitel durch und stellte
fest: (1) Alle Mantras von 9, 8 stehen in der VC., aber ohne die Kātha-
kaṣṭeṇ! (2) Die meisten dieser Mantras kehren in 9, 11 wieder; auch diese
K.-Stellen fehlen in der VC., mit Ausnahme von 9, 11 (113, 3) īndraṃ
gaccha svāhā; aber auch hier fehlt 9, 8 (110, 13f.). (3) Aus 9, 9 stehen alle
Mantras in der VC.; aber zweimal steht 9, 8 statt 9, 9: acittapāyā agnīt und
acittamanā upavākta (beide 112, 1).

Auch die Angaben über die Parallelstellen in der MS. stellten sich als
lückenhaft heraus: (1) Alle in MS. 1, 9, 1 sind verzeichnet; (2) von denen
in 1, 9, 3 und 4 stehen 4 da, 10 fehlen. Ich stelle hier alle so gefundenen
Lücken zusammen; die Besitzer der VC. sind vielleicht froh, die Stellen in
ihr Exemplar eintragen zu können. Ich füge auch die Stellen der Kp. bei,
die ja für die VC. höchstens in den Fussnoten der K.-Ausgabe zur Verfügung
standen. Ich ordne nach dem Alphabet:

agnīr hōtā K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS
1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

acittapāyā agnīt (-āt; siehe oben II) K. 9, 9 (112, 1); 9, 12 (115, 3f.),
Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1), MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).
ocittamana upavaktä K. 9, 9 (112, 1); 9, 12 (115, 4), Kp. 8, 12 (89, 1f),
MS. 1, 9, 5 (135, 8).

dśvinādhvaryu K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS.
1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

ādhutaḥ harbhiḥ K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).
āsmāsu nṛṇyasād āhāt svāhā K. 9, 8 (111, 1), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 10f).
indram gaccha svāhā K. 9, 8 (110, 13f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5).
keto agnih K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3f).
cittam ājñam K. 9, 8 (110, 12; cittam: Druckfehler?); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).

citis (-iḥ) srūk K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).
jañānad indram indriyāya svāhā K. 9, 8 (110, 16), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7).
tvaṣṭāgniit (-it; siehe oben II) K. 9, 8 (110, 14); 9, 11 (113, 5), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

dyaūr adhvaryuḥ ebenso!

prthivi hōtā ebenso!

pr̥ṇā havih K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).
bhāspātīr upavaktā K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9f.), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8f.).

māna upavaktā K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).
mitra upavaktā K. 9, 8 (110, 14; mitra, wohl Druckfehler); 9, 11 (113, 5), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 4).

yajñāpataye vāryam ś svās karah K. 9, 8 (110, 15), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6f.;
Fehler: vṛryam veranlasst durch das vṛryeṇa des unmittelbar vorangehenden
Mantra).

rudro (a)gnit (-it; siehe oben II) K. 9, 8 (110, 18); 9, 11 (113, 8),
Kp. 8, 11 (88, 9), MS. 1, 9, 4 (133, 8).

vāg vedih K. 9, 8 (110, 12); 9, 11 (112, 11), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 3).
vācaspātīr hōtā K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).
vācaspātīs (-iḥ) sōnam pibatu K. 9, 8 (110, 16), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7).
vācaspate vāco vṛryeṇa sāmbhytattamenāyakṣase K. 9, 8 (110, 14f.),
Kp. 8, 11 (88, 6): "o Vācaspati, mit der konzentrtesten Kraft des Wortes
wirst du dir (Gewinn) verschaffen"; VC. unrichtig saṁbhṛtatam enayākṣase statt saṁbhṛtatamena yākṣase = -mena a yakṣ-

vācaspate hṛdvidhe nāman vācaspātis (-īḥ) sōmam apāt K. 9, 8 (110, 18f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 10; ṛidvidhe); vgl. vācaspate vidhe nāman, vidhema te nāma K. 9, 9 (112, 2; in der VC. erwähnt), Kp. 8, 12 (89, 2f.).

vijñātam aghū (-it; siehe oben II) K. 9, 8 (110, 12f.); 9, 11 (112, 11f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 4).

śukrāś (-aḥ) śukrāṣya purogāḥ K. 9, 8 (110, 17; 111, 2), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 8, 11) (auch K. 30, 6 [188, 12]; in VC angeführt).

ārātīs ta indra sōmā vātāpe havanāṣrūtas (-aḥ) svāhā K. 9, 8 (110, 17f.; 111, 2f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 8f. 11f.; vātāpaya wie MS. 1, 9, 1 [131, 5, 10]; ms. havanāṣrucāḥ [OERTEL hanasrucaḥ: Druckfehler]).

sāmūdhuvaryūḥ K. 9, 8 (110, 13); 9, 11 (112, 12), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 5).

sāmus (-aḥ) sōmasya purogāḥ K. 9, 8 (110, 16f.; 111, 1f.), Kp. 8, 11 (88, 7f. 11; das erste Mal purogāḥ: Druckfehler?); auch K. 30, 6 (188, 12; in der VC. angeführt).

Ich möchte dem verehrten Jubilar, dem auch dieser bescheidene Aufsatz als Gruss dargebracht wird, und den ausgezeichneten indischen Vedisten und Sanskritisten ans Herz legen, dahin zu wirken, dass die längst erwünschten Nachträge zur VC. auf Grund neuer Ausgaben wie Kp. und JB. hergestellt werden!

IV. jajānat


Whitney Roots 52 führt als Präsens der 3. Klasse jajānti der Grammatiker an und als Konjunktiv des Perfekts jajānat aus "B." (d.h. aus der Brāhimānaprosa).

Ai, Gr. I p. XLVIII: "Auch vieles Einzelne von der Grammatik Gelehrte ist nach Pāṇini nicht zu belegen. So ... die Präsensbildung jajānti "er zeugt"5. Anm. 5: "Ist in der ai. Litteratur überhaupt noch nicht nachgewiesen, aber durch av. zaṣaṇī gewährleistet BARTHOLOMAE AF. 2, 82".

Ai. Gr. I 83 § 75b A.: "Die Form jajānti ist nicht bezeugt, sondern blos der Konjunktiv jajānat P. 6, 1, 192 nebst Komm."

VC. 372b: jajanaṇa (TB. text, erroneously, praṇāṇa) indram indriyaṛya svāhā (omitted in MS.) MS. 1.9.1: 131.5; TB. 2.2.3.5; TA. 3.2.1.2; CC 10, 15, 6.

Ich möchte hier versuchen, etwas weiter zu kommen.
Zunächst ist der Mantra auch im K. und in der Kp. zu belegen (siehe oben III). Sodann ist jajánat Variante in einem aus dem RV. stammenden Vers: MS. 1, 3, 20 (37, 10) māṭā yād virām jajánaj jāniṣṭhām "als die Mutter den Helden gebar, den sehr zeugungskräftigen (oder sehr edel geborenen?)" (SCHRÖEDER MS. I p. XVII) = RV. 10, 73, 1d, VS. K. 4, 8 (33, 15; dazu jetzt Kp. 3, 6 [30, 12]), TB. māṭā yād virān dadhānad dhāniṣṭhā "(die Marut sogar stärkten dabei den Indra,) als die Mutter den Helden laufen lehrte als die beste Lehrmeisterin" (Geldner). Die Umformung in der MS. hat ihre Anregung von dem jāniṣṭhā(h) "du wurdest geboren" des Strophenanfangs erhalten, und das Genreblächen von dem kleinen Indra, den die Mutter gehen lehrt, erschien wohl dem Umformer als umpassend für den grossen Gott. Aus dieser Variante der MS. stammt offenbar der Mantra jajánad īndram indriyāya; er steht nach seiner Form, wie man sich oben überzeugen mag, als ein Fremdkörper unter den andern Mantras des Kapitels, und während der Konjunktiv im Relativsatz MS. 1, 3, 20 gut an seinem Platz ist, steht er in 1, 9, 1 als Aufforderung ohne Subjekt sonderbar da (Anknüpfung an das vorangehende vācōḍpāṭh sōmam pibatu (apāt) gibt keinen Sinn).

Nun besteht aber sicher zwischen diesem jajánat und der jajanti der Grammatiker eine enge Beziehung: P. 6, 1, 192 nennt unter den Wurzeln, die im Präsens nach der dritten Klasse Wurzelbetonung vor den unbetonten Endungen haben, neben bhī-, hṛ-, bhr-, hu-, daridrā- und jāgr- auch mada-, jana- und dhana-, und die Kāśikā gibt — gewiss nach schulmässiger Tradition — als Beispiele einerseits bibheta, jihreti, bibharti, juhoti, daridrata, jāgarti, andererseits mamatta nah pariśmā (RV. 1, 122, 3a), jajanad īndram und dadhanat; sie kannte also die Variante jajanat — dadhanat (s. Schröder MS. I p. XVII). Aus derselben Quelle stammt der Kommentar der Kāśikā zu P. 7, 4, 78: P. lehrt hier für die vedische Sprache Schwanken des Reduplikationsvokals in der dritten Präsensklasse, und unter den Beispielen der Kāśikā stehen jajanam (wohl Versen für jajanad) īndram und māṭā yād virān dadhanad dhāniṣṭhā (siehe oben!). Die grammatische Tradition sagt also nur, dass "vedisches" jajanat und dadhanat zum Präsens der dritten Klasse gerechnet wurden, und ein jajanti, wie es seit BR. in der modernen grammatischen Literatur steht, ist nicht belegt; auch der Dhatupāṭha stellt dhana dhāṇye und jana janane (25, 23.24) unter die vedischen Wurzeln, meint also sicher nur die Formen jajanat und dadhanat!


Der Gesamtverlauf war also der: dadháнат RV. 10, 73, 1d wurde zu jajáнат umgebildet (das formal ein völlig korrekter Konj. Perf. ist) und dieses von den Grammatikern als Präsens aufgefasst.

V. anarvāk

In dem Opperspruch anarvā prāhi "unwiderstehlich komm her!" (VS. TS. K. 3, 6 [25, 15]; 9, 4 [107, 7], SB. S.) ersetzt die Kp. 2, 13 (22, 2); 8, 7 (85, 15) das erste Wort durch anarvāk; sie stimmt hier mit MS. 3, 10, 1 (128, 5; ohne Variante); 1, 2, 16 (26, 5; drei gegen zwei Zeugen) überein, gegen das K. Wie OERTEL 1, 57 erkannt hat, ist anarvāk eine Angleichung von anarvā an die Adverbia wie prāhi. Genauer und ergänzend wäre so zu formulieren: anarvāk ist eine Kontamination von v. anarvā(n)-"unaufhaltsam" mit dem v. Adverb arvāk, das zum v. Adjektiv arvāncie-"herwärts gerichtet" gehört; vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 155. 870. 903 § 59. 702b. 720bA.

Die Variante anarvāk fehlt übrigens in den Vedic Variants, obschon sie in der VC. angegeben ist.

Abkürzungen

OERTEL 2 = H. OERTEL, Die Dativi finales abstrakter Nomina . . . in der vedischen Prosa. München 1941. (Sitzungsberichte . . . 1941, Band II, Heft 9).
Sonst werden die üblichen Abkürzungen verwendet; vgl. Ai. Gr. II 2, 94ff.
Akzente werden gesetzt, wo sie wenigstens in einem Teil der Belegstellen überliefert sind. Die MS. ist durchgehend mit Akzenten überliefert, K. 9, 8 und 12 ebenfalls; die einzige Handschrift der Kp. schreibt keine Akzente.
VÉDIQUE KARŪḌATIN-
PAR.
E. Benveniste, Paris

Un hapax védique est généralement difficile à interpréter sans le secours de la tradition, précisément parce que le silence de la tradition est signe que le mot a toujours été obscur. Mais il arrive aussi que, même quand le sens en a été conservé, la formation du hapax ne puisse s'expliquer avec les ressources du vocabulaire indien. C'est alors que la comparaison peut utilement intervenir. Dans le cas présent, un terme védique de sens connu, mais d'analyse encore incertaine, s'éclairera par recours à une langue voisine.

Il s'agit de l'adjectif kārūḍatin-, attesté une seule fois dans l'ensemble de la littérature védique et indienne, à la fin de l'hymne RS. IV 30,24: vāmām pūṣā vāmām bhūgo vāmām devah kārūḍatī "(qu'ils t'accordent) faveur, Pūṣān, Bhaga, le dieu brèche-dent". Le sens de kārūḍatin- "aux dents ébréchées, déficientes" est sûr. Tous les lexicographes et exégètes le donnent: "hohlzähnig, stumpffähnig" (PW); "one whose teeth are decayed and broken, having gaps in the teeth (MW); "(der Gott) mit morschem Zahn" (Grassmann); "der zahnstumpfe Gott" (Geldner). Leur accord a pour garant l'enseignement de Yāska qui commente ainsi — dans la version de L. Sarup — le vers védique: "kārūḍatī means having gaps in his teeth .... But who is the god who has gaps in his teeth? According to some it is an epithet of Bhaga, who comes before it. According to others, this god is Pūṣā, because he has no teeth. Pūṣā is without teeth, says a Brāhmaṇa passage".1

La référence finale de Yāska vise un passage du ŚB, épisode d'un mythe de Prajāpati, expliquant pourquoi Pūṣān est édenté. En voici l'essentiel: "(That part of the sacrifice torn out with the dart) they .... took it round to Pūṣān. Pūṣān tasted it: it knocked out his teeth. And thus it came to pass. Hence they say 'Pūṣān is toothless'; and therefore, when they prepare a mess of boiled rice (ōrū) for Pūṣān, they prepare it from ground rice, as is done for one toothless".2 Cette narration du ŚB.

2. ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 7 Eggeling.
a encore son écho dans la Brhaddevatā: "Pūṣan is here called kārūḍatī, according to a Vedic text, he is toothless".3

Dès lors que le sens est ainsi établi, il est manifeste que kārūḍatin- contient le nom de la ‘dent’ au degré dat- connu par v. a-dāt-, a-dat-ka-, dat-vāt- et aussi par le composé krivir-dātī f. “aux dents flamboyantes (?)”,4 qui a, comme kārūḍatin-, l’accentuation des bahuvihiṣ. Mais la rétroflexe de -dātīn- n’oblige pas nécessairement à restituer le composé en *kārūḍatīn-, comme on l’a proposé récemment.5 Plus probablement d est ici pour d, comme dans bon nombre de cas où une justification phonétique fait défaut.6 Pour les raisons qui suivent, nous considérerons que kārūḍatin- vaut simplement kārū-dātīn-.

Le premier membre du composé, kārū-, est resté obscur. On peut présumer que, dans un composé signifiant “brèche-dent” et dont le second terme est “dent”, le premier doit porter le sens de “déficient” ou “gâté”. Mais cela reste une conjecture, impossible à vérifier par le sanskrit, où kārū- n’existe pas autrement.

C’est l’iranien qui apporte la solution. Non pas l’iranien ancien, mais un dialecte du moyen-iranien, le sogdien. On commence—trop lentement—à remarquer que le moyen-iranien, dans la diversité de ses dialectes, conserve des données de haute antiquité qui peuvent souvent concourir à la restitution de l’indo-iranien, au même titre que le védique.

Nous connaissons en sogdien un composé qui a le même sens que v. kārūḍatin- et où l’on peut retrouver les mêmes éléments. C’est l’adjectif kru ōnt’k, à lire karū-šandak (ou -šande), issu de *karū-dantaka, signifiant "brèche-dent". Le sens est assuré par le texte chinois, original de la version sogdienne où le mot figure.7 Du premier terme karū- nous avons un autre exemple, kru’ "lacune, brèche", dans un texte bouddhique,8 également traduit du chinois.9 Ce sens est d’ailleurs confirmé par la survivance du terme en iranien moderne. On y a comparé en persan karv, karvè que les lexiques persans traduisent "dent creuse", et dans le parler de Birjand

7. Sūtra des Causes et des Effets, I. 83.
kārū, kaurū "toothless". Il est donc certain que l'iranien ancien a connu ce kārū- (karva-), attesté à partir du sogdien. On peut donc, grâce au témoignage sogdien, poser ir. *kārū-danta (ka)- en parallèle exact à véd. kārū-datin-. Seule la suffixation diffère; la forme védique a reçu la suffixation en -īn- qui, selon Pāṇini 5.2.128, caractérise souvent l'expression des défauts corporels. La nature même de cette désignation semblerait propre à l'exclure de nos textes; il a fallu un hasard exceptionnel pour qu'elle y figurât une fois dans chacune des deux traditions. La seule qualification de sens analogue qu'on rencontre en avestique est vīṃītā. danta- "aux dents irrégulières".

Quant aux relations étymologiques de ce kārū- maintenant restauré en indo-iranien, on pensera d'abord à lat. caries, dont le sens est proche, cf. dēntes cariosi; et, par suite, à skr. śīrvāte, av. sāri- "brisure, tesson", sārīvānta- "qui a une brisure"; grâce à kārū-, on a maintenant la forme indo-iranienne à gutturale initiale qui manquait encore.11 La suffixation en -u- rappelle le thème de gr. kerw-izein "causer des dégâts, ravager", qui appartient au même groupe. Ainsi en combinant les témoignages indien et iranien, on peut enrichir d'un terme nouveau le lexique indo-iranien.


11. Après avoir rédigé ces pages, je m'aperçois que R. Roeth, il y a un siècle, avait pressenti la solution, autant qu'on pouvait le faire de son temps. Dans son commentaire au Nirukta, Jāśka's Nirukta, III, 1852, pp. 96-97, il observe: "kārūjāi. Nach Jāśka muss es stumpfzähnig, hölzähnig, bedeuten. Eine Bestätigung dafür gibt das pers. und hohler, morscher Zahn (vgl. auch Rost, Faulniss und caries)."
THREE LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE 
GOPALAKELICANDRIKA

BY

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The drama entitled Gopālakelīcandrikā has been edited by Professor W. Caland from the unique manuscript which Professor H. Kern had acquired during his stay at Benares (circa 1864). Although it is doubtless a rather modern work, it appeared to contain a number of words that are rare or unknown. A list of such “remarkable words” Caland added as an appendix to his edition (pp. 151-152). It was inevitable (and Caland himself was quite aware of it) that this editio princeps, notwithstanding its undeniable merits, was not free from errors. Some of them, which were registered in the index have since been taken over by R. Schmidt in his Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Leipzig 1928). It may be useful, therefore, to note some of the most obvious errors, although we are not concerned here with questions of textual criticism. They are the following: āsanīkṛtya : read āsanīkṛtya MS.; paktibhū : for sarvamyakṣībhāvīyati MS. read sarvān vyaktībhāvīyati; bakūla : the metre requires bakūla- (cf. also kūla- for kūla-77, 35); siṁjana : read siṁjīta- MS., hrad : the MS. reads āhlādyati (cf. āhlāda-138, 12, āhlādīnī- 107, 1, epakāla- 62, 19.). In this paper, however, we intend to discuss three lexicographical problems of some wider interest.

1. Caturī- and Mādhuri-.

1. The first word occurs in the following passage (p. 58, l. 28 ff.):

upaviśatu bhagavān navakīsālayakṛtyaparamāsane
śikṭhināṁ śiśasi vidhunvan ūmarakatabhāṅgābhāṁśāmacchāni
kurvahī locananalinānī śrutipathasaṁcāracūrtiniratam


2. Although a discussion of problems of textual criticism is excluded from this paper one particular reading may be pointed out here, because it might give rise to wrong conclusions: the curious word āryenaśiḥ 51, 5 (not registered in the index) is misread for aṣṭi māśaḥ of the MS. Cf. the same form of address in 77, 12; 115, 28 and 133, 18 (aṣṭi priya 75, 23, aṣṭi sakhyā 63, 18), and see Mrs. Stcovic's note on p. 78 of her edition of the Uttararāmacarita. It has accordingly nothing to do with aṣṭa-putra- (for older aṣṭa-putra- Budāhac. 8, 34, which confirms Thieme's explanation based on Pall aṣṭa-putta-), nor with aṣṭa-putra- (that has given rise to the fictitious name Dhūti for Cārudatta's wife, which occurs already in Nilakantha’s interpolation in the 10th Act of the Mṛcchakaṭikā, dating, it seems, from about 1600 A.D.).
“Let the Lord sit down on the lofty seat that has been arranged from fresh shoots,

waving on his head the peacock’s feathers graceful like fragments of emerald,

while he causes his eye-lotuses to practise their skill in moving towards the ears.”

The reading marakatabhanābhīrāme of the MS. shows that the copyist construed it with śīraśi. Perhaps he had the same line in mind which may have inspired the poet, viz. the description of the hunted antelope in Śakuntalā I: grīvābhāṅgābhīrāmaṁ muhur anupatati syandane baddhādāraṣṭiḥ, etc. However, bhaṅga- is here used in a sense, which is unknown in the older poetry. In the works of Kālīdāsa and Bāṇa, it is true, the word sometimes denotes a fragment or twig of a plant, but the acceptance “fragment of a precious stone or gem” (comm.: śakala-, khaṇḍa-), which is not recorded in the lexica, is mainly characteristic of later poetry, although there is one occurrence in prose in the older part of the Daśakumāracarita. The common word for it in the older classical literature is śakala- or bheda-: there is one occurrence of bhaṅga- in Kālīdāsa’s works but this stands in a spurious stanza. In the Gopālakelicandrikā it occurs a few times instead of śakala-, which is much more frequent. Cf. īndrānilamārvanbhaṅga-nibhaṅga- 47, 12, and marakataanibhaṅgogvvalatribhaṅgāṅga- 46, 1. For nālina- referring to both eyes, cf. Gop. 75, 31, where taralavilocananalinam is likened to matsyadvayam and khaṇḍanayugalam.

The word mādhurī- occurs in the second benedictory stanza (p. 43, line 6 ff.):

nidrāvijājam upetya kuṇijabhāvane suptasya mānonnatā
rādhā | mādhavanāmādhirāpramūsītā tāvac cucumbādharām
smeraspandita[rakā]lāksikamalāṁ saṅvīkṣya patyur mukhiṁ
sā nūnāṁ vidadhātu maṅgalacayam lajjānanadvīkaṇāṁ,

5. Meghadūta III, 31A vidrumāṇam ca bhaṅgan (Mallin.: pravālaḥpandān, Čārvardhini pravālaṁ gālāyā) is a prakṛṣṭa stanza according to Mallinātha.
6. Against, e.g., mahendranīśakala- 47, 26, dalitendranīśakalacakṣaḥyābhirāmā
tanūr 127, 33, prādurbhātamaḥdṛṣṭaḥrīśakalaacakṣaḥ < yop > - tadūṣṭākūrālī 47, 26,
bhūgamaḥhendranīśa- śakalacakṣaḥyōlasaccandarakam 96, 25. Cf. also īndrānilabhēdbhūtī
tora- Jātakamāla 34, 13.
7. Against, e.g., marakataśakalakalita- Gītāgov. 8, 4.
"When her husband feigned himself sleeping in the bower, Rādhā, enraptured at Mādhava’s charm, at first kissed his lip in proud self-confidence: (but then), seeing that a smile made palpitate the pupils of his eye-lotuses she bashfully cast down her eyes. May she, indeed, grant abundant happiness”.

For pramuṣṭā the Ms. reads pramukhitā, which Caland in his Dutch translation of this stanza tentatively renders by “being confronted with.” The possibility of such a denominative formation having been created cannot be denied in view of the occurrence of saṃmuḥkayati on p. 128, line 4. The use of pramukhitā in a similar meaning, however, would be far less natural as it would be based on a rather rare meaning of pramukha- (which is mainly found in the epics). Since pramukhitā is fully isolated (according to our present knowledge) and not warranted by the context I have no hesitation in taking kk as the usual mistake for s, pramuṣṭa- here being used in the sense of “ravished”. Smera- for smita- is common in the Gopāl.

2. The words cāturi- and mādhuryi- are occasionally met with in the later literature. Being rhyme-words they are sometimes combined in one context: cf. the following stanza, which Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche 5468 (2477) quotes from the Guṇaratnamahodadhi:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yā rākāsāsiśobhanā gataghanā sā yāminī yāminī} \\
\text{yā saundaryagunānvitā patiratā sā kāminī kāminī} \\
\text{yā govindarapramodamadhurā sā mādhuryā mādhuryā} \\
\text{yā lokadvayasādhani tanubhṛtām sā cāturi cāturi,}
\end{align*}
\]

the last lines of which may be taken to mean: “That is true sweetness, which is sweetened by the bliss of the mystical rapture engendered by the Krishnavakti; that is true skill, which bestows both worlds on the mortals”. In most works where these words occur, we find the far commoner abstract nouns cāturya- and mādhurya- used side by side with them. These, too, are sometimes associated because of their assonance, e.g., rūpa-cāturya-mādhurya-sīlācāturya-gunānvitaḥ Rām. 1. 6. 17 NW-rec. (= sl. 16 NE. rec., sl. 13 Schlegel). Also

8. P. 11 of the introduction. For the rest this translation seems to miss the point. Slightly different is R. Schauen’s translation of the word in his Nachträge, viz. "mit dem Gesichte hingewandt”.

9. Kṛṣṇā priyāh saṃmuḥkayati: saṃmuḥkiḥbhava (line 5). As far as I can see, this word has only been recorded from the Bhāmīni Vilāsa thus far. With this work Gopālakelikandrikā shows some remarkable lexical coincidences.

10. Cf. e.g., in the Gopāl, cāturya- 139, 36 and mādhurya- 116, 22 (also mādhurya- 139, 30, cf. Pān. 5. 1. 123 ff.).
in chronological respect the use of cāturī- and mādhuri- seems to have run parallel. A chronological arrangement of the occurrences that are recorded by the lexica presents the following picture:

**cāturī-**:
- ? 12th cent.: Naiṣadhacarita 1. 12.
- 13th cent.: Prasannarāghava 32. 21; 53. 6, Vopadeva 4. 12.
- 14th cent.: Medinīkośa.
- about 1625: Siddhānta Kaumudi.
- unknown (but certainly late): Gopāl.

**mādhuri-**:
- 12th cent.: Gītāgovinda 3. 15.
- 13th cent.: Prasannarāghava 105. 11.
- 17th cent.: Bhāminīvilāsa 2, 159; 4. 38, 43.
- unknown: Daśakumāracarita (Pūrvapīṭhikā!) 5, 6 Ag.; Gopāl.

The earliest occurrence, accordingly, which is mentioned in our dictionaries, is in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita (c. 1085, see Bühler, Introd. p. 23), although cāturī- (8. 53) and mādhurya- (7. 27; 9. 119) are equally used by Bilhaṇa. In the Daśakumāracarita proper only mādhurya- seems to be used (p. 42, 3 & 11 Ag.). So the occurrence of mādhuri- in the Pūrvapīṭhikā is a new indication of the late origin of this addition.11

3. The explanation of these words must be kept apart from that of a seemingly analogous instance, viz. mādhukarī-. Before the publication of the Gopālakelicandrika this word was only known from modern sources, such as Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary, who defines its meaning as follows: "the business of a bee, collecting from flower to flower; so these beggars from door to door". See also Apte's Skt. Dictionary. The unique place where this word is attested is Gopāl. 134, line 5. Here a gopi discusses the disappearance of Kṛṣṇa in the words sa tu prāyaścīḥ kasyaḥ anyāyā pralobhito mādhukarīṁ kartum gato bhavisyati (with the usual equation of lover and bee, cf. bhṛṣga-). Since the word denotes, not the state of being a bee but the collecting of

11. For the late character of the Pūrvapīṭhikā see, e.g., A. Gawronski, Sprachliche Untersuchungen über das Mrchakāṭika und das Daśakumāracarita (Leipzig 1907), p. 48. 54. It seems, however, to have been prefixed at least before the 11th century, see S. K. De, History of Sanskrit Literature 1, 1947, 210f, n. 5.
honey, it is unlikely to stand for mādhukārya- (which, moreover, is unknown in Sanskrit). It is obviously a comparatively recent local word as none of the indigenous authorities (including the Sabdakalpadruma) mentions it. Most likely, therefore, it is an elliptical expression for mādhukāri vṛttiḥ, cf. Bhāg. Pur. 11. 8. 9 grhañ ahimsann atiśhed vṛtīm mādhukāriṁ munīṁ and BöHTLINGK, Petrop. Dict. V, 1672. In this case a direct literary imitation of the Bhāg. Pur. seems to be excluded.

4. For cāturī- and mādhurī- a different explanation is required. Our conclusion that both must have arisen at a late date is corroborated by the circumstance that mādhurī- is not recorded by any of the kośas whose contents have been registered in the Metropolitan Dictionary, while cāturī- occurs only in the Medinikōsa. Now, about a century before the first occurrence of cāturī-, we find in Somadevasūri’s Yaśastilaka (10th cent.) the curious form cāturīyaṁ, which seems to reflect a well-known Prakrit development, cf. Pali cāturīya- Pkt. mādhurīya-. In Abhābhamśa the ending -ia became -i (e.g., in the gerunds, see PISCHEL (§ 594) and some incidental traces of a similar development appear to occur already in BHSkt. On the other hand, all the modern Indo-Aryan languages form abstract nouns with the suffix -i, e.g. Hindi cor “thief” ; cori “thief”. These words, usually feminine because of their form, are the regular phonetic developments of words in -ika, -itam and -iyam. Seeing that Hindi has on the one hand the type cori, on the other hand the Sanskrit and semi-Sanskrit words mādhurya, m., mādhurīya, f. and mādhurī, f. the question arises, whether the creation of cāturī- beside cāturīya- and cāturīya-, and in general the productiveness of this category of abstract nouns in -i in a period when the New Indo-Aryan type of languages came into existence, may be due to the influence of early NIA.

5. Several other abstract nouns in -i, too, appear to occur only at a late date, e.g.:

vaidūṣi- Śṛikāṇṭhacarita (12th cent.), cf. vaidūṣya- Rājatar.

vaidagdhī- Daśarūpa (10th cent.), Trikāndaśaṭa (12th cent.?)
Sāhitya Darpaṇa (14th cent.?)

vaiḥāli- “hunting” in a Jain version of the Śūnapāskṛtadvātrakṛtāṃśikā (WEBER, Ind. Studien 15, 235, n. 1). 

sāmagrī- Pañcat. II, 6, 12 (ed. BSS.: Pūrṇabhadra 130, 11), V, 54, 8, Hitop. 113, 2 Peterson, Rājatar., Kathās., and later works (Satriṇjīyāāmāhātmya, Sāh. Darpaṇa, Sarvādārśaṇa- 

NOTES ON THE GOPALALKECANDRIKA - 91

saṅgraḥa, Siddhānta Kaumudi). From Mbbh., Susruta and Kālidāsa only saṁagrya- is recorded. Cf. however Pāli Pkt. saṁaggi.

However, among the instances of this type of noun-formation which are enumerated by Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Grammatik II, 2 (1954), 397 f., there are also words that are attested at a much earlier date, e.g. maitri- (Mbbh., Var. BS., Amara, Kāśikā, Halāy.) ārhati- (Patañjali), auciī- (Suśr., Kāś., Amara, etc.) and probably also ābhijātī (Ratnāvalī II. 43. 6, against ābhijātya- III. 62).13

6. The earliest instances of this word-class, however, are yāthākāmi- and ānupūrvī-. We shall first examine the latter word. In the 10th maṇḍala of the Rigveda we meet with the earliest occurrence of the adverb anupūr-vām. An abstract noun ānupūrvyā derived from it, is attested since the Nirukta, RVPrāt., TaittPrāt., Pāṇ (2. I. 6); Kātyā Ś., etc. Since Manu and Mbbh. we find also ānupūrvam and a third form ānupūrvi-. An examination of the occurrences of the last word provides the following picture:

Manu: ānupūrvyā 3. 23 ( = ānupūrvyena 9. 149; ānupūrveṇa 2. 41).
Mahābhārata (Crit. ed.):

I. 67. 10 saṇ ānupūrvyā kṣatrasya (73. 10 Bo., 2964 Calc.); cf. Manu 3. 23. Variant readings -vān, -vyāt, -vyān.
I. 185. 17 ācakhvanica jñātikulānupūrvām (193. 17 Bo., 7190 Ca.); v. I. ānupūrvam.
III. 11081 (p. 572 !) Ca. tān ānupūrvyā bhaga vān ( = ānupūrvyād 116. 11 Poona, Bo.).
III. 172. 6 ānupūrvyān mahābhujah (175. 6 Bo., 12296 Ca.). But the Northern recension (except Ś1) reads ānupūrvyā.
III. 202. 10 ānupūrvyā vinaśyanti jāyante cānupūrvacāh (211. 10 Bo., 13929 Ca.); v. II. -vyād, -vyām.

Rāmāyana14:

II. 90. 6 ānupūrvyā sa dharmajñāh Schl. ānupūrvyāc ca Ś. ānupūrvyāt sa NW. 103. 9.

13. The reading yāntyā for ābhijātyā in the edition by N. B. Gosabole and K. P. Parab (Bombay 1890) is obviously corrupt.
14. The data for the NE. (Bengali) recension are exclusively based upon Börn-linge's quotations from Gosabole's edition (only for III-VII). For the Southern recension (Sic) I have consulted Śrimad Vālmiki Rāmāyana, a critical edition edited and published by T. R. Krishnacharya and T. R. Vyasaacharya, Bombay 1911, further the oblong folio
These materials suggest the following conclusions:

1. ánapūrṇa- is, with a few exceptions, exclusively used in the instrumental sing.

2. The instrum. ánapūrṇa is more or less an adverb, which is used side by side with ánapūrṇa (see Manu and Rām. III. 70. 20).

3. In several passages of the Rām. there is a variant reading ánapūrṇa. The only case form of ánapūrṇa-, however, that was in common use was the instrumental ánapūrṇa. Cf. RVPrāt. 2. 2; 11. 8 & 9, Manu 9. 149, Mhbh. Bomb. 1. 185. 56, III. 114. 1; 240. 13; 302. 19 and many passages where older editions had the inferior reading ánapūrṇa, e.g., Mhbh. III. 296. 11 Bo. (for veṣa, Sāvitrī 4. 11 Bopp), Rām. I. 57. 16, 60, gS. (for veṣa ed. Schlegel) and VI 4. 98 S. (cf. V. 72. 15 NW.) against V. 74. 14 NE. (cf. also V. 73. 2 NE, apparently without a correspondence in S. and NW.). Only in Manu 2. 41 is ánapūrṇa attested without variant readings (against ánapūrṇa 9. 149).

4. This leads us to suppose that wherever ánapūrṇat occurs as a variant reading of ánapūrṇa, the latter reading is the correct one, -at being due to a tendency to replace it by a commoner form. In view of Mhbh. III. 172. 6, where the Northern recension has ánapūrṇa it may be suggested that also in Rām. II. 91. 39 ánapūrṇam ánapūrṇa stands for ánapūrṇa. Like ánapūrṇat, also ánapūrṇato Rām. II. 115. 10 NW. seems to be secondary although the form is paralleled by yathātathyatā. Vāj. S. 40. 3. Monier-Williams’s statement that ánapūrṇa- is generally used in the ablative form in -at seems not to be borne out by facts.
5. The sole occurrences of the nom. and the acc. sing. are, accordingly, in Kauṭ. 427, 8 śāstrasya prakaraṇānupūrvi vidhānam (“Die fortlaufende Reihe der behandelten Gegenstände des Lehrbuchs ist die Einzelbehandlung” Meyer), Mhh. I. 185. 17 ācaṅkhvam (ākhyāta) ca jñātikulānupūrvin (v. I. ānupāvam) and Rām. III. 70. 20 NE. ānupūrvin ca dharmasya (ānupūrveya- na NW.). Here, again, a tendency towards elimination of the forms in -i is manifest in part of the tradition.

6. It may be added that ānupūrveya and ānupūrviya seem no longer to have been in use in the classical literature.

7. From yathākāmam, which, like anupūrvām, occurs since the 10th maṇḍala of the Rigveda, an abstract noun yathākāmya- has been derived in the late Vedic period, cf. Vārtt. on Pān. S. 1. 66 (vā yathākāmye-) and Śaṅkh. Ś. (yathākāmyam). Since the Sūtras we find, again, a bye form yathākāmi-. It cannot be questioned that this formation is secondary with regard to yathākāmya-. It is accordingly a new formation that must have arisen towards the end of the Vedic period. It must be possible, then, to find out how this word came into existence. As it is the earliest instance of an abstract noun in -i in Sanskrit the possibility of an analogical explanation may be ruled out. Nor does the terse style of the Sūtra-texts contain any indication as to its possible origin, for it occurs exclusively in the nominative form, e.g., prastare yathākāmi Ap. Ś. 1. 4. 5 (8 occurrences in total), yathākāmi vā Kauṭ. 60. 3, 75. 3, Lāty. Ś. 2. 5. 16; 10. 20. 14, Śaṅkh. Ś. 1. 3. 7; 6. 6. 40 (against yathākāmyam 2. 1. 6; 10. 13. 5), Kātyā. Ś. 1. 2. 10.

This use of the nominative reminds us of the analogous use of ānupūrvī in Kauṭilya (śāstrasya prakaraṇānupūrvi vidhānam 427. 8). As a matter of fact, these Sūtra texts, on account of their particular style, do not allow an inference as to how a given word was used in the ordinary speech. If we venture to suppose, on the analogy of ānupūrvīya, that in this case, too, the form most frequently used must at one time have been yathākāmyā, it must be admitted all at once that neither this form, nor any other form at all except the nominative (and once the locat. in the comm. on Kātyā. Ś. 1. 2. 10) is attested. On the other hand, we should not lose sight of the fact that the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras give a rather one-sided picture of the language of that period.

We shall start, therefore, from the working-hypothesis that *yathākāmyā has been in use at a rather early date. Although this form is not itself attested, a good many other forms in -kāmyā are known from the Vedic language. The earliest occurrences are viśvākāmyā “from desire of gain”, and putrakāmyā, dhanakāmyā in the Atharva Veda. The Brāhmaṇas provide
some more instances, e.g., kīnkāmyā, yatkāmyā Śat. Br., bhūyaskāmyā Śat. Br. Kānv. and jagatkāmyā Ait. Br. Like ṣuṃpurvya in the later language, these forms are used as adverbs, although they seem occasionally to have been regarded as case-forms of feminine ā-stems, for in the Jaim. Br. we find twice asvakāmyā and strikāmyā used as nominatives (resp. accusatives) in a fixed formula (I. 98, II. 363). The historical explanation of this forms in -yā presents some difficulties, see Wackernagel-Desbunker, Altind. Grammatik III, 76 and 117, and especially p. 595, where these authorities take -kāmyā as a case of haplography for -kāmyayā and derive it from kāmyā-. This, however, would involve that a word -kāmyā existed as early as the Ath. S. In fact, such a feminine noun does not occur (apart from the formula in Jaim. Br.) before Manu and Mhbb. and here, again, its use is nearly exclusively restricted to the instrumental form of the singular kāmyayā, which as a rule is the final member of compound, e.g., putrakāmyayā hitakāmyayā, etc. (see the Petrop. Dict. s. v. kāmyā-). This use bears so striking a resemblance to the compounds of the type putrakāmyā Ath. S., yatkāmyā Śat. Br., that Böhlincck combined them s.v. kāmyā-. This was no doubt correct but, if there is some connection between the Vedic and the epical words, how are we to explain it? If -kāmyā is due to haplography, it is hardly conceivable that the original form should have been preserved intact in the classical language. It might be suggested that -kāmyayā is a restoration of the grammatically correct form of the instrumental case: if so, it must be objected that from the view-point of noun-formation the existence in Vedic of a noun kāmyā- beside kāma- (which alone has indubitable correspondences in Iranian) is open to serious doubts. Defendants of that theory, it is true, might point out that, whatever the origin of kāmyā-, its existence is an established fact as its nominative sing. occurs both in the Jaim. Br. and in the Mrčhakaṭākā (III. 18. 17). This fact cannot be denied, indeed, but it admits of a different interpretation.

8. The use of the nominative in the Mrčhakaṭākā is certainly particular in several respects. It occurs in a passage, where the older text-form of the Cārudatta has undergone a considerable recast. In the Cārudatta the Vidūṣaka, who even in his sleep is still concerned about the casket that has been entrusted to him and who, therefore, is afraid that a burglar is breaking into the house, says to Cārudatta: mama bhamhattaṇeṇa sāvido si, jai ya gaṇghasi. This thief Sajjalaṅka hears this and replies: kīm atra śāpathaparigra-

16. See in general for the relations between the Cārudatta and the Mrčhakaṭākā G. Moserstern, Ueber das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mrčhakaṭākā (1920) and Sukthankar, JAOS. 42, 59, and for this passage in particular Moserstern, p. 544.
keṇa? Eṣa pratigṛṇṇāmi, "No need of imprecations. Look here, I accept it already". In the Mṛcchakatिकā this is replaced by the following text:

(Vidūṣaka) Bho vaśṣa, sāvido si gobhamhaṇakāmāe, jai edāṁ suvannabhāṇḍāṁ na gṛṇhasi. (Sārvilakā) Anātikramanyā bhagavati gokāmyā brāhmaṇākāmyā ca. Tad gṛṇṇāmi. It is not surprising that the commentaries (e.g., Lalla Dikshita’s in Gosvāmē’s edition) and the modern translations betray some embarrassment. The first thing that strikes us is that -kāmāe, which is the reading of almost all manuscripts, is not the Prakrit equivalent of -kāmyāyā. Formally it can only correspond to Skt. kāmayā, which word, though mainly occurring in the Mḥbh. must be a late representative of the Vedic category of adverbs in -yā, see Wackernagel-D e b r u n n e r, Alteh. Gramm. III, 76. It is only used in the phrase kāmayā (pra)brūhi “for the love of me tell me”. Now the use of -kāmāe in collocation with sāvido si is certainly quite uncommon, but there can be little doubt that it was here intended by the author. This is shown by Sārvilaka’s words, which are the conventional reply to a request, cf., e.g., Śāk. VI. 36. 1 anātikramanāyā divaspeter ājñā. II. 3. 3 anātikramanāyaṁ (me) suhṛdvākyam, II. 17. 19 ites tapasvīkāryam, ito gurujanājñā: ubhāyam any anātikramanāyam. Particularly interesting in this respect is Mḥbh. III. 205. 19 ff.:

yena karmavipākena prāpteyam śūdraṁ tvayā 19
etad icchāmi vijñātaṁ tatvena hi mahāmate
kāmayā brūhi me tathāyaṁ sarvaṁ tvaṁ prayaṭṭhauvān 20

(Vyādha uvāca)
anātikramanāyā hi brāhmaṇā vai dvijottama
śṛṇu sarvaṁ idāṁ vṛttam pūrvadeke manā ‘nagha 21

We are bound to conclude, therefore, that gobhamhaṇakāmāe means, not “by the wishes of cows and brahmans” (R y d e r), but “for the love of cows and brahmans”. On the other hand it is clear that the word must be construed with sāvido si as it corresponds to māma bhaktanāya sāvido si in the Cāru-datta. The fact should be stressed that the reason for replacing this word by the somewhat strange expression gobhamhaṇakāmāe was not a dislike of the other form of imprecation for elsewhere Śūdraka uses a similar expression, cf. V. 39. 1 sāvāṁi bhamhaṇ (u)enā (= śape brāhmaṇyena).

17. Since the use of eṣa implies that Sajjala is talking to the sleeping Vidūṣaka, I follow for the expression śapathaparigraha—the translation by A. C. Woolson and Lakshman Sastre (London 1930). The meaning “śapah” which Amara assigns to parigraha may perhaps be based on this employment of the word.

18. E.g., Mḥbh. crit. ed. II. 16. 51, III. 147. 22, 176. 2. In the smaller Petrop. Dict. BöHrLiNCk replaced this translation by “Frankly” (similarly Macdonell, Skt.-Engl. Dict.). He seems to have overlooked the passages III. 262. 37 prābrūhi pṛchchahāḥ/kāmayā kim āday citram and III. 381. 11. kāmayā brūhi me deva.
Sarvilaka’s words confront us with the problem of -kāmyā. This makes it necessary first to view the facts in their historical perspective. In the Vedic language we find -kāmyā used exclusively as the final member of compounds with the meaning “from desire of—” (e.g., putrakāmyā Ath. S. VI. 81. 3). The corresponding words in epic Sanskrit of the type putrakāmyā (Rām. Kālid.) obviously continue the Vedic forms but have been adapted to the instrumental form of the feminine stems in -ā. A further step was taken when this instrumental form kāmyāḥ came to be used also as an independent word, e.g., nā ‘ṛthalabhāṃ na kāmyaḥ Mhḥh. II. 178. 34 Bo. Since this word is unknown in the older language, there can be no doubt as to its having been deduced from the compounds. In continuance of the traditional employment of this word it is occasionally used with an objective genitive, which accordingly stands for a compound. The sole instance quoted in the Petrop. Dict. is pāṇigrāhasyā kāmyaḥ Mhḥh. XIII. 44. 52 Bo. Alongside of it, however, there is one instance of a subjective genitive in brāhmanānānaḥ ca kāmyaḥ “in consequence of a wish of brahmans” Manu 5. 27, which was paraphrased a few centuries later by dvjadēkāmyaḥ in Yājñavalkya 1. 179. Here, accordingly, a new type of compound has arisen on the base of kāmyaḥ with a subjective genitive. Manu himself had already used such a compound in itaretarakāmyaḥ 3. 35. These are the only instances of this type of a compound in -kāmyaḥ that are recorded in the Petrop.-Dict.

This rather circumstantial exposition was necessary because an analysis of the historical development alone enables us to appreciate the artificial character of brāhmanakāmyaḥ “wish of a Brahman” in the Mrch. We can also understand why BöHTLINGK felt compelled to render the sentence as follows: “Diese hehere Liebe zu Kühlen und Brahmanen darf ich nicht unberücksichtigt lassen”. This cannot be correct, of course, for, first, kāmyaḥ never means “love” and, second, both the context and the parallel passage Mhḥh. III. 215. 21 show that the meaning must be that Sarvilaka had to comply with the wish of a Brahman. There can be no doubt, however, that this expression was uncommon and that Śūdraka himself was quite aware of it, for at the end of the same monologue which begins with the words anatikramaniyo hṛgavati gokāmyaḥ brāhmanakāmyaḥ ca Sarvilaka paraphrases them with idānām karomi brāhmanasya pranayam and a few lines further (III. 18. 30) he repeats this sentence again with the words anatikramaniyo ‘yāḥ brāhmanapranayaḥ; tad gṛhitam. This, accordingly, the author considered the normal expression

The coincidence of two unusual words in one passage is evidently due to Śūdraka’s wish to introduce a pun. Sarvilaka intentionally misinterprets the imprecation gobamānākāmāe us gobrāhmanakāmyaḥ and says to himself “Well, the sacred wishes of cows and Brahmans have to be complied with”. We may conclude, therefore, that the use of the nominative has been
induced here by the preceding instrumental (as Sarvīlaka chose to understand it). Obviously it would have been impossible for Sudraka to have used the nominative form (created, no doubt, merely for the sake of this pun), unless a preceding instrumental justified this use. The fact that -kāmāe (kāmayā) could be taken as such explains the strange combination śāvido si -kāmāe. Even so the word brākmayakāmyā needed an explication. This implies that there is no evidence in classical Sanskrit for the existence of a word kāmyā. The sole form that really existed was (-)kāmyayā. The question arises, then, if asvakāmyā and strikāmyā in the formula of Jaim. Br. I, 98 and II 363 may also have been occasional formations that were deduced in like manner from the Vedic adverbs in -kāmyā.

9. A direct proof of it cannot be adduced but the origin of the adverbs in -kāmyā turns out to be quite clear if also asvakāmyā and strikāmyā are taken as secondary formations. As a matter of fact, the words of the type putrakāmyā “from desire of a son” may belong to the class of adverbs in -yā (e.g., ṛta-yā, amu-yā, etc., see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, Altind. Gramm. III, 76). The explanation of -yā in -kāmyā as a simplification of -yayā, which was envisaged by WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER p. 117, is no doubt correct but, if these forms have been adverbial from the outset, it is possible to derive, e.g., *putrakāmyayā from a neuter abstract noun *putrakāmya-, n. It should be noted that in the oldest texts vyādhi was not yet required for this type of formation, see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, op. c. II, 2, 817 ff.

These neuter nouns are, again, derivatives of adjectives like putrakāma- Ath. S. (: adv. putrakāmyā Ath. S.), dhānakāma- Ath. S. (: adv. dhanakāmyā Ath. S.), yaktāma- Ath. S. (: adv. yatkāmyā Sat. Br.), Haplography in the instrumental forms of the feminine stems in -yā is a well-known phenomenon in the Vedic language, e.g., vidyā for vidyayā (see WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, op. c. III, 116). The same simplification has already been recognized also in some adverbs in -yā, cf. madhyā for *madhya-yā. The adverbs in -kāmyā, accordingly, are merely a fresh instance of the same phenomenon.

This explanation is corroborated by fresh evidence from a different linguistic area. Abstract nouns of the type *vittakāmya- are common, not only in Vedic (e.g., dūṣvapnyā- RS., dāśvapnyā- Ath. S.) but also in Avestan, e.g., īṣhā-xshathrya- (from *xshathra-), xshaētō. puthrya- (from *puthra-), thri-gāmya- (from *thri-gāma-: gāman-) etc. See also WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gramm. II, 1, 106 ff. On the other hand, Avestan also preserves some traces of adverbs in -yā (mostly written -ya, which is merely graphical), e.g. aśhaya : Ved. ṛta-yā; vaya (graphical for *ubaya) : Ved. ubha-yā. So the question arises if also Avestan adverbs corresponding to the Vedic type put-
rakāmyā may be found. This is actually the case. In the well-known Hūm Yasht we read the following lines (Yasna 9. 24):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haomē tēmcī yim kērēsēnîm} \\
\text{apa, xshathrēm nishādhayaṭ} \\
\text{yō raosta xshathrōkāmyā} \\
\text{yō davata...}
\end{align*}
\]

which may be read in its Old Iranian form approximately as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[haumah tāmcī yan kēsēnîm} \\
\text{apaxshathrām nishādayaṭ} \\
\text{yah r(a)usta xshathrakāmyayā} \\
\text{yah davata...]}
\end{align*}
\]

"Hauma expelled him from his reign, viz. Kēsēni, who wailed from desire of his reign, who spoke....": In my transposition of the reading of the MSS xshathrōkāmyā I have followed the indications of the metre which requires three syllables for -kāmyā. Two prominent manuscripts, it is true, read -kāmaya (Pt, Mf) but if we should accept this variant we should have to assume a feminine noun -kāmā-, which is very unlikely. Moreover -ya is very frequently miswritten as -aya. **BARTHOLOMAE, Altiranisches Wörterbuch** 546, disregards the metre and takes the word as an instrumental form of xshathra-kāmyā-, f. (with the old instr. ending -ā for -aya). From a viewpoint of noun-formation, however, an abstract noun xshathra-kāmyā-, f. derived from an adjective *xshathra-kāmā- “desirous of power” would be as unparalleled in Avestan as it is in Sanskrit. In this case, too, all difficulties are removed by taking *xshathra-kāmya-yā as an adverb that is derived from *xshathra-kāmya-, n. “desire of power.” As the metre indicates, the reading -kāmya is not due to haplology (as it is in Vedic) but is merely graphical. The non-vocalized text, from which the Avestan vulgate text must have been transcribed, must have read -k‘myy’. In such cases the older texts seems as a rule to have written the double consonant singly. Many textual errors have arisen from this habit, see e.g., **BARTHOLOMAE, Grundriss iran. Philol. I § 268 sub 49 & 58, § 304, c 40, Zum altiran. Wörterbuch** 129 ff., **MEILLET, Journ. as. 1920 I, 193.**

10. Our preceding observations apparently point to the following conclusions: Compound abstract nouns in -kāmya- date from the common Indo-Iranian period. From the same period hails the use of adverbial expressions in -kāmyayā. In Sanskrit this was simplified to -kāmyā at least as early as the Ath. S. Since then, these words were no longer analysable, which induced the substitution of -kāmyayā for it (Manu, Mbbh.) and the occa-
sional use of a noun -kāmyā (Jaim, Br., Mṛcch.). Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose that in an analogous way the sūtraśūras, when they felt the need of an abstract noun that expressed the idea of *yāthākāmyā have deduced a nominative form yāthākāmī from the adverb? The circumstance that this form has remained restricted to the idiom of the Sūtras alone points to the conclusion that it was a technical term. This is also indicated by the fact that no other nouns in -kāmī exist in Sanskrit: the importance which the notion of "optional acts" had for these specialists sufficiently explains why for the expression of this notion alone the need of a specific term was felt.

If the line of the historical development has been yathākāmam: yāthākāmyam: *yāthākām (ya)yā: yāthākāmī, this also explains that by the side of anupārvam: anupārvam an adverb anupārvya and a noun anupārvī were created. Their late occurrence renders it probable that they are analogical formations but our deficient documentation does not allow us to trace this development with a sufficient degree of certainty. The reading yathākāmī (Kāśīkā ed. Pāṇ. 5. 1. 123) against yathākāmya-, vārtt. on 8. 1. 66 is no doubt corrupt.

11. In this way the correlation of nouns in -ya- and -i- must have come into being. Pāṇini sanctioned it (5. 1. 123 f.) and in accordance with his rule late classical authors created ābhijāti-, vaidagdhī, vaiduṣi- and vaitalī as variants of abstract nouns in -ya-. Although sāmagri, for sāmagryā- is also a late word in Sanskrit, the existence of sāmagri- in Pāli and Prakrit seems to indicate that this type of derivation was also known in the Prakrits. The early occurrence of mātrī-, however, remains unexplained. In general, the specifically Buddhist terms in -i may require a different explanation. Cf. BHSkt, pāripūri-, etc.

From this point of view there is nothing particular in the words cāturī- and mādhuryī-. They are sufficiently explained if we regard them as artificial formations that have been created on the base of cāturya- and mādhurya- according to Pāṇini's rule. Still, I have some hesitation in accepting this as our final conclusion. As a rule that scientific theory is accepted which accounts for the largest number of facts in the simplest way. The process of historical development, however, is often anything but simple: so a simple theory may fail to do justice to the total complex of facts which have constituted the historical reality. There remain two questions: first, Is cāturīya-only an incidental aberration or has it anything to do with the late appearance of cāturī-?; and, second, Is the productiveness of these nouns in -i- in the late classical literature only a reflex of the highly artificial character of this literature, or may it have been stimulated by the coincidence of a similar type of abstract nouns existing in New Indo-Aryan? I must leave it to specialists of early NIA. to answer these questions.
In the Veda pūrta- and pūrti- are synonyms and denote that which is given as a present to the priest (cf. Windisch, Festgruss an Otto Böhtlingk, p. 117). As has been pointed out by Bloomfield, Am. Journ. Phil. 17, 499, *dakṣiṇā* is "employed as a complete synonym of the pūrtam". At the outset those gifts may have mainly consisted of *odāṇā*, the porridge, but this is no sufficient reason for assuming a primary meaning "the filling of the stomach", as Bloomfield (p. 110) does on account of a problematical etymology and in view of such passages as RS. 10, 86, 14 *kuḷāṇa pṛṇantī*, which however have nothing in common with pūrtā-. As a matter of fact, the only meaning to be inferred from the texts is "gift". The words are etymologically unrelated to pṛ- "to fill", but are derivatives of a different root pṛ- "to give" (cf. Ved. pūrdhi "give!").

In the later language, however, these synonyms have developed totally different senses. If we leave aside the use of pūṛta- as a synonym of pūṃṣa- "full" in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and, it seems, in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita 13, 90, we find pūrti- in the classical language used in the specialized sense of *vāpikāpādismārtakarma* (see Windisch 117, Bloomfield 410, and the Petrop. Dict.). The same meaning is also recorded for pūrtam in Tamil, pūṛta in Marathi, pūṛta in Kannada, etc. A compound form āpūṛta- occurs as a variant reading in some edd. of the Kādambari, see A. A. M. Schaarpe, Bāṇa’s Kādambari, p. 405. Save for the two exceptions just mentioned, the meanings "filled, full, complete, fulfilment, fullness, completion, satiety, satisfaction", which are given for Kann. pūṛta are unknown in Sanskrit.

Whereas pūṛtā-, accordingly, essentially preserves its original meaning, pūrti-, on the contrary, after having vanished from use in the later Vedic period, reappears in the late classical literature in the totally new sense of pūṃṣaṃ "filling". Cf.:

- *vucitadigantarālapūrtiyā kārtiyā* Daśak. 1, 1 Ag. (Pūrvapāṭhikāl).
- *ruciravāṃśikā* surājaṃṣaṃpūrtir asv arbhako Daśak. 8, 12 Ag. (Pūrvapāṭhikāl).
- *paripūrtiḥ* Bālarāmāyaṇa 67, 10 (c. 900); also in Schol. on RVPrāt. 2, 42 and in BHSkt. (see Endean's Dictionary 327, 365).
- *naleṣṭaṃpūṛtasanipūrti- "accomplishment of sacrifices and donations by Nala"* Naiṣadhac. 17, 160.

2. Cf. also Mar. pūṛta "completed, perfected", Hl. pūṛ(a) "complete, covered"
NOTES ON THE GOPALAKELICANDRIKA

tapartupūrtāv api Naiṣadhac. L. 41 "completion, end" (comm.: griṣmapūrṇe 'pi).
pratipūrti- Lalita Vistara (see Edgerton, p. 365) and the later lexicographical works (since the 12th century: Hemacandra and Medinikōsa).

In the Gopalakelicandrikā it occurs thrice, viz.:

gartapūrti 68, 23 & 25 (in the sense of udarpūrṇam Pañcat.)
etatpūrtaye māṁ. ṭamaskuruta 123, 7 "for the fulfilment of that wish you should worship me".
tava kelipūrtaye 135, 2.

Cf. Hi. pūrti "fullness, completion", Mar. pūrti "idem, satiety, satisfaction", Tamil pūrtti "wholeness, fullness, completeness, satisfaction", kanṭapūrtti "satiety", campūrtti "fullness, completion, etc."

There can be no doubt that class. pūrti- is the same word as Vedic pūrti- "gift", its new sense being due to a misinterpretation of the Vedic word. It is a well-known fact that many words, which are in common use in Classical Sanskrit, owe their specific sense to the Veda-interpretation of Yāska and the later tradition of the commentators. This tradition was so powerful that many old Vedic words that were revived in the classical language thus came to be used in a sense quite different from the original one.3

As a matter of fact, Sāyana as a rule derives both pūrti- and pūrtā- from the root pṛ- "to fill", e.g.:

X. 22, 9 pūrtāyo: kāmānāṁ pūrṇam, ippitārthapradānam.
VI. 13, 6 pūrtim: kāmānāṁ pūrtim.
VI. 16, 18 te pūrtám: tvādiyāṁ pūrakam tejaḥ (with reference to Agni).
VIII. 46, 21 pūrtám: pūrṇam.

These renderings are based upon Dhātupātha 3, 4 and 9, 19 (pṛ- "pālana-pūrṇamayoḥ), whose definition is due to the fact that no memory had been preserved of the former existence of a root pṛ- "to give", while the old Indo-Iranian phrase kāmam pṛ- "to fulfill a wish" could suggest the idea that the meaning of pūrtā and pūrti- was only a metaphorical extension of the sense

of "filling". That Sāyaṇa's interpretations are actually based upon the Dhātupāṭha can hardly be doubted in view of X. 107. 3, where pūrti- is rendered by pālinī.

We may conclude, therefore, that the meaning of pūrti- which most dictionaries take as the original one, is only secondary and artificial in its origin. The same is true of pūrtikāma- in Bhāg. Pur. 10. 22. 20

\begin{verbatim}
itty acyutenaḥkhiitā vrajābalā
mataḥ vivastrāplavanāḥ vratacyutim
tatpūrtikāmās tadasāpākarmaṇām (etc.)
\end{verbatim}

where it means "wishing to fulfil that (vrata)". as compared with the Vedic passage whence it has been taken, viz. Ath. S. VII. 103. Icd. kā yā jñākāmaḥ kā u pūrtikāmaḥ kā deśu vanute dīrghām āyuh "who that desires sacrifice, or who that desires bestowal? who wins long life-time among the gods?" (Whitney). This is accordingly a fresh instance of an artificial archaism in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which may be added to those discussed by Wackernagel. Altind. Gramm. I, p. LI and by F. J. Meyer, Zeitschr. f. Indologie und Iranistik 8 (1931), 33 ff. Another instance is found in Nepali, where pūrti "filling, completing, effective" is obviously the revived Vedic word pūrtin- (see Turner, Nepali Dictionary s.v.). In the Veda, however, this word is only once used in an artificial analysis of īṣṭāpūrtin-, cf. Taitt. S. I. 7. 3. 3 yajñena vā īṣṭi, pakvāna pūrī, īṣṭayaivām viduṣo 'nvāhāryā āhriyate, sā tvēvēstaśpūrti "by the sacrifice he is an īṣṭin (one who has sacrificed), by the cooked food he is a pūrtin (one has given gifts). He who knowing thus brings the Anvāhārya, is one who has accomplished at once sacrifice and gifts".5 Similarly Kāth. VIII. 13 (: 67, 3).5 Kap. K. S. VIII. 1 (: 80. 8).

The preceding observations are based on the assumption that Vedic pṝ- "to give" (from I.E. *per-H₂-, Greek époron) is actually different from pṝ- "to fill" (I.E. *pel-H₁-, Latin ple-o). It must be admitted, however, that many verbs are used in the Rgveda in the sense "to give" although their primary meaning is totally different. It might be argued, therefore, that the meaning "give" of the imperative pūrdhi is a "psychological phenomenon" just as in the case of śīśṭi, etc.6 Most of these verbs, however, have this meaning only in a special context and leave no doubt as to their proper meaning. On the other hand, pṝ- "to give" is marked off from pṝ- "to fill" by special morphological features; it is further consistently used in this sense exclusively, not only as

4. Kern's translation (p. 100) of pūrtin- as "satisfying" is against the Vedic usage.

5. Misunderstood by Simon in his Index. The correct interpretation was given in the Petrop. Dict.

6. See in general Resou, J. As. 1939, 371, n. 2.
regards the verbal forms derived from it, but also in its derivatives pápuri-,
páprí- "bestowing" and pártá-, párti- "bestowal", while there is no indication to show that it originally had a different meaning.

I take the opportunity to add a few remarks on the Vedic root pṛ-. I shall not dwell upon the explanations proposed for Pa. p(h)uṣṭha-, puṣita- (from *pṛṭa- "filled" A. Master, BSOAS. 11, 303) and for Bashkarik cipuṭ, cipuṭ "full" (from *pratipṛṭa-, Morgenstierne, Acta Orient. 18, 230), although the last word reminds us of a large group of Munda and NIA. words, such as Santali cepel "brimful, to fill brimful", Nep. chāpo-chāp "filling to the brim" and nimtho "brimful" (*cippho, like nepṭo: cepto "flat-nosed"). More important in this connection is the Vedic word pūramdhī- "donation" which is an Indo-Iranian noun-formation based upon an earlier expression *pūram dadhāti; cf. Avestan pārṇdi- [*parndi-].

This points to the existence of a root noun pur-, which seems to be attested also in two compounds in Ath. S. XVIII. 2. 28cd parāvābro nipūro yé bhārante agniś tān asmitā prā dharmāt yajyāt. Unfortunately their meaning has not yet been ascertained. This funeral verse is directed against dāsyus, who are supposed to have "entered among the Fathers": "who bear parāvār and nipūr—Agni shall blast them forth from this sacrifice". The verb pṛ- is also composed with ni- as a technical term for gifts for the Fathers. It recurs in the same funeral hymn (XVIII. 2. 30) yām te dhenuṁ nipṛṇāmi, yām u te kṣīra odanāṁ and in XVIII. 4. 42 yāṁ te manthāṁ yāṁ odanāṁ yāṁ maṁsaṁ nipṛṇāmi te, while the Sūtras have one instance of nipṛṇom (nipṛṇopāt: Lātiy.). The participle is nipṛta- (Pat. ad Pāṇ. 7. 1. 102), for which Āśv. Ś 2. 7. 1 has the incorrect form nipṛta- and the nomen actionis is nipāraṇa-, n. (Nirukta, Comm. on Āśv. Ś.). Compounds with ni- in connection with the Manes are well-known, cf. e.g., Śāk. VI. 27 ko naḥ kule nīvapanāṁ nīvācchati. For this reason Avestan nipārayetit can hardly be related to it, although it is sometimes used in an analogous way, cf. āhām zaohritam...yē māvōya nipārayišti "of these libations which they offer to me" (Yash. 17, 54).

There is, however, Avestan word which seems to be derived from pṛ- "to give", viz. xvāpara- "salutary, beneficial". Since Av. xvi- is frequently used in the sense of Skt. su- (cf. Skt. sva-stha-: su-śṭhu) xvāparyāmay represent Skt. *su-para- "well-giving"?

8. In nipāraṇa anumantrayeta (comm. nipārāṇa eva pīdān anumantrayate). For this passage see H. Omerel, The Syntax of Cases 1, 229.—Note also nipārāṇa—Mbh. 7. 22. 39. Bomb.
9. A different explanation of xvāpara- has recently been proposed by Benveniste, Asiatica (Festschr. Weller) p. 34: Ved. pr- "to protect, save."

Jayanta, wandering about in the forest in search of Kṛṣṇa, complains of his exhaustion in the following stanza (p. 53, line 8 ff.).

\[
śānāṁ nodvahate kaṭih, kaṭutarair nādair vinaṣṭe śruti
pādau me naṭataḥ, paśo ’pi vigataḥ, kaṭhāyataṁ me vapuh /

bhramāṁ bhrānam ahaṁ nagendrahahana-droniṇu nidrāyaṁto
dronībhūtatanur nate hi śrāsi dronadvadanaṁ bhrātataḥ //
\]

"My hip does not support me, my ears are deafened by the harsh sounds, my feet totter, my cloth is lost, my body is like a piece of wood. While roaming about in the valleys of the mountain-forests I have become drowsy. Owing to my bearing a drona (vessel) of rice-milk on my bowed head, my body has itself become a dronī (valley, chasm)."

The last line is grammatically incorrect: obviously the author intended to use an adjective dronībhūtatanur, parallel to nidrāyaṁto. A similar compound is met with in line 35: *khaṇṭībhūtapādō. At the end of the line, however, he construes bhrātataḥ as though dronībhūta tamāḥ preceded. As for nidrāyaṁto-, it may be noted in passing that it does not mean "sleeping" (CALAND, p. 16, SCHMIDT, Nachträge zum Sanskrit Wörterb.). Cf. line 15: pīṭvā puttraṇaṁ suptāvā, tato gachhāmi keśavam.

Lexicographically more important, however, is the use of naṭ- in pādau me naṭataḥ "my feet totter". Apparently the author Rāmakṛṣṇa here uses the Sanskrit verb in a sense which may have been familiar to him from New Indo-Aryan but which is quite unknown in Sanskrit; cf. Kaśm. naṭun “to tremble”, Beng. naṛ “to shake”, Oriya naṟo-naṟa “shaking”\(^1\). These verbs are usually derived from Skt. naṭ- “to dance”,\(^2\) but their divergent meaning, as well as the occurrence of apparently cognate words in Dravidian points to a different conclusion. As instances of these similarities in Dravidian may be quoted Kannada naḍaṇa “trembling”, naḍuka “trembling, shivering, shaking, tremor, fear”, naḍugu “trembling, shivering, tremor”, naḍa naḍugu “to tremble much”, Tamil naṭumku- “to shake, tremble, tremble through fear, to falter, waver” (naṭukku “to shiver, cause to quiver, etc.”), naṭu- naṭumku- “to tremble greatly through fear”, naṭumkai “dread, fear”, Telugu naḍuku (meaning?), Tulu naḍupuni. The root naḍuk-ga-, naḍuga- contained in these words is an extension of naḍ-, cf. Tam. naṭalai “trembling, shaking”.

\(^1\) See TURNER, Nepali Dictionary, s.v. naḍamu.

\(^2\) However, S. K. CHATTERJI, Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (1926), 497 rightly classes naṭ- "move" among words which are probably of devī origin.
Since no analogous words occur (as far as I am aware) in Santali and Sora (which are the best-known representatives of resp. the Kherwari and the Southern group of Munda) or in Burushaski, the possibility of borrowing from Dravidian has to be seriously considered, the more so as a root extension of the type naḍ-: naḍu (n)g- naḍukk- is typically Dravidian.

The verb naṭati “trembles” should accordingly be dissociated from naṭati “dances”. For the latter verb, also, a foreign origin has been suggested, the main reason being that in view of the rather frequent interchange of initial l- and n- it seemed unlikely that, e.g., Mat. naṭvā “a rope-dancer, tumbler, buffoon, actor, dancer”, Hindi naṭ(u) wā, id., should have to be separated from Skt. lex. laṭva-, m. “jātīviśeṣaḥ; neṭuvā iti bhāṣā” (Śabdalakalpadruma), as neṭuvā is stated to mean “dancing-boy”. On the other hand, although laṭva- may be a rather late word, its l- cannot easily be explained as a development from n-, since we find in the Unādisūtra laṣva-, m. (and liṣva- in the commentary), which according to Ujvaladatta means “dancer”. There may be difference of opinion as to how this interchange of s : t is to be accounted for, but the problematical character of the interpretation of this fact does not justify our denying the existence of the fact as such. If we may rely upon these data of the lexicographical works and upon the meaning assigned to them, we are led to assume the existence of a word *naṭu-a *laṭu-a *neṭu-a *laṣu-a *liṣu-a for “dancer”, which can hardly be dissociated from Skt. lāṣa-, “dance”, lāṣayati “causes to dance”. Now the occurrence of several interchanges of consonants and vowels in one and the same word (viz. n: l, t: s: s, and a: i: e) points decidedly to the conclusion that naṭvā etc. are loan-words from one or more non-Aryan languages, which, again, implies that the traditional explanation of naṭ- as a Prakritic development of Skt. nyṛt- would have to be abandoned. It is not clear, indeed, how these facts might be explained in case one prefers to maintain the traditional derivation from nyṛt-. Analogous questions which might be raised with regard to naṭ- “tremble” will not be discussed here.


4. It may be noted that by the side of Beng. nārā “to move, stir, budge, flinch, to shake, to totter” there occur also such echo-words as nārāṭhārā “a moving or stirring about”, nārāṭhār “a move, a stir”, while on the other hand we find in Hindi tharṭharāṇā “to tremble”, tharṭharāṇāṭ “shivering”, tharṭhar “shuddering, trembling”, tharṭharē “to tremble with fear.” (Cf. Mar. tharṭharāṇē, tharṭharāṭ, tharṭhar, tharṭharē, respectively).
ZERO AND PANINI

By

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In reading contemporary linguistic statements one encounters the term 'zero' in so many and diverse contexts that one may be forgiven for wondering whether its use may not be exceeded by its abuse. It is certainly true, as a recent paper has suggested, that 'we may not have succeeded yet in clearly stating the conditions in which it is legitimate to speak of the presence of an element zero'. To this one might add the suggestion that in no particular case is it essential to employ the concept at all; and that its use arises only from the requirements of generalization. Before proceeding to expand this view it will be necessary to outline certain basic assumptions.

At the several places in a given grammatical structure one sets up appropriate systems to give value to the elements of that structure; in a simple example we might have a three-place structure comprising the elements:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & 2 & 3 \\
Prefix & Root & Suffix,
\end{array}
\]

which might be said to constitute a Verb—which in turn could be an element of a more inclusive (e.g. sentence) structure. At each place in the Verb structure a system would be established, the specification of whose terms would give value to the element in question; thus:

At place 1 may be established a (closed) Prefix system of, say, 5 terms;

At place 3 may be established a (closed) Suffix system of, say, 10 terms;

At place 2 may be established an (open) Root system which may run to hundreds of terms and be indefinitely extendable.

When speaking of their syntagmatic relations, terms in systems will also be referred to as units in structure. For each combination of units (e.g. Prefix, Root, Suffix) there will be a corresponding phonological statement. The various phonological statements, which in this case (by a combination of

2. CL BSOAS, 1954, xvi/3, p. 556, n. 2.
grammatical and phonological criteria) might be said to constitute 'words',
could then be listed in a lexicon.

These, however, would be excessively numerous, and it is traditional
to reduce the number of entries by a process of factorization. This is facilitat-
ted by the circumstance that it is possible in many cases, and particularly
(and fortunately for the lexicographer) in the case of the Root system, to
correlate the presence of a given term in the system with a more or less
constant unit or complex of units in the phonological statement. In such
cases it is possible to avoid repeating this particular 'bit' of the phonological
statement for every combination involving the grammatical unit in question;
a generalized formula may be given (cf. 'assibilated plurals', 'dental prete-
rites'), and more or less general rules may be established for the conver-
sion of the lexical formula to actual phonological statement (= 'internal sandhi').

A common consequence of this procedure (and universal in the case
of Roots) is that the terms of the grammatical systems come to be designated
by the generalized formulae for their corresponding phonological bits (instead
of the more inefflable 'P(refix$_3$) etc.; as, for example, in Sanskrit: 'The
nominal suffix -aκά' instead of the Pāṇinean 'गौर'). Therein lies a tempta-
tion, by which many have been beguiled, to confuse the two levels of state-
ments.

It should further be noted that these bits of phonological word-struk-
tures, whether more or less generalized, do not necessarily constitute phono-
logical structures in the usual sense of the term. When the grammatical
structure is of more than one element, any one bit cannot generally constitute
a word-structure; and it is probably the exception rather than the rule for
a bit to constitute a sub-word structure in the sense of having e.g. a syllabic
composition, whether of one or more syllables. The non-structural nature
of the bit is underlined by the necessity, indulged by e.g. Zellig Hārus, of
recognizing 'discontinuous morphemes' consisting of non-contiguous phone-
nic sequences'; such statements are generally made for major (e.g. sen-
tence) structures—Hārus quotes concord in Latin as an example: but they
could apply also within the word—e.g. 'reduplicated perfects' in Greek or
Sanskrit; or the 'infixed root' and 'split negative' in a Caucasian language
such as Abaza, where in e.g. ɣγαμνα, 'it was unsuccessful', the bits cor-
responding to the grammatical units R 'succeed' and Neg. are respectively -α...w-
and -γγ...m-.

3. Hereafter used as a technical term.
The bit (alias 'morpheme'), then, is not structured and has no phonological status divorced from the word of which it is a bit; it is 'bound', but it is not a 'bound form', since it is not a 'form' in the sense that the word is a 'free' one. It is true that similar considerations apply in theory to the word within the sentence; but there are phonological apart from lexical justifications for treating the word as a structure. These are concerned not so much with 'Grenzsignale', which provide at best partial and confirmatory criteria; nor with the one-word sentence, which in most languages is exceptional; but rather with the fact that it proves to be a relevant piece of the sentence for the statement of prosodic relations (e.g. retroflexion in Sanskrit, the relevant structure for the statement of which is the word; or stress in Abaza, there being only one main stress per word however sesquipedalian). The bit has generally no such prosodic relevance.

The main raison d'être of the bit is its inclusion in a lexicon of bits; though it may have phonological significance in so far as bits corresponding to different elements of grammatical structure may require the establishment of different phonological systems (e.g. different C-systems for Prefix-bits and Suffix-bits).

To revert now to zero. W. Haas has remarked that, "To say that sheep in many sheep has a 'component' zero 'plural', can only conceal the fact that sheep by itself is indeterminate as to being 'singular' or 'plural'." However, sheep by itself is not the same as sheep in a phrase, clause, or sentence. In the vast majority of sentences of e.g. type N V one could establish a two-term system of number concord, viz.:

(a) Singular

```
    N  V
   /   \
  Stem Root + Suffix
```

(b) Plural

```
    N  V
   /   \n  Stem + Suffix Root
```

And it may be said that to the Suffixal units there corresponds a phonological bit statable in generalized terms as 'assibilation'�. There are, however, cases where the grammatical structure of V, viz. Root (without Suffix), indicates

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5. Cf. Bhatṛṣṭhari, Vākyapadīya, i. 73.
7. loc. cit.
8. Where, as in this case, the sole function of the Suffix is to indicate concord, and the concord has been stated as a property of the sentence, the Suffixal systems can by definition consist only of one term, which may here be designated $S_n$ (for 'number').
Plural concord, but where the bit corresponding to the N. Suffixal unit is not describable as 'assibilation' (e.g. oxen). These cases of course require special statement. But there are also cases (e.g. sheep) where there is no corresponding phonological bit. One alternative here is to say that we have a third term in the concord system, viz:

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{N} \\
&\text{Stem} \\
&\sim \sim \\
&\text{V} \\
&\text{Root}
\end{aligned}
\]

The other alternative is to maintain the two-term system, and to say that in the case of sheep we still have the N structure Stem + Suffix, but that the Suffixal unit has no corresponding phonological bit, i.e. that in

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{Pl.} \\
&\text{N} \\
&\text{St_{sheep}} + S_a \\
&\sim \sim \\
&\text{V} \\
&\text{R_a}
\end{aligned}
\]

\[S_a = 0\] (where = refers to the correspondence between grammatical and phonological statement). This can take its place beside such statements of exceptions as (for St_{ox}) \[S_a = n^9\] and involves a greater economy of statement than an expansion of the concord system for a very few cases. One would not, of course, wish to speak of sheep having a 'component zero plural', which would be an intolerably confused statement—'sheep' would presumably refer to some kind of phonological statement; 'component', if it referred to Suffix, would belong to the grammatical structure of N; 'plural' is a property of the grammatical structure of the sentence; and 'zero' is a terminal of the grammatical-phonological equation (\(S_a = 0\)).

In fact what linguists generally call "zero" is not the zero (second) terminal of such an equation, but the first. The linguistic "zero" is parallel rather to the fictional quantities employed in algebra, which are ultimately cancelled by the 'antithetic error' (as Vaihinger terms it)\(^{10}\) of equation with zero. A classical example may make this clear: Fermat's solution to the problem of dividing a line \(a\) into two parts, \(x\) and \(a - x\), so that \(x^2(a - x)\) should be a maximum, was to substitute for \(x\) an arbitrary larger part, viz. \(x + e\); by equating \(x^2(a - x)\) with \((x + e)^2\). \((a - x - e)\) he arrived

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9. i.e. 'nasalization'.
10. The Philosophy of As If, pp. 109ff.
at $2ax + ae = 3x^2 + 2xe + e^2$; and his fiction was then cancelled by the recognition that $e = 0$; the expressions containing $e$ drop out, and the solution is $\frac{2a}{3} = x$.

In linguistics there is no single zero unit; there are various 'zeroizable' units. The use of the term "zero" for the unit itself may, however, find some justification in the arithmetical use of 0. In a number such as 50 the sole function of the 0 is to contribute to the necessary structure within which 5 may occupy the decimal position; the structure is parallel to e.g., 53, but whereas 3 not only occupies a place in the structure, but is also the class of all triads,12 0 has no such class function—it is a unit in structure and a term in a system, and nothing more. In the linguistic case considered above there was no special term in a system of which '0' was statable, but only certain examples of a term, viz. when in relation with certain specific terms in the St-system, e.g., St_{sheep}. At the phonological level of statement one seeks to avoid such syntagmatic implications (of which the more general are traditionally classified as 'assimilation', 'epenthesis', etc.) by abstracting the relationship as a 'prosody', or property of the whole structure within which it obtains. At the grammatical level, however, the matter is considerably more complex, particularly when the terms of an open system are concerned (as here in the Stem), which may have little or nothing in common except the relation in question (sheep, deer, aircraft, etc.). A special term of which one could state '0' would only be establishable if we assumed, for example, that in all concords both N and V always include a Suffixal element; it would then be necessary to say of N that in the Plural concord 'S_n = a', but in the Singular concord that 'S_n = 0'. This, however, one might well hesitate to do, on the grounds that the latter examples would be approximately as numerous as the former, and there would therefore be no particular justification for basing the generalized structure St + S on the former. Such a generalization of the more complex structure without regard to frequency, would be subject to Harris' legitimate warning that 'the indiscriminate use of zero segments and void elements can make many different language structures seem sterilely similar';13 and to Nina's criticism that 'the description of a language becomes unduly sprinkled with zeros merely for the sake of structural congruence and balance'.14

11. Quoted by Varming, op. cit., pp. 113f.
The case would be different, however, if the "zero" term were only one in a comparatively large system. The generalized structure would then be established on the basis of a statistically high majority, and the zero device would be a means of avoiding the recognition of a separate structure for a small minority of cases. This is precisely the manner in which Pāṇini employs zero. The following typifies his method.

For Pāṇini the grammatical category Noun is characterized by a minimal structure

\[ \text{Root} + \text{Suffix 1} + \text{Suffix 2}, \]

where Root + Suffix 1 constitutes the Stem, and the Suffix 2 system is that of Case.

In naming the terms of grammatical systems Pāṇini sometimes uses a purely arbitrary label (e.g., \( \text{lu} \text{ñ} = \text{`Aorist'} \)), and sometimes one derived from the corresponding phonological bit (e.g., \( \text{ṭā} = \text{`Instr. Si.'} \)): frequently the name is so selected that there is a one-one correspondence between the letters of the name and those of the phonological bit; it can then be assumed that, in the absence of any contrary statement, e.g., the grammatical unit Sₙₚₐ = the phonological bit tra. Thus the Pāṇinean grammatical statement of the Acc. Sing. of a certain noun is:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
R & S₁ & S₂ \\
\text{chad} & \text{tra} & \text{am},
\end{array}
\]

for which the corresponding phonological statement (in phonemic terms is chattran\(^{15}\)). In the conversion of Pāṇinean formulae to phonological statement we encounter the two terms \( \text{sthānīn} \) and \( \text{ādeśa} \). The first of these, lit. 'having a place', we might expect to refer to the units of the grammatical structure; and the latter, lit. 'specification', to their corresponding phonological bits. But Pāṇini seems to apply the term \( \text{sthānīn} \) rather to the generalized phonological formulae, from which the \( \text{ādeśa} \) are then derived by the various processes of sandhi etc.\(^{16}\) It appears probable that Pāṇini himself may have been confused by the use of phonologically inspired labels for grammatical units; and the traditional translation of Pāṇini's terms by 'original' and 'substitute' respectively suggests a recognition that both belong to the same (phonological) level of statement, and that one is 'prior' to the other. Modern linguists, notably in the U. S. A., have perpetuated this 'process' interpretation of Pāṇini with their epistemologically naive 'basic underlying

\(^{15}\) VI. iv. 97.
\(^{16}\) Cf. BUISKOL, The Tripādi, pp. 12ff., 23ff.
forms': this is most clearly demonstrated in Bloomfield's patently Paninian 'Menomini Morphophonemics'.

The question of zero arises for Panini from nominal forms having a phonological statement such as bhājam, where the bit bhāj- is identifiable as corresponding to the grammatical R unit 'bhaj', and -am as corresponding to the S₂ unit 'am': which accounts for the whole of the phonological statement. In order to maintain the generality of the formulae R + S₁ + S₂ for all Nouns, Panini has recourse in such cases to an S₁ unit 'v' (as one in a large system of S₁ terms). Thereafter the fiction is cancelled out by the recognition that 'v = 0'; Panini's actual terminology here is 'lopo vēk', i.e., 'annihilation of v', where 'lopo' is precisely 'v = 0'. The use of the label 'v' is convenient, since there is no other S₁ unit thus named.

This device finds a remarkably close parallel in the work of De Saussure:

"...une racine, comme telle, ne peut constituer un mot et recevoir l'adjonction directe d'une désinence... Que faut-il alors penser du cas très fréquent où racine et thème de flexion semblent se confondre, comme on voit dans le grec phlōks, comparé à la racine phlōg-?... N'est-ce pas en contradiction avec la distinction que nous venons d'établir? Non... nous dirons que phlōg- "flammé" est un thème à suffixe zéro... le radical reste distinct de la racine, même s'il lui est phoniquement identique".

The examples considered above will have shown that the linguistic device of "zero" is justified only by the requirements of general statement; in order to extend the application of a given grammatical structure, the system established at a place in that structure is made to include a term for which, unlike the other terms, no phonological bit is statable. The device has applications to phonological structure also; the system established at a place in that structure may be made to include a term for which no phononic exponents are statable.

It is evident that an increase in generality may involve a decrease in the "appropriateness" of the statement to the particular case; this price is inevitable, and one must consider carefully whether it is worth paying; but

17. TCLP, VIII, pp. 105ff.
18. III ii. 62 ('bhaśjo vṇiḥ').
19. VI i. 66-7.
20. Cours, p. 255.
21. The device is employed phonologically and discussed in my article 'Aspiration in the Ṣākyanī nominal' which it is hoped to publish shortly.
the simple existence of a price should not be a reason for rejecting the transaction. In this matter linguistic “zero” has a parallel in mathematics. For the arithmetical use of 0 might be said to result in statements that are less than optimally appropriate to e.g., the counting of fingers: mathematically 10, as a two-element structure, belongs to the series 11, 12 . . . . etc., and not to the series of one-element structures 1, 2 . . . . 9; this contrasts with the (digitally derived) linguistic system of numeration in e.g., Sanskrit, where daśa, as a one-element structure, belongs to the series eka, dva . . . . nava, and not to the series of two-element structures ekā-daśa, dvā-daśa . . . etc. The mathematical zero falsifies the evidence of fingers and toes (and of everyday language); but that is no ground for condemning its use: it is a small price to pay for the abstract and general calculations that it makes possible.

Finally it may be remarked that Pāṇini nowhere uses the mathematical term for zero22 (Skt. śūnyam, ‘vacuum’, calqued by the Arabic șifr, whence ‘cipher’ and, by another route, ‘zero’). In the first place, as already noted, what is generally called “zero” in linguistics is, by comparison with the mathematical use, inappropriately so called—the name is given to the wrong terminal of the equation. And in the second place, Pāṇini was operating with his device of ‘lopa’ long before any mathematician, possibly even before the establishment of any system of writing;23 the mathematical zero too was an Indian invention, but our first certain evidence for its use is about a millennium later than Pāṇini.24 Before the adoption of zero and place-value, mathematicians had employed the device of consonants to indicate number and vowels to indicate value, and of this practice S. R. Das has remarked that, “The study of Sanskrit grammar and metrics seems to have led the mathematical genius of Āryabhātā to use letters of the Devanagri alphabet for the sake of brevity”;25 but still “the system required the zero for its perfection”—was this invention also perhaps linguistically inspired?

22. It is perhaps this that causes Frey (ZPh., 1950. 3/4, p. 188, n. 1) to deny to Pāṇini the use of the concept.
25. op. cit., p. 114.
INDICA ET IRANICA

BY

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In the work of last century the contribution of the Old Indian vocabulary to the clarification of the Old Iranian texts was of decisive importance. Great part of the Old Iranian vocabulary had been lost and at that time the residue in New Persian and other modern Iranian dialects was insufficient to fill the lacunae. Since that time so much of the Middle Iranian vocabulary has been recovered, partly from the loan-words in neighbouring languages, as Syriac and Armenian, but more particularly from the manuscripts containing the forgotten languages of Parthians, Sogdians and the Scythian tribes of the Saka, together with the recently discovered Old Persian words, that we can expect our Old Indian texts to be illuminated in their turn from the Iranian vocabulary. At times a word which occurs once only in Old Indian texts can be shown to belong to a large family of words in Iranian. Thus in an article in memory of the late Professor Schayer I have endeavoured to show, inter alia, that the isolated Vedic śini- of the Khilānī, variant to gīrī- 'hill', means 'rising ground, hill', and that it attests the verbal base šan- 'to rise' in Old Indian, and so belongs with the widespread Iranian verb san- 'to rise, raise', which has now been traced in Avestan,¹ and in the Middle Iranian Parthian, Persian, Sogdian and Khotan Saka.

In these few pages to honour Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji I have called attention to other similar groups of words.

1. kram- 'to thresh'.

Threshing is carried out in three ways, by treading, by beating and by rubbing.²

The word for rubbing has provided Kāfīrī Waigali mara-, muri- 'thresh' compared to Aškun mēr- 'rub'.³ The beating is found in Ossetic ('New Scythian'), Digoron inājun, Iron nāj kāñyn 'thresh' when compared with nād 'beaten', used as the participle to nāmyn 'to beat'.⁴ The Middle Persian

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¹. Both as verb, pres. aana-, and in the noun sanaka-, for which the meaning is 'rising, hill', not, as the Althiranisches Wörterbuch proposed, 'estuary'.
². SCHRADE—NEERING, Reallexikon, s.v. Dreschen.
⁴. See on inājun below.
xvastan ‘beat’ is also used for ‘thresh’. The third meaning ‘treading’ is found in the use of Iranian xram- ‘walk, tread’ and ‘thresh’ in derivatives which are widely spread in Iranian dialects. The simple verb is known in New Persian xirāmīdand ‘to walk gracefully, strut’, and meaning ‘come’ in Sogdian hr’m- *xram-.9 The dialect forms are the following: Parāci khamūr ‘threshing floor’ from *xramana-, New Pers. xirman, xarman, Ormūrī šamānd, Yidda šrom, Munji xurman, Wakhi śerām, Orošīri širun, Sarikoli širun, Sangleči xormon.9 Balōći has khurmanī ‘pit to store grain’ (Brahui xurrum) and kurn.8

With these derivatives in Iranian from kram- we have now to associate the Indo-Aryan and Kāshī kram- and krand-. Thus we find Khowar (Citral) krom- ‘thresh’; Kati kram- ‘to thresh’, and krāmkrem ‘threshing floor’.9 The verb is well attested in Old Indian kram- ‘to go, stride’, pres. krāmata, krāmati, participle krānta- and inf. krāmitum. An enlarged base krand- ‘thresh’ with -d,10 is used in the Divyāvadāna 563.8 akrandita- of the tailās ‘sesame seeds’, where the Tibetan translation has brdus ‘beat, pound, thresh’.11

If now we survey some of the tripartite systems of verbal forms involving nasal and the enlargement -d-, as in per- ‘strike’, pr-em, pr-en-d-, ker-, sker- ‘cut’, skr-em-, skr-en-d-, bher- ‘to jut out’, bhur-em-, bhur-en-, bhur-en-d-, kel- ‘to sound’, kl-em- kl-en-d- and others, we should expect similarly here to find a simple unenlarged base Ind. kar-.

This expected base is to be seen in the Vedic word khała- a ‘threshing floor’ occurring from the Rigveda onwards. Here we have 10.48.7 khała nā pāraṇā prāti hannya bhūri ‘like the sheaves upon the threshing floor I thresh a greater part’. It is found also in the Atharva-veda and later Vedic,13 derivative adjective khalya-.

The claim that this khaḷa- with its kh- and its -l- belongs with kram- and krand- ‘thresh’ introduces the still unresolved problem of the coexistence

5. C. Bartholomae, Mittelliranische Mundarten 2.25 ff.
10. The enlargement of a verbal base by -d- is one of the commonest types. Thus they are claimed for gu, teu, dhen, teu, seu, mer, mel, mej and many others in WALDE-PORSENY, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch.
12. The bases are listed in WALDE-PORSENY, Vergl. Wörterbuch.
13. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, s.v.
of \(k, t, p\) besides \(kh, th, ph\) (Iranian \(x, \theta, f\)) in Indo-Iranian. Thus we have to compare the following. Old. Ind. khan- 'to dig', khā- 'fountain', with Avestan \(xə-, xənu-,\) 'fountain, of the fountain' and Avestan, Old Pers. kan- 'dig', Khotan. kaŋgαŋ- 'dig', beside khāhā- 'fountain', Sogd. γ’γ. Similarly Old Ind. khavā- 'defective', with Avestan kavrav-, Sogd. krv-. The word for 'road' is an excellent example of this problem. From Avestan pantā nom. sing. masc. beside pātō gen. sing., we have pāntā- beside pāt- from older *pontōh- and pōty-, thus showing the origin of the -h-. The Old Indian has introduced \(θ\) in all its forms. Rōsānī has kept the gender of pād 'road' masc. So too Old Ind. pṛthik- 'wide', Avestan pərθu-, corresponds to the Greek ἀρδέω.

The medial development can be easily explained by recognising that Indo-Iranian had kept -\(h\) from the Indo-European laryngeal \(h\). Initially the presence of a sound before \(k, t, p\) may have left its trace in the aspiration, just as in later Indo-Aryan we find the normal change of Old Ind. skandha- 'mass' to Pali and Prakrit khandha-. The problem would lead too far afield here: we return to kvām-.

The series khal-, kram, kvand- can be confirmed by referring once more to other Indo-European languages. We at once find that the unenlarged base occurs in Lit. kalū 'I beat', Let. kal'ū beside Lit. küliū, 'I thresh', Let. kul'ū 'I beat, thresh'. That is a base kel- 'beat, thresh'. Thus we can detect the three forms in Indo-European kel-, kl-em-, kl-en-d-. The meanings 'beat' and 'tread' derive from the one source.

By this evidence we are thus induced to see that the Dravidian words of similar form should be kept apart.

2. Indo-Iranian nay- : nā-.

Ossetic Digoron indjun 'to thresh', inōjū, Iron nāj 'act of threshing' whence the Iron nāj kūnyn 'to thresh') derives from vi-nā-ya-. By comparing Ossetic Digoron nāmən, Iron nāmyn, participle nādd 'beat, knead, stamp',

14. On khavā- see T. Burrows, Sarup Volumê, p. 5. Sogd. krv-γ'tk 'having defective teeth' for *karvəγ'-vantak corresponds to Bigveda kārādatin- from kar- and dat- from dant- : dat-.
15. The later Iranian dialects support the Avestan differences, thus Ossetic, which keeps -nā- as -n-, has in this word jāndag, as Khotanese has punde nom. sing., but keeps -nə- in kanthā- 'town'.
we can isolate the base nam- beside nā-, and nā-y-. Thus we have a pair of bases to put with Old Ind. gam- beside gā- (pres. jīgūti) 'go'. The basic meaning of this nam-, nā-, nāy-, and nay- is then 'press, apply force to'.

The same verb can now also safely be seen in Wakhi parnēc 'a churn' from pari-nē- with the suffix -ēc. It can be seen also in Khotan parnainī, 3rd plur., 'they touch' in the parable of the blind men, who are asked to describe an elephant from knowledge of one part which they are asked to touch. The text is in E2.122 hastu parnainī hana 'the blind touch the elephant'. The corresponding Pali text in Udāna 6.4 has a different expression. There we read jaccanāhānī basthami dassesī 'he made the men blind from birth to see the elephant'. The context requires the 'pressure upon', that is, the touching of the elephant. Hence the Khotanese had par-nay- from pari-nay-. One other form of this verb (not yet clear) may be traced in P 2834.55 pantā, in reference to the touching of a beggar's stick.

This base nay-; nī- is further to be recognised in a group of words connected with the idea of 'fat' and 'liquid'. Thus we have Khotanese nīyaka- 'fat, butter' corresponding to Sansk. navanītu and Tibetan mar, nye; nē 'curds', nyetutcā 'whey' for Sansk. mustu, Tibetan zo-kha; Sangleči nūšuk, Yidya-Munjī nīyā 'sour milk'; Zor. Pahlī, New Pers. panīr 'cheese', found in Armen. panīr, and in Wakhi, Pāsto panīr, Balōči panīr. In this I propose to see *pāti-nīra- with nīra- rather than nīra- since bases in -ay-; -ī- have regularly an adjective in -īra-, as Avestan īra-, vīra, xīra-, Old Ind. kīra-. Similarly the Avestan avō-mārā of Yasna 49.10 is to be explained as 'mighty to help', that is, awāh- with māra- from the same source as Avestan māya-, Old Ind. māyā- 'power', and the Hittite verbal base mai-: mi- 'to become strong', mi-nu- 'causative to make prosper'.

From Indo-Aryan and Kāśāri occur further derivatives of this nay-. Old Indian has nava-nīta- 'fresh butter', frequent in later Vedic Śamhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Later the reflexes of the same nīta- survive in Indo-
Aryan Kalasha nīu, nīl- (with -u, -l- from intervocalic -l-), and Dameli nīt. Kati has nīvā.25 The nava-nīta- is set among the dadhi type of food, thus in the Mahabhārata (Calc. 1. 1. 262) navanītāṃ yathā dadhno ‘as the butter is the best of the dadhi (curds)’.26

We have then a series of words, verbal in the sense of ‘press’, and derivative in nīta- ‘curds’ and ‘butter’ and -nāra- of ‘cheese’. This variety of meaning can be illustrated from the base Indo-European seu-: su- ‘to press out’, and in derivatives ‘juice’, as attested in Greek ἑυ ‘it rains’, ὄμη ‘dirt, mud’, Celt. Ir. suth ‘sap’, Old Ind. sunōti, sutā- ‘press out juice’, Avestan hav-, hu-, with soma-, Avestan haoma-, and sūra ‘intoxicant’, Avestan hurā-, Khotan hurā. In Lithuanian we have sulā ‘sap from trees’.27

For this range of meaning we can also cite the base Old Ind. paya-: pi- ‘to swell’, from which come pāyate, pūja, pūyate, pūyas- ‘liquid, milk, water’, pīnā- ‘swollen, thick’, pīvan- ‘fat’. From Iranian Avestan paya-, paēman-, Khotan. pi ‘fat’, Ossetic fiu ‘fat’, New Pers. pīnū ‘cream cheese’, Wakhi pīnū ‘butter’.28

We may therefore expect to find beside the verb, in Ossetic nā-, nā-y-, Khotan. nay-, Wakhi nī-, and the derivatives Indo-Aryan and Kāshī nīta- ‘butter, curds’, Mid. Iranian paā ‘cheese’, some form signifying ‘liquid’. This should be recognised in Old Ind. nīra- ‘water’ in the Epic, and in the nīṣara- ‘water, mud’ of the Lexica. For the form note the word tūra- in Apatelosme for ‘cheese’ in comparison with Old Ind. tāvarā-, tābara- ‘sour milk’.29 These words show the suffix -ar- enlarged by -a-, beside the word pi-van, fem. pīvāri ‘fat’. The adjective līvara- is similar.

These words are found in the Later Indo-Aryan, but it would be a mistake to suppose that an argumentum e silentio in the case of Old Indian texts is plausible: the tradition is far too scanty and accidental. Recall beside the tūra- just cited, which belongs with Avestan tūrī, tūrya- and Greek ruōs, the Apatelosme word chāsi ‘cheese’,30 and also the many hapax legomena in the Vedic texts. As an example we can quote the sūkta- of the Atharva-veda 12. 1. 30 rendered hesitatingly by ‘mucus’, which can be shown to be connected with Iranian Sogd. γττκ for older *hazdu-ka-

27. Other words in Walde-Foxkorn, Vergl. Worterbuch, II 468.
29. This comparison I owe to R. L. Turner.
attested also in Zor. Pahl. xašük, xayūk, New Pers. xašū, xayū 'spittle' (to which also must be added Khotan. harṣḍa-).

Here then once again we find the claim of Dravidian origin to be reversible: the nīr of Tamil is either an independent word or possibly taken from Indo-Aryan.31

This is also the place to claim another cognate of nay-: nī- 'beat'. Armenian has an Iranian loan-word, recognisable by its form, in patnēs 'rampart, fortification', patnēs aces 'to fortify'. The word passed also to Georgian as p'at'nez- in the same meanings.

The enlargement by -a- is frequent. Thus we have in Old Indian śroṣ-, bhakṣ-, vakaṣ-, rāṣ-, bhāṣ-, and others in Iranian. From Indo-European vei- 'turn' we have Old Ind. vēṣ- in vēṣā-s 'rope for strangling', and vēṣṭa-s 'rope', with vēṣṭate 'surround'. So here we can expect to have nai-ṣ-, later nēṣ- from nay- 'beat'.

If now we note that in Ossetic Digoron, and Iron nād means 'beaten' and 'road', and that from Mid. Pers. xvaṣtan 'beat' we find pil-xvaṣt 'elephant beaten' for 'road', and New Persian xustah explained as 'fundamentum muri', we may claim that naiš- could yield a word for 'beaten' work either of a trench, a rampart or a foundation. The compound patnēs is then the 'fort' directed against (pati-) and in defence.32

THE INTRUSIVE -R- IN INDO-ARYAN

BY

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Consonants of the t-series in Gujarati are pronounced with the underside of the tip of the tongue, slightly curled, striking against the insides of the alveolar arch. When the contact is made, there is a notable tension of the tongue. (Actually, successful attempts have been made to teach deaf children to pronounce ṭ, by instructing them to keep the tongue in t position but applying a greater amount of force in the contact by the tongue. The resulting ṭ is acceptable to Gujarati listeners and the acoustic effect is non-distinctive from the normal t). If [r] is pronounced with tongue curled far back towards the soft palate, and released with a flap against the insides of the alveolar arch. The contact is made by the underside of the tip of the tongue.

/ɳ/ is the nasal phoneme of this class. The tongue is curled back in a manner similar to [r], and released in the same manner. The contact is also made by the underside of the tip of the tongue. /ɳ/ (like [r]) does not occur initially. There is also an absence of ‘tension’ or ‘force’ (referred to above) in the pronunciation of [r] and /ɳ/.

Thus in [r] and /ɳ/, curling of the tip of the tongue is much more noticeable, the tip being raised towards the soft palate. This feature distinguishes them from the /t/, /ṭ/, /d/, /ḍ/ where the tongue is curled only towards the alveolar arch.

Gujarati /r/ is an alveolar flap. It is pronounced by the tip of the tongue tapped against the teeth-ridge. It consists of one tap.

In modern Gujarati pronunciation, when this /r/ precedes /ɳ/ or [r], it is assimilated in standard colloquial. It is retained in polite speech. Thus:

bəṛni for bərni
ɡəṛni for ɡərni
dɔṛṛi for dɔrṛi
mə̄yə̄ for mə̄rə̄
(example for hə̄rə̄ etc.
(In the dialects of Kathiawar, instead of a -y- glide, we get a lowered centralised vocalic glide).

The phonetic process is clear. The underside of the apex curls earlier for the flap and the tap of the /r/ is lost.

In Gujarati script, however, /r/ in this context is always written, and the pronunciation with /r/ is the acceptable polite form.

Historically, there are some interesting examples in which the /r/ is lost not only in pronunciation, but is not retained even in the script. The only pronunciation—polite or colloquial—of these words is without the /r/.

cə̄niyo—s. m. lower garment—skirt—of women. Sk. karə̄ṇa-, ext. with -ika-.

bhə̄rkə̄—s. n. flour of bajra cooked in water (food of the poor).

cf. Guj. root bhə̄rə̄r—və̄ ‘to pound’, refers to the preparation of the flour.

kə̄ndiyo—s. m. basket of cane or bamboo.

Sk. kə̄randakə̄h > N. kə̄ndi, ku. kə̄ndo, P. kə̄nə, M. karə̄ndə.

və̄ndi—s. f. enclosure;

Sk. varə̄ndə-, cf. Mrchhakaṭika—varə̄ndə-lambuo; ‘hanging from a wall’. This early occurrence of MIA varə̄ndə—precludes the possibility of borrowing from Romance languages. See ND barə̄ndə, Bloch varə̄d of the NIA languages cited, only Gujarati has lost r.

In the last two words, kə̄ndiyo and və̄ndi, the -r- is lost before -nd- instead of -n- or -r-. The intervening stage could have been -nd- > * -nd- > * -r-. The difficulty still remains, because the pronunciation is və̄ndi and not və̄rə̄. (In North Gujarati dialects, however, -r- is permissible, e.g., hə̄rə̄, pə̄rə̄, etc.)

There is another group of words in which -r- is added before -r- or -n-. Sometimes a vowel is inserted to avoid the group -rr- or -rn-; in any case, the spelling shows the -r- and so does the polite speech. Few of these words are pan-Indian. But, a formidable group of words with -r- belongs to northern and western—south western-languages alone.
sānān s.f. whetstone.
  Sk. sānāḥ m, sānā f; Pk sāṇa-.  
In Ku, N. A. B. O. Bl. H. P. M. Sgh., we get either sān or sāṇ.  
In Sindhi we have sīrāṇī f.

korro s.m. whip, lash, esp. with pointed nails or thorns on it.  
ND korrā suggests a connection with sk. koṭayati ‘breaks’.  
Connection with Sanskrit koṭiḥ ‘edge, sharp point’ seems to be  
more probable.  
B. H. Kora, N. P. O. M. korā.

korrō adj. m. rough—mānōs ‘rough man’.
  korrī nējōr ‘sharp—unpleasant—look’.
  cf. Sk. lex. kaḍḍatī ‘is rough’. onom. ? cf. Deśi kuruda, also  
  used in Ap. ‘rough’.
gherōṇī s.n. ornament, jewel.  
Sk. gahanā f. Pk. gahanaya n.  
N. gahanu, ku. gaṇu, B. gahanā, O. gahanā, H. gahnā, (Iw. in  
M. gahanā m.), S. gahanu m. In Surti Gujarati also: genā (Iw.)  
‘ornaments’.

śorṇī s.f. a flute-like musical instrument.  
Iw. Pers. šehnāī  
H. šehnāī.

gherēī s.f. custom, manner, ‘juni’ ‘old custom’.
  cf. Sk. ghaṭāte.

mōrṇavā vb.tr. to bend, twist.  
Sk. mōtanam n. wringing. Pk. mōdēi twists. Of the NIA  
languages, K. W. Pah. B. O. P. L. S. have the derivatives of  
MIA mōd- without -r-. On the other hand Ku. marororno, M.  
murajnē, have added -r-.

kōrṇavā vb. trans. to bite  
  cf. Sk. kṛntati, Pk. kāṭai  
All the NIA languages have the derivatives of the MIA kāṭ-.  
-r- in Gujarati could only be explained if the MIA form is  
*kāṭati > * kāḍai. Extremely doubtful.

ākhrot/ākhroī s.n. walnut.
  Sk. aḵrotaḥ aḵaṭdāḥ m, Pa, akkhoṭa—m, Rom, eur. akhor, arm.  
aṅkhor—nut. Sh. aḵū m. walnut.  
H. P. M. N. (Iw.) akhroṭ, S. akhīroṭu.
kéroṛ num. ten million.

Sk. kòṭhī. Prob. a MIA *krodī is the source of all NIA derivatives, which have kéroṛ.

vētārnū s. n. reed-pencil.

cf. Lalitavistara—vartanaka—

niṣerni s. f. ladder.

Sk. niśrayanī, niśreṇī, f.

Here, the ṭ-r- may not be glidic, but could be a continuation of unassimilated group with ṭ-r- through MIA period, cf āḍḍēṛ (haridṛā).

Of the above examples, some etymologies are doubtful. But one thing is clear: the ṭ-r- which 'intrudes' is caused by the following ṭ-r- and ṭ-r-, the retroflex flaps. It is therefore not 'intrusive' but the result of the following retroflexion—a glide caused by it—.

This ṭ-r- is more common in languages like Gujarati, Sindhi, Marathi. One or two words (like kéroṛ, ṝekhroṭ) have become pan-Indian. Evidently, this process could not belong to -n- dialects (such as Western Hindi), nor could it possibly belong to Eastern dialects (such as the dialects of Bihari, Assamese) where ṭ-r- has largely developed to - reflux-. It might also be interesting to note here that the consonant groups with unassimilated ṭ-r- in MIA period mainly belong to the western group, Sindhi and Gujarati (Ghatage: All India Oriental Conference 1943-44; Bhayani—Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1951).

This process could have started with the development of ṭ-r- and ṭ-r- in MIA period. We learn from the Greek coins of the early centuries of the Christian era that ṭ-r- has developed fairly early:

Larike for lāpta
Saragmonos for Sātakarṇī.
Karupkhullon for katukaphala.

The writers of Prātiśākhyaṣ have noticed various dialectal variations in the pronunciation of ṭ-r- (Whitney—Atharva—Prā. i. 20—28; Allen 'Phonetics in Ancient India, 203., Grierson, 'On Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars; an unfinished study, reprinted from Indian Antiquary 1931-33; § 302). Could it be guessed that this process of 'elision' and 'intrusion' started where the ṭ-r- was more reflex?

The glidic addition of ṭ-r- should not be confused with the hypersanskritisation, a 'striving for distinct utterance', noticed in most of the NIA languages (noticed by MIA grammarians HC iv. 399; Grierson Ibid. 296).
JAYASI AND ALAOL

BY

SATYENDRANATH GHOSHAL, Visva Bharati

It is well known that Malek Mahammad Jayasi wrote his masterpiece Padmāvat which is one of the greatest works in the history of Indian literature sometime about the middle of the sixteenth century. After another hundred years, the great Bengali poet Alaol rendered this Hindi work into Bengali, though this later work is more an adaptation of the earlier one than a verbatim translation. In recent years some very good editions of Jayasi's Padmāvat have been brought out, but it is a matter of regret that not a single of these able editors has cared to look into, or for that matter, refer to the Bengali work while judging the authenticity or otherwise of the stanzas or lines of the Hindi work. It is needless for me to point out that at many places the authenticity or spuriousness of the stanza or stanzas of Jayasi's Padmāvat can with advantage be clinched with the help of Alaol's work which must have been based on some very old and authoritative manuscript of the original work. I am not sure whether any of the manuscripts of Jayasi used by our learned editors is so old as Alaol's work, not to speak of the MS. which served the pattern used by Alaol about three hundred years ago.

The latest edition of Jayasi's Padmāvat seems to be a very able work of Dr. Mataprasad GUPTA¹ and there is little doubt that this edition throws a new light on this great Hindi work, but, though most of his rejections of Jayasi's stanzas have Alaol's support, a few present some difficulty since the Bengali poet has taken notice of these. From SHUKLA's edition² and SHIRER's English translation of Jayasi's Padmāvat,³ runs the erroneous view that Alaol has improved upon the original, in the scene where Parvati and Mahesh appear as a glee-man and a glee-maiden with Hanuman as their attendant and bring about the release of Ratnasena.⁴ The Bengali poet is said⁵ to have done away with all these divine interventions and to have very realistically introduced a human bard who persuaded King Gandharvasena to sober down to the acceptance of Ratnasena as his son-in-law.⁶ The fact

1. J. G. (M. G.)
4. Ibid., ch. 25.
of the matter, however, is that Jayasi too never brought in the divine figures in this scene, and in his work also a human bard does all that is necessary to be done here. All the stanzas containing divine interventions and all that, have been rightly rejected by Dr. Gupta on ground of interpolation and this is only supported by Alaol's rendering and not really improved upon. Thus a good percentage of Alaol's alleged divergences from his source do not appear true, and many of the newer readings of Jayasi are found to possess a cast-iron authenticity as they are supported by Alaol's adaptation and sometimes translation. The importance of Alaol's work will be evident from some of the readings of Jayasi discussed here.

There is absolutely no doubt that in the scene of the wedding of Padmavati and Ratnasena, Alaol has gone wide of the source and has been content with a description of the customs followed in a Bengali Hindu marriage at the cost of the high poetry found in the original. In fact Jayasi has in this scene pursued his own trend of allegory, excelling in rehetoric grandeur and filling the entire atmosphere with a pomp and glory nowhere to be traced in the Bengali work. Alaol in a point of contrast has stuck to the homely pictures of familiar scenes in which poetic grandeur has given way to the melody of soft and simple sound. The two poets' descriptions in this scene continue to diverge till the bride and the bridegroom come to the palace set apart for them by Gandharvasena, the King of Sinhala. In some of the descriptions that follow here in Alaol, we come across one or two interesting features in the readings of Jayasi.

For instance, in Dr. Lakshmi Dhar's recent study of Jayasi's *Padmāvat* the reading of the third line in the 17th verse is as follows:

*Sakhī sahasa dasa sevā pāl.*

[(He) obtained tens of thousands of maids (? ten thousand maids) for service]

The reading of the above line in Shukla's edition is also the same:

*Sakhī sahasadasa sevā pāl.*

[Ten thousand companions were in attendance (on Padmavati)].

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7. J. G. (M. G.), St. 260-274.
10. Ibid., p. 49, v. 17, line 3.
But the reading in Dr Gupta's edition is this:—

Sakhī sahasa duī sevā āī.\textsuperscript{14}

[Two thousand companions (or maids) came for service].

In the lines quoted above, evidently four authors are involved, of whom, three concur and only one differs. Naturally in this age of democracy we are tempted to accept the reading on a vote of majority. But a clue to the solution lies with the Bengali poet where the above line reads thus:—

Sakhī duī sahasra āśila sevā kāje.\textsuperscript{15}

[Two thousand companions (or maids) came for service]. Does it not give us a very strong plea for the choice of the correct reading, if not of the clincher, so to say? Certainly it does.

Illustrations of this type are only too numerous to be quoted here.

Again there are lines in Jāyasi's Pādmāvat, the spuriousness of which, as maintained by Dr. Gupta, seems doubtful on the strength of Alaol's evidence. Thus the 23rd stanza of chapter 34 of Shukla and of Shirreff reads thus:—

"Let not any one suffer severence, but let all meet as these two met. ......God has made separation between body and spirit; if He had not done so, none would recognize Him. It is He who slays and reduces to ashes and effaces; it is He who revives and brings together ...... If God brings a man a friend who will dwell in his mind, and effects a meeting, what profit is there for a human being in good or loss in evil fortune?"\textsuperscript{16} (The sense of the last is this:— "Give a man a true friend, and good fortune will not give him anything better, nor will ill fortune do him any harm").\textsuperscript{17}

Now, this entire stanza has been left out by Gupta from his text on ground of spuriousness. But it occurs in Alaol, slightly condensed, thus:—

"Let there be no severence between a husband and a wife in the three worlds; in case it be (i.e., in case there is severence) let them meet again. God makes separation between body and spirit; if He had not done so, there would be no difference between God and his servant (i.e. man). It is He who slays and reduces to ashes and settles; it is He who revives and brings together. Let God bring a friend of one's heart; (and) good fortune will not profit him nor will ill fortune do him any harm."\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} J. G. (M. G.), St. 288/3.
\textsuperscript{15} P. (Sh.), p. 238; P. (H), p. 137.
\textsuperscript{16} P. (R. A. S. B.), 34/23.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 249, f. n. (x).
\textsuperscript{18} P. (H), p. 190.
This naturally raises a serious doubt about the spuriousness of this stanza in Jayasi, and I, for one, believe that it was in Jayasi’s original.

The second stanza of the fortyseventh chapter of Shukla and of Shirreff also seems difficult to be summarily rejected as Gupta has done, for the following reasons:— (i) The idea of crossing the gates one after another, though very much condensed, occurs in Alaal also; (ii) the mention of Ratan Sena’s imprisonment occurs in this stanza for the first time and seems quite pertinent, otherwise its casual reference in the next stanza is likely to appear irrelevant.

It is thus clear that the spuriousness or the genuineness of some stanzas and of many lines and parts of lines of Jayasi’s Padmavat can on good ground be disputed if we take notice of Alaal’s work of the same name with the seriousness it deserves.

Abbreviations used:

B. S. I. = Bāṅgālā Sāhitya Itihāsa, Dr Sukumar Sen, Ph.D. (Second Edition).
J. G. (M. G.) = Jayasi Granthavali, Dr Mataprasada Gupta, D. Litt., 1952
P. (Sh.) = (Bengali) Padmavatī of Alāol, Part I, Dr Muhammad Sharihullah, D.Litt. (Paris), 1950.

v. = verse.
ABOUT VIŚCAKADRĀKARŚAḥ IN THE NIRUKTA II. 3

BY

M. A. MEHENDALE, POONA.

At the beginning of the second Adhyāya of his Nirukta, Yāska gives certain principles of etymology and then proceeds to illustrate the method that may be adopted in giving the etymologies of the derivative nouns and compound formations. With regard to the former he gives two instances, viz. duṇḍyāḥ and kakṣyāḥ, and with regard to the latter he gives three instances, viz. rájapurūṣaḥ, viśca kadrākāraḥ, and kalyāṇavarmarūpāḥ. In the present paper it is proposed to discuss the second illustration from among those that are cited as compounds.

The passage where this illustration occurs and which contains Yāska's remarks on it, reads as follows—

\[ \text{viśca kadrākāraḥ} / \ \text{viti cakadra iti śvagatau bhāṣyate} / \ \text{drātītī gatikut-sanā} / \ \text{kadrātītī drātikut-sanā} / \ \text{cakadrātītī kadrātītī sato 'narthako 'bhyaśaḥ' /} \\
\text{tad asminn astīti viśca kadraḥ.} / \]

The views so far expressed about the meaning of the expression seem to show that the compound consists of two members, viz., viśca kadra and ākāra. The word viśca kadra occurs only here. According to Durga, the well-known commentator on the Nirukta, it means 'a hunter' (śvājaścaḥ puruṣaḥ). Durga also quotes the opinion held by some others, and according to this view viśca kadra means 'a dog'. ROTH does not offer any explanation of his own; he only gives the two views—one of Durga and the other mentioned by him—referred to above. SARUT translates viśca kadra as 'a despicable dog' and thus follows the opinion referred to by Durga. RAJWADE also does the same and understands under viśca kadra 'hunter's dog (having an extremely bad gait)'. Incidentally it may be mentioned that according to

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1. \text{anye tu bruvate / śvāja viśca kadraḥ /}
ABOUT VIŚCAKADRĀKARŚAHA IN THE NIRUKTA

RAJWADE, Yāśka has cited viścakadra as an instance of a taddhita formation having more than one member viz. dra, kadra, and cakadra. In his later edition of the Nirukta with English Notes on Chapters I-III, RAJWADE renders viścakadraḥ as 'a hound that moves about with the evil purpose of killing deer', but the taddhita form is said to consist of the following two members—kadra or cakadra and viścakadra. Prof. Siddheshwar VARMA, however, follows Durga when he translates viścakadra as 'a person whose livelihood is on dogs.'

From the views cited above it is clear that Durga and Prof. VARMA take viścakadra to mean 'a hunter', the others 'a dog' or 'a hound'. Though the passage in the Nirukta cited above is to all appearances somewhat corrupt, it seems Yāśka himself had this latter meaning (dog) in view when he cited this instance. Yāśka first analyses viścakadra into two elements, viz., vi and cakadra. The latter he derives from the root vṛdrā which, according to him, means a bad gait (gatikutsanā); from this he further gets the base vṛkadrā where the prefix ka is said to show the intensification of the bad gait (drāti-kutsanā); by reduplicating vṛkadrā-, without any special purpose, Yāśka obtains vṛkadrā-. It is from this base that Yāśka derives the word cakadra in the meaning 'a dog's gait' (cakadra iti svagataḥ bhāsyate). The text of the Nirukta as it is available to us today leads us to believe that Yāśka regarded vi as a prefix in the sense of possession (tat asmiṣṭaḥ asatiḥ), viścakadra thus meaning 'one who has the gait of a dog, a dog'. The appearance of the sibilant between vi and cakadra has not been explained by Yāśka.

As regards the interpretation of vi, Durga seems to have made self-contradiction. The first line of the Nirukta passage cited above, Durga interprets to mean that both vi and cakadra are substantives meaning 'svagati'.

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7. When Durga takes viścakadra to mean 'a hunter' he understands svagati quite differently—svabhīḥ sākṣā yo gacchati manuṣyāḥ (the man who moves in the company of the dogs). It is obvious that this interpretation is far fetched.
8. As the word cakadra is not otherwise known it is difficult to say whether Yāśka has used bhāsyate in the sense 'is used, employed in every day speech', or 'is explained'. For the latter meaning, cf. athāpi bhāṣikebhya dhātubhyo naigamāḥ keyto bhāsyante. 'Further, the Vedic primary derivatives are explained from the verbs of the common language'. Nirukta II.2.
9. This is also the way in which vi is understood in the second view cited by Durga. Cf. viśy utbhayaḥ arthayaḥ matvarthah (by vi is to be understood the possession of both the meanings viz. kutsitā gati (shown by vṛdrā) and kutsitakutsitā gati (shown by vṛkadrā). RORI (op. cit., p. 18) has understood utbhayaḥ arthayaḥ wrongly as referring to both the views, viz., the one of Durga and the other cited by him. (In beiden Fällen stehe das vi in possessivem Sinne (matu)).
But in that case Yâska would have used the dual form bhâsyete and not the singular bhâsyate. This difficulty Durga tries to get over by adding sābaddavyam after cakadra iti. A little later, however, he seems to take vi as a prefix in the sense 'different kinds of,' cf. tad asmin dvitayam apy asti kugatitvam kutsatataragatitvam ca nāṇāprakāram iti viścakodraḥ śvājivanaḥ purusāḥ (the person who has both these—the bad gait and the worse gait—of different kinds is a hunter, a man who maintains himself with the help of dogs). Sârû בתוך only follows Durga when he translates the first line of the Nirukta passage as—"The words vi and cakadra are used (to denote) 'gait of a dog.'" Both these scholars have overlooked the fact that if Yâska had regarded vi as a substantive, he would have used its declined form like vir iti and not simply vi iti. Moreover in that case Yâska would have first explained the derivation of vi in the sense of śvagati and then proceeded to the explanation of cakadra.

RAJWADE is therefore right when he puts a full stop after vi iti and understands that Yâska gives only cakadra to mean 'the movement of dogs.' On the basis of the concluding line in Yâska's explanation, RAJWADE takes vi as a taddhita prefix showing possession. He, however, adds, "I learn on authority that vi is not mentioned by Pāṇini as a Tadhita prefix or affix." As regards the presence of the sibilant between vi and cakadra, he observes, "The appearance of ś in viścakadra is covered by no rule of Pāṇini who mentions hariścandra only (Pā. 6.1.153). One may therefore conclude that viścakadra had gone out of use long before Pāṇini's time." Both these difficulties are sought to be covered by the following remarks of Prof. VARMA:—"But viś- as a prefix has been found in Indo-Aryan and a few other Indo-European languages by Walde and Pokorny. They find it in viśâvac-, Lith. višas 'all', Old Slav. viši 'all'. Only further investigation could possibly show whether in viścakadra there is a relic of Indo-Eur. vis-, or it is a Tadhita prefix, independent of Indo-European."

10. Cf. viś cakadra iti sābaddavyam śvagataḥ bhâsyate.
12. Cf. his rule II, 2—atha taddhitasaṃāśeṇa ekaparvasu cānēkaparvasu ca pūrvas pūrvas āparān āparāni praviśhāya nirbriyāt (Sârû's translation—"Now with regard to derivatives and compounds whether of one or more than one member, one should explain their component parts in their respective order, having first divided (the words) into them"), and his method of dealing with the individual words of the other two compounds viz., rējapuruṣaḥ and kalāyavartapaṟūpaḥ in the Nirukta II.3.
Now for *ui "auseinander", WALDE and POKORNY give the following correspondences:

OIA vi “auseinander”; Av. vi- ‘auseinander, getrennt von’ also viš- : viš-pat- ‘weggehen’;

OIA višu- ‘nach verschieden Seiten’ (cf. višuna, višurupa, višu-aṅc- etc.); Av. viśpaḍa ‘ringsum allenthalben’, Lith. višas, old Sl. visi;

OIA višva, Av. viśpa.

These correspondences give us three bases vi < *ui, višu < *višu, *viśuo, and višva < *višyo of which the latter two are extended from the former. The only form pointing to a prefix with a sibilant (viš-) is the Avestan viš-pat- ‘weggehen’. But even if we assume such a prefix *viš- for OIA, it will not possibly help us in completely getting over the difficulty raised by RAJWADE, for it remains still to be demonstrated that this prefix appears as the Taddhita meaning possession. Further, in my opinion, this prefix will not help us to explain the form višcakadra because the ‘Grundbedeutung’ of vi (or vis) is ‘auseinander’ and when prefixed to \√drā it can hardly be made compatible with the meaning ‘dog’.

We may now turn to the explanation which is sought to be suggested in this paper, and which is somewhat different from the one held by Yāska and his interpreters since the days of Durgā. Yāska is perhaps right in seeing in višcakadra, a base cakadra, and the same may be said about his deriving this word from \√drā-. Cakadra in that case would originally probably mean “the quick gait (of any animal or bird)”, though in the days of Yāska it seems to have been restricted to ‘the gait of a dog (śvagati)’. The root \√drā- is no doubt mentioned in the Nighañtu 2. 14 among the roots showing motion (gatikarman); but its use as applied to animals or birds is not attested to in older literature. For instance in the Rgveda and in the Atharvaveda it is primarily used with human beings like enemies (arātayah), and secondarily with abstract notions like sin (tyajas) and thoughts (matayah), (and also with moon (vidhu) ?). It is, however, not improbable that in all such cases where it was used with human beings (like enemies), a comparison with the running away of animals was hinted. Its undisputed application to non-human beings is witnessed only in the word madhu-dra to which the Sanskrit Lexicons assign the meaning ‘running after honey, a bee’.

16. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 2.5.36 (as given by (BÖHRLING-ROTH). The Bombay edn. of the Trikāṇḍa, reads madhuda- in 2.5.35), Medini, p. 185.200 (Calcutta edn. 1872); Medini also gives it the meaning ‘a girl-hunter (kāmuṣa)’. The printed text of this lexicon looks here like madhudraudau ‘lau which is obviously a mistake for madhudra ‘lau.
Now related with √drā- is another root √dru- which is also given in the Nighaṇṭu 2.14 among the words meaning ‘motion’. In the oldest literature it is this verb √dru- which is specially used to signify the quick movement of animals like horses,\textsuperscript{17} of water courses,\textsuperscript{18} as also of human beings. In the epics its use as applied to birds is also attested to.\textsuperscript{19} Even when applied to deities, it very probably refers to the horses which bring the deities in chariots to the sacrificers. That is the reason why a horse is called drāvayatsakha (RV 10. 39. 10) ‘bringing his friend quickly’. Its use with a horse is further illustrated by such adjectives given to a horse as raghu-dru\textsuperscript{20} (RV 5. 6. 2; 8. 1. 9.), mitā-dru (RV 7. 38. 7; 10. 64. 6), dravāt-pāṇi\textsuperscript{21} RV 8. 5. 35, and dravāc-cakra RV 8. 34. 18). In our present context where a word meaning a dog, and as will be seen below perhaps a hunter’s dog, is under consideration it is further worthwhile to note that already in the Brāhmaṇas and the epics the verb √dru-, mostly with abhi, has acquired the meaning ‘to attack some one, to rush down on some one’. cf.

\begin{quote}
tam indro ‘bhīyādudrāva hanisyān, Sat. Br. 1. 6. 3. 16;
abhīyādravanta Gāṅgeyāṁ Yudhiṣṭhirahitepsaya, Mbh. 6. 99. 14;
abhidrātum ivāraṇye svinhena gajayūthapam, Rām. 2. 7. 30;
\end{quote}

Since the verbs √drā- and √dru- are related and since the verb √dru- is more appropriate in expressing the gait of an animal or a bird, it seems permissible to suggest that there once existed a variant viścakadra (< √dru-) for viścakadra (< √drā-). As will be seen below, this possibility is in fact borne out by the word viśvakadra of the later Sanskrit Lexicons.

With these remarks on cakadra (or cakadra), I now turn to the more disputed part of the word, viz. its beginning. In this respect I beg to differ from all early interpreters, including Yāska, for I take viś (analysing viśacakadra as viś + cakadra and not vi + cakadra) as a substantive, meaning ‘a bird’. vi meaning ‘a bird’ is an old word and is attested to since the earliest times. The presence of the sibilant in viśacakadra, however, suggests

\textsuperscript{17} drāvanu naṣṭa kāraṇa upa naḥ “may his (i.e., Indra’s) horses run towards us”. RV 4.16.1, etc.
\textsuperscript{18} tā (= śpeḥ) adravam ārṣīṭenaṣeṣaḥ ‘Released by the son of Reṭṣena, the waters flew on’ RV 10.98.6.
\textsuperscript{19} yathānaṁ praṇavatam pataṅgāṁ samabhīdrutāṁ //
Mbh. 6.46.11,
bhārīktomātrasmārī vyayām Rāvaṇanena karṣanam /
pakṣabhīṁ sa mahātejā duḥkraṇa patageśvarah //
Rām. 3.56.45.
\textsuperscript{20} It is also used as an adj. of a wheel, cf. RV 10.61.16.
\textsuperscript{21} The Aśvinī are given the same epithet in RV 13.1,
that here in this form we notice the preservation of another base vis for which parallels can be found in the other Indo-European languages. Thus—Lat. avis 'a bird' (= Umb. avif); AV. viś 'a bird'; OIA itself has besides vi, vayasa, and from it vāyasa; Lith. višta and Lettish vistha 'men' are suggested to be the r- derivatives from the weakest grade of an es stem to be found in Sanskrit vayasa.

These correspondences enable us to assume a base vis, besides the more common vi, and this assumption will satisfactorily explain the sibilant in the form viścakadra (< vis + cakadra).

viścakadra will then mean, if used as an adjective, 'running very swiftly like a bird', and, if used as a substantive with the restricted meaning of cakadra noted by Yāska, 'a dog having the swift gait of a bird, a very swift dog'. It can be shown that similar expressions involving comparison with a bird or some other upamāna for swiftness like wind or an arrow are not unknown to Sanskrit literature. To begin with vi 'a bird', we find two expressions used as early as the Rgveda, viz. vi-patman (I 180. 2) and vi-pakṣas (I 6. 2). Both are used as adjectives to horses. vi-patman means 'flying like a bird' and is used to describe the great speed of the horse just as viś-cakadra is intended to show the great speed of a dog. GRASSMANN, however, renders vi-patman as 'forteilend', and BÖHTELING-Roth as 'durchfliegend'. GELDNER has seen the correct meaning though he puts a question mark when he translates vi-patman as 'wie der Vogel fliegend (?)'. The correctness of this interpretation is shown by RV 6. 3. 5 where the comparison with a bird is clearly expressed—vēr nā druṣādvā rāghupātmajānāhāk ' (Agni) sitting on woods, who has a speed (or wings) flying quickly like a bird.'

vi-pakṣas has also been variously rendered. GRASSMANN, following Sāyaṇa,24 gives the meaning 'auf beiden Seiten des Wagens gehend'. But as this epithet hardly means anything significant, BÖHTELING-Roth suggest 'die Seiten (des Wagens) vertauschend d.h. eben so wohl rechts als links gehend'. GELDNER translates with a question mark 'auseinanderstrebend (?)'. In my opinion all these scholars have missed the point since they take vi as a prefix and pakṣas to mean 'the side (of the chariot)' as it is an adjective to horse. But for this very reason vi-pakṣas can hardly be separated from vi-patman; as applied to horses it can only be translated as 'those having the wings of a

23. The possibility that cakadra which means 'the dog's gait' may further be taken to mean 'the dog' itself and that viścakadra may be analysed as viś + cakadra to mean 'a dog of the settlement, a domestic dog' (cf. such formations as grāmakukutsa, grāmakōla and grāmasūkara, grāmasūkha, grāmanmṛga) is ruled out by the fact that in Sanskrit Lexicons its variant viśvakadra appears exactly in the opposite sense, viz., a hunter's dog. See page 134.
24. Cf. rathasya dvayaḥ pārēvayor yojitēv ity arthah.
bird, i.e., running as swiftly as a bird'. Similarly the chariot of Aśvinā is described as śyena-patvā 'having the wings of Śyena' (RV 1. 118. 1). Geldner translates this word as 'mit Adlern flieegend' which, as the accent shows, is a little beside the point.

Among other instances where not the bird but the wind25 (or an arrow) stands for great speed we have vāta-pramā 'quicker than wind' which occurs already in the Rgveda 4. 58. 7 as an adjective applied to the streams of gṛta. In the Rgveda 1. 24. 6 where the expression occurs in connection with the flow of waters, it is used not as a compandum, but as a clause—vātasya pramānta dhvām 'those who beat down or surpass the power of the wind'. The same word appears as a substantive in Sanskrit Lexicons in the meanings of 'a kind of antelope' or 'a horse'.26 Similarly in the RV 5. 33. 9 we get mārūtasva as a patronymic from marūtaśva which is probably to be explained as 'one whose horses are quick like wind.'27 In the epics28 Vātavya grah appears as the name of Garuḍa and Sarvyaga 'swift as an arrow' occurs as the name of a horse in the Kathāsaritsāgara.29 Laghupatanaka is the name of the crow in the well-known story from the Pāñcatantra30 and the Hitopadeśa.31

Thus viścakadra originally perhaps an epiphanying the great speed of an animal came to be used as a substantive to mean 'a very swift dog', and from this 'a hunter's dog' that was expected to run with great speed. That this, and not 'a hunter', is the meaning of viścakadra is shown by the fact that viśvakadra meaning 'a dog expert in hunting' is recorded by many of the important Sanskrit lexicons.32 That there is some relation between viścakadra of the Nirukta and viśvakadra of the Lexicons has been already felt by Böhtlingk-Rötti; and to the question put by Rajwade33—"may not viśvakadra be a corruption of viścakadra?" the reply may be given in the affirmative. As regards the end syllable -dra: -dru, I have already shown above that there is a possibility of there having existed a form like viścakadra (≪ √ dru) besides viścakadra (≪ √ drā) and the actually recorded viśvaka-

25. Cf. na vai vātāt kriyacandraśita / Sat. Br. 5.1.4.8; vāgur vai devānām śāśishah / Sat. Br. 13.1.2.7; also cf. 8.4.1.9.
26. Cf. vātāpamār vātāmpah, Amara, 2.5.7; Hemacandra, 1295; also cf. Vaijayantī 66.16; Vaij. 268.38 gives the additional meaning 'horse':—havya vāta-pramā nyagre.
27. Cf. Sāyana—marutasadṛśavegavānarā marutāśvah /
28. Mbh. 5.3595.
29. KSS. 39.170.
30. J. Hartz's edn. 126, line 12. HOS 11.
31. P. Persson's edn. 6, line 7. BSS 33.
32. Cf. śvā viśvakadraya nyagakusalah, Amara, 2.10.23; also cf. Hemacandra 1281, Vaijayantī 139.39; Tikāndasaṃsa 3.3.73; Viśva quoted in the commentary on Tikānda; and Medini 195.296. Kṛṣṇāśvamin in his commentary on Amara explains viśvakadra as viśvān khandayat śhoyate viśvakadraḥ, viṣṭanto śvakaṇānam asety eva, viśvakaṇī dravati vah.
drū of the Lexicographers lends support to this view. viśvakadru therefore seems to have come from *viścakadru. About the confusion between śc and śv we need not wonder, as the writing of śc and śv in Devanāgarī was likely to be confused.34 In fact in the Nirukta itself four editions to my knowledge show the reading viśvakadrākarsa for viścakadrākarsa. These editions are—the Bibl. Ind. edn. by SAMASRAMI, Calcutta, 1882-86, the Nirnayasāgara edn. by Pandit Mukund JHA BAKEH, Bombay, 1930, the Hindi Nirukta by Pandit Sitaram SASTRI, and the Nirukta edited by Manasukharaya MORA, Calcutta, 1952.

Having thus seen that viścakadra means 'a very swift dog, a hunter's dog', we may now turn to the full citation, viz. viścakadrākarsaḥ. According to Durga it means 'some official who punishes a hunter'.35 According to the other view quoted by Durga, the expression means 'a person (perhaps a hunter) who drags a dog'.36 SARUP and SKÖLD translate the expression by 'one

34. Similar confusion between śc and śv is found with regard to the word gośthaśva (Hemacandra 477) which appears as gośthaśva in the Trīkāndasēsa, (Bombay edn.) 3:1.5. That the two are identical is shown by their descriptions. Cf. svasthānahasthaḥ paraśeṣṭi (Hem.) and svasthānahasthaḥ purāna śveṣti (Trīk). In this case, of course, the correct reading is with śv and not śc.

In our instance the mistake may have occurred also because the word has something to do with dog, and the common word for dog is śvam. This is shown by the following explanation of viśvakadra by Pandit Mukund JHA BAKEH (p. 66), śavabhisah kaddṛa śvakadṛaḥ vividhāḥ śvakadṛaḥ yasya sa viśvakaddraḥ svajīvanah puruṣah / yod cā śvīva viśvakaddraḥ / śavam hi kaddṛa śvakaddṛaḥ vividhāḥ śvakadṛaḥ yasyey evam / yuvadvīdham Śunam kustiṣṭarvā gatayaḥ tāḥ sarvā apy aṣṇa santī bhuvati śvaiva viśvakaddraḥ /

35. Cf. viścakadraḥ svajīvanah puruṣah / tam aparādhe kasmīnaś cid vartamaṇam anyo ya dkaṛṣṭa sa viścakadrākarsaḥ. This and the other view referred to by Durga are also adopted by Pandit Mukund JHA BAKEH (Nirnayasāgara edn., p. 66).

36. The hunters are often referred to as svacṣeta, svacṣeta, or svacṣṣīthika 'one moving with a group of dogs'. Manusmṛti 4.216, while mentioning the persons at whose place a Brahmans is forbidden to take food, refers to hunters as śvavat. Kullikā explains the word as 'ākhetakāriham śunah poṣakādām', and BÜHLER translates it as 'trainers of hunting dogs'. Yājñavalkya 1.163 refers to these persons by the term śvavittinaḥ (esām annam na bhotāvānu). The commentator explains śvavittin as svavak śvaval lubāhako vā. But it would be more proper to explain the word as 'a hunter, who obtains his maintenance from dogs'. Cf. the use of the expression svajīvanah puruṣah by Durga in f. n. 1 above and 'śunah kaṛṣṭaḥ vṛttyarthē' in Mbh. 13.4580, quoted on page 139. In the Vāj. Sām. 16.27 (also cf. 30.7) salutations to Rudra in different forms are enumerated, and among these the hunters are referred to as śvanin. There we read—namah śvāniḥ bhūyam mṛgyahubhyah ca yo namah. In the Vāj. Sām. 16.28 they seem to be referred to as śvapati 'lords of dogs'. Cf. namah śavabhiḥ śvapatiḥbhyaḥ ca yo namo. Probably the hunter is intended when in the Bhāg. Pur. 9.21.9 it is said that an atithi, surrounded by dogs and later called śvapati, approached Rantideva to beg food. In the Harivīnāśa 14665, Piṣaśa Ghanṭākarna practising hunting with a troop of dogs is styled śvapati.

37. anye tu brvata śvāva viścakadraḥ / ... tam kaṛṣṭi yaḥ puruṣah sa viścakadrākarsaḥ /
who drags about like a despicable dog.\textsuperscript{38} RAJWADE does not explain the whole expression, as in his opinion the original reading in the Nirukta was probably viścakadraḥ and not viścakadrākarṣaḥ. The reason given by him for this assumption is that in the present text of the Nirukta we have Yāska's explanation only of the former and not of the latter.\textsuperscript{39} BÖHTLINGK-ROTH and MONTER-WILLIAMS only repeat what Durga has said about the expression, 'Hundezüchtiger oder Züchtiger eines Hundehalters' or 'the chastiser of a dog-keeper or of a dog.' Prof. VARMA translates the expression as explained by Durga, 'a person who punishes one whose livelihood is on dogs.'\textsuperscript{40} As Prof. VARMA does not refer to the other view mentioned by Durga, he apparently supports the view of Durga.

But it seems that not Durga's view, but the one cited by him (viz., viścakadrāmaḥ =  śvānam ākārsati iti) is supported by the following references from the Mahābhārata. There in the Anuśaṇaparvā (13. 4415 ff.) Bhīṣma narrates an old story (itiḥāsaṁ purāṇaṁ) to Yuddhiṣṭhira about King Vṛṣa-
darbi and the seven sages viz., Kaśyapa, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, and Jamadagni. These sages were once caught in a period of severe draught, and during their wanderings, they were once able to collect a heap of lotus-stalks from a lake. But before they could eat them, the stalks had disappeared. The sages suspected one another of theft, and in order to prove their innocence they proceeded to take oaths in turn. When his turn came Vasiṣṭha declared:

\begin{quote}
ānadhīyaṁ paśuṁ loke  śunāḥ sa parikarṣatū /\textsuperscript{41}
parivṛttā kāmavṛttas tu bisastainyaṁ karoti yā /\textsuperscript{42}
\end{quote}

Thus in the first line a Brāhmaṇa, not doing his studies, but dragging dogs behind him, while sporting or hunting with them, is referred to. Brāhmaṇas who indulged in sporting with dogs were not unknown to Manu. He calls them śvakṛiḍi\textsuperscript{43} and mentions them among those who are disqualified for śrāddha ceremonies. In the Bhāg. Purāṇa also we are told that those Brāhmaṇas who keep dogs and asses and practise hunting are themselves after death pierced by the arrows of Yama's men. \textit{cf. ye tu iha vai śvagardabhāpataya brāhmaṇādāya myagavāhīhārā aṁrithe ca mṛgān nigraṁtaṁ tān api samparetvā laksyabhūtaṁ yamapurūṣā īṣubhir vṛddhanty.\textsuperscript{44}}

\textsuperscript{38} Sarve's Eng. Tr. of the Nirukta, p. 23; H. Skočd, The Nirukta, its place in old Indian Literature and etymologies, p. 325. (Lund. 1926).
\textsuperscript{39} Nirukta's Marathi Translation, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{40} Op. cit., p. 144.
\textsuperscript{41} The correspondence between  śunāḥ parikarṣatū in this verse and viścakadrāmaḥ (=  śvānam) ākārsati in the interpretation referred to by Durga is worth noting.
\textsuperscript{42} Mbh. 13.4515.
\textsuperscript{43} Manu. 3.164. Kullūka explains śvakrīḍī as kriyārtham śunāḥ poṣayati.
\textsuperscript{44} Bhāg. Pur. 5.26.24.
But if the person referred to in the first line of the above Mbh. verse is identical with the parivrātī of the second line, then the activity of being in the company of dogs will apply also to a wandering mendicant and not merely to a Brāhmaṇa. In this very story from the Mahābhārata we are told that in order to protect the seven sages from the Yātudhānī created by King Vṛṣādarbha, Indra had joined them in the form of a wandering mendicant who was accompanied by a dog. (cf. parivrājantaiḥ sthūlāṁgaṁ parivrājantī suṇā saha). The name of this mendicant appears in the story as Śunāḥsakha.

After the present story is completed, Bhimā narrates to Yudhīṣṭhira another similar incident which had occurred in the bygone days. At that time many sages who were on a fīrthayātrā were required to take oaths to prove their innocence. On that occasion Vasiṣṭha declared:

\[
\text{asvādhyāyaparop loke śvānaṁ ca parikārṣatu} / \\
\text{pure ca bhikṣuṁ bhavatu yas te harati puṣkaram} //
\]

The close similarity between the oath taken by Vasiṣṭha on this occasion and the one ascribed to him in the story referred to above will be easily seen. Here in the second line we have bhikṣuṁ in the place of parivrāt, and the use of ca in the second line shows the identity of the bhikṣu with the person referred to in the first line. The expression pure ... bhavatu seems to explain kāmaṇyāttaḥ of the first oath as pointing to the mendicant’s neglecting his duties with regard to the residence.  

45. The use of the prefix pari in parikārṣatū seems to point to such an identity with the parivrāt. 
46. Mbh. 13.4459, 4468, 4503, etc. 
47. Mbh. 13.4563. 
48. In the Mbh. 13.4574 is referred to a similar mendicant staying in a house (atithir gṛhasanastha 'stu'). Manu (6.43) expressly states that a mendicant should not dwell in a house and should go to a village only to beg alms. Cf. anagnir ankeṭaḥ syād gṛaram annurtham ārayet/. Also cf. Yājña. 3.57 (bhikṣārtham gṛaram ārayet); Viṣṇu. 96.2 (bhikṣārtham gṛaram ipāt), 12 (na gṛame dvīśyāṁ rātrim āvaset).

But the commentator Aparārka on Yājñavalkya (3.57) observes that the rule of not staying in a village applies only to the two kinds of mendicants known as Hanśa and Paramahānīsā. For the other two kinds of mendicants, viz., Kuṭīcara and Bāhūdaka, staying in a village is permissible. In support, he also cites a passage from Prajāpatī. Cf. bhikṣārtham eva gṛaram ārayet pravīket / na nīvasādyartham / tato gṛāmād anyatram nivaset / ayai ca hanśaparamahānīsāvar vidyāḥ / kuṭīcarabahūdakayos tu gṛāme ’py āvasthānam asti / tathā ca Prajāpatī—"tatra parivrājālā nāma caturvidhā bhavanti tatra (te ca) kuṭīcaro bahūdako hanśaḥ paramahānīsā ceti/ kuṭīcaro nāma svaghrhe vartamāno vigatakālaś ca śūnāṁ su bhikṣāḥ bhūṣānaḥ vacapagatānākrodhalo- bhavohābhāhākāras yaḥ ātmānugrahaṁ kurute sa kuṭīcaro nāma/……." In the Mbh. 13.6478, however, where these four kinds of mendicants are enumerated kuṭīcara appears as kuṭicācā. cf.

- caturvidhā bhikṣavas te kuṭīcākaḥbahūdakās/
- hanśaḥ paramahānīsā ca yo yah paścāt sa uttamaḥ/

 Apparently the same stanza, but with the reading kuṭīcara, has been quoted by Kullākā
Similar expression is also used by Arigirasa and Parvata in their respective oaths as follows:

Aṅgirasa-aśūcīr brahmakāṭaḥ⁴⁹ 'stu śvānaṁ ca parikāraṁ / brahmahāniṣṭīṁ⁵⁰ cāstu yas te hāraṁ puṣkaram /''²¹

while commenting on the word vedasāṅghaḥṣaṅkha occurring in Manu. 6.86 which he explains as a special category of the mendicants called kuṭicara. cf. bhaṣe catutrdha bhiṣṭaḥ catutrdha bhiṣṭas tu suyā kuṭicara-bahūdakau. Kuṭicara, as a mendicant, is also found in the Arṇyupanisāt (section 2) and in the Āṣramopanisāt (section 4). Böehm-Roths appear to distinguish this word from kuṭicaka and give it the meaning—(kuṭi + caru) 'a best. Art von Asken, die von Hütte zu Hütte wetten gehen'.

Kuṭicaka, however, is not restricted to the Mahābhārata. It is found once again in the Bhāg. Pur. 3.12.43. cf. niyāse kuṭicakam pūrvaṁ bahudu hanīsanīśāya. Among the Sanskrit lexicons, Trikāṇḍa, 3.11 gives putrāṇāda and kuṭicaka as synonyms. In these two names, the former seems to show that this kind of mendicant was looked after by his son for his maintenance. The commentator, who also notes the variants kuṭicaka and kuṭicara, explains the word as kuṭaṁ kṣataṁ vā caṅkata tṛpyati. Böehm-Roths seem to follow this commentator when they explain the formation as follows—'Das wort zerlegt sich in kuṭi + caṅka (von caṅk; vgl. caṅka) der noch einer Hütte Gefallen findet'. Monier-Williams almost does the same thing when he gives the meaning, 'delight in staying in the house' (kuṭi 'house'), 'a kind of religious mendicant (who lives at his son's expense)'. The same meaning is ascribed to kuṭicara by Kullukā. cf. his commentary on Manu. 6.86 who refers for this meaning to Manu. 8.95: suṁyāṣaya sarvajānāṁ karmāṇi karmadāraṁ apāṇudāṁ/ niyāto vedam abhyāṣyam putrāṇāya sukṣham vaset/

In Ind. St. 2. p. 170, we find the following foot note on kuṭicara: "an ascetic of a particular order, one who consigns the care of his family to his son and remains at home engaged solely in devotion: Wilson s.v." In the Āṣramopanisāt (section 4), these ascetics are described as begging alms at the houses of their sons. cf. śatra kuṭicaraḥ svaputra-gṛheṣu bhuṣaṁścarṣerāṁ caṁcaṁ ṣāṁsāṁ prārthaṁ. Burnout, however, while translating the last passage from the Bhāg. Pur. 3.12.43), renders kuṭicaka as "ceux qui ont tout abandonné, tiennent encore aux devoirs de leur ordre."

If a mendicant could also be seen moving in the company of dogs, as is seen in some of the passages cited from the Mahābhārata above, one is tempted to analyse viṣaḥcaṇḍa as viṣaḥcaṇḍa 'a dog moving with viṣaḥcaṇḍa', and understand *viṣaḥcaṇḍa, which is not recorded in literature, as a kind of mendicant like kuṭicaka. *viṣaḥcaṇḍa would mean 'one who likes to dwell in a settlement or a house', perhaps said sarcastically of a monk who does not observe the rules of residence and still lives in a house or in a town. (cf. pūrṇa ca bhaṣuḥ bhaeṣau cited from the Mbh. 13.4563 above). But this explanation is not possible because kuṭicaka itself, on the basis of which *viṣaḥcaṇḍa is presupposed, is rendered doubtful by the variant kuṭicara. Moreover this explanation presupposes that Yāsaka probably did not know a base like viṣaḥcaṇḍa applied to a kind of mendicants. On the other hand Yāsaka clearly gives the base caṇḍa used in his days in the sense of 'a dog's guilt'.

⁴⁹ Monier-Williams gives for brahmakāṭa the meaning 'a thoroughly learned Brāhman' which is hardly applicable here.

⁵⁰ The printed text reads brahmahā niṣṭīś which is obviously a mistake.

⁵¹ Mbh. 13. 4566.
ABOUT VIŚCAKADRĀKARṢĀH IN THE NIRUKTA

Parvata—grāme caḥḍikṛtaḥ so 'stu kharayānena gacchatu / śunāḥ karṣṣātu vṛttrarth āya te harati puṣkarām. /\(^{52}\)

A different explanation of viścakadrākarṣa is perhaps possible. Sarup has already felt that in this compound a comparison is intended between viścakadra and ākarṣa, cf. his trans. 'one who drags about like a despicable dog' given above. However, he does not seem to have rendered the comparison well, as ākarṣa can hardly mean 'one who drags about'. If, on the other hand, we are right in interpreting viścakadra as a dog, we may not separate the expression viścakadrākarṣāh from ākarṣāsvaḥ which is given as an illustration in the Kāśikā and the later grammatical treatises while commenting on Pāṇini's sūtra 5. 4. 97—'upamānād aprāṇīṣu'. The sūtra teaches the use of the suffix a (jac) after śvan 'a dog' when this word comes at the end of a tatpurṣa compound and is employed as upamāna for an inanimate object. The one instance given to illustrate the rule is ākarṣāsvaḥ which is explained as ākarṣaḥ śvēva. The context clearly shows that here comparison is intended between ākarṣa and śvan, but it is still to be seen how this comparison can be understood. That will naturally depend on the meaning of ākarṣāḥ in the present context. Neither Böhtlingk-Roth nor Monier-Williams is here helpful because they do not assign any meaning to ākarṣāsvaḥ. The word ākarṣa is explained by the author of the Bālanomanārā commentary (p. 539) as some wooden instrument (having five points like the fingers of a hand) used for the drawing of corn from granary.\(^{52}\) Though this and the other commentaries do not further explain the comparison contained in ākarṣāsvaḥ, it seems that according to the commentators here the action of drawing out the corn with the wooden instrument is compared with the digging of the ground done by a dog with its paw.

This meaning of ākarṣāsvaḥ appears satisfactory. However it may be pointed out that in the above compound ākarṣa is compared to a dog\(^{53a}\) and not

\(^{52}\) Mbh. 13. 4580. A Brāhmaṇa is not expected to go in a uṣṭrayāna or a kharayāna. cf. Manu 11.302; Yājñ. 3.391; Visnu. 54.23.

\(^{53}\) āksrayate kusālādīgatadhānyam anenety ākaraḥ/ paścāṅgulo dārvaṇīṣaḥ/ Śabdārthacintāmāni explains it similarly—ākaraḥ kāṣṭhaviṣeṣe/ āksraye 'nena khaladi- gataḥ dānyam ity ākaraḥ/ This is also adopted by the Taitvabodhīnī commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudi. In the Sanskrit Lexicon ākaraṇa (-ni) is given to mean a crooked stick for pulling down fruits etc. cf. the Śabdakalpadruma as cited in the Śabdārthacintāmāni. (phalaṃpaḍādākaraṇa-ıyastikādīvīṣeṣaḥ/).

\(^{53a}\) S. C. Vasu, Eng. Tr. of the Siddhāntakaumudi, p. 466 and recently Renou, Le Grammaire de Pāṇini (Paris, 1951), II. p. 123: therefore seem to translate the compound as 'a dog-like bow' and 'are en forme de chien' respectively. But it is difficult to understand this comparison. Kumudaranjan Ray in his edn. of the Siddhāntakaumudi with Eng. Tr. II. 124 renders the compound as 'an wooden ākara resembling a dog' and explains ākara in his Sanskrit commentary as 'paścāṅgulo dāvyādākaraṇaḥ kāṣṭhaviṣeṣa ākaraḥ, yena ātāpe śoṣanādhinaḥ dāṃyādākām prāṇāne āksraye viśāpyate ātāpaṭyaya ca.
to its paw. It would therefore be more natural to take ḍkarṣaḥ as an agent noun referring to the person who does an action comparable to that of a dog and it is possible to imagine one who draws lines on the ground with his foot like a dog. The commentators were forced to interpret ḍkarṣa as a wooden instrument because the word has occurred in an instance which exemplifies Pāṇini’s sūtra which teaches the use of affix -a after śvan when an inanimate object (aprāṇiṣu) is compared with it. But in the case of viścakadṛākarsaḥ, the word ‘śvan’ for dog is not used. Hence in this case we are free to interpret ḍkarṣa as an agent noun and understand the comparison as between a man and a dog drawing lines on the ground (viścakadra ṭvākarsaḥ).

The verb √karṣ in the sense ‘draw lines on the ground (with spha)’ is used in the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 5. 1. 4. Read—sphaṇāhavanīyāt pāṃśun upahatyottarasyā vedaekṣiṇād antāt karsanān iyād āvedi / The Brahman priest is here enjoined to draw a line (karsan) from the southern end of the Uttarā Vedi up to the Āvedi. This act of drawing line with spha is often expressed with the verb √likh-, with or without some prefixes. Thus we read in the Taittiriya Samhitā 5. 1. 3. 4.—parilikhati rakṣasām apakatyai / tisṛbhīḥ parilikhati triyād vā agnir yāvān evāṅgis tasmād rakṣāṁsy apahanti / This refers to the drawing of the three lines by the Adhvaryu priest round the fire to ward off demons. Similarly at the commencement of the Agnāyadhāna, the Adhvaryu draws lines on the ground in order to remove that part of earth which is trodden or spit upon. With regard to this it is said in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (2. 1. 1. 2)—athollikhati / tad yad evāṣyai prthivyā abhiṣhitam vā abhiṣhyutam vā tad evāṣyā etad uddhanti . . . . tasmād vā ullikhati /

This interchange between √karṣ- and √likh- is observed also in later literature. In the Harivāma (5778) the river Yamunā dragged by Balarāma is said to be lāṅgalollikhītā. Otherwise the use of √karṣ with lāṅgala is fairly common. Cf. tasya lāṅgalahastasya karsanto yajñamandaḥ (Rām. 3.4.12), karsanto lāṅgalaiḥ (Mbh. 3.13825), etc. With the base √kṛṣ-, we have in the Rgveda ṣunām naḥ phālā vi kṛṣantu bhūmim (4. 57. 8; also cf. sakṣīpyate (sic) saḥ/ This is similar to the meaning given by other Sanskrit commentators referred to above. The author, however, here understands the comparison with the dog and not with its paw as suggested above.

54. The commentator, on the above passage from the Lāṭyāyana, says—kṛṣṇa viśekhane/
55. For drawing lines on the ground with the horn of a black antelope, cf. Kāty. Sr. S. (Acyuta Granthamalā, No. 4, Kashi) 7.8.3—bhūmau collīkhati—commentator— śrīgnea bhūmau rekham kuryāḥ; also cf. 7.6.17; Āp. Sr. S. (Gane, Calcutta, 1882) 1.8.8, 25.14; 7.3.14; Sat. Br. 3.3.15.8; 3.6.1.3, etc. 56. Also cf. Ind. Spr. 331—sauvarṣair lāṅgalairvāli collīkhati vasūdhāṁ arka-mūlasya hetoh.
10. 117. 7). Derivatives from both \( \sqrt{kars} \) and \( \sqrt{likh} \) are found side by side in the following verse from the Kathásaritsāgara (33. 31)—

\[
yāvad vṛajāmī tāvac ca lāṅgalollīkhitāvanīm /
gāyantarā kañcid adrākṣamī kārṣikām kṣetramadhyagam //
\]

With regard to the action of digging the ground with the toes by the human beings, the same verb \( \sqrt{likh} \) is often used. It appears that this activity was regarded as a śṛṅgāraceśā, and the circumstances in which the persons are described as involved in drawing lines on the ground fully justify this supposition. Thus in the description of the princes gathered for the svayamvara of Indumati, we read\(^{57}\)

\[
ākūncitāṅgulīnā tato 'nyah kiṁcitsamāvarjitanetrasobhah /
tiryagvisānāsarpinakhaprabhena pādenahaimaṁ vilileka piṭhami\(^{58}\) //
\]

Similarly while describing the śīṅgāti of a nāyikā, it is said in the Sāhityadarpana\(^{59}\)—āṅguśthāgreṇa likhati sakaṭākṣamī nirikṣate / daśati svādharam cāpi brūte priyam adhomukhī //

The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (3. 23. 50) describes Devahūti, when Maitreya was about to leave her, as follows:-

\[
likhanty adhomukhī bhūmiṁ padā nakhanamaṇiśriyā /
uvāca lalitaṁ vācaṁ nirudhyāśrulāṁ śanāṁ //
\]

Description of the cowherdesses who had come to sport with Kṛṣṇa, on hearing his advice to return to their respective homes, runs as follows:-

\[
ketvā mukkhṛṇa aha śucāḥ śvasanena śuṣyad- 
bimbādharāṁ caraṇena bhuvam likhantyāḥ / Bhāgavata Purāṇa 10. 29. 29.
\]

The Amaruśataka\(^{60}\) at one place describes the lover who is waiting for his beloved to give up her pride as—likhamā āste bhūmiṁ bahīr avanataḥ

57. Raghuvanāśa 6.15.
58. Here of course the lines are drawn not on the ground but on the footstool of gold. It appears that this act of drawing lines on the ground with toes came to be regarded as a bad behaviour and hence Manu forbids a Brāhmaṇa from doing it—na ca eva pralikhed bhūmiṁ, 4.55; also cf. Visnu 71.41 (Joll—Institutes of Visṇu) na bhuvam ālikhet; Suśruta 2.144.21 (Calcutta edn.) na bhūmiṁ viśiṣṭāh. In a stanza contained in the Indische Sprüche (4462) this act of kṣitākṣakalikhana is mentioned among those which indicate loss of wealth. That is the reason why Mallinātha while commenting on the above stanza from the Raghunāśa observes—bhūmīvikshakaro 'yam upalakṣaṇaka śīndumātyāyasah/ bhūmīvikshakanam tu lakṣmīvināśahetah/.
60. Versa 7, Bombay, 1889 (Kāvyamālā 18).
prāṇaḍayito. At another place the same work\textsuperscript{61} describes the beloved, when the lover was about to go on journey, with the following words:—

\begin{quote}
mama paṭam avalambya prolīkhanī dharitrīṁ /  
yād aṇu kṛtavati sā tatra vāco nivṛttāṁ / 
\end{quote}

This gesture not only indicated śṛṣṭāra, but also showed arrogance on the part of the person doing it. This is evident from the actions of Duryodhana in the presence of the sage Maitreya who was advising him to keep good relations with the Pāṇḍavas—

\begin{quote}
evāṁ tu bruvatas tasya Maitreyasya viśāṁ pate /  
ūruṁ gajakarākāraṁ kareṇābhijaghaṁ saṁ /  
Duryodhanāḥ smitāṁ kṛtvā carāṇālikhan mahīṁ /  
......  
......  
tam aśūrāšamāṇam tu vilīkhanam vasundharām /  
ḍṛṣṭāva Duryodhanam rājan Maitreyāṁ kopa āviśat /  
\end{quote}

Mbh. 3.11.28 ff.

The same action, however, indicates only dejection of mind in the following description of Bharata when he informs Vasiṣṭha that he would not accept the kingdom of Ayodhya—

\begin{quote}
tam avākṣirasāṁ bhūmiṁ carāṇāgreṇa Rāghavaṁ /  
vilīkhanam uvācārtaṁ Vasiṣṭho bhagavāṁ rśiḥ /  
\end{quote}

Rāmāyaṇa 2.80.15.

The same verb is also used when some animals are described as engaged in doing a similar action, e.g.

(1) Śiva's bull on the mountain Himālaya is described as:—

tuṣārasaṅghaṭaśilāḥ khuraḍraḥ  
samullikhan darpakah kakudmāṁ / Kumāra. 1. 56.

(2) The pupil of Kaṇva while describing the early morning makes a reference to the deer with the following words—

vediapraṇāt khuravilīkhāt... /  
Śākuntala 4, first interpolated verse after 3.

(3) About the boar seen by Arjuna it is said—

nighnana prothena prthivīṁ vilīkhāṁ caranār api /  

Mbh. 3.163.18.

(4) The Varāha Brhatsaṁhitā (28.5) includes the following among the signs of imminent rain:—

mārjārā bhṛṣām avaniṁ nakhār likhanto  

.....  
samprāptaṁ jalam acirāṁ nivedāyanī / / 

It will thus be seen that the action of drawing lines on the ground with a foot by men and animals is expressed by the verb vṛ̥likh. A similar use of \textsuperscript{61} Op. cit., verse 103.
\( \sqrt{\text{kars}} \) could not be traced by me. I have, however, shown above that an interchange between these two verbs has been attested to since early times. If on the basis of that evidence we are permitted to derive \( \dot{\text{akarsa}} \) from \( \sqrt{\text{kars}} = \sqrt{\text{likh}} \) (note the use of \( \dot{\text{a}} \text{v} \sqrt{\text{likh}} \) above) in the sense of ‘drawing lines on the ground’, then the substantive could be taken as an agent noun\(^{62}\) referring to the person involved in such action. The compound expression \( \text{visacakadra\karsa} \) involving comparison, thus comes to mean ‘a person scratching the ground with his foot as a dog with its paw.’ It is well-known that a dog is often used as an upamāna for a beggar\(^{63}\) and a servant.\(^{64}\) Comparison with a dog in the sense of 'a dog in the manger' is also familiar. If the present interpretation of \( \text{visacakadra\karsa} \) is correct then it would point to one more activity on the basis of which a man could be compared to a dog. At the moment, however, this suggestion may be taken for what it is worth for want of sufficient support.

One more thing of grammatical interest still remains to be noted. In \( \dot{\text{akarsa}}\text{sva} \) we have the upamāna \( \text{sva} \) as the second member of the compound (\( \dot{\text{akarsa}} \text{sva vca} \)), and this is the normal order of words in compounds where the common property between the upamāna and the upameya is not stated.\(^{65}\) But in \( \text{visacakadra\karsa} \) the upamāna happens to be the first member of a compound (\( \text{visacakadra\karsa} \text{sva vca} \)). Now compounds of this type with the reversed order of the upamāna and the upameya are not altogether unknown to Sanskrit literature, and the commentator cites the instance \( \text{phalakasaktham} \) on Pāṇini 5.4.98.\(^{66}\) Here the upamāna stands as the first member in a compound (\( \text{phalakam vca sakthi} \)), thus showing the reversed order. The commentary Tattvasabodhinī on the Siddhāntakaumudi (p. 179 Nirṇayaśāgara edn., Bombay) cites the view of Mādhava\(^{67}\) who, taking a clue from \( \text{phalakasaktham} \), would form such compounds with upamāna as the first member in a general way. In fact Vopadeva\(^{68}\) explains even \( \dot{\text{akarsa}}\text{sva} \) as a compound with upamāna as the first member (\( \dot{\text{akarsa}} \text{sva vca} \)) and following him Böltlingk\(^{69}\) translates Pāṇini's Sūtra 5.4.97 (\( \text{upamānād apraniṣu} \) cited above as "Auch nach einem Worte, mit dem \( \text{svan} \) verglichen wird, wenn jenes kein lebendes Wesen bezeichnet." He also explains \( \dot{\text{akarsa}}\text{sva} = \dot{\text{akarsa}} \text{sva vca} \).

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\(^{62}\) The \( \text{kṛt} \) suffix—\( -\text{a} (-\text{a}) \) signifying the agent is taught by Pāṇini after the verbs \( \text{pacādi} \) (3.1.134) which is an \( \dot{\text{akṛtigāna}} \); also cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1148-1c (p. 423).

\(^{63}\) Cf. \( \text{srāṃpya} \) \( \text{ātmodarārtha katham akhah aśrā na same yācakaḥ syāt/} \) Subbāśitaratnabhaṅgāgāra 74.78.

\(^{64}\) Cf. the illustration atīvi sevā on Pāṇi, 5.4.96. It is explained as \( \text{svānām atikṛṇātā / svāpekaśyād atiśicād/} \).

\(^{65}\) Pāṇini 2.1.56.

\(^{66}\) \( \text{uttaramāyapūrvic ca sakthnāh/} \) (comm. cakarād upamānāc ca).

\(^{67}\) \( \text{ata eva jātapākād evamānāya ca upamānāya samāsā iti Mādhavāh/} \)

\(^{68}\) Mugdhabodha 6.42 (p. 58), ed. O. Böltlingk. (St. Petersburg, 1847).

\(^{69}\) Pāṇini's Grammatik, p. 276. (Leipzig, 1887).
A PASSAGE FROM HARIBHADRA'S SAMARĀDITYAKATHĀ

BY

A. M. GHATAGE, DHARWAR

Among the numerous works in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, the Samarādityakathā of Haribhadra undoubtedly occupies a prominent place. But in the absence of a close study of this masterpiece of a great poet and scholar, many of its beauties remain hidden from us. A number of passages from his work are in need of a closer interpretation and explanation. As a striking example I discuss here a small passage from the sixth Bhava of this work, which must be explained in a manner different from the attempts made so far and which reveals a fine sense of humour and resourcefulness on the part of Haribhadra.

Dharana, the hero of the story, who is married to Lakṣmi, his inveterate enemy of many previous births, passes through many adventures. Once while he is sleeping in a temple outside a town called Mahāsaras, along with his wife after an escape from danger, a thief enters the place to avoid being caught by the constables pursuing him for robbing the royal treasury. Dharana, due to the fatigue of the earlier day, is fast asleep and Lakṣmi alone becomes aware of the presence of the thief Caṇḍaruddha. With a diabolic idea in her mind, she approaches him stealthily and wants to know from him his difficulty. Caṇḍaruddha explains to her that he is being followed by the constables and he is hiding in the temple in order to escape them. Lakṣmi promises to help him and explains her plan to abandon her real husband Dharana to the constables as the thief and eloping with Caṇḍaruddha by claiming him as her husband in the presence of the king if need arises.

To this suggestion Caṇḍaruddha makes the following answer, at the same time refusing to follow her suggestion and giving reasons for it. His words are: (Caṇḍaruddhaṃ bhanīyāmi) / sundari, atti eyaṁ, kiṁtu aham ettha vatthavva caucaraṇapāṭibuddho / ao viyānai me taṁ agahīyanāmaṁ savvaloo ceva ettha mahiliyaṁ ti / The context makes it clear that the general sense of the passage is to point out the difficulties which Caṇḍaruddha feels in claiming Lakṣmi to be his wife in open court. For one thing, he is a resident of this place and naturally people know him rather well. Secondly he is already married and all the people of the town know his wife too well to believe that Lakṣmi could be that lady. He himself suggests the use of a magic pill to escape and elopes with Lakṣmi, as the story progresses.
Two words in this short passage caucaraṇaṇapādibaddha and agahīya-
nāmaṁ... mahiliyaṁ deserve special consideration. The Sanskrit chāyā and
the annotations given so far have all failed to point out the real significance
of these expressions which Haribhadra has chosen with a purpose. Caucara-
ṇaṇapādibaddha is vaguely explained as bhāryāyaḥkta ‘married’ and agahīya-
nāmaṁ is taken to mean that the people of the town know her but not her name.
While the sense of the first word can suit the context and gives us the re-
quired sense the meaning of the second is both logically and contextually
absurd. To know his wife but not her name can in no way add to the diffi-
culties of claiming Lakṣmī to be his wife for the thief. It is simply irrelevant
and Haribhadra, a careful writer, is not likely to add such an expression
without some significance.

The passage will gain in meaning and value if we attempt a more pre-
cise sense of these two words used here. The robber Caḍḍarudda is speaking
with a strain of sarcasm and alludes to his hopelessly unhappy married life
and is using language with a sting in it. Both appear to be extempore forma-
tions based on popular expressions intended to give vent to bitterness. In
popular Marāṭhi there is a famous expression caturbhūja hornē in the sense
of getting married and usage has humorously extended its use to the act of
getting captured. No explanation is available for this use except the vague
idea that the man will have four arms, by counting the arms of his wife. This
will not however explain its extended sense, which implies that the man is
imagined as having four arms, which in the later case may be due to the cus-
tom of tying ropes to his arms when led captive. Apart from this problem
which must be left to the study of the Marāṭhi idiom, it is evident that Hari-
bhadra had before him, this or a similar expression in the sense of ‘to get
married’ which alone would explain the twist he has given to it to allude to
the unhappy marriage of the thief, possibly with a shrew. In contrast with
the expression caturbhūjapratibaddha, if we may guess such a Sanskrit word,
Haribhadra coins a parallel word cauṭḥcaranaṇapratibaddha meaning ‘having
the ill luck of getting married.’ But there is, I think, a deeper suggestion in
it. Caturbhūja, in Classical Sanskrit, is the most frequent epithet of Viṣṇu
and we know that Indian custom considered the bridegroom as a form of this
great god at the time of marriage, as can be seen from the phrase viṣṇurū-
pīne varāya. Though the words of the ritual are late, they reveal an essen-
tially popular idea involved in marriage. Thus caturbhūjapratibaddha may
well have been intended to allude to this temporary deification of the vara
by identifying him with Viṣṇu. Now Haribhadra has turned the tables as it
were and coined the word cauṭḥcaranaṇapratibaddha, exploiting in full the other
sense of cauṭḥcarana a synonym of cauṭṣpāda ‘a beast’. The expression thus
means, if rendered fully: ‘I have been led in a wedlock, thereby degrading
myself to the state of a beast.’ The contrast between caturbhūja and cauṭḥ-
carana gets its full force, alluding to the unhappy marriage of the speaker.
Still more striking is the sense of the other expression *agrahītanāmā* (-nāmnī) *mahilikā*. What the thief wants to say is the fact that he cannot agree to claim Lakṣmī as his wife because his real wife is well known and is still alive. This would become clear if we recollect the original Sanskrit expression after which this word was newly coined by Haribhadra. This is undoubtedly the word *sugrahītanāman*. Long ago Lévi discussed the meaning of this word along with three others, occurring in the inscription of Rudradāman, in works of dramaturgy, in Bāna's works and in the lexicons. He came to the conclusion that the word *sugrahītanāman* is used in two distinct senses (i) as a mode of address used by the disciple, a son or a younger brother to designate a person to whom he owes respect and (ii) in a funeral sense as it were, when a deceased person is respectfully referred to. This second usage is frequent in the works of Bāna (cf. evam uparāte'pi sugrahītanāmnī tāte) and in the inscriptions (cf. inscriptions of Rudradāman and Maṅgaleśa). Lévi defines the sense of the word as 'to mention the name of a person, more especially a dead person accompanied with qualifications which bring good fortune, and which, thanks to their value as omens, may have a happy influence on the posthumous destiny of the deceased or on the future destiny of the living' (IA. xxii p. 167).

Here is again an extempore creation of a word by Haribhadra meant as a counterpart to *sugrahītanāman*, used in the sense of one whose name no one would like to mention for fear of misfortune and an implied suggestion that the person is yet alive. The robber, as the sequel tells us, has no objection to run away with Lakṣmī but he cannot claim her as his wife in public for unfortunately his wife is alive and a source of ill luck to him. And people know her too well. He is thus sorry to tell her that he is married, that his wife is still alive and people know her well. Therefore he cannot accept her suggestion.

We here see Haribhadra using language with a suppleness and a fine sense of humour which is as suggestive as it is forceful. It expresses with extreme brevity the suppressed feelings of the robber about his unlucky marriage.
MARĀTHĪ ELEMENTS IN A PRAKRIT DRAMA

BY

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The use of language in India has thrived all along in two channels: the literary and the popular. The first is essentially a book-language, polished and cultivated according to rules of grammar and perpetuated in well-trained memory before it came to be committed to writing: this was obviously the concern of a chosen few, of the literate and learned and of the priest and pundit. The latter was a practical pursuit and a spontaneous effort. The large mass of illiterate population inherited some form or the other of a language and went on using it for mutual understanding. This evolved more speedily and varied in different localities in the absence of any strict grammatical standard and fixed literary models. By the very nature of the situation, these two could not have been water-tight compartments. The records in Old-Indo-Āryan do indicate that elements from popular dialects have percolated in them; and the Vedic language shows what are called Prākritisms, obviously from the stratum of a predecessor of Middle-Indo-Āryan which was shaping itself in the popular mouths before it came to be given the status of a literary or book language.

The dialects of illiterate masses were designated at different times and in different places by terms such as Loka-bhāṣā (i.e., common man’s speech), Prākṛta (i.e., natural speech of the populace), Deśī-bhāṣā (i.e., local or country language), Apabhraṃśa or Avahāṭṭhā (i.e., deviating from the standard language), etc. Some of these very terms, as time passed on, came to be used to designate some or the other dialect of a locality that was given the status of a standardised literary language and used in literature. In the literary Prākrits, right from the beginning, we find the Apabhraṃśa elements steadily intruding; and further, both Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa (Middle-Indo-Āryan) works show Deśī elements, some of which are New-Indo-Āryan in nature. These Deśī elements include Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian elements as well. The whole process is highly complicated and intermingled, and therefore, it is often difficult to locate these popular elements to their sources, in the absence of authentic records.1 It is proposed in this paper to put together the various Marāthī elements found in a Prākrit drama.

Ghanaśyāma was a native of Mahārāṣṭra, but resided in Tanjore having become the minister of Tukkoji I (A.D. 1729-35) of Tanjore. He was a voluminous writer, starting his literary career at the age of 12. As he himself reports, he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prākrit and 25 in vernacular. He covers various branches of literature: plays, poems, anthologies, Campūs, commentaries and treatises on technical subjects like grammar, rhetorics, philosophy, etc. In fine, he was a tireless writer and a prodigy indeed: some of his commentaries were produced within a day, or a night, or even a part of it. He is offensively vain and self-conceited; he paraded his learning in various quarters; and he was out to show that he was superior to many of his predecessors. It is this trait of his that often induced him to strike novel notes in his literary undertakings.

Lately, a critical edition of Ghanaśyāma’s Anandasundarī is brought out by me. It is a Saṭṭaka, a drama entirely in Prākrit, like the Karpūramaṇijāri of Rājaśekhara (c. 900 A.D.) and Rambhāmaṇijāri of Nayaacandra (c. beginning of the 15th century A.D.), Rājaśekhara’s ancestors came from Mahārāṣṭra, and what are termed Marāṭhīcisms are detected in the Karpūramaṇijāri in a good measure. Nayacandra was staying in the neighbourhood of Mahārāṣṭra, and possibly therefore, he has introduced a Marāṭhī song in his play. Almost continuing the early practice of using Deśī words in Prākrit, Ghanaśyāma freely and studiously introduces in his Anandasundarī a number of formations from nouns and verbs available in Marāṭhī; and they are presented below with a few critical remarks.

aṭṭhara (attadasa corrected as aṭṭhara in P, but T has yaṭṭhāraha), p. 23, Pk. aṭṭhāraha, Mar (āṭṭhī) aṭṭharā, eighteen.

abbhālādo (“du”), p. 53, Abl. sg. of abbhāla, Mar. abhāla, cloud; the sentence kin abbhālādo paḍido eso bālo closely resembles the Mar. expression maga kāya abhālaṭāṇa paḍalā hā mulagā?, quite common even to this day. Bha (ṭṭanātha) who has written a Sk. commentary on this play remarks thus: abbhāla-sabdo deśiyah/.


kadhilla, p. 31, generally spelt as kadoila, meaning kadī-vāstrea; in the border land a word kadela is used in Mar. for costly silken sādī.

5. See Laman’s remarks in the above ed. p. 201.
7. The references to pages noted below have the above edition in view.


koḍa, p. 1, Pk. koḍa or kuḍa, cf. Mar. koḍa-kauntuka which is a double formation.


goli, p. 13, Kannaḍa gauḷī, a domestic lizard. Ghanāśyāma observes thus: goli sauvāna vi saūnām kahedi, saṃ gadaa tāṅḍula-jalabhāṇḍe padai/; but the meaning of this is not quite clear. Bha. remarks on this: eṣa maḥāraśtriya ābhāṇakaḥ/.

ghadighaṇṭam, pp. 12, 16, cf. Mar. ghadighaḍi or ghadoghaḍa, every moment.

ghoḍa, p. 3, Deśi ghoḍā, Mar. ghoḍā. Ghanāśyāma refers to horses from Sindhudesā where Dūrvā grass appears to be rare.

gholo, p. 10, Bha. interprets it thus: āpāda-lambī-nivī-sāra-samuccayāḥ/, cf. Mar. ghōla, also pāyagholā, hanging as far as feet.

cakūṭta, p. 6, Deśi meaning nimagna or līna, but here madhura according to the comm., cf. colloquial Mar. cakoṭa.

jāmbala, p. 42, Deśi jāmbula, Mar. jāmbhaḷa or jāṁbhūḷa, colloquial Kannāḍa jambalūi, a kind of fruit.


dolesum, p. 16, Loc. pl. of dola, Mar. ṅolā, eye. This is a marginal correction for nettesum in Ms. P.

dāi, p. 14, this is a marginal correction for dhāṭi, Pk. dhāi, Mar. dāi, a maid-servant.

dhūra, p. 7, this is a correction of dhūma; Mar. dhūra, smoke.

pahaṭṭe, p. 5, Loc. sg. of pahaṭṭa, Mar. pahāṭa, morning.


peṭṭārae, p. 19, Loc. sg. of peṭṭāra, Deśi peṭā, Mar. peṭārā, a box.

potṭae, p. 6, Loc. sg. of potṭaa, Mar. poṭa, stomach.

poraa, pp. 2-3, Mar. poragā, a boy.
bahirāṭṭha, p. 22, bahirō is corrected into bahirāṭṭho, cf. Mar. bahiraṭa, a deaf person.

baṭṭakā, p. 15, Mar. baṭika, a maid servant.

bāilā, p. 52, meaning woman or wife, cf. Mar. bāila-veḍā.

buḍaṇa, p. 24, Pk. buḍdana, Mar. buḍaṇe, sinking.

makkada-ceṣṭā, p. 14, cf. Mar. mākada-ceṣṭā, monkey-like behaviour; the phrase is current in Marāṭhī even today.

meṅga, p. 19, Nom. sg. of meṅga; according to the Sk. comm. itti-
meṅgo strī-lampaṭaḥ/ meṅgo iti deśīyaḥ śabdaḥ/, cf. Mar. meṅgalā, weak.

moccā, pp. 8, 10, Mar. mojā (?), Kannaḍa moccī, shoe.


lāmba, p. 20, a marginal correction for dīha, cf. Mar. lāmba, long.

viṅcūa, p. 30, this spelling is known to Pks., but it is very near the Mar. viṅcū, a scorpion.


soṇa, p. 24, this spelling is available in Pk: cf. Mar. sonē, gold; in Kannaḍa hōṇa, in Mar. hoṇa.


Ghanaśyāma uses a number of verbal forms, the roots being very much alike to those in Marāṭhī:

ullāṇḍia, p. 43, Gerund from uḷḷaṇḍa-, cf. Mar. olāṇḍanē, to cross, Deśa uḷḷaṇḍia, driven out.


gheīṇa, p. 11, Gerund from ghe-, in Prākrit too: cf. Mar. gheīṇa, Gerund of gheṇē, to take; similarly hoūṇa on the margin of Ms. P for bhāviṇa, p. 5, and khāṇa for bhakkhiṇa, p. 46: both hoūṇa and khāṇa are available in Mar.

cakkhane, p. 12, Loc. sg. of cakkhaṇa, in Pk. too; cf. Mar. cākhane; see also cakkhiṇjanēta, p. 3.

jhakkia, p. 6, Gerund from jhakka- to cover, cf. Mar. jhākanē.

Marāṭhī Elements in a Prakrit Drama

ṭakka, p. 42, Present 3rd p. sg. of ṭakka-, cf. Mar. ṭākanē. There is a remark on the margin ṭakkaśa soḍaś iti vā pāṭhaḥ.

ṭhakkāmi, p. 15, Present 1st p. sg. cf. Mar. ṭhakāṇē, to halt, to be exhausted.

ṭheuvūṇa, p. 6, Gerund, cf. Mar. ṭhevaṇē; nāmahejjan ṭheuvūṇa reminds one of Mar. nāva ṭhevaṇa.


nūjāi, p. 30, Present 3rd p. sg; it is a correction of the original sedi; cf. Mar. niyanē.

ṭadapadaṇāṇiti, p. 30, Desī ṭadappada-, ṭadaphaḍa-, cf. Mar. tada-

ḍaṇāṇe or ṭadapadaṇē.

dāvehi, p. 41, dāva-darśaya is known, cf. dāvanē, to show, in sub-

standard Mar.

paccārehi, p. 15, a marginal correction for hakkārehi, cf. Mar. paccā-

raṇē, to call.

pāhūṇa, p. 50, cf. Mar. pāhūṇa, Gerund from pāhanē, to see.


bāḍabaḍaī, p. 15, cf. Mar. bāḍabaḍanē. On the sentence kukkurō bāḍa-

baḍaī rājā āanṇedi, the comm. remarks: bāḍabaḍaī iti desiyah

śabdaḥ/ abhānako'yām desiyah/.

basadu, p. 9, Imperative 3rd. p. sg. of basa-< bāsā< upāviś to sit,

cf. Mar. basaṇē. In fact the original uvasadu is corrected into

basadu.

bhukkidaṇī, p. 8, Past p.p. of bhukka-, cf. bhūmkanē in Mar., to bark,

to talk irresponsibly.

raḍaṇṭī, p. 20, raḍa- is usual in Pk., cf. Mar. raḍaṇe, to weep. The

original reading raḍaṇṭī is changed to raḍaṇṭī.


vodihaī, p. 35, this is a marginal improvement on karisadi, cf. Mar.

oḍhaṇē, to drag.

soḍaī, pp. 15, 35, this is an improvement on the reading muṅcadi, cf.

Mar. soḍaṇē.

hohoi, p. 21, this is used in the sense of 'yes, yes,' showing consent;

obviously Ghanasyāma thought this to be the forerunner of the

Marāṭhī hōya hōya which is current in conversation even now.
The marginal corrections clearly show how there is a conscious effort on the part of the author to put more and more Marathi-like words in place of the Prakrit ones. The relation between the two Mss. P and T confirms this view. There are many sentences which bear the shade of Marathi idiomatic usage. For instance, kahaṁ gadaṁ varaṁ, p. 53, resembles Mar. kothe gele tujhe varṣa; the stage-direction aparāṅge muhur āśphālayan has its counterpart in Mar. pāṇa thopaṭita. Thus Ghanasyama having had Marathi as his mother tongue and knowing full well that Desī expressions have a legitimate place in Prakrit compositions has studiously used many a Marathi expression in his Prakrit drama.

Further, it may also be noted that the above examples reveal a few general tendencies. The author wants to make use of Desī elements in his Prakrit to give it a more natural appearance or probably to follow the tradition of using such elements, as is suggested by a remark of the Prakrit grammarian, Hemacandra (VIII. ii. 174: hallapphala ityādayo Mahārāṣtravidarbhideśaprasiddhā lokato' vagantavyāḥ). We can find in the words used by him some definitely of Dravidian or non-Aryan origin (like mocci, huḍugu, etc.) and others which are common to both Marathi and the Prakrit dialect at its basis. But we can easily see that instead of making use of Prakrit expressions which were inherited by the Marathi language later on, Ghanasyama tries to Prakritise Marathi words and fit them in their Prakrit garb. First, this can be seen from words like aṭṭhara (Pk. aṭṭhāraha), ṭhavūna (Pk. ṭhaviūna), etc., in which the phonetic laws preclude a natural development of the Indo-Aryan; and secondly, from Marathi words like niyai, ṭakkai, peṭṭaṅta, etc., the origin of which remains doubtful: this may be called Prakritisation. The inclusion of a few Dravidian words (mostly Kannada) can be explained on the supposition that the current Marathi of Ghanasyama's time had no objection to borrow, if not had already borrowed, them from the neighbouring language.
LINGUISTICS IN INDIA

BY

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The earliest literary works in any Indo-European language are undoubtedly the Sāṁhitās of the Vedas. These consisted largely of hymns addressed to various divine powers. From the very beginning these mantras were looked upon as specially sacred and special efforts were made to memorise them, to analyse them and to understand their meaning. The first step was to separate each word in these hymns, and this gave us the pada-pātha. For this the rules of phonetic combination (sandhi) and of the accent system had to be investigated. All these were embodied in the Prātiśākhya system (one for each Veda), which embody the first linguistic investigations (mainly phonetic) undertaken in India.

With the passing of time the language of the mantras began to be felt as becoming antiquated. Special lexical and etymological works were found necessary to explain the obsolete words used in these mantras. Of these works the Nirukta of Yāska is the most important.

Side by side grammatical investigations were also carried out and several grammatical works were produced. Of these nothing remains but the names of some authors. At the end of this period and as the culmination of all the early linguistic investigations we get the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. This is a masterly analysis of the Sanskrit language as it existed in his days. Pāṇini has done the work very thoroughly and with deep insight. And it appears from a study of this masterly analysis that Pāṇini has grasped quite clearly many fundamental principles of modern linguistic science.

Pāṇini is said to have flourished near Takṣaśilā which was on the main road along which "foreigners" invariably entered India. Naturally, that neighbourhood must have contained a fairly large foreign element in its population. It seems strange that Pāṇini with his acute methods of analysis has not told us anything about the foreign tongues spoken there, nor about their influence upon the "sacred" speech of his people. We cannot but surmise that it was his pride in the "heavenly tongue" (gīrāṇa-girā), that prevented him from alluding to the speech of the barbarous mleccha. To us at the present time, it is a matter of regret, for almost certainly Pāṇini must have heard

1. vyākaraṇa, from vi-ā-√kṛ-, to analyse.
Iranian speech, so closely akin to his own; and it is possible that he may have heard some Greek as well. If he had but condescended to investigate these "foreign" dialects the science of comparative linguistics might have been born quite 2000 years earlier, and in India.

After Pāṇini there was no further progress in the field of language-study in India with the solitary exception of Patañjali and his Mahābhāṣya. And the Mahābhāṣya may be taken to be an extensive supplementary commentary on Pāṇini. The bulk of all subsequent work on grammar and language-study consists of commentaries, abridgements and simplification of the work of Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's work acquired a sort of double sanctity for the students of Sanskrit. In the first place the language treated therein was the sacred and "refined" language of the Gods; and secondly Pāṇini's extraordinary merit was looked upon as specially sanctified and he was promoted to the rank of a Munī, on a level equal to that of the great Sages of the Vedas.

The natural result was that all that the great grammarian had written down was accepted as gospel truth; not merely that, but to suggest the least change was looked upon with horror. The consequence was that since the time of Pāṇini the study of linguistic phenomena remained practically in the same position for well over 20 centuries. The grammar of Pāṇini was taken to be the one book for learning Sanskrit and its terminology was applied unchanged to all Sanskritic (Indo-Aryan) languages leading to utter confusion in the minds of little children who wanted to learn the structure of their own mother-tongue. The attitude has been the direct result of ignoring the history of the growth of Modern Indo-Aryan.

Almost exactly similar has been the state of linguistic teaching among the Muslims. The three languages in which Muslim theological works are to be found, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, are all explained in terms of Arabic grammar.

The idea generally accepted by most teachers in our Schools and Colleges was that the knowledge of one "classical" language is enough for attaining a good grasp of linguistics. Languages, both "classical" and modern Vernaculars (Indo-Aryan as well as Dravidian) are taught indeed, but that is by no means enough for knowing Linguistics.

2. I believe that Dravidian languages have also had their grammatical structure explained after the Sanskrit model.
3. Arabic is a sacred language to the Muslims because of the Qurān.
4. In India these are Sanskrit, Prākrit, Arabic, Persian, Avesta and Pahlavi.
The language studied must be treated historically. The stages of its development and progress should be systematically pointed out. There is at present an utter neglect of the cultural aspect of our languages. Students learn about the grammatical aspect but nothing at all about the culture. In the course of my own studies I learnt details about the various grammatical forms used by Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti but nothing at all about the cultural aspect these poets represent nor about the beauty of their style or about the melody of their verse. A great writer is a reflection of the time in which he has lived and in a sense he is the creator of the culture he represents. To put it in one word the study should be humanised.

If treated in the manner stated above the study of any particular language, or any set of authors would create human interest and the student would appreciate better the position of the language in the history and culture of the land.

Yet another aspect of the teaching of languages has to be noted in this connection. There is the notion, almost universally held, that all the old "classical" languages are "dead" languages. No other notion has done greater harm to language-studies. Every language, no matter how ancient, must have been "living" sometime in the course of its history. Language is the special characteristic of the living human being, and so every language must have been "living" once. It may have gone out of daily usage as a medium for the exchange of thought; but whenever any language is taught one must treat it as "living". To speak of any language as "dead" destroys the very roots of language teaching. The method of teaching Sanskrit in our country gives in the first place an utterly false perspective by calling it "dead"; and thus it takes away all human interest and presents to the student merely a lifeless skeleton of dry grammatical rules. This, I believe is the main reason why there is a serious falling off lately in the number of students taking Sanskrit. The living human aspect of the language must ever be in mind of the teacher.

Besides being "historical" and "human" language studies must be "comparative", so that the student may get a fair idea of the modern science of Linguistics. We can assert that our country gave birth to the science of language. We have forgotten that historical fact and have forgotten our achievements in that direction. And today instead of being thought of as a science requiring years of patient work linguistics is regarded by the majority of our educational authorities as a mass of haphazard guess-work.

I believe that not more than two or three Universities in India deal with the subject at all properly. Languages (even where two languages have to be studied) are grouped together from points of view that can hardly be called "linguistic." We have in many Universities boards of studies for Arabic-Persian-Urdu, which is not a linguistic grouping at all, but primarily theolo-
gical and political. In Bombay we have the Avesta-Pahlavi group which was formed from the viewpoint of Zoroastrian theology. Many such clumsy groupings may be pointed out.

For “comparative” studies we must group together languages at the same stage of development. Thus Sanskrit-Greek-Avesta would form a good group for study. Arabic-Hebrew-Syriac would make another such group. Persian-Pahlavi (Pazand)-Pushto would make another. Two or more modern Indo-Aryan languages would give ample scope for comparative linguistics. Similarly two or more Dravidian languages in their modern stage might be studied. For Middle Indo-Aryan Pāli and one or more of the Prākrits would offer a fruitful field of work. At present we have courses in Pāli and in Ardha-Māgadhi, but the studies are essentially for Buddhist and Jaina theology.

What I want to emphasise is that we have neglected so far the study of languages from the human point of view. We have looked upon language-study as an adjunct to theological or political teaching. We must study language as such, as a living human subject for mental discipline. Such study, conducted in the proper spirit would tend to show the essential unity of humanity. This is the lesson Linguistics should teach.

Two World-Wars in the first half of our present 20th century of Christ have shown us all how deeply human beings may be divided for political and other ideologies. We are under the shadow of yet a third World-War with Atom or Hydrogen-bombs or even something more terrible. We have to get out of this shadow and every branch of our educational work must emphasise the essential humanity of the human race. I believe the two World-Wars were meant as terrible object-lessons for our race. Today every sane and impartial human being is thinking that a full realisation of Human Brotherhood is the only hope for mankind. And every subject to be taught in our schools and colleges should emphasise this human unity. I believe this thought of unity and brotherhood is to be the dominating ideal for the second half of the 20th century of Christ. Linguistics should have to share this task of establishing “The Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”
VĀÇĀRAMBHAṆAM

BY

J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Poona

Uddālaka's teaching in the sixth prapāṭhaka of the Chāndogya is easily the most celebrated Upaniṣad text, not only in India ancient and modern, but also in the West where the expression tat tvam āsi, in the somewhat biblical rendering of Thou art That, is often considered a formula that sums up the entire Indian philosophy. Yet there is no śruti text of which the meaning has been disputed so vehemently as Uddālaka's sadvidyā. The oldest interpreters of the Chāndogya Up. of whose commentaries we have some fragments left, Ṭaṅka the Vākyakāra and Dārmiḍa the Bhāṣyakara,1 show that already at their time there was a controversy between those who considered that sat was brahmaṇ without qualities and those who held that sat was brahmaṇ with qualities.2 Correlated with this question whether sat or brahmaṇ3 as the causa prima possesses qualities or not is the question whether its effect, the phenomenal world of individual souls and of matter has a proper and distinct reality or not. The problematic relation between the absolute, permanent and perfect that is cause and the relative, impermanent and imperfect that is effect has remained the fundamental problem of Vedānta: the discussion of this problem has always taken the form of a commentary on Uddālaka's teaching ever since the Sūtrakāra had formulated his solution in Uddālaka's terms.4 Modern research5 has made it plausible that the Sūtra-

1. The present writer has collected the available fragments of both these pūrṇa-cāryas of Rāmānuja in an appendix to his study of the Vedārthasaṅgraha, which will be out shortly.

2. Fragment XV, quoted Vedārthasaṅgraha, Pañḍita Ed. p. 143, yuktam/ tadguṇa-kopāsanāt “(also with regard to the sadvidyā) it is appropriate, for meditation is on an object (or: brahmaṇ) that has those qualities” (Ṭaṅka's Vākyā); yady api saucito na nirbhūyādaivaṇatam guṇagamam manasānadāvīt tathāpy antarguṇām eva devatāṃ bhajate “although one, when meditating on the sadvidyā, does not pursue with one's thoughts the multitude of qualities (of the daḥarāvyā, ChUp. 8, 1, 5) that are negative (apahata-pāṇā, etc.) or divine (satyaśākeṣaṇa satyaśaṃkalpaḥ), still one lovingly cognizes the Deity as having inner qualities.” (Dārmiḍa's bhāṣya).

3. We shall not touch here on the disputable equation sat = brahmaṇ of Vedānta.
5. Dasgupta, Indian Philosophy II, p. 26 ff; V. S. Ghatre, The Vedānta (Poona 1926 = Les Brahma-Soutras et leur cinq commentaires, Thesis Paris 1918) who, however, has committed the methodological error of not considering Bhāskara's bhāṣya, which represents a much more ancient Vedānta than any other bhāṣya does.
kāra adhered to the view of parināma which admits an inner causal transformation of the absolute into the relative: this was the view, incidentally, that was also adhered to by the oldest Vedāntins Taṅka and Drāmiḍa. The logical difficulties implicit in the parināma view must have been recognized early; it was Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadiya, who apparently for the first time availed himself of the ancient notion of vivarta to describe the causal process as somehow illusory, not real, only in appearance so. Though it would seem not yet by Śaṅkara himself, the same view was formulated in advaitavedānta. Other Vedāntins, however, took a different stand. Bhāskara still represents the more ancient view that the causal change takes really place within the qualified brahman, whereas Yāmuna and more systematically Rāmānuja integrated a Sāmkhya doctrine and maintained that parināma only takes place within matter, which, though real and eternal in itself, is inseparably dependent on God of whom it constitutes the body. Mādhyāvam took the same stand but denied Rāmānuja’s body-soul identity. Within Vedānta we distinguish thus a great variety of views which are all read into and proved from the sadvidyā passage vācārāmbhaṇam viśīro nāmaddhyeyam mṛttiketyeva satyam, which, according to the Sūtras (2, 1, 14 tadananyatvam ārambhavasabddādbhyah) declares that the world, the effect, is no other than its cause, sat or brahman.

What was Uddālaka’s own view? It is summed up in 6, 8, 6: when all products are successively dissolved in their causes, an ultimate prime cause remains to which all the rest can be reduced: sa ya eso ‘ṇāma aitātmyam idam sarvam tat satyam sa atmā: it is the irreducible minimum in which all this ultimately consists, the satyam: it is the ātman. The term satyam refers us to the passage quoted above where it is stated that in clay products ‘clay’ is satyam and that the product, a pitcher, bowl etc. is vācārāmbhaṇam viśīro nāmaddhyeyam. The crucial term is vācārāmbhaṇam. Usually it is taken adjectively with nāmaddhyeyam: “the effect is (just) a name deriving from

6. Fragment XII, quoted, Bhāskara’s Brahmasūtrabhāṣya ad 1, 4, 25, parināmas tu sydd dadhyādīcet “there is an inner causal change, as in the case of curds (turning into butter: Ch. Up. 6,6,1) etc.”; cf. also the indirect testimony of the Sarvaśātman’s presentation, Fragment XVIII and the discussion in Ch. II of Introduction of my Vedārthasaṅgraha.


10. Vedārthasaṅgraha, p. 28 ff; Ś. Bh. 2,1,15.

11. ChUp. 6,13.

speech”. One objection is that the word-order rather reads “the name is the effect”, another that according to Uddālaka himself speech or vāc is a later product instead of a cause as ārambhaṇa would suggest; the last objection is that a tangible and serviceable object like a clay pitcher is not only another name of clay, as the old Commentators realized better than many translators. Name must mean here what later on is termed nāmarūpe “name and form”, which, in 6, 3, 2, describes the products or creatures that are “separated out of” (vyā/vkṛ- ~ vikāra) the materia prima.

The meaning of ārambhaṇa, too, could be specified if we follow up a contextual connexion that is suggested by Rāmānuja and stated expressly by Mādhva. Commenting on advitiyam Rāmānuja declares that the term conveys that there is no second adhiṣṭhātṛ side by side with sat (equated with a personal God) which is the material cause. He refers in this connexion to Taittirīya Br. 2, 8, 9, 6: kim svid vānam ka u sa vṛksa āsid yatō dvāpāyitvā niṣṭaṭakṣāḥ | maniṣīno manasa prcechater u tād yad adhyatmikad bhuvanāni dhārayan. This question is answered brahma vānam brahma sa vṛksa etc. The urgency of this reference—which inspired Rāmānuja’s use of the term adhiṣṭhātṛ for nimitta-kāraṇam—becomes clear when we study the context of the Rgveda sūkta from which TaittBr. has taken the question: 10, 81, 4. There is an illustrative repetition of a preceding question (2) kim svid āsid adhiṣṭhānam ārambhaṇam katamāt svit kathāsit | yāto bhūmi janaṇyan Viśvākarna vi dyām durnon mahinā viśvācaksāḥ “whatever was the standing-place, which the basis and how was it by which Viśvākarma, when producing the earth, put the sky apart by his power, he who sees all?” We remark in passing that in st. 8 Viśvākaran is styled vācaspati, “lord or possessor of vāc”. We may compare 10, 129 where it is said that that which is sat sprang from that which is not sat, and that sages who reflect discovered, after searching in their hearts, that sat is fastened to asat (4 cd): satō bāndhum āsati nīrāvinā kṛdī prayāte kavāyo maniṣā. Whether one would take this last statement as one reply to the question of 10, 81 or not, it cannot be denied that the three hymns 10, 129, 72, and 81 are, with many others, ever so many speculations and formulations of one cosmogonic myth of which the evolution and elaboration can be pursued throughout the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. It would seem that this one myth of the creation of the many out of the one had two basic forms, one in which the creation was imagined

13. Rāmānuja, for instance, availing himself of one of the many senses of the term, renders vāc with viyavahāreṇa “practical purpose” which expresses the initiating or actuating function of language.
14. ChUp. 6,2,1 sadavedamanagam aśdekasemvādavitiyam “the sat was here (idam adverbially) at first, alone without a partner”.
15. Mādhva (ad BrS. 2,1,14) refers directly to RV 10,81,2 in connexion with ārambhaṇa, the expression proving that God needed no other instrument; Gmāte is too rash in considering it irrelevant (p. 81).
15a. Vedārthasaṁgraha, p. 55 ff.
to proceed from a personal and divine progenitor, and another in which the notions of sat and asat, standing respectively for “this which is here, the world” and “that which is other than that, its matrix and origin,” took the place of creator. Often enough both forms are so interlinked that we can hardly distinguish them. Uddālaka’s formulation, so it seems, is an elaboration of 10, 129. But even in this latter hymn, where a tendency to do away with divine progenitors is conspicuous, the shade of a demiurge makes a hesitant come-back at the end, if only to have his assistance at and knowledge of sat’s origination questioned. In 10, 72, 2 it is Brahmaṇaspati who superintends this origination: brahmaṇaspatiḥ etāṁ karmārṇa ivadhāmat | devānāṁ pūroṣe yugē ‘sataḥ sād ajāyata. This hymn again reminds us strongly of 10, 81 where it reads (3) sām bāhubhyāṁ dhāmati sām pāttatvair dyāvābhūmi janaṇan devā ēkaḥ. This one god is Viśvakarman who has not only the appellation vācaspati in common with Brahmaṇaspati, but other features as well: both as the contexts show represent in some respect the sun, who separates sky and earth after their nocturnal union, and in this are strongly reminiscent of the anonymous deity of 10, 129 who “watches from the far-away sky.”

This context of interconnected speculations on a cosmogonic myth must have inspired Rāmānuja and Mādhva to their explanatory references which, possibly, might already have been given in ancient commentaries. More obvious must the same connexions have been to Uddālaka himself who lived in a milieu of thinkers who tried out ever new and more comprehensive formulations of this myth. To my mind there can be little doubt that his use of the term ārambhana was inspired by its place in the entire idea-complex concerning the emergence of the many from the one and should as far as possible be explained within this idea-complex.

The same mythical context throws light on the meaning of vāc in vāca-ārambhana. We are justified to make at least a distinction between this

16. More details on this point Vedārthasamgraha, Intr., Ch. I.
17. e.g. MS. 2, 6, 6.
18. For this solar aspect of both Viśvakarman and Brahmaṇaspati, cf. MACDONELL, Vedic Mythology, §§ 39 and 36.
18a. Ad RV. 10, 125 (to Vāc), 7 ahāṁ suva pitāram asya mūrdhān māma yōnir aparv antaḥ samudrā | tāto vi tiṣṭhe bhūvanānu viśvotāmām dyām varṣamānāpa aprādāmi, Geldner remarks that the father, born from Vāc, is the ādīyakṣa in the Supreme Heaven of 10, 129, 7c.
19. Curiously enough, vāc here is not the first product of all as one might expect, its cause being tejas which is the first of the “colours” or “aspects” that constitute the self-creating sat, but the third, after prāna from water, and manas from food; yet, other texts like Sat. Br. 10,6,5,5 so ‘kāmayata—dvīrya ma ētmē jāyeta, sa manasā vācāṃ mithunaṃ samabhavaḥ—where manas “desire” reminds us of manas RV. 10,129,4b—warn us that the relation of vāc also as progenitrix with manas is very intimate.
vāc and the vāc which is described in ChUP. 6, 5, 3-4 as the subtlest—that is no doubt the first—product of tejas. We remarked in passing that Viśvakarman and Brahmaṇaspati have corresponding functions within this context, and that both are called vācaspati. In this as in other respects they are comparable to Prajāpati who is also described as the husband of vāc, and consequently even identified with vāc. Instructive is a passage in Kāṭhaka Śaṃhitā 12, 5: praṇāpatir vā idam āṣīt tasya vāg dvitiyāṣīt tāṁ mithunan samabhavat sa garbhām adhatta sāśmād apākramat semāḥ prajā asṛjata sā praṇāpatim eva punah prāviṣat etc. Vāc as the first product (literally; vāc is ejaculated) of the creator, the second one to exist side by side with him as his partner in creation (we recall Uddālaka’s emphatic advitiyameva), is personified as a progenitrix. Scharbau goes too far when he comments on this and similar passages that “mit dem Logos (i.e. vāc; I would object to this term) ist also eine objektive, metaphysische Substanz gemeint” which supposes a differentiation between power and matter which is not yet recognized; but he is nearer to the mark when he continues: “Er (i.e. Logos) ist das Brahman als Urwort, als Uroffenbarung des göttlichen (the term is unfortunate) ātman”. There is enough evidence to show that vāc represents at least one of the aspects of brahman as the powerful and creative word, and the progenitive and creative function of vāc/brahman may partly account for the importance of the concept of brahman in later thought where the notion of permanent underlying stability with the typically Indian association of (material) cause will remain fundamental.

20. cf. ŚatBr. 5,1,5,6; Viśvakarman identified with Prajāpati SatBr. 8,2,1,10; 8,2,3,13.
21. "Prajāpati verily was here; his partner was Vāc; he copulated with her and impregnated her; thereupon she separated from him and bore these creatures; then again she united with Prajāpati".
22. Interesting is what Neumann, Ursprungs geschichte des Bewusstseins (Zürich 1949), p. 39 has to say about the creative power of all that goes out of the body.
24. Identifications are numerous, and it is tempting to explain BhG. 14, 3-4 in this context: mama yonir mahad brahma tasmān garbhāṃ dādāhmy aham | sambhavah svaabhūtām tato bhavati bhratara || savayoniṣu kaunteya mūrtayaṁ saṁbhavati yēḥ | tāsāṁ brahma mahad yonir aham bijapradah piṁ || "I use the great brahman as the womb in which I beget an embryo: therefrom proceeds the origination of all beings: all bodies that originate in all wombs have in the great brahman their womb and in me their impregnating father:" evidently God is here conceived still as praṇāpati, and his female counterpart is brahman ∼ vāc. Even BrS. 1, 1, 1-3 may be reminiscent athūto brahmanijyādaśā, jaśmady aṣya yataḥ, āṣṭrayoniśvat "therefore now the exegesis of the brahmans, from which this (world) has its birth etc., because it has its womb (origin) in āṣṭra," where āṣṭra would be brahman as primarily the (pro)-creative, revelatory and sacred Word dealing with its content the brahman, cause and foundation of the Universe.
We shall not be far astray when we interpret vācārambhāṇam on the basis of this cosmogonic context. The ārambhāṇa and adhīśṭhāna, the forest and the tree on which Viśvakarman vācaspati stood when creating was identified with vāc/brahman. The viṇāra “that which is separated out of the underlying stuff that is the material cause”, that which appears as name-and-form, derives from (ārambhāṇa-) Vāc as the creating word of the creator, that force with which he is able to create. Uddālaka, who insists emphatically on the uniqueness of the first cause that is sat, must have conceived of this vāc as the power of creation of sat. But vāc is no longer projected outside the first cause as a partner (sat is advitīya). It would seem that the fundamental doctrine of the Vedāntins that the material cause and the operative cause (nimittakāraṇa, which would correspond to vāc) are identical reflects Uddālaka’s view accurately.
A KHOWAR TALE

BY

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE, OSLO

Khwar, the principal language of Chitral and the north-westernmost outpost of Indo-Aryan, is of considerable linguistic interest. On the one hand on account of its numerous archaic-sounding tadbhavas and grammatical forms, such as ashrur tear, khalau, xalau mouse (Skt. khala-pu “threshing-floor cleaner”); ispagh pauper (Skt. asvaka); ser kura sher? where is the bridge—a most useful phrase for a traveller in Chitral—(*setuk kutak sete?); oshoi it was (Skt. aṣayat), to mention only a few. On the other hand Khwar has adopted many non-Indo-Aryan elements, as well Iranian, of various age and provenience, as of unknown origin. This composite character of the language does not, to my mind, override the fact that the central core of words and forms are definitely Indo-Aryan. The nearest neighbour and closest relative of Khwar is Kalasha, with which language it shares a number of characteristic isoglosses, e.g. the preservation of augmented preterites, the change of -t- > *δ, and further to r, or l, and the development of a Past Participle of the type *karitaka > *kardo, from which Khwar. kardu, and Kal. k'ada. In both languages this participle is also used as a finite verb.

So far no original Khwar prose text has been published, with the exception of the 8 lines of Specimen II in the LSI. And Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan and Capt. B. E. M. Gurdon's Translation of the Ganj-i-Pukhto into the Khwar Dialect (Calc., Off. Superint. Govt. Print., 1902) is not easily accessible. A few short songs have been published by Biddulph and others.

I have therefore thought that a Khwar tale might be acceptable as a greeting and a token of admiration and gratitude from an old friend from Uttara-patha, or Nor-way, being at the same time a message from the Indo-Aryan Uttarapatha.—Most of the Khwar tales I have taken down (and hope to publish some day) are very long. I therefore had to choose a short one for this paper, and it can of course exemplify only a small number of characteristic features of Khwar. The tale was told to me in Chitral in 1929, by Muhammad Zarin from Shagram in Turikho, at that time an elderly man, and for many years a resident of Chitral Village. He was a very good and intelligent informant.
I have, for practical reasons, adopted a very simplified transcription, with a minimum of discritical marks. Sh, zh denote palatal fricatives, c, j palatal affricates, and sh, zh, ç, the corresponding "cerebrals". Note also cerebral ꜱ, X, gh are velar fricatives, th, ph, kh, ch, çh are aspirates. I write r also before t, but in this position it is unvoiced, and sometimes approaches to h, or x.

Non-phonemic variants of the vowels have not been distinguished, even when this is the case in my original notation. Quantity appears to be non-relevant, stressed vowels being frequently heard as long. But in a few words stressed a (or ã) was never noted as long (e.g. ha-se, ha-te etc. that; anus day, daq boy), and it is possible that there are really two "a"-phonemes.—In this text I have only occasionally noted the rising tone, in most cases belonging to words with actual, or original aspirated initial.

The Skeleton Grammar of Khowar given in the LSI, will suffice for the understanding of most of the forms occurring in this tale.¹ A few additional remarks may be helpful:

NOUNS. Locative I ("Inessive") in -i; Loc. II ("Adessive") in -a. Abl. of inanimate nouns in -ar, or, with additional particle -i here, hither, -ari.—Nom. Plur. Inanimates and some animates have suffix zero. Other animates have -an. Note brar-gini brothers, and zhi-zhau sons.—Obl. Plur. adds -an, e.g., parian fairies, obl. parianan.

PRONOUNS. Nom. Sing. ha-se that; obl. sing. (ha)-togo; nom. plur. ha-tet; obl. plur. ha-tetan. As an adjective; Obl. Singh., Plur., Nom. Plur. ha-te. Ha-ya this; Obl. Plur. ha-mitan. Hes (Adj. he) that, (the one just mentioned ?), Obl. Sing. horo.—Ka who, somebody; kara which, whoever; kya what; kya (r)ax what, something; kanduri how many, some.

VERBS. Imper. 2. Sing. in -e, of Causatives in -awe (<-apaya), irregular: det give. Imper. 3. Sing. in -ar.

Pres.—Fut. and Def. Pres., v. LSI.

Pret.—LSI asistam I was, etc. has been reduced to asitam, or even astam. Note the augment in o-betai he could.

Perfect. Absolutive + Present of Auxiliary. E.g. chiti sher is broken (sher, not asur because inanimate subject).—Pluperfect: peri asitai had fallen asleep = was asleep.

¹ Cf. also the present author's "Some Features of Khowar Morphology", Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprøgvidenskap, XIV, pp. 5-28; 1947.
Habitual Imperfect. Noun of agency in -ak + Past Auxiliary biretam,
Government Treasurer, Chitral, who for several years has been my
correspondent, and has with great kindness, patience and intelligence given
me much valuable information about Khowar, biretam "is generally used in
cases where something is told as a heard-of or alleged matter, like in stories.
E.g. Hamid di hatera asitai Hamid was also there, but Hamid di hatera birai
Hamid is also reported to be there, or happened to be there."

Absolutive: (1) Root (bi, re, de); (2) in -i (kori, nishi, tori, etc.);
(3) in -ti (chiti, zhuti, biti, giti).

Infinitive. In -ik, inflected in obl. cases, -o, -a, etc.
Perfect Participle in -iru (-rdru), from -itaka, also used as a finite
form, is not represented in this text.

TEXT

1. 'I badsh'a ast'ai. H'atogho suti2 zhizh'au ast'ani.3 2. 'I
One king there-was. His seven sons there-were. One (-of-them)
'olåti boko s'ar bir'ai. H'ase t'ato te d'îsh4 bir'ai. 3. Tan
a-poor wife- from was. He (his-)father-to displeasing was. (Before)
gh'eci lak'ak bir'ai. 4. Hâte badsh'o nogh'oro g'ona i
his eye not (the-king) used-to-admit(-him). That king's castle- near a
l'ût5 gurz'en bir'ai. 5. H'atet 'i ch'uyo ispr'u kor'i
big garden was. They (=the trees) (in)-one night blossoms having-made,
buluci bit'i ch'uci b'iko poc'ak bir'ani. 6. Magar
unripe-fruit having-become, morning on-becoming, used to ripen. But
k'a posh'ak. n'o bir'ani. Na-zh'ibiko b'ak bir'ani.
anybody did-not-use- to- see-(them). Not-eating-for they-used-to-be.
7. Ch'uyo t'an hate mew'an pari'an hatetan ist'or
At-night by-themselves those fruits the-fairies (and), their horses
zhuti khuli'ak bir'ani. 8. 'I 'anus badsh'a tan zhizh'auan te re'tai:
having-eaten used-to-finish-off. One day the-king his sons- to said:
9. "K'ara ki ma h'aya gurz'eno mew'an y'or-dika p'at ki w'al
"Whoever < who> my this garden-of fruits sun-set- until who guardian

2. Ordinary form: sot.
3. Or: birani.
5. Ordinary form: lot.
h'oi, -awa h'atogho te b'oh merab'ani kor'om." 10. I zhau has-become, I him- to much favour shall-make." One son bagh'ài i ch'uyo w'al h'oi. 11. Ch'uci b'iko m'ewa went, one night guardian he-became. Morning- on-becoming the-fruits kh'ul h'oni, w'al b'iko n'o 'obetai. 12. Hase 'i vanished became (-were), a-guardian to-be not he-was-able. That one zhau bagh'ài, h'ase di w'al b'iko n'o 'obetai. (other) son went, he too a-guardian to-be not was-able. 13. Hase 'i ch'uyo hase 'olat'i kim'erio s'ar zh'au ki hase badsh'oo That one night he, the-poor woman- from son, who < he > the-king's gh'eca-d'osh osh'oi, h'ase w'al biko bagh'ài. 14. Gurz'ena b'i eye-sores was, he guardian to-become went. To-the-garden having-gone k'an tu us'i h'al hoi. 15. Ch'uyo bar'abara 'i sh'a ist'or a-tree-into having-climbed he-waited. At-midnight a black horse zhindri h'ài, mew'ân zh'ibika c'okitai. 16. Hate k'ano m'ula having-neighed came, the-fruits to-eat began. That tree-below git'i hase d'aq kan'ari mahm'ez kor'i ist'oro kr'emama having-come the boy from-the-tree spurs having-made the-horse's back-at pr'ai. 17. Ist'or d'etai, hase d'aq c'ali çok'i rau-r'au struck. The-horse ran, the boy the-mane having clasped, quick bit'i h'al h'oi. 18. Ist'or d'etai. Ist'or having-become, stayed (on the horse). The-horse ran. The-horse d'aqo te r'etai ki: "Tan mat'l'abo l'uo d'et, t'a ky'â ki k'orum sh'er, the-boy-to said: "Your design tell (-me), your whatever work is, m'a l'aaka!" 19. Hase d'aq r'etai ki: "Ma t'at tan gh'eci n'o to-me leave!" The boy said: "My father his eye-before not l'aa-koyan." 20. Hase ist'or tan cal'ari 'i dr'o n'ei admits (-me)." The horse its mane-from one hair having-drawn-out, hate d'aqo te pr'ai: "Ta ky'a ki zar'urat h'oi, h'aya dr'oo ang'ara? the boy-to gave: "For-you whatever need arises, this hair into-the-fire tar'awe. 22. Ta h'ase k'orum b'oi." bring (=throw). For-you that task will-become (=succeed)"

23. Ist'oro l'akhitai ðaq. 24. Ch'uci b'iko The-horse (obj.) left the-boy (subj.). Morning-on-becoming, m'ewa p'ocitani. 25. Badsh'ao x'abar ar'eni ki: the-fruits ripened. To-the-king news they-made (=brought): 26. "Ta h'ase 'olat'i b'oko s'ar zh'au, han'un gurz'eno w'al osh'oi, "Your that, the-poor wife-from son, to-day the-garden's guardian was,

6. First : Zhizhau baghâni the sons went. 
7. First : ph'era into the ashes.
m'ewa p'ocitanī. 27. ch'ini badsh'o pr'ushta the-fruits have-ripened. Having-picked (them) the-king before al'enī,6 badsh'a b'oh xosh'an h'oi, hate zhaw'o t'an g'ona m'ashkitai, they-brought, the-king very happy became, that son himself-near he-called, b'oh mehrab'ani ar'er. 28. Zhizh'auan te r'etai ki: "Fēl'anki zhagh'aa much favour he-made. (His-) sons-to he-said: "At-a-certain place badsh'o zh'ūr s'orum plinz'o p'etsuran. 29. K'aa ki ist'oro soro a-king's daughter a-gold (en) ball throws. Whosoever a-horse-on nish'ī h'atogho ki g'anitai, h'atogho 'aloyan." having-sat-down (=riding) her <who> catches, her he-shall-take-away."

30. Zhizh'au rah'i ar'eni, istor'an soro nish'i. 31. H'asē gh'eca-d'ōsh zh'au The-sons starting made, horses-on riding. That odious son di kh'uṭu guṭ'ho soro nish'i h'atetan sum bagh'ai. 32. Ky'awat ki b'aya also a-lame pony- on riding them- with went. When this zhagh'a t'oritani badsh'o zh'ūr h'ate s'orum plinz'o p'etsitai. 33. Ch'īk place they-reached, the-princess that gold (en) ball threw. They-all tan ist'oran hate plinz'o te d'etanī. 34. Magar n'o 'betani g'aniko, their horses that ball-towards let-run. But not they-could catch-it.

35. H'asēgh'eca-d'ōsh zh'au hate istor'o dr'oo ang'ara tar'etanī. 36. Filh'al That odious son that horse's hair into-the-fire he put. At-once hase pari'anān ist'or h'atera t'oritai.9 37. Hase d'aq h'ate soro nish'ai, that the-fairies' horse there arrived. The boy it- on sat-down. 38. Plinz'o te d'etanī. 39. Plinz'o g'anitai, usht'uritai. The-ball-towards he-let- (it-) run. The-ball he-caught, he-ran-away.

40. Badsh'o zh'ūr h'atogho kab'ul ar'er: "h'oro 'awetam", r'e. 41. H'ase The-princess him accepted: "him I-have-taken", saying. The d'aq usht'uritai. 42. P'ona b'i togho dos'i al'ani, boy fled. On-the-road going, him having-caught they-brought. Kum'oru10 h'atogho sum rah'i ar'er. 43. Hate pari'anān ist'oro s'oro nish'i The-girl him- with starting-made. Those fairies' horse-on riding, j'ust biti bagh'ani. 44. 'I zhagh'a bi, united being they-went-off. To-one place having-gone, b'as g'anitani. 45. Ch'uyo hate sh'ak brar'ginī hate d'aq night-quarters they-took. At-night those other brothers that boy's duw'arto b'i kh'omoro tukhun'io andr'eni kor'i door (-to) having-gone a-sword's edge inside having-made (= put) d'ositani. 46. Hate br'aro- ten h'ui pr'ani ki: "B'erī nis'e, they-seized. That brother-to they-shouted: "Outside come -out,

8. For: alani. 10. For: Kum'oru (nom.).
b’ol h’ai.” 47. Hase bedaw’a bit’i, d’e du’arto te an-army has-come.” He confused having-become, having-run, the-door-to h’ai. 48. Khongoro tukhun’i h’ate d’aqo j’u d’eki tor’i ch’initai. came. The-sword’s edge that boy’s two legs-to reaching cut-them.

49. Hase d’aq hat’era th’or’i h’oi. 50. Hate sh’ak brarg’ini h’atogho, hate The boy there falling became. Those other brothers him that b’oko hate ist’oro sum ’i kori gan’i, wife (and) that horse-together-with having-assembled, having-taken, badsh’o g’ona bagh’ani. 51. T’ogho te ret’ani ki: “(I) sp’a hate plinz’o g’anitam, the-king-near went. Him-to they-said: “We that ball we-caught, hate kim’erio ’awetam. 52. T’a hase zh’au n’o ’betai.” that woman we-took-away. Your that son not could (-do-it).”

53. Ham’ush ret’ani. 54. Kand’uri m’uda ac’a hase kh’utu dqag k’ano Thus they-spoke. Some time- after that lame boy a-tree m’ula por’i ’asitai. 55. J’u b’oik hate k’ana h’ani. 56. T’an m’uzhi -under asleep was. Two birds that tree-into came. Themselves-amongst l’u pr’ani: “H’aya d’aqo d’ek chitti sh’er”, re. 57. “H’amitan j’am they-spoke: “This boy’s leg wounded is”, saying. “For-them a-good w’ez sh’er.” 58. Hase ’i bo’il r’etai: “H’ase ky’aax?” medicine exists.” That one (=other) bird asked: “That what-thing (-is)?”

59. R’etai ki: “H’amush zhagh’a ’uts sh’er. 60. H’ate (The first bird) answered: “In-such a-place a-spring there-is. That ’uts g’ona ’i j’osh sh’er. 61. H’atogho daph’ei h’e zaxm’ia diy’ar, spring-near a grass is. That having-crushed on-that wound he-shall-put, he ’uts u’tar, h’es j’am b’oi.” 62. D’aqo k’ara into that spring he-shall-enter, he healed will-be.” The-boy’s ears pr’ai, l’ash bitti corp’ongi dit’i h’ate ’utsa it-struck, light (=dawn) having-become on-all-fours creeping at-that spring t’oritai. 63. Hate j’oso daph’ei, tan h’ate zaxm’ia pr’ai, he-arrived. That grass having-crushed, on-his that wound he-put (-it), ’utsu ’utilai. 63. D’ek j’am h’oni, badsh’o gona into-the-spring he-entered. The-legs healed became, the-king-near h’ai. 65. Tan l’uan dr’ust pr’ai. 66. Badsh’a kab’ul he-came. His words (=tale) all he-gave (=told). The-king accepting ar’er. 67. Sh’ak zhizh’au chang’ak h’oni. 68. Badsh’a did (=believed him). (His-) other sons liars became. The-king h’atetan m’aritai. 69. H’e zhau’o boh m’eher kor’i hal’eitai. them killed. That son much favour having-shown he-kept (-with-him).
NOTES

2. Olati, prob. from olat village. — Dish bad < dūṣya.

3. Ghec. eye, of uncertain origin. Possibly, -ec might go back to acći, with ccci instead of expected cći, as in several Dard and Kafir words for “eye”, but what is then the “prefix” gh-?

5. Chui night, has a palatal affricate, and can scarcely be derived from kṣap. The obl. in -o is used temporally. — Chuci (chucui, etc.) morning.

9. Yor-dik sun-set. — Wal must be a sandhi form for *pāl. — Hoi became is here used as a futurum exactum. Cf. 29, ganitai.

12. I one, frequently used about “an (other)”, “the other”.


14. The postposition tu into, takes the nominative.

15. Çokik (cakum) to clasp, to take hold of, to begin.

17. Detait ran, but deitai (38) made run.

19. Laa-koyan. After an o the 3. Sing. ends in -i, not in -r. — Dro is indefinite, droo (obl.) definite object.

26. Hase points to the nom. zhau, not to the obl. boko.

28. Zhūr (with rising tone), Kal. chu(l-), jhur daughter < *juhūtā. — Sorum gold, with -m from droxum silver. — Plinz (also plinj) polo-ball. Burushaski phīnc, etc.

35. Tareik is the caus. of torik to reach, to arrive at.


42. Alani, i.e., back to the princess.

45. Tukhuni, edge, from tukhunu sharp, with quite irregular development from tīkṣa. — Dositani they intended to catch him? “Imperfectum de conatu”?


A STUDY OF PERSONAL NAMES IN CAṆKAM LITERATURE

BY

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While the date and chronology of the Caṅkam Classics are still unsettled, it is necessary for me to define beforehand, my sources. Under the title Caṅkam Literature, the traditional list includes the Eight anthologies, the Ten Idylls, the Eighteen Didactic Works and the Twin Epics—Cilappatikāram and Manimēkalai. Among these four groups, the third and the last are generally accepted to be of a later date but wrongly counted as Caṅkam Classics by later annotators. Even in the first two groups there are a few books which are suspected to be of a later date. They are Kalittokai and Paripāṭal both of the Eight anthology group and Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai the first of the Ten Idylls. As far as possible, it is my intention to avoid materials of which there is a doubt in dating and take into consideration only the dependable facts however limited they may be. In the Caṅkam classics, after every lyric or long poem there is a practice of giving in a colophon the name of the author of that verse, the patron or chief on whom the verse is composed and sometimes the particular context in which it is sung. The colophons too, if closely scrutinized, will reveal that only a few of them appear to be contemporaneous with the stanzas. A good number seems to have been written by a later day redactor or editor of the anthology. A sense of accuracy compels me to drop these doubtful materials available in the colophons. Thereby I have lost a large number of names of poets and chieftains found

1. 'A comparison of such personal names with the proper names of the individuals of later times is instructive and interesting'. Fn: p. 39. The Chronology of Tamil kings by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai published by the University of Madras 1932. This book will be referred to hereafter as C.T.K.

   Mr. K. Sankaran, my pupil in the M. D. T. Hindu College, Tinnevelly, gathered these personal names and my thanks are due to him.

2. The chronology can be settled only when the language of the Caṅkam classics is studied scientifically. For any scientific approach, an index verborum is a necessary pre-requisite and the Tamil Research Department of the University of Travancore is now busy with the preparation of this index verborum.

3. 'Paripāṭal and Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai are, it seems to me of late origin being as they do evident traces of the religious motive'. C. T. K. p. 15, f. n. and see also the the History of Tamil Language and Literature by S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Tamil Culture, Oct. 1954, p. 345.

4. For the redactor inventing names, see p. 38 of C. T. K.
in the colophons. It is again in this sense, which has prevented me from taking into consideration a few personal names found in the invocatory stanzas of the anthologies. What names of persons remain in the body of Caṅkam poems, I have attempted to study in this paper. The names thus gathered from Ainēkurunēru, Nārīnai, Kuruntokai, Akanānēru, Purānānēru, Patīṟṟupattu and the whole of Pattuppāṭṭu with the exception of Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, are 105 in number. Though this number is limited, the names are representative of the whole of Tamilnad, for the bards are drawn from distant corners of Tamil land. They also represent different stratas of Tamil society. The names thus collected are mostly of chieftains, kings, poets and heroes of love and war. The names of a few heroines are also found. But we have no evidence to guess the name of the rank and file of the Caṅkam Age.

The social customs, manners, habits, and thoughts of the Tamil people are preserved in the Caṅkam Literature. It is surprising to note that they do not contain even a single reference to the ceremony of naming a child. Nor have we any evidence in the earliest extant Tamil Grammar, Tolkkāppiam about this Nāmakaraṇa. In a few citrās Tolkkāppiam speaks about the personal names and their divisions. But no mention is made about the manner or method of naming a child. The earliest available record about this ceremony, is in Cilappatikāram. It is stated there that after the day of purification ladies of the dancer community who are elder in age assembled in the house of Mātāvī and announced the naming of her daughter. Hearing that the father, Kōvalap, said that the name of his family goddess which saved his forefather from a ship-wreck should be the name of his daughter. A thousand dancer women named the pretty daughter as Manimēkalai and

5. Tol.: Col. atikāra citra 165 discusses various types of names which are generic and not personal in significance. It speaks about family names, group names, occupational names, names of possession, name of quality, names of relation, names due to the pecularity of the organs of the body, names of people living in each land division, the names assumed while playing and the names of number, etc.)

Tol.: Col atikāra Cūtra 174, simply mentions personal names as one of the names. In Cūtra 175 the personal name is divided into four types. In C: 176, the four classifications are given. Female names, male names, names of one object and names of many objects.

Tol.: Porul atikāra Cūtra 20 speaks about names of persons in the five tracts of lands. They are formed either on names of objects and men or on occupations. It does not speak about personal names. In Cūtra 629 there is an interesting observation. This citra deals with the constituents of the name of a person belonging to one of the four castes. They are the name of the place of birth, the personal name and the name of the instrument suitable to the occupation of the caste to which the person belongs.

praised the king and country. Then, Kōvalaṅ with his harlot Mātavi, gave away gold and other presents.\(^7\) This account is recalled in the Epic Manimēkalai also.\(^8\) Other than these two references, early Tamil Literature is silent about this practice and as such questions relating to this topic have to be left unanswered due to the paucity of evidence.\(^9\)

Among the 105 names in the Čaṅkam Classics, nearly 80\% of them are the names of chieftains and kings. 8 names are those of poets; 6 are the names of ladies. A few names of heroes who distinguished themselves in war or in love are also found. In a collection containing 2186 lyrics and long poems running to 26,350 lines, if only over a hundred personal names are found, it clearly shows the general reluctance on the part of the poets to address an important individual by his personal name. Perhaps it was, as it is even today, considered as a mark of disrespect to address one high in society by his personal name.\(^10\) More than three fourths of the Čaṅkam stanzas are on love. Tolkāppiyam lays down a rule that in love poetry neither the name of heroes nor of heroines should be mentioned. This also explains the rarity of personal names.\(^11\) The Čaṅkam bards resort to another device to avoid the personal names. They address the chieftain or king in his generic name denoting the clan or family as in Čeṇṇi\(^12\) for a Cōḷa

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7. The nine principal rules about the names deducible from the Gṛhya Sūtras given in the History of Dharma Sāstras, Pt. II, p. 243, by P. V. KANE and the eight rules of naming a child given in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist, Vol. II, pp. 193-196 may usefully be compared with the ceremony mentioned in Cilappatikāram. The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian names by E. G. WITTCOMBE, 1946 (re-print) will also be useful for this study.


9. A few questions confronting a research worker are noted below:
   a. In the ancient literature, is there only one name for an individual? If two names are to be found, what does the first name indicate?
   b. Are there any nick names? Can anyone change his name if he so desires? Has his name been determined by the family in which he is born?
   c. Is the short name a shortened form of a long name?
   d. How are women named? Do they change their names after marriage or after widow-hood?
   e. Is a part of the name of the parents a part of the name of a child?
   f. Should a man have only one name throughout his life?
   g. Is there any separate name for each caste? Is there any difference in the names assumed in the Čēra, Cōḷa and Pāṇṭya kingdoms, etc.


11. Tolkāppiyapporuḷatikāra Čutra 54 says that in poetry dealing with five-fold love, the personal name of the hero or heroine should not be mentioned.

12. Akaṇāṭuṟu 44.
monarch. This name is surmised to be one of the two families of the Cóla dynasty. In some cases the king is addressed to merely by the name of the dynasty, as Cóla, Cera, Panyiya. Location of the country gives rise to generic names like Teppanavan i.e. of the South, Kutavarkon of the West. Rulers of a particular town, country or hills are called by the names of the town, country, etc. Erumaiyuran Chief of Erumaiyur (may be modern Mysore) and Nalaikilan.

When the generic name is used as a part of a personal name of a chief or king, then it is preceded by a specific name of the individual. In these names, the generic part serves as titles. Eg. Pacum Punn Panyiya.

Double names of persons in Caṅkam classics are common. There are altogether twenty instances. In some of the double names, the first element denotes the family as in Mankutti Marutan i.e. Marutan of the Mankutti family. In a few names the first element serves as an attribute of fame as in Netumanaani. But in a large number of cases we have no clue to say whether the first element denoted the parents’ name or the name of the clan or race to which the individual belongs. Nor do we have any indication to say which of the two is the personal name for in the Caṅkam classics. There are instances where the first element is the personal name as in Pacumpunn Panyiya, as well as instances where the second element is the personal name as in Mankutimarutan. The present practice is to have the father’s name for males and mother’s name for females as the first element of the name. There is evidence in the Caṅkam literature to this practice as in Nanpan cey Nanpan. But there is also another practice of the father’s name being mentioned after the son’s or daughter’s name as in Canta tantai Aliyi, Aiyai tantai Tita. So it is evident that any

16. Patiruppattu 55.
17. Akanaguru 36.
18. Puranaguru 179.
19. Akanaguru 231.
20. Purananuru 72.
21. Do. 315.
21a. In the double name group, the first element in four names is Atan as in Atan Avini. In two names it is Ati as in Atimanti. What these two words signify is not known. But the frequent occurrence of these two words is noteworthy.
22. See f. n. 19.
23. Purananuru 72.
24. Malaiapatakatam 1-84—See also Celvakkonkan Celvan Ainkurunuru—104.
inference made on the basis of the present day practice will be erroneous. From the instance Naṇṇaṇ eyya Naṇṇaṇ, it is clear that in Caṅkam days father and son had the same name.

Among the personal names nearly eighty are disyllabic single-word names. The preference for this disyllabic short names may be attributed to the demands of the Akaṇa metre popular in the Caṅkam Age. But personal names of three four and seven syllables are also found. Cerlänaa\textsuperscript{27} Uṭiyāṇcēral\textsuperscript{28} Čelvaka kaṭumkō vālijātan.\textsuperscript{29}

A good number of names of men end in 'ṇ': Čāttan.\textsuperscript{30} A few names also end in 'i': Aṇći.\textsuperscript{31} There are names of men without these two endings: Uraṇappalēr\textsuperscript{32} and Maruku\textsuperscript{33} denoting a king and the god Skanda respectively. Ladies' names end in 'ai' or 'i': Auvai.\textsuperscript{34} Maruti.\textsuperscript{35} The same name is used both for males and females: Akutai\textsuperscript{36} for a chief as well as for the daughter of the Čolas. The ā ending, common in later day names of ladies, is not to be found in the Caṅkam classics.\textsuperscript{37}

The significance of the personal names, though a tempting field, has baffled a successive array of learned Editors and Historians of the ancient classics.\textsuperscript{38} Except for a few evasive suggestions here and there in their books, most of the names have been left unexplained. I have here made an attempt to explain the significance of these names. At the outset, I have to mention here that most of the explanations are speculations based on certain principles acceptable to scholars. In the absence of an Etymological or Historical Dictionary of Tamil one cannot but be speculative. The principles I have followed are as follows:—

\textsuperscript{27} Akānāṇuṛu—347.
\textsuperscript{28} do. 233.
\textsuperscript{29} Puṇaṇāṇuṛu—387.
\textsuperscript{30} Puṇaṇāṇuṛu—242.
\textsuperscript{31} Do. 92.
\textsuperscript{32} Porunāṅṟṟuggaṭai—130.
\textsuperscript{33} Nāṟṟinaai—82.
\textsuperscript{34} Cīṟupāṅṟṟuṟaṭai—101.
\textsuperscript{35} Akānāṇuṛu—222.
\textsuperscript{36} Akānāṇuṛu—113 and 96.
\textsuperscript{37} Tolkāppiya Col Aṭikāra Čūtras 5 and 6 lay down the rule that words denoting the masculine gender end in 'ṇ' and feminine gender end in 'i'. But the annotators have not shown any instance from the personal names to illustrate the two āṭrams.
\textsuperscript{38} Some writers are fond of deriving the proper names of this ancient period from some significant root or other. Though their attempts may not add visibly to the riches of Tamil philology, they are worth noticing. C. T. K. p. 50, f.n. Again the author has deprecated the derivation of personal and place names due to mere similarity of sounds on p. 110, f.n.
1. To see in what sense the name-word has been used in the contemporary literature. With the help of this usage, the significance of the name is inferred.

2. If the name seems to be of Sanskrit, Prakrit, or of Pali origin, to see if it is found at least in the contemporary literatures of those languages?

3. To consider whether the derivation of the name falls in line with the name-selecting methods of the primitive or ancient people. Here findings of Anthropologists are taken into consideration.

On the basis of these three principles the information gathered by me is given below.

Among the personal names, five are those of gods. Lord Subramania is called Murukan or Muruku for he is the god of youth and beauty (Muruku meaning beauty). The trident he holds in his hand is called vēl. The possessor of it is called Vēlañ. The Pujari who is possessed by the spirit of god Vēlañ is also called Vēlañ. A devotee of the god Murukan may also have his name Kantan. Thus, this practice of giving gods’ name to people is as old as the Cañkam Age. The consort of Muruka is called Valli. This name means a creeper. See also Sanskrit: Vallī. The Prakrit form of Krishnan is Kanña. This is found in the double name of a chief: Kanna elini. One of the names of Buddha according to Amaram is Sāsta. A chief is named as Cattan. The names of a semi-divine being like Yakṣa names are given to a chief Iyakkan. The name of one of the seven benefactors is Akkuranna. Evidently it is from Akrura. The Aryan hero Rama and his consort Sīta are referred to as Iranna and Cītai. The name Paññan may also be of Prakrit origin. Paññan means in that language Arhat. Sanskrit Kapila has given rise to the name of the poet Kapilar. Atiyan or Atikan, the name of a chief, is also suspected to be of Sanskrit origin. The first element of the

40. Maturaikkānci—611.
41. Purānānūru—330. It may also mean the Jain God Arhat who is called Kantan in Cilappatikāram Maturai-Katukān—5.
42. Nāṟṟina—82.
43. Maturaikkānci—591.
44. Akanānūru—197.
45. See f. n. 30.
46. Purānānūru—71.
47. Patiruppattu—14.
48. Akanānūru—70.
49. Purānānūru—378.
50. Akanānūru—117.
51. Purānānūru—337.
double name Kañkañ kaṭṭi, an Andhra chief, may be from the sacred river Ganges. Cēntaṇa is from Jayanta. Piṇṭaṇa is from Bhindū. (Rv) = Destroyer. Titti from Pali Titti = fullness (which is Trptyi in Sanskrit). Kumanaṇa from Pali, Kumainam = fish net. The Poet Moci’s name is from Skt: moca = Moringa Pterygosperma Mbh. Thus we have evidence of Sanskrit and prakrit and Pali mixture in the names of the Cañkam people.

The indigenous names of the Tamils are mostly the names of natural objects like plants, trees, and animals, etc. This practice of giving the names of natural objects is common in the primitive and ancient societies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atti</th>
<th>From the tree Ficus racemosa.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alici</td>
<td>From the tree Alici: may be Alangium decapitatum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utiyan</td>
<td>Goompain tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kañaiyan</td>
<td>Wooden crossbar to tie the elephant called Kañaiyamaram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaṇa</td>
<td>Red cedar: may be from his good character.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piṭṭan</td>
<td>Worm killer plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulli</td>
<td>Petal or a flower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potti</td>
<td>Palmyra root.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matti</td>
<td>Garland or rutthish as an elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marutaṇ</td>
<td>Marutha tree: Terminalia alata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manti</td>
<td>Female monkey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antai</td>
<td>Owl. (Annotators give it as an instance of sycophation. Atan + tantai = Antai).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erumal</td>
<td>From buffalo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviyaṇ</td>
<td>A ram or sheep.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. Akananūru—44.
54. Kuranokai—258.
55. Akanagūru—152.
56. Puranaṅgūru—158.
56a. Puranaṅgūru—158.
57b. Akanagūru—236.
58. Do —162.
59. Do —44.
60. Akanagūru—199.
61. Do —143.
62. Do —209.
63. Puranaṅgūru—211.
64. Akanagūru—211.
65. See f. n. 20.
66. Akanagūru—222.
67. Puranaṅgūru—71.
68. Akanagūru—252.
69. Do —271.
PERSONAL NAMES IN CAṆKAM LITERATURE

Vaṉṭam 70
Ori71
Errai72
Pēkaṅ73
Poṟaiyaṅ74
Kiḷḷi75
From the bee.
Old jackal.
The male of an animal mostly oxen or elephant.
From frog.
From a hillock.
From parrot called Kiḷḷai.

Status in Society and personal character, etc., form the basis of some names.

Netiyōṅ76
Vaḷḷiyaṅ77
Paḷaiyaṅ77a
Naḷḷi78
Kaṭunko79
Kuṭummi78a
Aiya80
Auva81
Alla82
Great in fame.
Charitable.
One of the oldest family.
Nali = greatness.
The king who is hard to enemies.
Foremost among the group: outstanding.
Head woman.
Mother or a Jain ascetic.
Close knit strong person.

Colour of person forms the basis of a few names.

Veḷliyaṅ83
Kāri84
Māyōṅ (Krishṇa)83
Fair in colour.
Black in colour.
Black in colour.

70. Patiruppattu—31.
71. Puranāṅguru—153 also means the appearance of the matured honey comb.
72. Akanāṅguru—44.
73. Puranāṅguru—141.
74. Naṟṟinai—8.
75. Puranāṅguru—399—It is also derived from kilḷutai or digging by G. U. Poy.
But the word has no such meaning in the Cankam days. C. T. K. f. n. p. 50.
76. Perumpāṉāḷruppaṭai—403.
77. Patiruppattu—61.
77a. Maturakkānci—508.
78. Puranāṅguru—150—Nallī means a crab also.
79. Do. —387.
80. Do. —387.
81. Maturakkānci—759.
82. Akanāṅguru—6.
83. Do. —152.
84. Do. —209. Possession of a horse called Kāri is traditionally said to be the cause of his name.
Physical peculiarities form the basis of three names.
Karikālaṁ
Black leg.
Tālumanāṁ
One who received martial wounds.
Kuṭṭuvāṁ
Short in appearance.

Possession of an important object like chariot, etc., forming the basis of a name.
Uruvap pal tēr
One having innumerable well-made chariots.
Pārī
In possession of land Pārī.
Nalliyakkōtu
In possession of the mountain Nalliyakkōtu.
Paranaṅ
In possession of Watch-tower.

A particular incident forming the basis of the name of a person.
Nār muticcēral
One who wore the fibre as his crown.

Occupational name has become personal name.
Evvi
Arrow shooter.
Attan
Dancer.

Still thirteen names are left unexplained. No clue is found in the Cāṇkam classics and it is better to leave them with the note, ‘significance not known’, than to fill the pages with wild guesses. They are eliṇi, Titiyan, Puntrai, Ān̄mi-nilī, Āy, Āti Arumān, Ātānuṅkan, Avini, Antuvan, Akutai, Kalattalai, Potini, Vāncān

83. Porunarāṛṛuyppaṭai—148. Some interpret this name as the kāla or yama of Gajan or elephant of Ceylon.
86. Puranāṅgūru—394.
87. Porunarāṛṛuyppaṭai—130.
88. Cīrupāṅṛṛuppaṭai—125.
88a. Puranāṅgūru—236.
89. Akanāṅgūru—199.
90. Puranāṅgūru—233.
91. Akanāṅgūru—222.
92. Puranāṅgūru—230. It means a curtain. The Tamil Lexicon gives a probable
basis Yavanika.
94. Do. —44.
95. Do. —145. Āmi in Pali means mother. The name mi-nilī comes both
for a male and for a female without any change.
96. Puranāṅgūru—133. May be from the Āyar community—cowherds.
97. Kuruntokai—293.
98. Puranāṅgūru—369.
100. Puranāṅgūru—233.
102. Akanāṅgūru—1.
103. Puranāṅgūru—389.
TELUGU LOANS IN TAMIL

BY

S. V. SUBRAMANIAN, Tuticorin

In the Dravidian group of languages, Telugu speakers number more than Tamils. Though the geographical distribution of these two language speakers are in the Northern and Southern extremities of the Peninsular India, we have evidence from Sangam Age that these two had familiar contacts with each other. This and the large number of loan words noted by the Tamil Lexicon tempted me to select this topic.

In nine places Sangam Literature refers to the Andras, who were called there as 'Vadukar'. They were mentioned as the enemies of Tamil Chieftains and as a warrior race speaking a different language. Sangam Anthologies fortunately preserve a few names of the Andra Chieftains such as Pulli, Kangan Katti, and Erumaiyuran. There is a reference in Akanānūru that kaṭṭi, one of the Andra chiefs became a captain of the Chera army. From this it can be inferred that at the beginning the Andra chiefs were not in good terms with the Tamil kings, but later they became allies. There is mention of chief called Ay-Aṇṭiran in Puranānūru (241). If the derivation of aṇṭiran from Andra is accepted, then that chief can also be considered as from the Telugu country. Except for these few references no other evidence is available in the Sangam classics about the Vadukar and their activities in Tamil land.

1. I acknowledge my indebtedness to the Tamil Research Department of the University of Travancore and to Prof. Subramoniam under whose direction this topic has been investigated. My Telugu knowledge is practically nil, but I am lucky enough to get the assistance of Puttavarthi Nārāyaṇa Charlu, Etymologist of the Malayalam Lexicon Department and a distinguished poet in his language. For the Historical Introduction, I have referred to the following books.


2. Tamil Lexicon has given 488 words as loan from Telugu to Tamil. Out 488 words, sixteen were not found in the Telugu dictionary, and 17 were not of the origin of Telugu but Sanskrit and 4 words of Hindi origin.

3. Agamānūru 107, 213, 253, 281, 295, 375, 381.
Purānānūru 378.
Kūṟuntokai 11.
But in historic times we have evidence of intimate relationship between these two Dravidian families. The sack of Vatapi by Parashottam, the commander-in-Chief of Mamalla, in 641 A.D. opened the way for intimate contacts of the two people. Bakti movement started by Gnanasambanda and engineered by the anti-Jain and anti-Buddhist feeling, gained momentum during the time of Pallavas. Devaram is replete with the evidence of the movement of saints and divine persons throughout South India including Andra Desa, visiting temples and singing hymns. This movement would have also brought the two language speakers closer in contact.

During the time of the Imperial Cholas, the major part of the Telugu country was under the Chola sovereigns. Parantaka I subdued in 915 A.D., the Vaidumbas who were a Telugu speaking family of rulers. Marital alliances were resorted too, by the Cholas to maintain the subject kingdoms in peace. Prince Arinjaya the third son of Parantaka I, married Kalyani a Vaidumba princess. The daughter of Rajaraja the Great, Kundavai was given in marriage to Chalukya king Vimalathitiya. Rajaraja Narendra, the son of Vimalathitiya married Ammankaidavi, the daughter of Rajendra I. When there was no heir apparent to the imperial Chola dynasty, the Chola-Chalukya prince Kulothunga, became the ruler of the vast Chola empire and married his uncle's (Rajendra II) daughter. This intimate and long lasting alliance brought the Tamils and Andras very close to each other.

Again this contact has been revived during the time of the Vijayanagara kings. The viceroys of Krishna Devaraya, defeated the Muslims and consolidated the Madura kingdom. Another representative of the Vijayanagar Emperor ruled over the Tanjore country also. For nearly two hundred years, the rule of Nayaks lasted in Tamil land. For effective administration the Tamil country was divided into a number of palayams and Telugu chiefs were appointed as the heads of these Palayapatru. As a result of this arrangement there was a migration and settlement of the Telugu people in each town and village of the Tamil Nad. Their descendants are still found in almost all the important towns and villages speaking a corrupt form of Telugu in their houses. Very few know the script of their mother tongue, but use Tamil for all practical purposes. We have reason to think that Telugu was the court language in Madura, for it is found in nearly about 25 Telugu inscriptions belonging to the Nayaks, in and around Madura. Many of the Vijayanagara Samandhas and the Nayak rulers were patrons of Tamil letters. Saluva Tirumalai Rayar is said to be the benefactor of poet Kalamekam. Krishna Devaraya himself is a good scholar of Tamil and in his court flourished, Kumarsaraswathi, Mandala Purusa, the author of Sudamani Nikantu, Gananapirakasar, the author of Manjarippa and Kaccikkalampakam, Tattuvappirakasar and Hariharadasar, the author of Irusumaya Vilakkam. Arunagirinathath of Tiruppugal fame was patronised by Prouda Devaraya. This explains the
usage of nearly ten Telugu words in his work. Supraṭṭipakavirayar, the author of Viralividu Tōtu was patronised by Kūlappa Naicken, a Telugu chief who ruled over a portion of Tamil land in the 17th century.

These continuous and intimate contacts of Telugu with Tamil made way for nearly 450 Telugu words in Tamil. Among the Dravidian Nations it is Andra-desa which had continuous contact with Tamil land from the early days of Sangam, and it is Telugu which has contributed the largest number of loan words among the Dravidian languages to Tamil.

Among the loan words a fifty has been used in Tamil Literature. The earliest literature which uses the Telugu words is Kamban’s Ramayanam. In Yuthakanda he uses the words Tammi and Akkaṭa. He is followed by Mandala Purusa, the author of Sudamani Nikantu in the usage of Telugu words like nēradu and Cēkaṇṭi etc. In Tiruppuṭal is found the usage of oyil, kacati, kaccutti, koluca, kunuku, paṅtar, vacavan, paṅkāru. In Viralividu Tootu, we find the greatest number of Telugu terms. In this small prabanda, fifteen Telugu words have been used. Sivappirakasa Munivar and the author of Panavidu Tootu also use Telugu words. Stray stanzas of Tanippāṭal also make use of Telugu words. All these show that Telugu borrowals are not recent and have been accepted and used even by poets.

Nearly one-fourth of the Telugu loans are still current in Tamil-nad particularly in Madras and other Northern Tamil districts.

Hybrid Telugu words are also used in Tamil. Tamil Lexicon gives 39 hybrids. They fall into three types namely Telugu-Tamil, Telugu-Urdu and Telugu-Sanskrit.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tamil + Telugu,} & \quad \text{ātu + doḍḍi} & \quad = \text{āṭṭuttoṭṭi} \\
\text{Telugu + Tamil,} & \quad \text{erra + kāṭu} & \quad = \text{eraṅkāṭu} \\
\text{Telugu + Sanskrit,} & \quad \text{doḍda + sasiri} & \quad = \text{toṭṭasāstri} \\
\text{Telugu + Urdu,} & \quad \text{Kolacu + māl} & \quad = \text{Kolaccumāl} 
\end{align*}
\]

Rudolf Hallig and Walther Von Wartburg have evolved a scheme of arranging the concepts, belonging to different walks of life. I have applied this original scheme for the study of Telugu loans as it is done for the Marathi loans in Tamil by P. C. Ganeshsundaram and V. I. Subramoniam in Indian Linguistics (p. 108).

A. Universe. The plants. ānakam; iraṭi; cāppira; cikiṭima.

Space: ēṭar; eraṅkāṭu; kammattam.

B. Man. The physical being; Health and illness, Illness, infirmities, deformations,

Illness: uppacam; upparam; caluppu; koṭṭu.
Deformations: kapōti.

The Cares.

The Medicines: kaliṅkam; kājaṅkaṭṭutal; kāpaṇam; ellam; soṇṭi.

Cloth: iravikkai, kuṇṭancu, cokkāy, tappaṇcu, tōvattu, tōmtarā, val-lavāṭṭu, kuṭṭai.

Ornaments: kammal, paṭṭatāi, kolucu, pāvili, pillānī, anṭu, kaccaṭṭikai, irāvirēku, civarēkku, kontamani, tuttukkamal, cikaitāṭu, toppāram, cintākku.

The needs of the Human Being.

Food: uppaṭṭu, ampali, caṅkaṭi, cantakam, caṅṭikai, cuṇṇukkaṭṭi, cimiliṟyntai, koṭṭuracām, kanti, penṭalākkāy.

The Soul and the Intellect.

(a) Generalities, intelligence, wisdom: kapōti.

Sentiments: kacati, camālam, keli, cimmaḷam.

The manifestations and results of sentiments: cuṇṇitam, ākkīru.

Man, the Social Being. Social life in general, constitution of society.

Marriage: cētai.

Family relationship: appāyi, koṭulku, muṇṭaimōppi, tallī.

Games and distractions: koppī, tonku, karuṭi, tippilātam.

Man at Work.

Generalities

Tools in General: ākkaraivāḷ, kaṭṭari, irampamu, kırīcu, kaṭṭappāraī, camatāṭu, kuṇṭakam.

The different trades and professions: irayacakkaṇaṇ, kutumī, kollaccē-vakāṇ, kutilēkollāṇ, tarakari, kunṭaṇakkaṇaṇ, kavaṭakkaṇaṇ, cēntiravar, kampattakkāṇaṇ.

Dwelling house: kaṭṭitam.

Cooking utensils and vessels: kaṇvam, ciṭti, jōtu.

Social Organizations. The Communities.

Village: kuppam.

Caste: iraṭti, pattar, kammavār, upparavar, kōmaṭṭi, vāḷācai, raju.

Music: kavēl pantu, pantuvarāli, čāvi.

Instruments: itamāṇam, makuṭi, cēkaṇṭi.

Man and the Universe:

Weight and measures: karicai.
It is clear from the analysis that the Telugu speakers have mainly contributed terms for ornaments, food, cloths, instruments of work and caste names.

**Phonology.**

"Since in Tamil for unvoiced aspirates, voiced unaspirates and voiced aspirates the surd symbol alone is used in writing, it is very difficult to determine the exact pronunciation prevalent in those days when they were written. So the current pronunciation is followed while discussing the phonology."  

I am giving below those few words which have absorbed without any change (the total number is twenty-seven).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citti</td>
<td>citti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tammi</td>
<td>tammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talli</td>
<td>talli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempu</td>
<td>tempu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pillâni</td>
<td>pillâni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowel Changes.**

Enunciative ‘i’ has been added particularly to those Telugu words which begin with ‘r’, ‘r’, ‘l’ because they do not begin a word in Tamil.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tekkiyamu</td>
<td>itakkiyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damâramu</td>
<td>itamâyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ravika</td>
<td>iravikkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rava</td>
<td>iravai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lâhiri</td>
<td>ilaâhiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lantsamu</td>
<td>ilaâncamu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Initial Changes:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allamu</td>
<td>ellam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obbañlu</td>
<td>uppañfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ommattsu</td>
<td>ummañcu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>japhara</td>
<td>cāppira</td>
<td>kirusu</td>
<td>kirisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṭaru</td>
<td>koṭṭāru</td>
<td>buruḍa</td>
<td>pirutai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tippili</td>
<td></td>
<td>savati</td>
<td>cautti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭṭiṭam</td>
<td></td>
<td>savatu</td>
<td>cauttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uppusam</td>
<td></td>
<td>jeṭṭi</td>
<td>jāṭṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melukkuva</td>
<td></td>
<td>dōmatera</td>
<td>tömtarā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāḍuva</td>
<td>keṭuvu</td>
<td>nenaru</td>
<td>niṇaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gavini</td>
<td>keviṇi</td>
<td>beluku</td>
<td>plukku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cikaitātu</td>
<td>takκēḍa</td>
<td>palkalkai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalavaramu</td>
<td>kaḷaiyavāram</td>
<td>poḍi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geggili</td>
<td>kekkali</td>
<td>goṇuṇu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takkiḍi</td>
<td>takkati</td>
<td>kuṇuku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>Disappearing of 'u' in the middle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gariḍi</td>
<td>karṭi</td>
<td>pālmāru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuḍimi</td>
<td>kuṭumi</td>
<td>Adding 'i' in the middle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>dūbradingdi</td>
<td>ūppipratiṅṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gili</td>
<td>keli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidi</td>
<td>ceṭil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārupattemu</td>
<td>pārapattiyam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>battuḍu</td>
<td>pattar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulla</td>
<td>pullā</td>
<td>cuvvālu</td>
<td>cuvvālē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golla</td>
<td>gollā</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>dimmu</td>
<td>timmai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kanḍe</td>
<td>kanṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanna</td>
<td>nanni</td>
<td>garise</td>
<td>karicai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pella</td>
<td>pelli</td>
<td>sidde</td>
<td>citṭai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Disappearing of vowel in the end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimmisa</td>
<td>timicu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gāḍa</td>
<td>tāṛku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>etar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>citika</td>
<td>citṭikai</td>
<td>edari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rekka</td>
<td>ḍrakkai</td>
<td>tcokkāya</td>
<td>cokkāy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ultimate enunciative 'u' of a Telugu word disappears in 80 out of 100 cases, in Tamil.

cippamu cippam uggamu ukkam
néramu néram làvānāmu ilāvānām

The phonological study reveals that the vowel a can correspond to ā, i, u, e, ai, vowel i can correspond to a, u, e vowel u to a, i, ē, ai, au, vowel e to a, i, u, ai, vowel e to a, and vowel o to i, u. Another peculiarity is that most of the vowel changes occur in the medial position.

Consonantal Changes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced unaspirate g becomes a surd k.</td>
<td>Voiced unaspirate d becomes unvoiced unaspirate t.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunṭaka</td>
<td>kuṇṭaka</td>
<td>dibba</td>
<td>tippai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baṅgāru</td>
<td>paṅkāru</td>
<td>addamu</td>
<td>attam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāṅḍaga</td>
<td>teṇṭaki</td>
<td>kābōdi</td>
<td>kāpōti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surd is geminated.</td>
<td></td>
<td>p &gt; n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palukku</td>
<td>palukku</td>
<td>pisināri</td>
<td>naṇunāri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōmati</td>
<td>kōmatī</td>
<td>d &gt; s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egatāli</td>
<td>ekattāli</td>
<td>daṭu</td>
<td>ṭappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabu</td>
<td>tāppu</td>
<td>eṭari</td>
<td>eṭar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūḷācēndu</td>
<td>pūḷāccēntu</td>
<td>gariḍi</td>
<td>kuruṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttural plosive becoming palatal plosive.</td>
<td></td>
<td>d &gt; t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koṅga</td>
<td>cōṅku</td>
<td>biraḍa</td>
<td>pirutai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant has become a palatal plosive.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikaiṭādu</td>
<td>cikaiṭtu</td>
<td>regadi</td>
<td>rekāṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vrāyasaṃmu</td>
<td>īrāyacam</td>
<td>dōku</td>
<td>ṭōncu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pavisi</td>
<td>pavici</td>
<td>b &gt; p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal voiced unaspirate becomes palatal plosive.</td>
<td></td>
<td>balapamu</td>
<td>palapam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēgaṇṭa</td>
<td>cēkaṇṭi</td>
<td>ibbanṭi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajīṭu</td>
<td>pacītu</td>
<td>dabba</td>
<td>tappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental t has become palatal plosive.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ba &gt; va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omattsu</td>
<td>ummaccu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uttsu</td>
<td>occu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adding l in the end.
ti into platal plosive.
tjanṭka       cantikai
tjanṭa        cenṭai
Labial plosive p into guttural k.
ānapa         ānakam
p           >          t
pippi       tippi
Adding vi in the end.
kaṇṭara       kaṇṭaravi
kaṇṭa         kaṇṭuravi

Dropping h in the initial.
hoṭalu       oyil
thivi        tivi

Dropping t in the initial.
tcappa       cappai
tcokka       cokka
t           >          t
sonṭi         conṭi

kamma        kammal
debba        tappal
Adding a final n.
guptigolla   kuttiṅkollan
tagara       takilaṅ
Adding m or am for neutral endings.
ānapa        ānakam
gātu         kāṭam
r           >          l
tagara       takilaṅ
Guttural fricative h has become guttural k.
lāhiri       ilākiri
dz           >          c
randzakamu    ivaṅkaṅam
dz           >          j
dzantintsu    janti
dzanṭa        janṭai
ph           >          p
japhara       ivaṅpira
ebhrāsi       īppiraci

The changes in the consonants are to a large measure due to the lack of varga sounds in Tamil. Other consonantal changes are few and negligible.

It is surprising to find that in the usage of Telugu words in Tamil, there is very little change in grammatical significance. Except in two cases where a noun is used as an adjective (doddasastrī, kotturasam) all other words are used in Tamil exactly as they are in Telugu. Equally surprising is the absence of semantic divergencies in the usage of Telugu words in Tamil. Except for one instance (Arata = boat in Telugu = projection of a jewel in Tamil,) all other words are used in the same meaning in Tamil as they are in Telugu. This may be due to the intimate association of the two language groups which lasted for over eight hundred years,
SANSKRIT KAVA- AND RELATED WORDS

BY

T. Burrow, Oxford

In TPS 1954 pp. 144 ff. H. W. Bailey draws attention to an Indo-Iranian base kav- : ku ‘to be small’. In Iranian there is found a considerable family of words based on this root, e.g. Av. kutaka- ‘small’, Pahl. kavāt ‘young animal’ kavātak ‘young boy’, kōtak ‘small’, Pers. kōtāh ‘short, small, little, mean’, kōdak ‘small, a child’. From this base also, as Bailey shows, is derived the Avestan proper name Kavāta-. There is however some doubt about the proposed development of meaning, ‘young’ to ‘youthful, with the vigour of youth’. This takes us quite outside the semantic range of the words attested from this base. A more suitable meaning would be either simply ‘small, tiny’ or ‘the youngest (of a family of children)’. In the same way the meaning ‘most youthful in vigour’ for Kaniṣka can hardly be justified from the meanings of the words derived from the root kan- ‘small’, and some alternative meaning as suggested above would appear to be preferable.

In Sanskrit the word kumāra ‘child, young boy’ is derived from this same root with the addition of suffixation which appears also in Lith kumblys ‘foal’ and kumelė ‘filly’. The stem is therefore in origin an adjective meaning ‘little’. This meaning may be seen in the compound kumārādesa-, an adjective applied to dice in Rv. 10, 34, 7. If this bahuvrihi compound were interpreted according to the ordinary meaning of kumāra- (‘child’) it should mean ‘whose gifts are children’, a sense which is totally unsuitable to the context. The difficulty is usually got round by the assumption of a rather elaborate but not very convincing meaning, ‘whose gifts are like those of children (who give things only to take them back again’. A simple and satisfactory meaning is obtained if we assume that the first member here simply means ‘small’, in accordance with this etymology: ‘whose gifts are small’.

The adjective komala- ‘tender’ is usually regarded as being connected with kumāra-, but opinions differ about the precise explanation of the relationship. As far as I can see the only satisfactory explanation is that proposed by Charpentier (Monde Or. 1.18) who regards it as a prakritised kaumāra-. There is no phonetic difficulty because the l/r fluctuation is a common phenomenon, and the short vowel of the second syllable is found
in Pkt. *kumara-*,* kumari* which are found beside *kumāra,* *kumāri.* From the semantic point of view this is most satisfactory since a shift of meaning is automatically associated with secondary derivation by *vyddhi.* The adjective is to be interpreted as 'having the quality of a *kumāra-* i.e. tender'. It should be noted that this word is unknown to the early Sanskrit literature and to Pali. This means that it was adopted into the literary language from some Prakrit dialect at a comparatively late stage. The origin of the Prakrit form is quite simple as shown above.

In addition to *kumārā-* and its derivative *komala-* there are a number of other stems in Sanskrit which can be traced to the base *kav-* : *ku* 'small'. There was an adjective *kava-* 'small' which though no longer used as an independent adjective even in the earliest period, was preserved as the first member of a number of compounds. Three of these are recorded, namely *kavapatha-* 'a small, poor, inferior road', *kavagni-* 'a little fire', and *kavosāna-* 'slightly warm, tepid'. No satisfactory explanation has so far been provided for this stem *kava-* but it can now be quite simply explained on the basis of the root *kav-* : *ku* 'small'.

Although the adjective *kava-* no longer exists in independent use in Sanskrit, the corresponding negative *ākava-* 'not small' appears in a number of passages in the *Rgveda.*

1. 158. 1 prā yāt sasrāthe ākavābhīr āti "when ye have gone forth with not small (or deficient) aids".

6. 33. 4. sā tvām na indrākavābhīr āti sākhā viśvāyur avitā vydhē bhūḥ 'With non-deficient aid(s), O Indra, be thou for us a friend all our life, a helper for our prosperity'.

6. 60. 3. yuvām rādhobhir ākavebhīr indrāgne asmē bhavatam uttamēbhiḥ 'May you two be by us, O Indra and Agni, with not small (poor, deficient) bounties, with the best.'

5. 58. 5. arā īvēd ācaranā āheva prā pra jāyante ākava māhobhiḥ, 'Of whom there is no last like spokes, like days, they are continually born, not small (deficient) in respect of their greatness'.

3. 54. 16. dātrām rakṣēthe ākavair ādabdhā. 'You maintain your liberality with not small (gifts), being undeceived'.

As will be seen from the contexts ākava-* means 'not small' but has also acquired the additional connotation of 'not too small, not inadequate, not deficient,' just as *kavapatha-* means not only a 'small road', but more specifically a 'poor mean, inferior road' and *kavagni-* a 'low fire' and one 'that burns badly'.
Of the three words given by the grammarians as compounded with kava-, kavapatha- is stated to be Vedic. It is not found in any extant work, but in view of the statement of Pāṇini, it must be assumed that it existed in some Vedic text no longer extant. The word kavọṣṇa- is quoted from a sūtra, so both are adequately attested to be of respectable antiquity. The TS. has kavā-tiryaṅc- 'a little across.' In addition to these there is found a similar compound kavārī- (kava- + ari-) which is found in the Rgveda (also the negative ākavārī-). On the meaning of this word there is general agreement; it is 'mean, stingy, niggardly'. The main difficulty in its interpretation is the last member of the compound, which is one of the problem words of the Veda. It cannot be said that this word has been properly worked out yet, and there is not space here to go into the question. For the purpose of the present article it will be sufficient to note that ari- in the good sense refers in particular to the liberal and pious patrons who patronised the Vedic singers, cf. RV 5.33.6 prā aryāḥ stuṣe tuvimaghāsyā dānām and GELDNER. Ved St. III. 73 ff. Liberality was one of their characteristics, so Kavārī- is one who is 'not much of an ari-' (hence illiberal, stingy, mean') just as kavọṣṇa- means 'not very warm'.

There is another word meaning 'stingy, mean' in the Veda, which occurs only once, namely kavatnū- 7.32.9. This has usually been explained (as have also been some of the words mentioned above), as being connected with kavi- 'wise, a wise man', and derived from an IE root qeu- 'to notice, understand' (in Skt. only with the prefix ā 'to intend'; ā kuvata, ācūta-). The idea is that meaning developed from 'wise' to 'cautious, careful', and from that to 'avaricious, stingy'. Yet it seems on the whole unlikely that a term denoting people who were obviously considered very despicable should be etymologically kavi- which describes those who are exalted in wisdom above ordinary mankind. It seems better to take this word also as derived from kar- : ku- 'small', just like the stems previously discussed, particularly since we have observed a tendency for derivations of this root to develop the additional meaning of 'too small, inadequate, deficient, poor, inferior, mean'.

The stem kava in kavọṣṇa- is generally regarded as being etymologically connected with the pejorative prefix ku-, and both are usually connected with the base of the interrogative pronoun. The etymological connection between ku- and kava- can be justified, but only if ku- is also derived from the root under discussion, and not if it is connected with the interrogative pronoun. The latter connection has always seemed to me exceedingly dubious, and now that there is available an alternative explanation which causes no semantic difficulty it is time for it to be dropped. A survey of the compounds containing ku- as their first element reveals a considerable number in which ku- simply means 'small' and not 'bad'.
Such are kugrāma- 'a petty village'; kutapa- 'slightly hot' (cf. kavogna-), kudīṭi- a measure of length (said to be longer than a diṣṭi- and shorter than a vitasti, but to judge by the etymology probably originally something shorter than a diṣṭi-), kudvāra- 'a back door', kunadi 'a small river', kuvakra- 'slightly bent', kuvābhra- 'a small hole', kusarita- 'a small stream'. In later classical Sanskrit compounds with ku- are made at will, and in great numbers, according to the prescription of Pāṇini, and in the compounds so made up the prefix normally means 'bad'. In the earlier language they are not very common and not freely made as later, and the meaning 'little' is much more prominently present. Note for instance the contrast between Apastamba's kusṛti- 'a byway' (= kavapatha-), and the later artificial use of this word in the sense of 'bad conduct'. In view of these instances of ku- meaning simply 'little' in the early language, we should have no hesitation in seeing the root ku- 'small' in this prefix. The use of the simple root without any suffix in this way is paralleled by the prefix duṣ- (\sqrt{duṣ}-'to be spoiled').

The pejorative or depreciatory use of the suffix arises from the fact that, as already noticed above, this root and its derivatives tend to mean not only 'small' but also 'too small, mean, inadequate, deficient'. The development of meaning is very natural. For instance the stem kuyāva is quoted from RV in the sense 'bringing a bad harvest' and from VS in the sense of 'a bad harvest'. Since a small harvest and a bad harvest mean the same thing it is quite natural for the prefix ku- to develop a pejorative sense in this context. The pejorative use was apparently beginning already in the Indo-Iranian period, because, in the one example of this kind of compound quoted from the Avesta, it has this sense: kunārī 'harlot', i.e. a woman of lesser status, of not much worth (not as Bt. would have it 'was für ein Weib').

It is a fact that other forms of the interrogative pronoun are used as depreciating prefixes: kad- in kad-anna- 'poor food', etc., kā- in kāpatha- 'an inferior way', and kisā in kisā-rājan- 'a bad king'. The commonest of these is kad-, which (P. 6. 3. 101) replaces ku- when the second member begins with a vowel. An old example is kadarya- (Chând, Up; cf also Pa. kadariya-) 'mean miserly', i.e., much the same as kavāri- apart from the alteration of the prefix. No parallels are found outside Indo-Aryan for such a use of these forms of the pronoun. The explanation of all these forms is to be sought in the homophony existing between ku- 'little, poor' and the interrogative ku- (in kūtra, kūha, etc.). Confusion between these two, and connecting them etymologically whether consciously or unconsciously, led to other forms of the pronominal stem being used like the pejorative ku-. The commonest form so used is the neuter kad-, and in
this case there was obviously a striving to avoid using ku- before vowels, because in that case it would lose its syllabic quality. The feminine kā- is much less frequently used and tends to carry with it the additional idea of effeminacy, as in kāpuṟuṣa-. The neuter kim is laid down in P. 2. 1. 64, to be so used in the sense of blame, but it is only very sparingly so used.

The prefix ku- was seen in the adjective kubjā- 'hump-backed, crooked' by BR, which was analysed as ku + ubja- (ν ubj- 'to press down'). The difficulty of course is that in that case we should have had a long vowel (*kūbja-) and there is no reason why such a vowel should have been shortened. Since then a number of etymologies for this word have been proposed, both from within and without Indo-European, none of which are free from objection. It may be perhaps worth while to start from BR's suggestion again, but with a slightly different analysis, namely ku-bjā-. The latter element as given in this analysis is supported by the occurrence of a similar form in the compound uru-bjā-. From the root pad- we have some forms with elimination of the radical vowel and assimilation of the initial unvoiced consonant: Skt. upabdā- 'trampling' and Av. frabdā- 'fore part of the foot'. The IE root *pāg- 'to fix' appears in Sanskrit in various derivatives (pajrā-, pājas, paṇijara-). Under the same conditions which produced bdā- in upabdā- we should have from this root bjā- and that is what appears to exist in the compound uru-bjā-. This word occurs only once, in RV. 9. 77. 4 gāvām urubjām abhy ārṣati vrajām 'he moves towards the extensively constructed stall of the cows'. The adjective is usually explained as for ud-ubjā-, meaning 'opened', but it can hardly be a permissible method of Vedic exegesis to substitute for a word which only occurs once another word which does not occur at all. Clearly the word should be left as it is, and it makes perfectly good sense when analysed as above.

The second member bjā- being attested in this compound, there would seem to be some justification in explaining kubjā- in the same way. The compound ku-bjā- may be rendered 'deficiently formed, poorly, badly constructed'.

An adjective dūpāra- occurs twice in the RV: 5. 39. 2. vidyāma tāsya te vayām dūpārasya dāvīne, and 10. 109. 1. dūpāraḥ satilāḥ. BR renders it in both cases 'unbounded'. In VS 24. 35 the word occurs in the sense of

1. Scheffelowitz (IF 33, 151, note), gave a somewhat similar analysis, but connecting with Gk. pēgē 'spring'. This does not produce a suitable sense in the context, and Sāyana's version on which the comparison is based is clearly fanciful,
'ocean'. According to this there is a development of meaning from 'boundless' to 'ocean' as unbounded which is natural enough. Geldner on the other hand renders the word as 'ocean' in both the Rigvedic passages. On this word Yāṣka remarks *samudrā 'py akūpāra ucyate ucyate 'kūpāro bhavati mahā-pāraḥ*. The usual explanation of this word is a- 'not' + kū- 'where' + pāra- 'further side', which is presumed to mean 'not having a further side anywhere'. In view of the existence of the root kū- 'little' one might expect a-kū- if = mahā- to contain this root, so the translation would be 'whose distance across is not little.'

There is, however, some reason to believe that the matter is not quite as simple as that. It is a very rare word, and of the two occurrences in the Rāgveda, the meaning is only really suitable for the second, which occurs in the later tenth book. In looking for the original significance of the term we should base ourselves on the first passage, 5. 39. 2. Here the renderings offered seem forced. One would expect the word in this context to mean simply 'generous, liberal', and the translation would be 'may we know of thee as such a one, generous for giving'.

The crux of the matter lies in the final element of the compound which is assigned to the root pṛ- 'to cross'. It is proposed now that -pāra in this compound is not derived from this root pṛ- 'to cross' but from a root pṛ- 'to give' which has not been separately recognised in the dictionaries. Well known nominal derivatives from this root are pūrtā- an act of pious liberality (such as feeding Brahmans, digging a well etc.), and pūrti- 'granting' bestowing'. The etymological connection of these words with Gk. époron 'gave, provided' péprōtai 'is assigned, fated', Lat. portio, etc. is well established (WP II. 41, EGNOUT- MEILLET, p. 735). The corresponding verb also occurs in Sanskrit, but it has not been recognised because it has become homophonous with the verb meaning 'to fill'. In the Veda we have beside pṛṇāti 'fills' (< pṛ-—n—eH—ti) a quite distinct verb pṛṇāti 'gives' (< pṛ—neH—ti), from which pūrtā- and pūrti- are derived. As an instance of this verb we may quote RV 10. 117. 5 pṛṇāyāt in nādhamānāya tāvyān 'the powerful man should give (practise charity) to the needy'. The numerous other passages in which this verb occurs will be found in BR's dictionary, but they are put under the root par- 'to fill' on the assumption of a secondary development of meaning. But in view of the etymological connections noted above this is certainly wrong. Vedic pṛ-, pṛṇāti 'give' should be treated as a separate verb, and along with pūrtā-, pūrti- should be connected with Gk. époron etc. In the Greek etymological dictionaries there is also confusion, since this verb is considered to contain the same root as pédrō 'cross'. They are of course quite different roots, just as Vedic pṛ- 'to give' is distinct from pṛ- 'to cross'. The three IE roots are per- 'to cross', perH- 'to give, assign', and pelH 'to fill'.
I would propose to analyse ākūpāra- on the assumption that the last member āpāra- is derived from the root pī- 'to give', so that a-kū- pāra- will mean 'not giving little', i.e. 'generous'. As pointed out above this is the sense which is most suitable for the passage RV 5. 39. 2. On the other hand in the later poem the meaning is clearly 'boundless'. It is exceedingly unlikely that there existed two genuine words ākūpāra-, one containing āpāra from the root pī- 'to give' and the other āpāra- from the root pī- 'to cross'. The new meaning is best accounted for on the assumption that the later author was using an ancient, obsolete word which he did not properly understand. The root pī-, along with its derivatives was tending to become obsolete, and eventually it disappeared. It was natural that this traditional word, when no longer properly understood, should be analysed as containing āpāra- 'crossing, further side', which was the only pāra- which remained familiar. The poet of 10, 109. 1 used the word that had been previously used by the poet of 5. 39. 2 but since he did not understand it, gave it a new meaning based on an incorrect analysis.
ON THE INTERPRETATION OF A RULE OF PANINI

BY

Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, Calcutta

"antaraṁ bahiryogopasaṁvyānaṁ" is the thirty-sixth rule in the very first section of the first Adhyāya of Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī. It occurs also as a Gaṇasūtra under i. 1. 27. Ancient and modern commentators have differed very widely regarding the interpretation of this rule. The meaning of bahiryoga is connexion with something external, but then upasaṁvyāna (inner garment, underwear) would be superfluous for it is also connected with something external, viz., the outer garment, and thus covered by the word bahiryoga. The earliest traditional explanation that has come down to us is found in the Mahābhāṣya which runs thus:

Vā. / upasaṁvyāna grahaṇam anarthakaṁ bahiryogena kṛtatvāt /

Bhā. / upasaṁvyāna grahaṇam anarthakaṁ / kim kāraṇam / bahiryogena kṛtatvāt / bahiryoga ityeva siddham /

Vā. / na vā sāṭakayugadyartham /

Bhā. / na vānarthakam / kim kāraṇam / sāṭakayugadyartham tarchidam vaktavyam / yatrātaṁ na ṣāṇyate kim antarīyam kim uttarīyam iti / utrāpi ya eṣa manuṣyaḥ prekṣāpūrvakārī bhavati nirjñatam tasya bhavatidaṁ antarīyam idam uttarīyam iti /

The Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana says that the mention of upasaṁvyāna in the rule is unnecessary for the purpose is served by bahiryoga. The reply is given in the second Vārttika: No, it is necessary for pairs of garment. The Bhāsyakāra explains that in the case of two pieces of cloth, etc., it is not known which is the inner one and which the outer, and so it is necessary to mention upasaṁvyāna in the rule. The Bhāsyakāra, however, rejects this view on the ground that a man who looks before and after before acting knows perfectly well which is the inner garment and which the outer one.

[What Kātyāyana probably means is that in the case of things like the parts of the body, etc., one is naturally and necessarily inner and the other outer. But in the case of pairs of garment, etc., when they are not worn, the one is not naturally and necessarily inner and connected with the other which is outer. So it is necessary to use the word upasaṁvyāna in the rule to bring cases like antare sāṭakaḥ under its purview.]
These concluding words of the Bhāṣyakāra led commentators from the Kāśikā downwards to explain bahiryoga as bāhya, i.e., external, lying outside. So antara, like other ambivalent words, comes to mean its exact opposite. It is the presence of the word upasamayāna that has driven later commentators to this absurd situation.

In this short paper I am going to put forward, in all humility, what I think is a rational explanation of this rule of Pāṇini. I believe bahiryoga here means 'when the outer thing is mentioned'. Thus in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa we find: bāhye muñjā bhavantyantare śayāḥ, 6. 6. 2. 16. In the case of the inner garment, however, antara is a pronoun, even though there be no mention of something external. antara is used without bāhya in cases like "devarathe vā eṣa yad yajñas tasyaiva antarau raśmi yadājyaprauge," Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, chapter x. antara is used in connexion with bāhya in the following passages of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa:

bāhyokhā bhavantyantare muñjāḥ / bāhyo hyātmāntarā yonīḥ / bāhye muñjā bhavantyantare śayāḥ / bāhyā hi yonir antara jārāyu / bāhye śayā bhavantyantarām ghṛtam / bāhyam hi jārāyantarām ulbam / bāhyam ghṛtam bhavantyantarā samitaḥ / bāhyam hyulbam antaro garbhaḥ / SB 6. 6. 2. 16.

tadvai yonīḥ pariśritaḥ / ulbam uṣā reṭāḥ / sikataḥ / bāhyāḥ pariśrito bhavantyantarā uṣāḥ / bāhyā hi yonir antaram ulbam / / bāhya uṣā bhavantyantarāḥ sikataḥ / bāhyam hyulbam antaram reṭāḥ / SB 7. 1. 1. 16.
A STUDY OF ACCENT IN RELATION TO THE ALPHA-PHONOIOD THEORY

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, B. CHAITANYA DEVA AND A. D. TASKAR, Poona

The experimental studies reported in this paper are a continuation, as all our studies have been, of the earlier theoretical work of the senior author in this direction.

It is observed elsewhere¹ that "the physiology of speech is such that a stressed syllable tends to have a higher pitch."

Oscillographic records were taken, (see below), to determine in a fairly quantitative manner the relationship that exists between the three variables: stress (intensity measured in terms of the amplitude), pitch (fundamental frequency) and duration (the total extent in time of any particular speech-sound).

It is a well-known fact that in the process of hearing (auditory perception), within limits, a change in intensity may be perceived as a change in pitch. Also, two stimuli may be perceived as of equal intensity although one of them has a higher intensity (but a lower duration) and the other has a lower intensity (but a longer duration), also within limits.²

The existence of such a difference limen in auditory perception provides food for thought in relation to the question of accent, (stress or pitch), in the process of speech.


2. It may be noted here that the difference limen of pitch perception of complex tone leads to the problem of 'interval' between two tones and transition between them. In regard to this question, the alpha-phoneme theory is of immense significance (Cf. B. CHAITANYA DEVA’s review of Saṅgītaratnākāra, BDCRI, vol. 15, in press.) [Cf. infra footnote 5].

This is the basis of the point of departure in P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM’s investigations on a unified mathematics for the intermittent neurological processes and the continuous acoustic processes in the wake of the alpha-phonoid theory, wherein the period (i.e., the durational relationships) plays an important part in place of frequency.

We have also found the very same basis of departure in the illuminating work of Prof. Robindralal Roy, Philosophy of Music; Duration as Measure of Sensations, The Journal of the Madras Music Academy, vol. 23.
The experiments of Bouman and Kucharski\(^3\) indicate that for a vowel sound, to be perceived as a vowel, there is a lower limit for the duration and intensity of the formants (particularly for the intensity of the lower formant for any given duration). Thus, since there is a minimum duration for any given intensity, the value of the intensity has to be increased for a duration lower than this, in order that the vowel sound, within limits, may be perceived without any change in quality.

These are auditory criteria for the perception of a vowel with its quality.

Since articulation is always, in normal speech, monitored as it were, by the auditory process, the vowel-quality during articulation is determined by auditory criteria.\(^4\) Thus, for any given intensity the durational relationship is "well agreed upon" between the articulatory and the auditory processes for any given vowel quality.\(^5\)

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4. This amounts to a suggestion that speech is a purely neurological process forming a closed neural circuit within the individual, and that any motor-manifestation in the physiological system of the individual or in the acoustical medium outside is purely incidental, except from the point of view of inter-communication, even as, so far as the electrical circuit is concerned in ringing a bell, the presence of the metallic gong is purely incidental. (Cf. footnote 5 of our paper Reversed Speech, BDCRI, Vol. 14, in press; also C. R. Sankaran, Vol. 14, p. 39).

It is to be noted here that under 'imaginative abstraction' Sir Almroth Wright brings auditory elements—consonants and vowels. (Alethetropic Logic, William Heine- mann, London, 1953, p. 112).

From the point of view of this unified outlook synthesising modern mathematics with neurology, the profound significance of verses 8 and 9, 5th ch., Gita, can be reassessed (The Message of the Gita as interpreted by Sri Aurobindo, ed. by Anilbaran Roy, London, G. Allen and Unwinn Ltd., 1938, p. 85).

It has already been suggested that the articulatory level of experience can be equated with the jñàrata state (It may be noted that at that level we meet with the complicated nerve mechanism), and the acoustical level of experience can be equated with the svapna state (with an implication of a less restricted freedom, such as an apparent continuity as contrasted with the intermittence of neuronal processes) [Cf. C. R. Sankaran, Philosophical Analysis of the Alpha-Phoneme and the Alpha-Phonoid Theories, BDCRI, vol. 14, p. 94, footnote].

The common origin of the acoustical-time and the articulatory-time is the alphaphonoid which, therefore, typifies the state of unity of the two separate levels of experience, and can be equated with svapna; even beyond this, is the non-temporal experience, the alpha-phoneme, which can be equated with the turiya. (Cf. also Appendix C, Note on the Four States of Consciousness, to Shri Krishna Prem's The Yoga of the Bhagavat Gita, John M. Watkins, 3rd ed., London, 1951, pp. 200-202).

5. The difference between any two tones and transition between them leads to the problem of the 'interval' (or the 'interphenomenon') which is the bedrock of the alphaphonoid theory. (Vide supra footnote 2).
Therefore, during normal speech, if the duration is unconsciously diminished, the intensity has to be correspondingly increased; or, if the intensity has been unconsciously decreased the duration has to be increased.

It is found from recorded wave-forms that the final vowel (in an open syllable) always tends to have a long duration in normal speech. Its intensity is thus less and it falls off gradually. Whereas, if the final vowel is terminated by a consonant, its duration is shortened and therefore, the intensity is maintained high for that duration. (But see below).

It is clear from the above discussion that pitch, stress and duration are all interdependent in normal speech. This suggests that accent may be looked upon as being of two main types:

(1) the phonetic accent
and
(2) the functional accent.\(^6\)

The phonetic accent is that which is directly related to the combination and sequence of occurrence of the phonemes (or phones) during any speech-process. The contribution of such an accent to any extra-phonetic "context" is to be taken as zero.\(^7\) Phonetically, the phonetic accent tends to bring about a condition for the maximum "efficiency" in articulation. Verner's law chiefly deals with such an accent.

The functional accent, on the other hand, affects the extra-phonetic "context", without any regard to the "efficiency of articulation".

The tendencies of the two "types" of "accent" are thus opposite in character. The one tends to bring about a phonetic simplification of the process of speech, while the other tends to emphasise the individuality of the speech-elements against the background of their extra-phonetic "context".

It must be noted, however, that a functional accent may degenerate into a purely phonetic accent or vice versa, depending upon the trend of the seman-

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6. These two types of accents (particularly the functional type) may be further subdivided into:

(1) predominantly stress-accent
(2) predominantly pitch-accent
and
(3) predominantly durational-accent.

It is to be noted that the functional accentuation in a language like Tamil is of the predominantly durational type.

7. It is this phonetic accent that plays its part when we say that a person speaks with a "foreign accent". But, however, as this "extra-phonetic" information regarding the speaker is in no way connected with the "extra-phonetic" information contained in the actual messages conveyed, and as nothing is added to or subtracted from the messages, due to the "foreign accent", our assumption of zero-contribution to the extra-phonetic "context" is justified.
to-phonetic system. Perhaps an explanation for the apparent exceptions to phonetic laws could be found in the relative importance of these two opposite tendencies.

Now we proceed to the actual experimental observations.

1. The oscillogram of the Marathi word puṣṭक्री and the nonsense forms puṣ्ण्री and puṅ्त्री show the following feature.

The pitch, intensity and duration apparently follow different laws of variation under different phonetic environments, although they are not entirely independent of one another. For example, the u in puṅ्त्री has the highest pitch and that in puṣ्ण्री has a higher pitch than in puṣ्ण्री. The intensity of the u in puṣ्ण्री is the highest. Then follows that of puṅ्त्री and then puṣ्ण्री. The durations of the u in the three forms when arranged in the descending order give: puṣ्ण्री (86 msec.) puṅ्त्री (84 msec.) and puṣ्ण्री (80 msec.).

The experiments of Bouman and Kucharski, in dealing with the inverse relationships of intensity and duration, have considered only the termination of a vowel by silence (i.e., a perfect consonant).

But our observations suggest that any vowel terminated by anything other than a perfect consonant seems to bring about a situation that deviates from a strict inverse relationship in accordance with the manner of such a termination (that is, in accordance with the consonantal environment).

In the case of the u in puṣ्ण्री, the higher intensity and the longer duration seem to be phonetically necessary in the presence of the cluster sṛ which represents a particular manner of terminating the vowel, involving a process of greater complexity and greater rapidity than in the case of puṅ्त्री and puṣ्ण्री. Similarly the termination of u represented by k is of greater rapidity than that represented by s.

Here it is of interest to note that the duration of sṛ is less than the sum of the separate durations of s and k, i.e., the process of termination re-


9. A more detailed analysis of such features is being carried out by Shri. A. D. Taskar for his dissertation. The data supplied regarding the accent in puṣ्ण्री is from part of that work, for which the remaining authors of this paper are grateful to him.


11. No authentic statement can thus be made for want of adequate data regarding the manner of terminating a vowel process and its relationship with the intensity and the duration, for the perception of the vowel without change of quality.
presented by \( \delta k \) is more rapid than the one resulting from a mere addition of the two separate processes \( s \) and \( k \).\(^{12}\)

The exact relationship between intensity and duration remains thus open, suggesting further research on perception (without change of quality) when varied manners of terminating a vowel process are introduced under experimentally controlled conditions.

The higher pitch of \( u \) in \( puk\|u \) is a necessary consequence of the occurrence of a voiceless \( k \) immediately after it.\(^{13}\)

II. It is also of further interest to note in general that any vowel, when it takes up a stress-accent (higher intensity) is accompanied by 'aspiration'.\(^{14}\)

12. Cf. in this connection C. R. Sankaran and S. Soubraman, Physico-physiological Theory of Syllables in Human Speech, BDCRI, vol. 6, p. 238, for a similar observation on \( g, r \) and \( gr \) in gate, rate and great.

13. Cf. in this connection, Chiu Bien-Ming, The Tone Behaviour in Hagu: An Experimental Study, ANPE, tome 6, pp. 6-45. In the forms \( pus\|k\|u \), \( pus\|\|u \) and \( puk\|\|u \), we find a good example of a compromise between phonetic and phonological (extra-phonetic) influences, conforming to the phonological system of Marathi. Under the same environments, the \( k \) in \( puk\|\|u \) will get voiced together with a fall of pitch in \( u \) in a system like Tamil.

14. 'Aspiration', as employed here, signifies the physical process of high velocity air flow through any cross-sectional opening. Thus the 'articulation place' for 'aspiration' is not necessarily the glottis. A greater velocity of air across any cross-sectional opening is equivalent to a smaller velocity of air across a smaller cross-sectional opening, so far as 'aspiration' (intensity) is concerned. In many Indo-European (and Dravidian?) languages this aspiration is associated with one particular 'place of articulation'. But the syllabic series \( ha, hi, fu, he \) and \( ho \) in Japanese clearly points out that the 'place of articulation' for 'aspiration' may be near about the region of the lips and teeth, under which conditions the combination of \( h \) with the vowel \( u \), necessarily gives \( fu \) instead of \( hu \). Further, there is frequent alteration between \( ha \) and \( wo \), and \( he \) and \( ye \). All these suggest that the 'place of articulation' for the Japanese \( h \) is nearer the lip-teeth region than near the glottis. In general, therefore, for the production of 'aspiration' the only criteria necessary seem to be the velocity of air flow and the cross-sectional area of the opening at the place of articulation wherever it be. Under these conditions the aspirate could be 'voiced' or 'voiceless' (See Branco van Dantzig, Voiced or Voiceless?, ANPE, tome 5, pp. 77-88). See also below for a discussion on \( šhā \).

Cf. also in this connection, C. R. Sankaran, IE GM-SKHÒ- or GM-SKÒ-?, Indian Linguistics, vol. 8, pp. 100 ff., for a discussion on the aspiration of the cluster \( šk \) when the following vowel is accented (The accent should be due to increase of intensity rather than change of pitch for such a phenomenon, in accordance with our present investigation).

An interesting simple experiment shows clearly the relationship between the fricative \( s \) and the non-glottal aspirate \( h \), when we set up the tongue-position for \( s \) and with the same rate of air flow withdraw the tongue very minutely and without jerkiness. We eventually arrive at \( h \). Thus, the cross-sectional opening for \( s \) is much smaller than that for \( h \), the 'place of articulation' being the 'same'. (For a discussion about the 'place of articulation' see, P. C. Ganeshunbaram, The Structure of Speech-Sounds, BDCRI, vol. 15, in press).
The accompanying tables and the melody plot give our detailed observations of the utterance of āhā (in Telugu) under different emotional conditions (i.e., plain utterance and utterance in anger, respectively).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Speech-sound</th>
<th>Duration in msec.</th>
<th>Pitch in cps</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Wm (cps)</th>
<th>Md (cps)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Initial  a:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>117.7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>133.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Final a:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>3.846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>95.23</td>
<td>3.846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>7.692</td>
<td></td>
<td>126.9</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>117.7</td>
<td>7.692</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>15.384</td>
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<td>30.768</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>142.9</td>
<td>26.922</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>Initial a:</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>6.667</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>117.7</td>
<td>13.334</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>13.334</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>7.5</td>
<td>133.3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>6.667</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Final a:</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>95.23</td>
<td>2.174</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
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<td>4.348</td>
<td></td>
<td>183.7</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>142.9</td>
<td>6.522</td>
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<td>6.522</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>6.522</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>23.914</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>222.2</td>
<td>30.436</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The column marked % denotes the number of times per cent a particular pitch occurs during the vowel process.

Wm is the weighted mean and Md is the median pitch computed graphically.
TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotion</th>
<th>Speech-sound</th>
<th>Average pitch (cps)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Medial aspirate h</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech-sound</th>
<th>Duration in Seconds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial a:</td>
<td>0.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial h</td>
<td>0.0595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final a:</td>
<td>0.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.4255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the tables and the melody plot it is observed that:

(1) The pitch and the duration of the initial vowel are less than those of the final vowel irrespective of the emotion.

(2) The medial aspirate is increased both in pitch and in duration; it is voiced in both cases but more so in emotion.
(3) the duration of the initial vowel, however, is shorter in emotion than in neutral utterance. (This may be a compensation for the increase in the energy of the final vowel).

(4) The total duration of the whole utterance, however, is greater in anger than in neutral utterance, and

(5) The pitch is raised for the whole utterance for anger; the rise is prominent for the final vowel. This means an accentuation of the terminal syllable in emotion.

In view of these findings we feel a necessity to modify Verner’s law as follows:

It is not to be taken merely as the neutralisation of the voice correlation after unstressed vowel phonemes. But the law is to be interpreted to the effect that accentuation is not to be taken in the absolute sense. For, as we have noted above, the vowel following the aspirate (the final vowel) was seen to increase in pitch considerably in relation to the preceding aspirate and vowel, as it was found that the whole utterance is raised in pitch in emotion as compared to the neutral speech.

15. Our findings appear to confirm the validity of Pāṇini’s sūtra 8, 1, 8.

For a discussion on this problem from the wider Indo-European point of view, see C. R. Sankaran, Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation, JORM, 1936, vol. 10, pp. 51-54. [See supra footnote 8].


Cf. also Otto Jespersen, Verner Gesetz und das Wesen des Akzents, Linguistica, 1933, pp. 229-248.


Cf. too, O. Jespersen, Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives in English, Linguistica, pp. 346 ff.; see especially pp. 357 ff.

17. This is in strict consonance with the spirit of the alpha-phoneme and the alpha-phonoid theories, which stress on structuralism in a deeper sense, i.e., relations and relations of relations (Cf. C. R. Sankaran, and P. C. Ganeshshundaram, Time and Speech-Structure, BDCRI, vol. 12, p. 405 and footnote 23. Cf. fn. 6 of our paper Reversed Speech, BDCRI, vol. 17, pp. 1-14; also C. R. Sankaran, BDCRI, 14.).

18. We are indebted to Shri. S. M. Sawale, the Laboratory Assistant, for the Technical Assistance he has so ably given in the course of our investigations.
CERTAIN VERB-COMPOUNDS OF Sanskrit
AND SOME PARALLEL FORMATIONS IN AWADHI

BY

Baburam Saksena, Allahabad

The Siddhânta-Kaumudi lays down the following rule of samâsa which has a peculiar structure:—

ākhyātām-ākhyātēna kriyā-sātaye and it gives the following illustrations:

āsāntā pibatēyevāṁ satātēṁ yatābhidhiyate sā āsāntapibatā. pacatābhṛjjatā, khādatamoddatā. The compounded word in each of these illustrations is a noun in the feminine gender with the termination ṭāp. The two verbs compounded together are in the Imperative mood (2nd person pl.) and the continuity of the two actions is insisted upon. In āsāntā-pibatā the constant assertion is ‘eat and drink’. Similarly we have ‘cook and fry’ and ‘eat and enjoy’.

Another class of verbs similarly detailed but without constantness comes under the rule:—

ehīḍādayo ’nyapadārihe

and the illustrations are the following:—

ehīḍa iti yasmin karmānī tadehīḍam, ehipacam, uddhara koṣṭhādutsṛja dehīti yasyāṁ kriyāyāṁ sā uddharotsṛja, uddhamavidhamā. (asātātyārtham-

iha pāṭhāḥ).

These verbs (1. come and worship, 2. come and cook, 3. take out from the store and give, 4. puff and blow) are similar to those enumerated in the earlier class; the commentary points out, however, that here constantness is not present. Two of these compounds are in the neuter gender and the remaining in the feminine gender again. The compounds under both these rules have been put under the Tatpurusa Samâsa.

Combination of two verbs in a compound is a curious and more or less unusual phenomenon for Sanskrit and it was not noticed by Pāṇini or Kātyā-
yana. I do not know if any middle Indo-Aryan parallel is available. In New Indo-Aryan (Awadhi) I have noticed the following forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āwā-jāhī} & \quad \text{coming and going} \\
\text{uthā-baśhī} & \quad \text{rising and sitting} \\
\text{uthāvā-dhārī} & \quad \text{lifting and placing} \\
\text{kāhā-sunī} & \quad \text{saying and hearing} \\
\text{khāvā-pū} & \quad \text{eating and drinking} \\
\text{kheśā-kūdī} & \quad \text{playing and frolicking} \\
\text{girā-parī} & \quad \text{falling and lying} \\
\text{dēkā-sunī} & \quad \text{seeing and hearing} \\
\text{dēwā-lēi} & \quad \text{giving and taking} \\
\text{(léwā-dēi)} & \quad \text{taking and giving} \\
\text{nahāvā-dhōi} & \quad \text{bathing and washing} \\
\text{바hā-tarī} & \quad \text{growing and climbing} \\
\text{bōlā-cālī} & \quad \text{talking and moving} \\
\text{māvā-kātī} & \quad \text{killing and cutting} \\
\text{rōwā-pīfī} & \quad \text{weeping and beating} \\
\text{likhā-paṛhī} & \quad \text{writing and reading} \\
\text{lūkā-chīpī} & \quad \text{concealing and hiding} \\
\text{sōwā-nīndī} & \quad \text{sleeping and dozing}
\end{align*}
\]

All these are in the feminine gender and the two compounded verbs taken separately have no independent existence. Unlike these in standard Hindi

\[
dauṣ-bhāg
\]

and bōl-cāl.

two similar compounds exist, but each of these contains two verbal nouns capable of independent use separately. In the Awadhi compounds mentioned above, however, the two compounded words have a combined individuality —independently they do not give any signification. The first part appears to be the perfect participle (masc. sg.) but in dēwā-lēi and léwā-dēi the first part is not that (the perf. part. masc. sg. forms being dīhā and līhā). Similarly the second part appears to be the perfect participle (fem. sg.) but in āwā-jāhī, dēwā-lēi and léwā-dēi it is not so (the correct forms being -gaī, -lihā and -dīhā). From these facts it is clear that the compounded words in the above-mentioned forms of Awadhi are peculiar.

Like corresponding forms of Sanskrit the Awadhi ones also are in the feminine gender. Similarly the constantness or continuity of the action (one or the other going on alternately) is found in the Awadhi forms also.

I hope on investigation parallel formations may be discovered in other New Indo-Aryan languages.
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

BY

SIDHESHWAR VARMA, NEW DELHI

"What is the nature of that language which is used by literature for its peculiar purpose?" To answer this question, we have to answer another question, viz. "What is literature?" The Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th Edition, hesitatingly defines literature as "the best expression of the best thought of a people". To this definition it may be objected that "best" herein is too vague: what may be "best" for one person may be "mediocre" or "worthless" for another person. Moreover, the term "expression" here is too indeterminate. In what form should this "expression" be? Possibly this definition may be improved as follows:—"Literature is that language which more or less aesthetically represents aesthetic concepts". This definition considerably corresponds to the one given by Jagannātha in his famous work the Rasagaṇḍhara "literature is language presenting pleasant concepts" (ramanīyārthapratipādakah sabdah kāvyam. I. 1). At any rate, all literature is language, though all language is not literature.

Coming now to our first question, we shall find that the language of literature is connotative, while the language of science is denotative. "Fire" in literature stands sometimes for "anger", sometimes for "grief" and sometimes for "love". But in science one word should represent only one concept. A remarkable consequence of this distinction is that literature's situation is more lucky: it can manage with fewer words. The innumerable variations of scientific phenomena are everyday indicating that language is a miserably poor instrument for presenting these variations. For instance, experts in Zoology tell us that a type of one beetle alone has 1,95,000 varieties! In such cases only mathematical symbologies can come to the rescue of science, and it is even being proposed in scientific circles that language proper should be entirely discarded for scientific purposes, and mathematical symbols should be used instead, in order to guarantee accuracy. On the other hand, the luckier situation of literature is counterpoised by a colossal disadvantage. There is no doubt that ancient Indian literary authorities, who had acutely discerned in dīveani this connotation as the distinctive feature of literature, belauded it to the skies. But it has let loose equally unmanageable complexities, all the more difficult to be specified and classified, owing to innumerable associations in which these connotations are likely to occur. The limitations of the language of literature have therefore to be taken into account.
But there is another side of the picture as well, and very interesting too. While language is an instrument of literature, literature also often serves as an instrument of language. Some notable characteristics of literature in language may be described here:

1. "Screen". The first characteristic, which may be termed a "screen" or a cloak for avoiding unpleasantness may be noticed in expressions like "to breathe one's last" being a substitute for "to die". Similarly, while many Indian languages have plain and direct words signifying "answering the call of nature", they are rarely used in actual parlance: in Panjabi, the usual terms used mean "going outside" (bāhr jānā), "going to the jungle" (jaṅgal jānā). In English, besides "toilet" and "ease oneself", "convenience" has also been used in this sense.

2. Euphemism. Closely allied to the above phenomenon is Euphemism, which consists in the pleasant presentation of unpleasant phenomena, e.g., for "death" Hindi and Panjabi often use words which literally mean "habitation in paradise" (svarg-vās and surg-vās respectively). In colloquial Hindi someone's falling ill is called "enemy's falling ill" (dushman bīmār ho gae).

3. Polite terminologies. The terminologies of politeness are most remarkable in the Urdu of Lucknow and Delhi. A gentleman's coming is called "bringing of greatness" (tashrīf lānā); to inquire about a stranger's "residence", one has to ask about his "rich house" (daulatkhānā), while the speaker's own house has to be a "poor house" (gharibkhānā). A brother is to be referred to as "brother-life" bhājān. In Tamil, a bridegroom is called by a name which etymologically means "fragrance-boy" (maṇa-magaṇ), for a transferred meaning of the word for "fragrance" (maṇam) is marriage in Tamil. All such terms are fossilized literature, and a lexicon of the fossilized literature in a language may be desideratum some day.

4. Idioms. The flexibility of connotations, so characteristic of the language of literature, could be best illustrated in idioms, in which metaphors and associations, coupled with historical contexts often bring about meanings which often could be hardly expected.

The following trends of idioms may be of particular interest:

(a) Idioms based on some metaphor. For instance, for hair-splitting, Hindi has an idiom which literally means "to flay a hair" (bāl ki khāl nikālnā). The metaphor here is based on a double comparison, first to a hair, and then to the flaying of an animal.

An amazing idiom in many Indian languages, which is now no longer felt as an idiom, is the expression for coquettary, which is Hindi nakhrā (karnā), Bengali nākhrā, Bengali (Birbhum dialect) Dākhrā. Now nakhrā
was originally an Arabic word, which meant "a strong breathing through the nostrils by a camel". In Arabic coquetry was never the meaning of nakhrā. This sense turned up only in Persian and Indian language, and the historical circumstances which led to this semantic change were so torturing to the present writer that it took him three months' correspondence with various people, but to no consequence. Perhaps the metaphor is based on some annoyance felt by the originator of the idiom, who compared the phenomenon to the camel's breathing.

(b) Idioms based on some historical associations which are a subject for future investigation, e.g., "to shut the door" is expressed by Panjabi through an expression which literally means "to strike the door" (būha mārnā). Perhaps the original structure of the Panjabi door required a striking for shutting it. In Dogri, however, the corresponding idiom literally means "to give the door" (bhitt ārā). The origin of this is equally obscure.

Conclusion:

The above study, it may be hoped, has given us the following results:—

(1) Language and literature are closely related.

(2) Language is fundamentally an instrument of literature.

(3) But literature is also embedded in many vocables of a language and a systematic investigation of literary relics in language is an important desideratum.
A NOTE ON THE MORPHEMIC VALUES OF CONSONANTS IN TAMIL*

BY

P. C. GANESHSUNDARAM, Poona

It is a matter of common knowledge that the main tenses of verbs in Tamil are changed by the play of non-syllabic units (which are, of course, usually consonants). Thus, for example, we have:

\[ p\ddot{\text{o}}-n\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{n}} \] 'he went' (past tense denoted by \(-n\)-)

\[ p\ddot{\text{o}}-v\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{n}} \] 'he will go' (future, denoted by \(-v\)-)

Although in the literary form of the language we have \( p\ddot{\text{o}}-\text{kir}\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{n}} \) (with a syllabic group \(-\text{kir}\)-) to denote the present tense, we have a non-syllabic \(-\text{r}\)- in the colloquial form of the language, as is found in \( p\ddot{\text{o}}-\text{r}\ddot{\text{a}} \ddot{\text{n}} \) 'he goes'.

These and other such non-syllabic morphemes are everyday examples of the language.

There are, however, less known non-syllabic (and other) morphemes which may be compared with the group of phonemes \( gr-p \) (b) in such monosyllabic English words as grasp, grab, grip, grope, etc., wherein the group of phonemes (\( gr-p \) (b)) are in some way representative of tactile functions. There are other such groups in English like \( cl- \) in clatter, clap, click, etc.

In Tamil, perhaps because the precise function of such morphemes has been forgotten (or rather has never been known), there is an unfortunate confusion in the employment of words (a greater part of which are verbs and their derivations) in the present day usage both in literary and colloquial Tamil. Only a small minority of the present day writers are highly well read scholars who can employ their words with any degree of 'precision' and 'force'. (In fact the 'forcefulness' of a word depends to a large extent on the 'precision' with which it is selected for use).

Although questions on how the present day Tamil writing could be improved with regard to precision of expression are not apparently quite relevant in this small note on morphemes, a passing reference to such questions could not be avoided particularly because the lack of precision in expres-

*Communicated by Prof. C. R. SANKARAN under whose inspiration and guidance these studies are carried out.
sion is largely due to a lack of understanding of the significance of many morphemes which have not been studied so far.¹

In this note, only a few morphemes are going to be dealt with. It is hoped, fuller investigations could be carried out on the lines suggested in this note with greater thoroughness.

The non-syllabic morphemes and other base-morphemes of Tamil are not immediately apparent. They are often very obscure and appear to evade analysis.

There are primitive forms of verbs which seem to be elementary morphemes in themselves. For example, alī 'destroy', murī 'bend, break', kari 'char', etc., all of which are transitive verbs. Derived from these are alūku 'decay', murukku 'get twisted', karaṇku 'get charred or scorched', etc., where -ku denotes the change of state on the subject of the verb. The original verbs are turned into intransitive verbs and sometimes their meaning is slightly changed as in alūku. The morpheme in question is -k, the final -u in -ku being purely phonetic since no Tamil word can end in a stop consonant.

A similar morpheme -n̄k, perhaps a morpheme alternant in complementary distribution with -k, occurs in words like culuṅku 'get folded up', muraṅku (?) 'get twisted', kalaṅku 'get stirred up', etc., of which the primitive forms are respectively culi (?) (or culi?) 'fold up, whirl', murī 'bend, break', kala 'mix, stir'.

The difference between muruku and muraṅku is that the former has acquired a specialised meaning of 'get well tightened, roasted', etc., in addition to its original significance 'get twisted'. Further, for verbs of this morpheme -k, the agent of the action is generally not the subject, whereas for verbs with -n̄k, the agent is generally also the subject.²

There are morpheme oppositions between -k, -n̄k on the one hand and -kk on the other. -kk converts the intransitive verbs in -k or -n̄k into transitive verbs. But verbs in -kk can be used as noun, whereas verbs in -n̄k, transitive or intransitive are never used as nouns.

¹. A systematic study of such morphemes and other morpho-phonemic and syntactic functions of the Tamil language, together with the formation of a Tamil Academy on an improved model of the Académie Française will perhaps pave the way for a richer Tamil of precise expressions.


². There are however other verbs in -k, -n̄k, etc.; but these endings should be considered as different morphemes which are homophonous with the foregoing.
The foregoing are all suffix morphemes and they are at least fairly obvious to any analyst. But there are base-morphemes which are more difficult to identify. It may be noted that Tamil does not seem to have any prefixes. That is, if b is a base, then all the morphemes forming a chain with it can only be suffixed to it and never prefixed. In Indo-European, the base may be denoted as -b-, capable of taking prefixes and suffixes, but in Tamil the base is often to be denoted as b- (i.e., capable of taking suffixes only).

Verbs like pīṭi, pirī, pīcai, pīnaibi, pili, piliy, pīṇṇu, nouns like pīṭṭu and even, by extension, verbs like pīlai, pīṭukku (< pīti ?), pīcaiku and nouns like pīcaiku and pīlai are all unit morphemes on the surface. They have, however, a common element pī-, which seems to denote anything done primarily by the hand or the fingers (something corresponding to the English gr-p(b)).

We have further a series of verbs like kīṭṭu, kiṟukku, kīlī, kirū, kiṇṭu, kilukku (cf. kulukku) and nouns like kiccu-kiccu, etc., which have a common element ki- that is associated with action done by the ends of the fingers or with the nails.

But as against kilukku we have kulukku having an element ku- which denotes an action done with the hand or the whole arm. Other words of a similar significance are kuttu, kuṭai, (kūppu, kūppiṭu ?), kuli, (kuṭṭu ?), etc.

Even absence of a consonantal beginning (that is, the occurrence of a zero-consonantal morpheme), seems to have a special significance in that there is a whole series of words of such beginning denoting action done by the whole body or by any whole object such as iru, elu, ᵇu, aṭu, ᵇu, ēru, uskāru, uraiṇku, iraiṇku, ēru, etc.

Such analysis however, should be carried out only on the primitive forms to establish the significance of base-morphemes like pi-, ki-, ku-, (zero)-, etc. The determination of the primitive forms itself seems to be a difficult task. Such primitive forms and particularly the base-morphemes associated with them, as it were, prefer to remain in the background, having, so to say, direct contact with the subconscious mind of the speaker and nothing to do with the conscious endeavour of the analyst.

In conclusion, a single example of connected forms associated with a primitive form and its alternative base-morphemes is given below as a sample, in the wake of which further work can be done with a more perfected technique of analysis.

The primitive form considered is kūṭu and is compared and contrasted with other primitive forms like kuvi, koṭ and koṭu,
From the scheme of related forms around the primitive forms kūṭu, kol, koṭu, we find that there are three homophonous derivations, all of which have the form koṭṭu.

Their associated primitive forms being different their significations are also different. In normal speech, to bring out the difference, the koṭṭu of kol, invariably occurs as a compound verb koṭṭi vai 'store it in' and the
koṭṭu of koṭu (?) invariably occurs with a preceding noun denoting the agent or object of the action, mattañam koṭṭu 'beat a drum', tēḻ koṭṭina (tirūṭañ) 'a thief stung by a scorpion'.

Perhaps the form koṭṭu from koṭu (?) 'give' means 'give with a vengeance'. Quite a parallel situation is found for the colloquial form of koṭu, viz., kuṭu 'give' from which we get kuṭṭu ('give with a vengeance' (?) 'strike with the knuckle'.

The primitive form koḷ 'to be accommodated' gives rise to the nouns koṭṭam, koṭṭakai, etc., which signify a place that 'accommodates', persons, animals, etc. Again koṭṭam (< koḷ) is to be distinguished from koṭṭam (< koṭṭu < koṭu) 'noisiness'.

However, it must be noted that there are innumerable homophonous morphemes which can be properly classified only with reference to other morphemes occurring in conjunction with them. For example, the ku- in kuṭṭu and the ku- in kuṭṭu cannot be dealt with separately. ku- denotes an action done by the hand and -tt- denotes a heavy intense action (cf. motttu), whereas -ṭṭ- denotes a sharp, quick action (particularly with the harder portions of the hand or in such a way as to produce a sharper sound), (cf. vetṭtu, koṭṭu, taṭṭu, muṭṭu, etc.).

More serious investigations on these lines, however, cannot be adequately undertaken unless a thorough survey of the morpheme material is carefully carried out and a suitable methodology developed, taking even remote dialects into account.

This note is only written with a view to put forward the suggestion.

3. Some of these base-morphemes, etc., may be considered as being in some way similar to the Chinese and Japanese numeral classifiers. These classifiers denote the general shapes or classes of the objects which are talked about. In Tamil perhaps such classifiers are ingrained in the bases themselves. It is not unlikely that other languages which have preserved their identity through the ages (as is remarkably the case with Tamil) may show similar ingrained classifier morphemes.
A GENERAL NOTE ON THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGES

BY

Dwijendra Nath Basu, Calcutta

[In January-March, 1951, and again in January-March, 1952, the writer was sent by the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, to the Andamans to study the languages of the Andamanese. He studied the languages of the friendly aboriginals of Great Andaman and Little Andaman on these two occasions. Two of his articles are being published in the Departmental Bulletin under the headings, "A Linguistic Introduction to the Andamanese" and "A Linguistic Note on the Önges of Little Andaman"][1]

1. Introduction—the people:

The Andamanese, the aboriginals of the Isles of Andaman, belong to a rare specimen of human race, called the Negrito, characterised by their dark complexion, short stature and woolly hair of "peppercorn type." Steatopyga, is one of their remarkable physical features, especially of the women.

From days unknown, they were the only inhabitants of the Andamans, until in 1788, the British troops occupied a portion of the Isles. In 1858, when the penal settlement was established, those in Great Andaman only were 3,400 in number, but in 1951 these people have dwindled into a number of 25 in all. The causes are more than one, but the chief cause is the influence of a superior culture.

Besides these ill-fated Great Andamanese, there live in Great Andaman a hostile tribe known as the Jârawas. Another hostile tribe live in the North Sentinel Island. These people are till now inaccessible for even census not to speak of any study.

In Little Andaman there is a friendly race known as the Önges, who have not yet been the victims of the doom of destiny under the overwhelming enticement of the superior culture with which they are gradually coming in contact. They are probably 200, still vigorous and virile.

2. The Study of the Languages:

The study of the friendly people of Great Andaman has only been adequately done so far by some of the British officers the most notable of whom are R. C. Temple, E. H. Man, and M. V. Portman. A few scientists like von Eickstedt, A. R. Brown, and Jules Bloch also undertook the study of the Andamanese, the racial, cultural and linguistic study, as far as it was possible for them. The last scholar based his linguistic analysis on the basis of the materials collected by Man in his "Dictionary."
R. C. Temple wanted to publish a Dictionary of the Great Andamanese language but his work was not completed. A. J. Ellis contributed a valuable note on the languages, in Man's book On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. Man's Dictionary of the South Andaman Language and Portman's Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes (NLSA) are, however, the most glorious attempts to record systematically and analyse the language of the Southern Great Andamanese with all its dialectal varieties.

When the British scholars studied the Great Andamanese language, the speakers were numerous and there were ten clear dialects which were grouped into two: the Northern or "Yerewa" or "Jeru" and the Southern or "Bojigniji" or "Bēa". The five of the former group from north to south were "Cāri", "Korā", "Bā", "Jeru" and "Kede" and the five of the latter were "Juwoi", "Kōl", "Puchikwar" or "Bojigyāb", "Bālawa" or "Ākar-Bāle" and "Bēa" or "Āka-Īwmi-daa". But at present among the Great Andamanese, the southern group is almost extinct,—there being only one Puchikwar man now, aged about sixty. The majority of the Great Andamanese speak the "Jeru" dialect with possible mixture of "Cāri" and the dialects of the Northern group, which has been recognised by one and all of them as the standard dialect. Brown has given some illustrations of this language by referring to this as North Andamanese Language. Portman's A Manual of the Andamanese Language (MAL) gives some illustrations of the "Cāri" dialect, some of which resemble the specimens of the standard dialect collected by the present writer. The thorough works of Man and Portman on the Southern group of the Great Andamanese language are thus of little purpose in the modern days except in so far as they point out the salient characteristics of the Andamanese language in general.

The Ōnges of Little Andaman who were not very friendly to the cultured people were successfully tackled first by Portman, but his study of the language of these people could not, as a natural consequence, be very adequate. He has given a few synonyms of the Ōnge language in MAL. A. R. Brown has also recorded some characteristics of the Ōnge Language in Appendix B of his work—The Andaman and Nicobar Islands (ANI). The Anthropology Department of the Government of India started the study of the people only a few years back and the linguistic study was done only by the present writer.

Although the Jārawas of Great Andaman are even now hostile, attempts have been made from time to time to study their languages by capturing a few of them. R. H. Colebrooke published a few words in Asiatick Researches in 1795 under the head "On the Andaman Islands." These were declared later as the Jārawa words, but many of them are found to have been
collected through mistaken notions. It is known from a pamphlet published by Mr. Chenuappa, a Forest Officer of the Andamans, under the title "Note on the Jarawa language" (NJL) that in September, 1938, the police picket captured one Jawara woman and four children. From the Jarawa children a lady officer of the Hospital and the wives of two officers collected a vocabulary and also made some linguistic note. The work has a special merit of its own, but the absence of diacritical marks has minimised its worth. (The Jawara woman, it is learnt, died very shortly and the children were sent to the Nicobar Island where they have absolutely forgotten their own language.)

3. The General Views:

The Andamanese languages could not be connected with any recognised family of speech. But so far as their syntactical traits are concerned, they are agglutinative, making free use of prefix, infix and suffix. (Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, p. 192). From the subsequent discussions of the use of prefixes, suffixes, etc. in Andamanese languages it will be clear that the agglutination in these languages is not so perfect as that in Turki or Magyar. On the contrary there are many points in which process of agglutination in these languages remains unaccountable.

Of the Andamanese languages, the Great Andamanese group has been found to be rather remotely connected with the language of the Onges of Little Andaman. The latter have a closer relation with the language of the Jarawas of Great Andaman. In the "Exploration and Survey of the Little Andamans" published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography," Portman held, "On the North Sentinel Island, on Rutland Island and in the jungles, South and West of Port Blair, tribes of Andamanese exist who, at war with all mankind, are supposed, from the similitude of their weapons and utensils, to be offshoots of the Little Andaman tribes" (p. 2). Portman made a thorough study of the intertribal relations of the different Andamanese peoples, of their weapons, canoes, ornaments and utensils and also of their languages in his "Notes on the Andamanese" (J.A.L May, 1896) and divided them into three groups, the North Andamanese, the South Andamanese and the Little Andamanese. In this connection he observed "The Jarawa tribes of South Andaman and Rutland Island differ from the Onges in that they have very long and thick bows, do not make canoes and have a language of their own. Still I have no doubt that they were originally of the same tribe and had become separate at some very distant period (pp. 362-3). In the "Note on the Jarawa Language" it has been remarked, "yet the language is so different from that of the Little Andaman Onges that when the latter were brought to see the Jarawas, they were quite incapable of speaking to each other." But from this fact, the close relation of the two languages cannot be denied. Apart from some cultural affinity between these two tribes we find some words of these two languages closely resembling each
other. Several human body parts have somewhat common names in the two languages, e.g. 'finger' is "ono-me" in Ōnge and "ano-ma" in Jārawa, 'knee' is "ono-lage" in Ōnge and "ano-laga" in Jārawa. 'Small animals' in the Jārawa language are named "wo-ma"; the Ōnges call the 'dogs' "weme". 'Path' in Ōnge is "icchele", the Jārawas call it "ichala". Then, 'to sleep', 'to get up from sleep', 'to die', 'to cry', 'to walk', 'to finish',—all these verbs have the following Jārawa and Ōnge synonyms: "-omo"; "omo-kā-be", "-oti"; "ote-be", "be-chame-bu"; "be-i-cām-be", "wana"; "wānai", "buje"; "buji-yebe", "hi-pu-hi-bah"; "āqi-bo-ki-be". These similarities cannot be called accidental, nor the words of one language be called the loan from the other. The detailed studies of the two languages only will enable one to show definitely their close relation.

"Jārawa" is the name given by the Āka-Bēa-da speakers of the Great Andamanese. The Jārawas call themselves "ya-eng-gna" as learnt from N.J.L. About the introductory prefix the Jārawas are found to be more particular than the Ōnges. Without this prefix "ya-", the name is very similar to that given by the Ōnges to themselves, viz. "ēn-ñe."

Regarding the general concepts of the Andamanese in the making of language, it has been held by all scholars that they show as much backwardness as they have in their culture. Portman in his NLSA has observed, "As regards the want of their daily lives, and the different phases of the articles which are connected with these wants, the languages are very copious and there are phrases to express the different times of the day and night, different periods of time (though these are very vague) and the state of the tide" (p. 33). Man has given a list of Great Andamanese names which a man and a woman used to be given as they advanced in age and crossed the different stages from childhood to old age (viz. a boy, an unmarried young man, a married young man, a prospective father, a father, a widower etc. etc.) At the present days, however, they are not particular about such namings. Portman mentions a few words in the Āka-Bēa-da language for the different stages of a fruit from its formation to rottenness. (NLSA, p. 32).

As the Andamanese have a number of special terms for petty details of concrete ideas like the above instances, they have conversely very few abstract expressions. The present writer in his "A Linguistic Introduction to the Andamanese" (LIA) has shown how the North Andamanese standard language has no different words for a good man, a good-looking man, a skillful man etc. This view holds good for the Ōnge language as well.

The Andamanese have no conception of numerical figures. They cannot count. They have, however, some words for denoting 'very few' or 'very little' to 'numerous' or 'abundant.' Similarly, instead of the ordinals they have terms for denoting the 'foremost' to the 'hindermost.' This has
been noted by different scholars and found to be true in case of the present North Andamanese standard language and Ónge language.

4. The Sound System:

The chief vowel sounds in all the Andamanese Languages are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>close</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other central sounds (ø, ë) are also found in the languages especially in Little Andamanese. Diphthongs and even triphthongs are found. Semi-vowel “y” is very frequent as glide. Euphonic insertions of vowels and consonants are very regularly noticed in all the Andamanese phonetic system.

The plosive consonants are bilabial, dental, alveolar and guttural. In North Andamanese standard language the alveolar plosives are of further back origin. In the NLSA, Portman has shown that some dialects of the South Andaman group have this pronunciation as clearly "lingual". The Ónges, however, articulate this series distinctly in the alveolar region. The guttural plosives are sometimes produced very laxly, like fricatives. This has been noted by Portman also in NLSA. Among the Ónges was observed a regular labio-guttural variety of these plosive series. The voiced aspirate sounds are absent in Andamanese phonology. The affricates are clearly palatal. This affricate and the plosive series have each a nasal, and the guttural and palatal nasals are very important inasmuch as they are equally used in the initial position as other nasals. The lateral sound "l" and rolled sound "r" are present with many variants in the different dialects of the Great Andamanese and the Ónge language. Man and some others emphatically noted the absence of the sibilant sounds in the Great Andamanese language. The present writer, intent to verify this view, however, noticed the sibilant sounds clearly articulated by the North Andamanese which might have, in reality, been derived from the palatal affricate, "nāṣiyubi" = 'who are you' (Jeru). Portman also showed NLSA that "s", "ç" might have been difficult sounds to the Béa-speaking people but among the Puchikwar speakers, it was quite natural. The Ónges, however, are unfamiliar with the sounds and even foreign words with sibilant sounds could not be properly articulated by them, the sibilant being replaced by the affricate. Con-junct consonants are seldom found except with nasals.
Accent is predominantly 'stress'. Vowels which bear the strong accent are generally long and in many cases the strong accent syncopates the following syllables.

A peculiar sentence-intonation starting from the 'mid' to the 'high' and ending with a 'low' pitch, characterises the Andamanese Language, but 'tone' does not play a part in the change of meaning of words.

5. Roots and Formative Affixes:

In the Andamanese languages, which are agglutinative in structure, the words are formed of roots and prefixes, suffixes, infixes.

The roots which may be of one or more syllables are either verbal or substantival. Originally all the roots might have been monosyllabic and with the loss of distinctive sense of some affixes attached to them, the polysyllabic roots have come into being.

All the affixes can at first be distinguished into two — functional and neutral. Functional affixes are very important and play considerable part in the changes of meaning and various syntactical functions. The neutral affixes are less important and are generally used as conventional.

(a) Prefixes:

The functional prefixes can be divided into two groups—(i) modificatory, and (ii) classificatory. The modificatory prefixes, besides qualifying the roots to which they are attached, sometimes emphasise or intensify their meanings. The classificatory prefixes, however, form a striking characteristic of the Andamanese languages. These have been called 'generic prefixes' in LIA. They are mostly used to distinguish the human beings,—their limbs, objects and relationship.

The most notable are the prefixes added to substantival roots to indicate the various parts of the human body. The Jeru or North Andamanese Standard language groups together mouth, throat, tongue, breath, belly, all of which take the prefix "thā"; head, lips, shoulder, eyes, nose, teeth, face, cheek, forehead all take "ther"; hand, elbow, forearm, leg, thigh, knee, waist, skin, bone, vein have the prefix "thē"; palm, finger, foot, toe, wrist, heel have "thoni"; back takes "hot" and navel, "thi". Leaving aside the common element "th-" in all the above prefixes "-ā-, -er-, -ē-, -ōn-, -ot-, and -i-" are found to categorise the different parts of the body. Jules Bloch, in the course of his linguistic analysis of the Bea dialect, ("Préfixes et suffixes en Andaman"—in "Bulletin de La Société de Linguistique de Paris" No. 130 (1949), Paris) tried to find out a principle in such categorisations, "Tout ce qui concerne la bouche par exemple a même préfixe ...." (pp. 4-5). But there is no common principle because the Onges and Jārāwa categorisations are found to be different. The Onges have "ono-" attached to head,
hair, neck, skull, spine, finger, fist, wrist, "enă-" to mouth, lip, tongue, tooth, chest, belly, buttock, "eni-" to chin, cheek, elbow, foreleg, calf, thigh, "enei-" to eye, eyelashes, brow, forehead and "enu-" to leg, foot, toe, ankle. The Jârawas have grouped knee, foot, nail, forearm, finger, cheek, head, hair and the prefix in these cases is "ano-"; in the group of eye, eyebrow (= eyelashes?), ear, chin, beard, armpit, back, backbone, bone, buttock, thigh, calf, the prefix is "ani-"; and the group of teeth, chest, collarbone, neck, elbow, hand, stomach takes the prefix "ana-". These prefixes, although varying in dialects of the different Andamanese languages can however, be called a regular feature. Thus sometimes the prefixes alone without the names of the parts of the body, serve the purpose. In the words of Jules Bloc, "...les préfixes sont en réalité des premiers termes de composés, designant avec précision une région du corps humain. En effet, avec les pronoms possessifs le préfixe peut suffire à indiquer la partie du corps, sans que le nom en soit donné; ainsi môtot pîj pour môtot chêta pîj les poils (cheveux) de nos têtes. (p. 6, PSA). Thus in the North Andamanese standard language "ther-ulu" means 'eye' but to mean 'tears' i.e. 'eye-water' "ther-" is only added to "inu" 'water'. Ónge "ono-me" means 'hand', "obo-ra-âe" 'a crab's claw' and "ono-bo-râ-âe" means 'the nail of the finger'. In other words, the prefix "ono-" belonging to the group of head, etc. is attached to "obo-râ-âe" when the 'finger-nail' is meant. Without this prefix it would mean parts of non-human body. In the Jeru language the initial "th" is excluded in case of limbs of non-human beings or inanimate objects.

For kinship terms the general prefix is "uth" (Brown noticed it to be "ot-") in the Jeru language, "wo-" in the Jârawa language and "enu-" or "en-" in the Ônge language. (The Ônges in some cases do not use the prefix).

Modificatory prefixes are attached to the roots to mean portion or quantity, quality, state or action, space, time etc. In North Andamanese standard language "ot-juku" is 'dream' and the 'dreamer' is "oko-juku". Brown has elaborately discussed the function of some prefixes of the North Andamanese language (ANI pp. 499-500). For instance, he shows that the prefix "eră" refers to place: "e-lobuń' 'long', "eră-lobuń' 'distant'; "meo' 'stone', "eră-meo" 'anchor'; "e-tire" 'off-spring'; "eră-tire" 'young offshoots of a tree'; "e-tomo" 'flesh, muscle', "eră-tomo' 'buttock'. Portman in MAL cites from Bèa dialect of the South Andamanese language, the use of a prefix "en-" to intensify the meaning of the root, "yabngâ" "speak", "en-yabngâ" 'making a person acquainted'. He also mentions that prefix "ig-" of Bèa, "ir-" of Puchikwar, "ngir-" of Kede and "ngârâm" of Câri serve to emphasise the sense expressed by the root. Regarding the Little Andamanese functional prefixes also, Brown has made some observations which are found to be true. "In L.A. i- prefix functioning denotation of dependent object a part, quality, state or action of some person or thing?", "i-ðâe", for
example, is ‘the bone of any part’ while "o-đāñe" is ‘the skull’. (In the writer’s collection, however, the skull is “onu-ṭhicu”). The prefix "ono-" is thus attached to head and its connected body-parts like hair, neck etc. The arm is “en-i-bi-le", because it is a stretched portion of the body. The hand which is, as it were, the head of the arm, is “on-o-bi”. The fingers are practically the heads of the hand and the thumb is therefore “on-o-bo-ṭābe”. The big toe is similarly "enu-ko-ṭābe" (the k sound being a variant of g in "enuge" ‘the foot’ which is practically tagged with “on-o-ṭābe" ‘the head’ here). Ønge "ono-ig-bo" ‘neck’ is connected with “ono-ṭābe" ‘head’ as much as "enig-bo" ‘cheek’ is connected with “en-e-ṭābe” ‘face’, the prefix "-ig-" here is used for meaning an attached portion ("-bo" is the flesh or muscle in Ønge language).

A prefix attached to a verbal root, "ātā-" for example, in Jeru, turns the verb to causative: "ijio-ke" ‘to eat', “ātā- ijyo-ke” ‘to feed'; "em-phi-lo" ‘to die’ and “ātā-th-em-phi-lo” ‘to kill'.

Personal pronominal elements are attached initially to the roots like prefixes. They vary according to the number and person.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Jeru)</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>“ṭh- (t' acc. Brown)”</td>
<td>“m (-ān, eñ, oñ etc.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“jiobi” ‘I am’</td>
<td>“māniobe” ‘we are’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>“n-”</td>
<td>“n (-ol, al, el, il, etc.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“niobe” ‘Thou art’</td>
<td>“ŋol-e-māe ṭopholo”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘You have not made’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>.nil or &quot;d&quot;</td>
<td>“n-”, “du-n-&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“u-ben-om” ‘he sleeps’</td>
<td>“nu-ben-om” ‘they sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“du-āsí yubi” ‘who is he’</td>
<td>“dunu-khe-bekhā” ‘they are’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Ønge)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>“mā-”, “e-”</td>
<td>“equi”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“mā-omo-kābe” ‘I sleep’</td>
<td>“equi-omo-kābe” ‘we sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“e-ji-girā-be” ‘I eat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person</td>
<td>“nī-”</td>
<td>“nī (-yoga)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“nī-omo-kābe” ‘thou sleepest’</td>
<td>“nī-yoga omo-kābe” ‘you sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person</td>
<td>“gi-” or nil</td>
<td>“gi- (+yoga)” or “ono-”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“gi-omo-kābe” ‘he sleeps’</td>
<td>“gi-yoga omo-kābe” ‘They sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“enai jābe” ‘he is good’</td>
<td>“ono-tot-ai-jābe” ‘They are good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The usual classificatory prefixes of substantival roots are sometimes replaced by personal pronominal elements as given above when the substantives are qualified by personal pronominal adjectives, e.g. “thāmai” ‘my father', “nāmai” ‘your father', “menāmai” ‘our father', etc. (Jeru).
Of the neutral prefixes, the introductory ones are remarkable in the South Andamanese languages, especially the Bēa dialect. This dialect was very particular about the use of the introductory prefix "äka-" and the neutral suffix "-da" in every substantive word. The Jārawa language is also found to be specially particular about the use of an introductory prefix at the beginning of every sentence, which is "ya-". The Ónge language and the North Andamanese standard language have no such prefix either at the beginning of a sentence or before a substantive word.

But another kind of neutral prefix is found in all the languages. This is euphonic. These neutral prefixes are used before a word so that in the pronunciation of its particular initial sound after a particular final sound of the previous word may not produce difficulty or uneasiness. These are generally ṭ(h) and ṭ in North Andamanese and Little Andamanese. For instance, in Jeru "bōkhōri" 'a she-goat' + "uthire" 'child' = "bōkhōri-th-uthire" 'kid'; similarly "theure-ṭ-ot-lām" is 'strong' and Ónge "eneibo-ṭ-āṭ" 'the skin of the eye'. These are called "integrative prefix" by Brown.

(b) **Suffixes:**

Suffixes may be classified as verbal and substantival. Substantival suffixes used with substantival roots resemble the different case endings of inflexional languages. Their uses are illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Andamanese</th>
<th>Little Andamanese</th>
<th>Jārawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;-gi&quot; &quot;Inene-gi&quot; &quot;-wa&quot; 'O Saheb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td>x     &quot;-di&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative (Oblique)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x     &quot;-gi&quot; &quot;-ki (ke)&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (like Hindi mai-ne) |                   |       | (Inene-gi ingcebe) "The Saheb drinks (water)"
| Objective        | nil. "bi(k)"      | nil. "-li", "-gai" "-ke" |
|                  | ("cel roābiyebe") | ("ēnell-šukhwā gā-bebe" 'Give tobacco to the Ónge-man') |
|                  | ('Bring the boat here') |       | ("cowgegai nilaque-lebe" 'eats fish') |
| Dative (or with 'to') | "re"             |       | "-du" |
| ('near')         |                   | "-ce" |
| ('...to')        | "-kāk"            |       | |
|                  | ("lurua-kāk" 'to the Bluff Island') |  |
NOTE ON THE ANDAMANESE LANGUAGES 223

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrumental ('by' or 'with')</th>
<th>North Andamanese</th>
<th>Little Andamanese</th>
<th>Jârawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ablative (...'from')</td>
<td>&quot;-cot&quot; &quot;tät&quot; (luruā-tät&quot; 'from Bluff Island')</td>
<td>&quot;-cot&quot; &quot;tät&quot; (luruā-tät&quot; 'from Bluff Island')</td>
<td>&quot;-cot&quot; &quot;tät&quot; (luruā-tät&quot; 'kill with rope')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative (...'in')</td>
<td>&quot;-il&quot; (&quot;mārākail(e)&quot; 'in our place, country')</td>
<td>&quot;-mmā&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-mmā&quot; 'in the sea')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>&quot;-ico&quot; (&quot;thico roā&quot; 'my canoe')</td>
<td>&quot;-ijai&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;-dya&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;-mī&quot; (&quot;meī' 'my')</td>
<td>&quot;-ko&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;emeiko nice-be&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'come behind me')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The genitive is often expressed by the word without any suffix, only by its position before the noun it qualifies. The personal pronouns in Jeru sometimes take "-io" to form the pronominal adjectives. But their syntactical uses are sometimes very peculiar.

Verbal suffixes comprise two parts,—one expresses the tense, and the other expresses the other features of the verb (viz. transitive or intransitive, actional or equational, interrogative or assertive, action completed or incompletely, etc.) In Jeru, the latter kinds of suffixes are "b, k, m, l," as indicating respectively intransitive verb or equational verb, actional verb, interrogational verb and completion verb, with which tense suffixes are to be added finally and these tense-suffixes are in Jeru—"-om" for present continuous or future, "-e" for present indicative, "-o" (with its variants "-o", "-uo") for perfect, and "-a" for past. In the Ōnge language the use of these verbal suffixes is confused and it has taken an almost different method. "-be" is a general suffix in this language, which may be called neutral, for it does not make any difference of equational or actional verb. Only to express the present continuous a different final suffix "-(n)jō" is found for non-negative verbs and "-otātek" for negative verbs. To denote all other senses, the Ōnges use words like "-aki-bo-ki" (for completed action) "kāte kātāote" (for past happenings) etc. before the final suffix "-be". The Jârawa verbs show that non-negative verbs in present, perfect, and future respectively take "-ago", "-ba" and "-aka" suffixes at the end. Negative verbs always have the suffix "-(a)ma".
Verbal suffixes used with substantive roots make the denominative verbs as, for example, Ōnge “equ-qwe-be” ‘we go hunting pigs’ or “inge-ce-be” 'drink water'.

Neutral suffix, substantival is found in Bēa and other South Andamanese languages as already stated before. In North Andamanese standard language and also in the Little Andamanese language this is not found. The Jārawas however have one substantival neutral suffix which is "-wa" and also an adjectival which is "-ga".

(c) *Infixed*:

Of the functional infixed, plural infixed like "-ne-, -ne-, -num-" in Jeru and "-og-" in Ōnge are found. The plural sense is also indicated by suffixes, as in Jeru by suffix "-ne", or "-ukhe". Another important infixed is the negative infixed which is "-otot-" (plural) or "-ebogil-" or "-egi-" (singular) in Ōnge language and "-phu-" or "-pho-" in Jeru. The Jeru use of "-phu-" as suffix is also found, "no.... bolikhim -phu" ‘we do not sleep.’

Neutral infixedes are euphonous insertions of sounds as in Jeru "thu -no-b-ikhu" ‘I have drunk water’.

(d) *Compounding*:

Words are very often found joined together, the first one without suffix and the second one without prefix, and a cumulative sense is obtained like compounded forms, sometimes even giving a sense almost like the Bauhuvihi compounds of Indo-Aryan language. Many interesting examples have been given in LIA, and only a few are given below: Ōnge “eneibo-tuge” is ‘the eye-lash’, “eneibo” meaning ‘the eye’ and “tuge”, ‘bird’s feather (or wing)’; “icchele-gābebe” is ‘the sling for carrying children’, “icchele” is the loan word from Hindi, meaning ‘child’ and “gābebe” is ‘to take’, thus the two compounded mean ‘one in which the child is taken’. In Jeru language ‘a woman whose child is dead’ is called “thiremphilo” because her “uttthire” ‘child’ is “emphilo” ‘dead’; “rulu-tot-bāt” is ‘a blind man’, on whose “therulu” ‘eyes’, comes down “bāt” ‘night’.

(6) *Syntax*:

Both nexus and junction in Andamanese language are expressed by:
(i) the use of affixes, (ii) compounding, and (iii) juxtaposition of words. The last process undoubtedly requires a convention of word-order which is generally common in all the language varieties and different dialects. The subject precedes the verb and in equative sentences, the predicative and the attributive adjective generally precedes the noun it qualifies, the object is followed by the transitive verb and the verb is generally at the final position. But there are deviations, e.g., in Jeru “eremboo-bek cāi lyu
mem" 'How do you call the ear' which stands as 'the ear' + (obj.) + 'what' + 'call' + interrogative verb element + present tense suffix; but "cā ŋer phile-bik lyumem" = 'what' + 'you' + 'tooth' + obj. suffix + 'call' + verbal suffixes. The former word-order is found in Jārawa language also: "ya chonela joko-i-ago" i.e. 'the banana + 'the man' + 'give' + verbal suffix. Such word-orders are exceptional.

The relation is not always understood from the position of words. (Jeru) "ṭhico-roā-t-erkhuro" 'my canoe big' of course gives the sense of nexus but very often the verbal suffix "-bi" helps to understand the nexus in Jeru language. Similarly the substantival suffix "-ico" helps to give the idea of junctional relation. But here again confused mechanisms sometimes stand in the way and create complexities. (Jeru) "ṭhimikhu-l-ṭelio-bi" is an interrogative sentence meaning 'do you belong to the forest?'. But the meaning of the sentence word by word is 'the jungle' + 'you belonging' + 'is' instead of 'the jungle belonging' + 'you' + 'are'. Of the verbal relations the equative sentence is more general than actional sentence. 'I have come to the Sahibs' in Jeru language is "ṭhoā lāonun-ce-bo" meaning 'I' 'the Sahibs —to 'have been', thus omitting the verb 'come' altogether.

(LIA)—A Linguistic Introduction to Andamanese—D. N. Basu—(Bulletin No. 2 of Anthropology Dept., Govt. of India).
(NJL)—Notes on the Jarawa Language—Mr. Chengappa (Andaman).
(NLSA)—Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes—M. V. Portman, (Calcutta, 1888).
STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN DIETETICS—
HISTORY OF THE DISHES, IDLI AND DOSE,
BETWEEN A. D. 1100 AND 1900.

BY

P. K. Gobe, Poona

The history of Indian dietetics has not yet been systematically studied. What articles in the present Indian diet, current in different parts of India today, are ancient and indigenous is yet a matter for investigation. During my study of the history of Indian plants of medical and nutritive value it was disclosed that some of our food plants were imported from outside into India more than fifteen hundred years ago. The history of Indian cookery which is mainly allied to Indian dietetics needs also to be investigated and recorded in detail. For this purpose we must study the history of the recipes of several Indian dishes, which are now current or were current in India in ancient and mediaeval India. In this connection we must study texts on dietetics like the Bhojanasāra by Giridhāri, a protégé of Raja Savai Jayasim of Amber (A.D. 1699-1743). This voluminous text in Hindi Dohās gives numerous recipes of dishes prepared in the royal kitchen of Savai Jayasim about A.D. 1739 when it was composed. It is a definite mile-stone in the history of Rajasthan cookery. In Mahārāṣṭra Raghunātha Gaṇeṣa Navahasta (between c.A.D. 1640 and 1710), the great friend of Saint Rāmadāsa, composed a treatise on dietetics called the Bhojanakutuhala. I have published some papers on this text and its author. Both the Bhojanakutuhala and the Bhojanasāra are later than A.D. 1600. The encyclopaedic work by king Somesvara called the Mānasaollāsa (c.A.D. 1130) contains a chapter on cookery called the Annapāha. Though small, this text has a definite place in the history of Indian cookery as it reveals the cookery current during the time of the Cālukyas in the Deccan about A.D. 1100. For the earlier history of Indian dietetics we must study the chapters on food and drink (annapāha), in the early medical texts like the Carakasaṁhitā, the Suśrutasaṁhitā. Much useful matter regarding the Indian diet can be gathered from the Buddhist Canonical works like the Cullavagga etc. composed prior to the Christian era.

So far I have published papers on articles of diet like (1) Milk in general and cow's milk in particular,¹ (2) Varan (Sanskrit, Avarāṇa, Varāṇa), a preparation of pulses eaten with boiled rice,² (3) Jalebi, a sweet

Hindi Trans. in Kalyāna (Gorakhpur), Cow Number, 1945, pp. 405-409.
² Poona Orientalist, Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4, pp. 1-9 and
dish, now popular in many parts of India,\(^3\) and (4) Fried rice (Prthuka) and other fried grains.\(^4\)

I propose in this paper to record some references to the two popular dishes current in the Karnāṭak and South India viz, (1) Iḍli and (2) Doṣe between c.A.D. 1100 and 1900. These dishes involve no use of sugar. They are sold in Mahārāṣṭra in South Indian and Karnāṭak hotels and are prepared in the homes of the South Indian and Karnāṭak people wherever they go and reside. The people of Mahārāṣṭra eat them with relish but very few of them prepare them in their homes.

(1) The earliest mention of Iḍli and Doṣe occurs in the Mānasollāsa of the Cāḷukya King Someśvara composed about A.D. 1130. In Vol. II of this work published in the G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939, there is a chapter on Annabhoga or enjoyment of food by the King (pp. 115-136). In fact it is a small treatise on cookery, which deserves to be separately edited with a translation for the benefit of the students of the history of Indian Dietetics. In this chapter Someśvara gives the names of many articles of food and the directions regarding the preparation of several dishes current in the Deccan about A.D. 1100 among the Karnāṭkasas and Tamils, as also the Marāṭhas. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes are dealt with in this Chapter (see pp. 21-23 of Introduction by the Editor, Shri G. K. Shrigondekar). The method of preparing Doṣe or Dhosakas is mentioned by Someśvara as follows:

Page 119—

vidalāṁ caṇakaśayaināṁ purvasambhārasaṁśkṛtam || 92 ||
tāpyāṁ taile (la) vilipṭāyāṁ dhosakāṁ vipaced budhaḥ |
māṣasya vājamāṣasya vaṭṭānasya ca dhosakān || 93 ||
anenaiva prakāreṇa vipacet pākatattvavit |

The dhosakas appear to have been prepared from the flour of Caṇaka (gram), māṣa (beans, Marathi uḍīd) and vaṭṭānā (peas) and then cooked in oil.

The method of preparing Iḍli or Iḍarikā is next mentioned as follows:

Pages 119-120—

"āṁśībhutam māsapiśtaṁ vaṭṭkāsu vinīkṣiṣet |
vastragarbhabhir anyābhhih pidhāya paripācaṣey || 99 ||
avatāryātra maricānu cūṇitaṁ vikireṇ anu |
ghṛtaktā hiṅgusarpībhāyaṁ īrakena ca dhūpaṣey || 100 ||
suṣṭā dvahalā(ḥ) ślakṣṇā etā iḍarikā varāḥ |
"

The Ḡḍārīkās or Iḍlis were prepared from the fermented fine flour of māṣa (beans) made into small circular balls, which were cooked and then spiced by the use of the powder of marīca (black pepper), ghee, hiṅgu (Asafoetida), and the powder of jiraka (cumin-seeds).

(2) Corresponding to the reference to Ḡḍārīkā in the Sanskrit work, Mānasollāsa of c.A.D. 1130, we have the following reference5 to ḍḍariyā in a Prākṛta work called the Supāsanāhacaria⁶ composed by Laksmananāgan in A.D. 1143:

Page 485—The Sanskrit equivalent of the Prākṛta text which refers to ḍḍariyā (Iḍli) is as follows:—

asti Suṛāstro deśo ghoṣa iva sutīrthakṛtaśobhaḥ || 3 ||
tatrāsti dhanaśaṃṛdhāhām Girinagaraḥ nāmā pattanaṁ tasmin |
rājā ripubalamathano Mathano nāmā suprasiddhāh || 4 ||
tathā ca Maheśvaradattaḥ sreṣṭhī nyavasat pracuradhanakalitaḥ |
Lalitā tasyāsti priyā Datto nāmā tayoḥ sutah || 5 ||
durlalitaśoṭhikṣiptaḥ pīṭhbhyāṁ vicarati pratipram api |
vilasati veṣyānāṁ grhe vividhavilāsair durlalitaḥ || 6 ||
pibati surāṁ tathā sarakaṁ surataprasakta gamayati divasāni |
athānyadā gataḥ sa audyānyāṁ sarpivāraḥ || 7 ||
madhunandakumodakamanditānāṁ ḍḍarikagundravatākānāṁ |
guruśakṣāṇi bhṛtvā vaṭakakarambayaṁ ca tathaiva || 8 ||
vāvenusprraṇāṁ sugāyanavrindāṁ samam evānayati |
tato guruṇabhīrasarasītañe dattvāvāsam || 9 ||

In the country of Suṛāstra there was an opulent town called Girinagara, where lived a very rich merchant of the name Maheśvaradatta. His wife was Lalitā. Their son was Datta, who wandered in different places, lived with the prostitutes and enjoyed all kinds of pleasures. He passed his

6. See p. 435 of SupāSanāhacaria ed. by Har Govindādās, Banaras, 1918-19. About the date of this work see p. 516 of History of Indian Literature (Calcutta), Vol. II by M. Winteritz. The author of this work was Laksmananāgan. He was a pupil of Hemacandra. He began the composition of the work at Dhasūdhukṣaya (modern Dhaṇḍhukā) in Gujarāt and completed it in Vikrama Saṁvat 1199 (A.D. 1143) at Māndalipurī (modern Māndal) during the reign of King Kumārapāla of Gujarāt. (See p. 9 of Introduction by the editor). The work contains many stories (Kathā) bearing on Jaina religion and philosophy. The reference to ḍḍariyā occurs in dattakathā (story of Datta) which illustrates bhogaparibhogaśraya erita of the Jainas, which prescribes abstinence from worldly enjoyment. Datta was the son of a rich merchant (sreṣṭhī) called Maheśvaradatta of Girinagar and his wife Lalitā. Datta was given to the enjoyment of pleasures and passed his days in the company of prostitutes, eating and drinking to excess at picnics arranged by him in parks near the town of his residence.
life in drinking wine and indulging in sexual pleasures freely. Once he went out for a picnic to the banks of a large lake and pitched his camp there. For making himself merry he carried with him cart-loads of rich dishes like madhumataka, modaka, iddari (Prākṛta iddari) and gundravataka, etc. To add to his merriment he had taken with him a party of musicians, who were experts in vocal and instrumental music.

It will be seen from the above extract that iddariya (Idli) enjoyed some popularity as a delicious dish even in Gujarāt and Saurāstra in the first half of the 12th Century.

(3) The Marathi Dictionary Sābdakośa by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve (Vol. I-1932, p. 310) records the word idari-li as a Canarese word and explains it as a dish made of the fermented flour of beans (uḍīda) and rice with salt etc. The usage of this word recorded by this Sābdakośa is as follows:

Page 310—

pūrṇa camdrāca anukāri
cokhālapanēm bhajīje idari |

—Rddhipūravārana (81) by Nārāyaṇa Vīyāsa, ed. by G. K. Deshpande, 1929.

In the above quotation idari is said to resemble the full moon in point of shape and colour (namely circular shape and whiteness).

(4) Dr. B. A. Saleatore in his Social and Political life in Vijayanagar Empire (A.D. 1346-1646), Vol. II, Madras, 1934, records some information about several dishes7 current at Vijayanagar on the basis of extracts from the works of the following poets:

(1) C.A.D. 1485—Tera Kaṇāmbi Bommarasa.
(2) C.A.D. 1508—Maṅgarasa III in his work called the Sūpaśāstra.
(3) C.A.D. 1600—Annāji.

7. For those interested in the history of Indian Dietetics I may note below the following sources of this history recorded by Dr. B. A. Saleatore in foot-note 1 of Vol. II of his Social and Political life etc.

(i) Anbāsamudrā Inscription of Varaguna Pāṇḍya (9th Cent. A.D.) Epl. Indica, Vol. IX.
(iii) Purāṇa- purāṇa mentions different kinds of bhakṣa (see Kavi Carite, Vol. I, p. 327.)
In the extract from Bommarasa's work quoted by Dr. Saletore (p. 313) we find a dish called Kadabā. A South Indian Shastri at the B.O.R. Institute who read the Canarese extract for me is inclined to identify this Kadabā with idḍī. I am unable to accept this identification as the dish kadabā prepared in the Mahārāṣṭra today is quite different from idḍī.

Maṅgaḷaraṇa III mentions the recipes for the following dishes in his Sūpaśāstra:—

(1) gharivīḷāṅgāyī; (2) āḷāḷāṅgāre; (3) savuḍu—roṭṭi; (4) himāmbu—pānaka.

He also gives a description of a Hindu dinner (bhojana)—See Kavi Carite, Vol. II, p. 188.

The poet Anṇāji describes uta and mithāyi-arṇaḍī (Sweet-meat shop)—See Kavi Carite, Vol. II, pp. 336-337.

Canarese scholars may examine the works of the above poets and see if they refer to Ḡḍī and Doṣe, which are the subject of my present paper.

(5) The Marathi Sabdakośa (Vol. I—1932) records the word Ḡḍūrī for Ḡḍī as found in the poem Rukmīṇi-Svayaṁvara of the Mahārāṣṭra Saint Ekanāṭha (c.A.D. 1533-1599). This poem was composed in Saka 1493 = A.D. 1571. The pertinent extract containing the word Ḡḍūriyā as quoted in the Sabdakośa reads as follows:—

Page 311—

“pūṛṇa paripūṛṇa puriyā |
sabāhya goda gulavariyā |
ksirasaṅgarāṇiṣyā ksiraghāriyā |
idḍūriyā sakumārā ||”

—Rukmīṇī-Svayaṁvara, 14, 119.

Though Ḡḍī is a Canarese and South Indian dish proper it appears to have been popular in Gujarat in the 12th Century and in Mahārāṣṭra also in the 16th Century as will be seen from Saint Ekanāṭha’s mention of it among other popular dishes like puriyā, ksiraghāriyā, etc.

(6) Sanskrit and vernacular texts of South India are likely to contain references to Ḡḍī and Doṣe. Not being conversant with these texts I am unable to search for these references. I record below the following references to Ḡḍḍali and doṣā pointed out to me by Shri C. R. Deshpande, a

8. Ekanāṭha’s date and life are recorded in the Madhya yuṇa Caritra Kośa by S. Chitravarsasthi, Poona, 1937, pp. 171-174. The date of the Rukmīṇī-Svayaṁvara is recorded on p. 173.
post-graduate student of the B. O. R. Institute, who is making a special study of the Campû literature.

Śri Rāmānuja-Campû by Rāmānuja-cārya was composed about A.D. 1600. It has been edited by P. P. S. Sastri (Madras Govt. Ori. Series No. 6, Madras, 1942). This Campû is a historical biography of Śri Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137), the great dvaita philosopher. Verse 29 of 3rd Stabaka of this Campû reads as follows:—

Page 39:—

“abhyaśamya pade pade savinayām saṁprārthito gehibhiḥ
śuñāṣṭiyātra mātāḥādisurabhi gaṅḍākṛṣṭi riddalih |
dosāmandalam indubimbadhavalam sadya ghrtenāplutam
bhaktam svārṇasavarṇasūpasahitaṁ sāmodam āśvādayan ||”

This verse gives us a fine poetic description of the hearty reception given to a guest by householders. The guest enjoyed with delight a dinner consisting of boiled rice with the following dishes:—

(1) idḍali of round shape made fragrant with ginger, cumin seeds, and asafoetida (rāmaṭha).

(2) dosā dipped in fresh ghee, with circular shape looking white like the disc of the moon.

(7) Raghunāṭha Navahasta9 (Navāthe), the great friend of Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra composed a work on dietetics called the Bhōjanakutūhala10 between c.A.D. 1675 and 1700. In the first Pariccheda of this work he gives us a list of all articles of diet, including vegetables, cereals, fruit, etc., as also different kinds of dishes current in Mahārāṣṭra and other provinces of India in the 17th century. The Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a MS of this first Pariccheda (No. 594 of 1899-1915). A topical analysis of this Pariccheda has been published by me in the Annals (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XXI, pp. 254-263). On folio 19 of this MS he mentions idḍli along with dhiraṭi, pūrikā, godhūmapheṇi, etc. This reference shows that idḍli was popular in Mahārāṣṭra in the 17th century.

I now close this paper with a request to scholars to record some more evidence about the history of the two popular dishes idḍli and Doṣe from sources unknown to me.

9. See my paper on this author in the Journal of the University of Bombay, 1941.
10. For MSS of Bhōjanakutūhala see Aufrecht, CCI, 418; II, 95, III, 90.
INTERPRETATION OF TWO ORIYA WORDS

BY

SIDDEHESHWAR HOTA, Puri

(1) Siṣṭu:—It means 'left as refuse'. But it has acquired other meanings also; e.g., "muṇha siṣṭu kalā paddi jaichhi" i.e. "The face has become deeply dark." Here the meaning change is as follows: "left as refuse" (< Sanskrit siṣṭa, avasiṣṭa) > "rejected" > "unclean" > "dark."

(2) Kāṭu:—The word kāṭu means 'effectiveness'; 'range of a gun'; 'the stake consisting of cash in gambling', and has the Dēṣi element. The last meaning popularly is used in Ganjam and Koraput side.' The word kattā has been used in the Mychakaṭikam, in the following passage:

"kattāsaddē nīnṇāṇaṅkāśa halai haḍakaṁ manuṣśaṅśa
kattāsābdo nirnāṇakasya harati hṛdayaṁ manuṣyaṁasya". Act. II.

The Sanskrit commentary in this connection explains kattā as dyūta- karaṇāṁ yayā sā kattā / Kau iti prasiddhah /

The Khurdha people understand 'kāṭu' as meaning "the circular iron rim of cart wheels". Kāṭa (Skt. kṛta)¹ is used in the Mychakaṭika in following line as arē mūrkhā, nanvahāṁ daśa-suvarṇāṁ kaṭakareṇaḥ prayachhāmi.

The word 'kāṭu' is a tatsama word of 'kāṭu' of Dravidian origin and assumes different shapes such as 'kālu, kādu, katuka, etc.' due to outward and inward forces and influences of historical, geographical and phonetic conditions which act on the formation and growth of the vocabulary.

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¹. But for the use of Skt. kṛta, Pāli, Pkt. kāṭa as the name of the (winning) throw in gambling and not 'stake' or 'prize won' see Lüneke, Philologica Indica, p. 142 ff.
CHANGE, ANALOGICAL AND SEMANTIC

BY

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Analogic change, so-called, and change of meaning are commonly discussed in one breath; yet attempts to define their parallelism more closely have seldom been satisfactory. The following paragraphs are intended to explore the possibility that some of the difficulties are only verbal in that they reflect the equivocal application of one term, "change," to incommensurate entities in what are indeed, in all other respects, very similar processes.

1. What is that changes in semantic change? The answer to this question must of course vary with one's philosophy of meaning. But on one point linguists at any rate should be able to agree: when a linguistic form (e.g., a phrase, a word, an affix, a stem; perhaps even—a matter which we shall leave unexamined here—a given kind of arrangement between forms, a construction) changes its meaning, it changes its distribution1 among the totality of the remaining forms in the language. This, after all, is how the historian tells semantic change; he finds that a form (say, the OE word cēace, the antecedent of NE cheek) occurs in particular sentences or utterances, i.e., in combination with particular forms at a later stage (say, in NE) which are different from the utterances and combinations where the "same" form occurred at an earlier stage (say, OE). Frequently the net final effect of such a change in occurrence or distribution is that all or a large part of the total of utterance environments in which the form in question used to be in order are filled, at the later stage, by one different form. There has been replacement of one form by one other, and we commonly say that the latter (say, jau) has undergone semantic change in that it has taken on the meaning of the former (say, cēace). In the popular view the word has changed its meaning and has therefore ceased to occur in old, and begun to occur in new, utterances. In such a view meanings are accepted as unanalyzable, irreducible properties of "words." A more cautious observer, however, might simply say that he can measure, ideally (i.e., if he had proper sampling methods), change in meaning by the amount of change

1. Distribution must not be taken to mean frequency distribution, at least not directly. It simply refers to statements on the presence or absence of the combination of a given form in sequence (however extended) with other given forms.
in the total utterance environment, or, for that matter, that synchronically the difference between the meanings of two forms can be measured by expressing the difference between the total utterance environments of each. This will be readily granted in the case of so-called synonyms: threat and menace are synonyms insofar as these two forms are interchangeable for each other in a great many utterance-frames; they differ in meaning to the extent that they are not so interchangeable, as in the sentence He walks around muttering—s., where menace is not said. The cautious formulation just proposed also has the merit of bringing meaning into line with grammar, or rather, dictionary meaning with grammatical meaning. Whether or not a Sanskrit, or English, or Algonquian noun is the "name of a place, person, or thing," a linguist will define a noun (independently in each language where he finds the term useful) as a class of words found in certain, advisedly chosen utterance environments. Thus, very roughly, threat and tree are nouns inasmuch as they will fill the frame This is a—; the linguist need not investigate what kind of things, persons or places they denote. As different, more, and longer environment frames are selected the list of those words which fill all of them will shorten until we reach the point at which near-synonyms are distinguished.

To return from our digression into synchronic linguistics, a semantic change may be pictured thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Stage</th>
<th>Recent Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cēace,</td>
<td>jaw,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cēace, etc.</td>
<td>cheek,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cheek,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaw, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where 1, 2, and 3 may be alternatively interpreted (a) as symbols for classes of utterances in which the words are met with (1 representing those frames in which jaw replaces cēace, 2 those in which cheek is now used but in which cēace failed to occur, and 2 those in which cēace-cheek has continued to occur along with other nouns (e.g., This is a—)); or (b) as meanings (or ideas, or concepts, or signifïes...) denoted by the words in question (in this case, 1 and 3 are defined by the anatomist; 2 is again the category of "places persons or things").

2. What goes on in analogical change? There has been much discussion on the subject. 2 A great deal of it has centered in one way or another upon the predictability of analogical change, that is, on the con-

2. That cheek in turn, replaces the older meaning of jaw (from F. joux?) is an accident, and irrelevant here.

ditions likely to favour it. Here we are only concerned with the far simpler question as to what has become different in the language after analogical change has taken place.

Like semantic change, analogical change involves linguistic forms dropping out from certain environments or beginning to appear in certain environments. Thus, *waxed* as a past participle is an analogical replacement, the earlier form having been *waxen*. The form *-ed* has widened its distribution: while it used not to occur after *wax-* it now does so occur. By the same token *-en* has suffered a change in distribution in that it no longer occurs after *wax-*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Stage</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ed</td>
<td></td>
<td>-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recent Stage</td>
<td>-ed</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example, 1 represents the position following live- and other verbs which have remained weak, 2 represents the position following wax- (and other similar ones in which weak endings replaced strong ones at one period or another, and 3 represents the verbs which have maintained -en-participles. In some, though not in all, respects, this parallels the earlier table. Wherein lies the essential difference?

To ask this question is tantamount to asking how it is that the change from *waxen* to *waxed* cannot be called a semantic change. Ever since English had both cheek and jaw, these words existed side by side, like all nouns by definition in partial contrast with each other, as illustrated by column 2 in the first table above. *This is my jaw and this is my cheek* both occur, and have occurred ever since *jaw* was introduced. This is precisely what makes their meanings different. This is not true of *-en* and *-ed*. Rather, the occurrence of *-en* dovetails with that of *-ed*; the two do not contrast with each other; their distribution is mutually exclusive (excepting minor instances like *proved/proven* which are clearly on a different level); they are, in short, not different morphemes (like jaw and cheek) but merely morpheme alternants or allomorphs within one and the same morpheme (the "past participle morpheme"). In analogical change, it seems, one allomorph gains at the expense of another within the morpheme. In semantic change, one morpheme may gain at the expense of another morpheme, their status as morphemes remaining assured by the fact that the two forms continue in contrast, in surroundings not involved in the change. This description certainly fits the present example; it is highly probable that it can be extended to other, more complex instances of analogical change.

3. A comparison of the two tables will reveal the lack of congruency in the two uses of the term "change." In dealing with change of meaning we study a linguistic form (e.g., a word) as it moves out of old, and into new total utterance surroundings, that is, meanings. Putting it graphically, we follow one or several forms (cēace-cheek, jaw) in their wanderings across the numbered columns. Semantic change is something attributed to linguistic forms of given shape. In dealing with analogical change we proceed from the other end: we examine an environment (e.g., the position immediately following it has (is) wax-) and state how this environment is filled at different periods in the history of the language. We move down each numbered column from line to line, i.e., from stage to stage. Analogic change is something attributed to given environments, i.e., given meanings. In our example, the past participle of wax is designated by a new form.

There is no need that environment changes in different morphemes should always be described by taking the form as a starting point, while descriptions of such changes in allomorphs proceed from the environment in which the form occurs. This is only a convention. Semantic change can be stated in terms of stable environments with changing occupants as well, and so can analogical change be described by keeping the form (in this case the allomorph) constant and follow it through its areas of application. Then we obtain the following four formulae:

**FORM MOVING THROUGH ENVIRONMENTS**

**MORPHEMES**

jaw moves into some of the former environments (takes on the meaning) of cēace-cheek (CUSTOMARY STATEMENT)

**ED MOVES INTO SOME OF THE ENVIRONMENTS FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY -EN (E.G. AFTER WAX-)**

**ALLOMORPHS**

**ENVIRONMENT FILLED BY DIFFERENT FORMS**

certain utterance environments (meanings) which used to be filled (expressed) by cēace are now filled (expressed) by jaw

an utterance environment like it has (is) wax—, which used to be filled by -en, is now filled by -ed (or: the past participle of wax has been analogically changed from waxen to waxed)

**5.** As hinted before, the Machinery (as opposed to the results) of analogic change with its proportional pattern (provided in this instance by the weak verbs already in existence) is left out of this discussion.
PÀñINI’S RULES AND VEDIC INTERPRETATION

BY

S. S. BHAWE, Baroda

1. Introductory: importance of Pàñini’s rules.

Pàñini’s grammar as an auxiliary science to the Veda is one of the most important aids to Vedic exegesis. All the same it is surprising that even the traditional grammarians (vaiyàkarañås) do not generally pay much attention to the Vedic rules of Pàñ.,¹ separately treated by Bhaṭṭoji in his svaravaidikiprakriyå, and are always occupied with those dealing with classical Sanskrit. One who independently studies the Pàñinian Sûtras would clearly see that Pàñ. treats the Sanskrit language as a whole and gives rules for the Vedic language in a separate series of Sûtras, only when they are not applicable to the classical, and gives exceptions to the general rules by the famous ‘chandasi bahulam’. Of course, Sày. makes the fullest use of Pàñ’s rules and his model Bhàsya on the first Adhyàya of the Rk-saṁhita (i.e., Sûktas 1, 1-19) demonstrates very clearly how important and indispensable these rules are for Vedic interpretation, and Bhaṭṭoji² in his Vedabhàśyasàra specially recommends its study to Vedic scholars.

2. Different opinions on the point.

Among the Western scholars, however, there has been some difference of opinion on the point (1) Whitney, for example, after comparing a number of Pàñ.’s Vedic rules with the evidence of the Vedic texts concluded that the former were quite inadequate for the purpose. He found want of consistency in Pàñ.’s terminology and blamed him especially for his promiscuous use of expressions like chandas, mantra, yajus etc., as also for his want of principle

* This paper was read before the XVII session of the A.I.O. conference, Ahmedabad, 1953. It is published here in a considerably revised form with thanks to the authorities of the same conference.

1. See the last foot-note for a list of abbreviations.

2. Bhaṭṭoji: Vedabhàśyasàra, Bombay, 1947 (Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 12, ed. Pandit R. N. Patankar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 7) p. 9; cf. the following stanza:

   etasmin prathamo’dhyayah śrotavyah sampradāyataḥ /
   vyantrapnaṁ tāvatā sarvam boddhuh sāknoti śuddhadhiḥ //
in the choice of the facts described. "...What, then, was the use of his touching the subject of Vedic peculiarities at all?", he asked. A more favourable view, however, was taken by (2) Sylvain Lévi, who tried to answer Whitney's doubts; in so doing, however, he only partially recognised the importance of Pāṇ. for Vedic interpretation. He opined that Pāṇ. lays no claims to teaching either the language or grammar of the Veda; but that the language and grammar which he does teach are closely related to them (Italics ours). Sylvain Lévi further clearly appears to take the view that Vedic peculiarities were noted by Pāṇ. only to fix more clearly the usage of the current (i.e., classical) Sanskrit. (3) Paul Thieme, however, in his excellent monograph on Pāṇiṇi and the Veda refutes Whitney and very well demonstrates that all the terms like chandas, mantra, etc., are used by Pāṇ. quite systematically; he also refutes Lévi, by pointing out that the language of the sacred texts was used in the sacrificial rites (yajñakarmāṇi, Pāṇ. 1. 2. 34) and in the daily recitations (cf. anvadhjayam, Nr. 1. 4) as opposed to Bhāṣāyām and that as such it could not be supposed to contain wrong word forms. He says further, "it is for this reason that Pāṇ. endeavours to justify Vedic words and usages that were alien to the Bhāṣā by special rules valid only for the Veda." Finally, after considering in detail Pāṇ.'s rules especially on the Vedic Upadāda—compounds (Pāṇ. 3. 2. 63-73) and on the Abhinīhitasandhi (Pāṇ. 6. 1. 115-121) in the Veda he convincingly demonstrates that the Vedic rules and exceptions given by Pāṇ. fully accord with the facts of the Vedic texts, which he knew so well and to which he applied his unique gifts of observation and capacity of induction. Moreover, what is more satisfying is that Thieme has throughout followed, as pointed out in his introduction (p. xiv), the method of traditional Pāṇinian scholars, especially that of removing doubts by interpretation. Of course, Thieme could obviously subject only a few Vedic rules of Pāṇ. to a critical treatment and there is immense scope for work in that line. Thus, for example, a study of Pāṇinian rules on Vedic accent, especially with reference to compounds, would show how important, even indispensable, they are for the difficult task of Vedic interpretation.


4. Sylvain Lévi, Mémoire de la société Linguistique de Paris 12. 278, referred to and quoted by Paul Thieme, ibid intro, p. xii f.

5. Thieme, ibid pp. 67-72.

6. Thieme, ibid p. 67 f.

7. See foot-note 6 above.

8. Thieme, ibid pp. 24-26 and 46-59 respectively; cf. especially p. 67 f.
3. Consideration of an important accent rule viz. Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48.

Eminent Vedic scholars like OLDENBERG, GELDNER and others do doubt take Pāṇ.'s rules into consideration, but perhaps not quite fully. The rules especially noted by them mainly concern syntactical accent such as that of vocatives, verbs etc. Some typical instances of the disregard of certain important accent rules especially in the case of compounds would well illustrate the point. (1) Let us take the case of instrumental determinative (Tr-Tat.) compounds in the RV having a past passive participle (ktānta) as the second member. According to Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48 (tṛṣiyā karman) in the case of such compounds, the preceding member should have its original accent, this being an exception to the general rule that Tat. comps. accent the final member (Pāṇ. 6.1.220), as also to the special rule about comps. ending in verbal derivatives (kṛṣṇa) having the latter accented (Pāṇ. 6. 2. 139). We get many ktānta- comps. in the RV, regularly accented on the first member, such as pātijustā (loved by the husband) 1. 73. 3; ādīsintā (pressed by the stones) 9. 72. 4; devākṛtam (made by the gods) 3. 33. 4 and so on, which are definitely Tr.-Tat. in accordance with the rule just now stated. On the other hand, such comps. not accented on the first member are not to be taken as Tr.-Tat.; thus pītravittā rājya (wealth obtained from the father and not by the father) 1. 73. 1 is a good example of a Pañ.-Tat. Interpretation of this compound as instrumental comp. (meaning obtained by the father) is excluded by the irrefutable evidence of accent, as also by the context in which the comp. occurs and, incidentally, this throws light on the law of paternal inheritance in Rgvedic times. But a real difficulty arises, where one wants to take such compounds as Tṛṣiyā comp. in spite of accent. Sāy. on 1. 11. 4 interprets the comp. purusutā on the strength of accent and this rule (viz. Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48), which he quotes there. The word means 'praised in many' (places or sacrifices) and not 'praised by many' (devotees), which is against accent. Bhaṭṭoji also in the Siddhānta-Kaumudi, while explaining the so-called thā-thādīsvara (Pāṇ. 6. 2. 144) gives this very example. Gld.10 translates the word by 'vielegepriesene (the much-praised)' which does not clearly show whether he discards the Tr-comp. or not; Prof. VELANKAR11 translates it with 'off-praised,' mostly not differing from Gld. Would it be however, too fastidious to suggest that 'praised in many (places)' or 'for many (causes)' would be a better translation? No doubt, an omnibus exception to this rule is given by Pāṇ. by mentioning the pravṛddhādi group in Pāṇ. 6. 2. 147, which is an

9. The context is the praise of Agni, who is said to be vāpudhāh (bringer of food or strength, which contributes to happiness) like the wealth inherited from the father; it is obvious that a son would be happy by the wealth obtained (by him) from the father, rather than that obtained by the father, which he may or may not get.

10. Der Rgveda HOS 33. 12.

ākṛti-gaṇa and the words in which may be construed as Tr-Tat. etc. in spite of accent, though the only Vedic word actually listed in the group is kaviśaṭā (praised by the wise). In fact, Sāy. himself, while explaining a similarly accented compound discards what he did at 1. 11. 4 and takes purupraśastā (1. 73. 2) as a Tr-comp. in spite of accent and actually takes refuge under Pāṇ. 6. 42. 147 (Prv.-gaṇa) which he quotes there. This is, incidentally, one of many indications, which go to support the theory of Sāy. of the first Adhyāya not writing the whole RV-Bhāṣya and of there being many Sāys. Even Veṅkaṭamādhava, an expert in Ṛgvedic grammar, explains purupraśastā against accent and ostensibly on the support of Prv-gaṇa. So it would appear that in spite of Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48, and often perhaps without knowing it, one may be right in his translating such antodāṭta compounds as Tr-Tat., only on the authority of Pāṇ. 6. 2. 147. It is, however, clear that the omnibus Prv.-gaṇa should be one’s last resort only and we should normally try to apply the rule ‘ṛṣṭi-karmaṇī’ as far as possible; at least that seems to be the intention of Pāṇ., otherwise the Ācārya, to use the Bhāṣyakāra’s (Patañjali’s) favourite word, would not at all have composed the rule Pāṇ. 6. 2. 48.

4. Discussion of vibhvaṭaṭā in 3. 49. 1.

That the application of this rule will give us a more accurate translation of certain Ṛgvedic words can be shown from the example of the comp. vibhvaṭaṭām (3.49.1) occurring as an epithet of Indra. The context is that Heaven and Earth and the Gods fashioned out Indra as a slayer of enemies (ghanām vṛtraṇām). In spite of accent, almost all the interpreters take it to be a Tr-Tat. Gld. renders it with ‘the masterly (i.e. skilful)’ hammer (to kill fiends?) without explaining how the word can mean ‘skilful’. Prof. Velankar translates it as a regular instrumental comp. by ‘skilful slayer of Vṛtra’. In his explanatory footnote he says that vibhvaṭaṭā means ‘fashioned by the skilful’ and hence ‘skilful’ Sāy. also takes it against accent to mean ‘established by Vibhu (i.e. creator Brahman)’ in the overlordship of the world, possibly putting it in the Prv-group. Here it must be noted against Sāy. that the first member is not vibhu but vibhvan, which certainly does not mean the creator. Vibhvan is no doubt the name of one of the three Rbhus, the heavenly architects and that might have led modern translators to introduce the conception of skilful in the translation of the comp. vibhvaṭaṭā. But that is not warranted; for it is not Vibhvan, but Rbhu or Rbhukṣā that is

13. Gld’s actual words are ‘…….als meisterlichen Hammer’ HOS. 33. 389.
generally connected with Indra. Moreover, here we have nothing to do with the proper name of a Rbhu, but the word is simply a verbal derivative (kṛdanta) in ān. Macdonell in his usual infallible style renders the word with 'far-reaching' taking it as an adjective (a verbal derivative in ān) and that or similar is the meaning of the word all along in the RV and obviously, as a verbal derivative from vi + √bhu it may mean 'all pervading' (adj. or noun) 'far-spreading greatness' (abstract noun), or some such thing. Venkaṭa-Mādhava, however, honouring the accent and also the root-meaning of the word, hits at the right interpretation; he paraphrases the word with 'fashioned so as to have a big body.' This quite fits in with the context: a slayer of enemies was required by the gods; he should naturally have the qualities both of intellect and physique; the epithets sukrātu and vibhvaṁśa in the passage amply bring out both these senses. Having once used the word sukrātu, again to introduce the idea of skilful etc. in vibhvaṁśa is superfluous. We may, therefore, translate the word as 'big-sized,' 'megaformic,' or slightly loosely, 'gigantic.'

5. Same comp. in RV 5. 48. 4 and 5. 42. 12

In the light of this, the word vibhvaṁśa again occurring in RV 5. 58. 4, in the context of a king fashioned out by the Maruts, can be well translated with 'fashioned so as to be large (i.e. powerfully built)' against Sāy., who does not honour the accent and takes the comp. to be Tr-Tat. and takes vibhvan (the Rbhu) as the creator of the king, which certainly has no authority in the RV. Gld's translation in this case as '(den) vollendeten König' i.e. a perfect, consumate king is nearer the mark. Further in 5. 42. 12. the word, occurring as an epithet of the rivers, leaves no doubt as to its real meaning 'created for being big i.e. spreading, flowing far and off.' Sāy., here too, goes against accent and renders the word as 'fashioned by the middle Rbhu viz., Vibhvan' and Gld also plainly translates it with 'the rivers fashioned by Vibhvan (the master i.e., skilful)'. No doubt, the Rbhūs are mentioned in the first pāda of the passage, but that does not warrant attributing the work of fashioning the rivers to Vibhvan, the second of the three Rbhu brothers, this being none of his usually mentioned cosmic activities.

15. Vējo devānam abhavat sukārmāndrasya Rbhukṣa Vārunasya Vibhvā, RV. 4. 33. 9.
17. Vibhvan (sic) iti mahānāma, prthu-taṣṭam, mahādhariro yathā bhavati tathā kṛtam VM 3. 633; of course, it is difficult to think of a word like vibhva in the RV meaning 'great'; the available words are either vibham or vibhā or vibhā, the last word with the fem. form vibhā might give a sense. vibhva through mistaken analysis.
18. HOS 34. 65.
19. HOS 34. the actual words are, 'die von Vibhvan (dem Meister) gebildete'.
6. The exact significance of vibhvan.

The question as to whether the middle Rbhu is meant in such comps. or not would be at once settled, if the accent of the word in the particular comp. were available; because Vibhvan meaning the Rbhu is accented on the first syllable, whereas Vibhvan taken as an adjective or a noun meaning 'skilled' or 'an artificer in general' (with accent-shift) is accented on the last syllable. But in a regularly accented Tat-comp. like vibhvatastā, where the first member is accentless, it is impossible to find out which word is used. Yet the text of the RV helps us well to settle the question. Whenever the Rbhu is meant, and context always makes it clear—the word Vibhvan is adyudatta and wherever he is not meant, the word is antodatta (vibhvan).

7. Discussion of vibhvan in 6. 61. 13 and 10. 76. 5

This, however, requires further confirmation, because all this attempt to interpret the comp. vibhvatastā in the light of Pāṇ.'s rules would really be valid, if the meaning so far sought to be given to Vibhvan is really warrented by Ṛgvedic usage. Luckily for us vibhvan independently (i.e. outside a comp.) occurs twice in the RV and an examination of those passages would show that our interpretation is quite in harmony with the Ṛgvedic thought-world. The river Goddess Sarasvatī is praised in 6. 61. 13 and she is stated to be vibhvāne kṛtā (much the same as vibhvatastā), which can easily mean 'made or fashioned for flowing, spreading far,' etc., vibhavan being a noun from vi + bhū, to spread oneself, to multiply etc., Vibhvan the Ṛbhu being entirely out of question. Gld. translates the phrase with 'created for unfolding (i.e. giving) strength or vigour' and Sāy. with vibhvan vibhuvayā kṛtā. Obviously both the scholars exclude the meaning Ṛbhu; while, Sāy's interpretation is much the same as suggested above, Gld.'s is a little far-fetched, but certainly not opposed to the root-meaning of the word. Vibhvan (antodāttā) also occurs in another passage (10. 76. 5), where the gravāyah (pressing-stones) are praised. It contains an exhortation to the singer to praise the stones: vibhvānā cait āsvapastarebhāyā (arca). Gld. translates, '(I wish to sing a praise to them) who work more quickly than Vibhvan himself,' following Sāy, who takes vibhvan to mean one of the Ṛbhus, sons of Sudhanvan, specially mentioning that their mythical activity of dividing the heavenly cup was famous for its quickness. It is indeed very difficult to suppose that great Veda-interpreters like Gld. and Sāy. have erred on such a simple point. We may, however, remember that Homer also nods and say

22. HOS 34. 164. Gld's actual words are: 'zur Kraftentfaltung geschaffen.'
23. HOS 35. 257. Cf. Gld's words: 'die rascher arbeiten als selbst Vibhvan.'
that the meaning given both by Sāy, and Gld. is against accent. In the case of Gld. it might be that the translation missed his revising hand; for, we see in it two more irregularities, in addition to that of disregarding the accent. First, he translates arca (impr. 2nd per. sg.) as if it were arce (pres. 1st per. sg.) which he might have done for the sake of idiom; and secondly, in spite of the instr. sg. vibhvāna, he connects the word with the comparative adjective āsvāpastarebhyaḥ24 which Sāy. also does. There are three other comparative adjectives ending in-tara in the rc no doubt, but they are correctly connected with the normal ablative sg. (e.g. divaḥ cit etc.). If the Rṣi had meant an abl. sg. he could easily have used vibhvāno without harming the metre in the least. It is clear, therefore, that the Rṣi deliberately uses vibhvāna āsvāpastarebhyaḥ meaning ' (to the stones) that are the quicker on account of their bigness or size (vibhvān) ' suggesting thereby that the bigger the stones, the quicker do they press out the Soma juice. The interpretations, therefore, both of Gld. and Sāy. are not acceptable. (Incidentally, this is one more instance to show that different Sāy.'s were working on the Rg-Bhāṣya). We are, thus, justified in taking vibhvān as a noun or adj. used as a noun, meaning 'spreading i.e. being big' etc. and translate, (to them), who are indeed quicker (in work) by virtue of their size. (A more literal translation following the Bah. accent and therefore dissolution of the comp. āsvāpah in the comp.-adj. āsvāpastarebhyaḥ would be 'who are quicker than those, whose āpas i.e. work or activity is quick'; it need hardly be mentioned that the independent Svarīta on the second syllable of the comp. shows that the first member āśū is accented and hence the comp. is Bah.)

8. Vibhvastā in RV 4. 36. 5.

Finally, in one passage viz. 4. 36. 5 the meaning both of the adj. vibhvān and the proper noun vibhvān, name of one of the Rbhus is possible for the word vibhvān in the comp. vibhvasta. The context there is about the wealth (rāyī) given by the Rbhus, and the vibhvastā (rāyī) is proclaimed to be praiseworthy. Again, the accent of vibhvān-, it being the first member of the Tat. comp., is not determinable, yet in a Rbhu-context, the middle Rbhu is certainly possible. In that case we have to take the compound as Tr-Tat. in spite of accent, put the word in the Pra.-gana and trans-
late it as 'produced by the Vibhvan śa (i.e. the ṛbhus). Say, does the same. If, however, we want strictly to stick to Pān. (6. 2. 48) and not to take resort to the Prv.-gāṇa, we can discard the instrumental comp., and dissolve it as vibhvan śa (bahutevā kārṇa t) taṣṭaḥ (nirmitaḥ), with the meaning 'created for multiplying, increasing'. This would well fit in with the Rgvedic idea of wealth, especially cattle wealth, which is generally expressed by the word rājya and further this would be strictly in accordance with the Rgvedic idiom, which often indulges in punning on the names of deities, and especially on all the ṛbhu-names, which is actually done earlier in this passage. (Cf. a pun on the name Vāja in Vājaśrutāsō yām ājijanaṁ nāraḥ 4. 36. 5 b).

9. Exact scope of the rule Pān. 6. 2. 48.

The foregoing discussion amply proves that a strict application of Pān.'s rule trīṇa karmajñi (6. 2. 48) allows us to probe deeper into the ideological world of the Vedic Ṛṣis and in certain cases such as RV 3. 49. 1; 5. 48. 4; 42. 12 it gives an interpretation, which, it is hoped, is more accurate and more in conformity with the spirit of the RV than what has been available so far and in some more cases such as RV 10. 76. 5 and 4. 36. 5 it gives us probably better alternative interpretations. And the whole force of Pān.'s so carefully framed rules in this connection appears to be that (a) in case of a comp. ending in a ktānta (past pass. part.) we should always take it as a Trīṇa comp., whenever its first member shows its original accent, cf. comps. like pāṭijyaṣṭiḥ = loved by the husband, 1. 73. 3 and that (b) whenever the compound is antada ṭta, we should take it to be any Tat. but Trīṇa and Caturṭī (cf. Vibhvatasṭāṁ so far discussed), with the proviso that (c) in absolutely unavoidable cases, we may take such an antada ṭta comp. to be a Tr-Tat. in spite of accent, by taking it as an exception to be put in the prv.-gana (cf. Kauśastāḥ = praised by the wise 1. 152. 2). This detailed statement of one rule as a specimen further supports THIEME's view that Pān. knew his Vedic texts very well, and therefore, we may add, his rules on Vedic grammar of the type illustrated above must be taken into consideration more strictly than what has been done so far.

10. Macdonell's 'view on the value of Pān.'s Vedic rules.

It would, however, appear that the importance to be given to Pān.'s rules in the field of Vedic interpretation has to be reduced considerably on account of some rather categorical observations on Pān.'s treatment of the Vedic language made by MACDONELL, whose opinions on matters of Vedic

25. In the RV the name of any one of the three ṛbhu brothers in the plural stands for all the three.

26. In Rgvedic prayers we often get an expression of the desire that rājya should be multiplied; the epithets like viṣvātās prthuḥ 2. 1. 12d and others applied to rājya confirm the idea that it stands for cattle.
exegesis have got to be taken seriously. In his Sanskrit Grammar he says that "(Pāṇi) . . . gives hundreds of rules about the Veda but without completeness. His account of the Vedic language, taken as a whole, thus shows many gaps, important matters being often omitted, while trifles are noticed. In this part of his work Pāṇini shows a decided incapacity to master his subject matter, attributing to the Veda the most unbounded grammatical license, especially in interchanging or dropping inflections." The substance of this criticism is that Pāṇi does not fully treat the Vedic language, because he could not completely master it. Even granting for a moment that this criticism is justifiable, it does in no way vitiate the position taken up in this paper regarding Pāṇi's importance for Vedic interpretation, because if all the details of the Vedic language are not treated by Pāṇi, at least those which are should be deservedly given greater attention which is so far not done at times even by Śāy, as shown in the specimen case of a compound discussed above in paras 3 to 7. Patient study will reveal abundance of such cases. Moreover, many aspects of Vedic grammar, which appear to be untreated by Pāṇi, can be explained by his available rules helped by the paribhāṣās and other grammatical technicalities developed by the grammarians of the Pāṇinian school ending with Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. Besides, a few cases might be such as were not known to Pāṇi., the text concerned being perhaps a later incorporation, which obviously requires settling further chronological problems. The applicability of Pāṇi's available rules, thus, remains unchallenged. Other objections such as want of system in the use of terms etc. raised by Whitney are fully answered by S. Levi and Paul Thieme as indicated at the outset. A further detailed reply to Macdonell's charges requires an independent investigation, which obviously need not be undertaken here, the main point in this paper being in no way disturbed by them.

11. Pāṇi's rules neglected by later Vaiyākaraṇas.

More instances about the applicability of Pāṇi's rules to Veda cannot be discussed here for want of space. Early Indian tradition of Vedic interpretation paid the highest attention to points of Grammar. Many of the well-known peculiarities of the Padapāṭha, such as putting an avagraha between the members of a comp. etc., Yāska's point of view that the Nirukta is only a compliment of grammar,28 Patañjali in agreement with Kātyāyana putting a special plea in his introduction to the Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhasya29 for the study

28. 'Vyākaraṇasya kārttavyam' is the phrase which Yāska uses; further he also lays down that Nirukta should not be taught to a non-grammariān (svaiyākaraṇa).
29. 'Vāyaḥ no vyākaraṇaḥ ātiṣṭam om tasy adhikyaḥ vyākaraṇaḥ', Patañjali in his Mahābhasya introduction while explaining RV 10. 71. 4.
of Vyākaraṇa especially on the ground of preserving and understanding the Veda, the phonetic treatises like the Śikṣās quoting the stock example of the correct and incorrect accent of Indrāstravrādhāsa, — all these go to show the obvious yet paramount importance of the Vedic parts of traditional Grammar for Vedic exegesis. Pāṇ. is the only available grammarian, who treats the Vedic language sufficiently exhaustively. His rules were, somehow or other, neglected even by the classical Vaiyākaraṇas except Śāyaṇācārya, who fully explains the import of Patañjali's views on the point in his introduction to the Rgvedabhāṣya and makes the fullest use of Pāṇ. throughout his interpretation of the whole of the RV. As pointed out earlier, his Bhāṣya on RV 1. 1-19 deserves fullest study from this point of view.

12. Indication of how Śāy. uses the rules.

A little indication of how he does this would further emphasize the point sought to be brought out in this paper. Every word occurring in these hymns is explained by Śāy. both morphologically and accentually, entirely by the help of Pāṇ.'s rules. Even in peculiarly difficult cases he does follow Pāṇ. and still, if any difficulty remains, he very intelligently finds some way out. Let us take the case of the word yāsas (fame, food according to Śāy.) as noun accented on the first syllable and yāsās (famous) as adjective accented on the last. By the help of modern science of comparative grammar, one takes it as a case of accent—shift due to change of meaning, (another stock instance being āpas = work, and ṣapās = active). One feels that even the ancient scholars would have made use of this science if it were available to them. Śāy., very intelligently notes the two differently accented forms of the same word and explains them well. At RV 1. 10. 7 he derives the noun yāsas from vās, to spread on the authority of the Unādi-Sūtra 4. 630,30 which also explains the ādyudāta accent. Modern linguistic science would obviously not agree with this derivation; but for Śāy. there was no go. When, however, he sees the form yāsāsam (acc. sg.) with accent shift as in 1. 1. 3, he hits at the adjectival sense all right, takes it to belong to the arṣa-ādīgāna (Pāṇ. 5. 2. 127), the form then being yāsāsa (with a vowel-ending) and as even in that case the accent must be on the last syllable, he finally treats it as a case of vyaṭuṣṭya (Vedic irregularity). It may appear that this instance goes against the so far propounded doctrine of deriving help from Pāṇ.'s rules. But it is not so; on the contrary it is a triumph for the ancient grammarians.

30. The reference in the RV-Bhāṣya edition of the Vaidika Sainshodhana Mandal given as Unādi 4. 6. 30 is obviously a misprint for 4. 640. The sūtra runs as 'āśer devana yut ca.' In the edition of the various recensions of the Unādi ed. by T. R. Chintamani (Madras University Sanskrit series No. 7, part 2) Madras, 1933 p. 119, the reading is only 'āśer yuṭ', with a foot-note that one Ms omits it.
PANINI’S RULES AND VEDIC INTERPRETATION

that in the absence of modern critical or historical aids, they noted the change both of accent and sense and gave a workable interpretation all right. Of course, nobody wants to argue that irrefutable conclusions of modern linguistics should be thrown over-board in such cases; at the same time, rules of Pāṇ., as shown earlier, must also be taken note of as a very important aid, —almost infallible aid— to Vedic interpretation. And where those rules are inadequate and force one to escape into a vyatyāya, it is a case for a regular linguistic inquiry, a portion of the credit for which should go to those very rules.

13. The word Mahādhanā: another instance of Sāy.’s method.

Let us look to an interesting case viz. that of the comp. mahādhanā (1. 7. 5; 40. 8, etc.) in order to see how Sāy. uses the rules of Pāṇ. to good advantage and to see how they encourage further inquiry. The comp. has a Tat. or Karm. accent; yet it has got to be taken as a Bah. as is done by traditional interpreters like Yāska and others, who treat it as a synonym of saṅgrāma (with the dissolution mahat dhanam yasmin). Sāy. finds it difficult to go against tradition, at the same time he has to take note of the accent, which is a stronger factor. He, therefore, at RV 1 7 5 takes the comp. to be Karm., rejecting tradition in order to honour accent and explains31 the passage with the paraphrase, ‘(We invoke Indra) for the sake of great wealth (mahādhane prabhūtadhananimitam),’ the word mahādhanā being contrasted to the word ārūhe (little wealth) in the same passage. Thus, strict adherence to Pāṇ. enables us to evaluate the tradition as preserved by Yāska and offers a very good and natural sense besides. When the word further occurs in 1. 40. 8, in spite of its contrast to the word ārūhe occurring even there, Sāy. renders mahādhanā with ‘prabhūtadhananimitte yuddhe’ this being an attempt both to honour accent as well as tradition. In the grammatical notes on the passage, Sāy. gives the Karm. dissolution of the comp. and takes the sense saṅgrāma secondarily (i.e. by lakṣaṇā). At 1. 112. 17 the dissolution is dropped, still the explanation is by lakṣaṇā ‘mahādhanena upete (saṅgrāme).’ At 9. 86. 12 the word straight means ‘saṅgrāma’, the accent and compound being entirely forgotten! Obviously mahādhanā = saṅgrāma was a strong traditional equation. One feels, however, that it was not so in Pāṇ.’s time and earlier; otherwise he would certainly have noted the Karm. accent in contrast to the Bah. sense, and would mostly have composed a sūtra and a gaṇa for this and such other comps. (cf. a similar comp. mahākūla, with a Bah. sense and Tat. accent discussed below). Some Vaiyākaraṇas want to

31. The actual wording of the Bhāṣya on 1. 7. 5 as given herewith is notable: .... 'bahuvaśītve sati, antotātātayāśideḥ nātra tād grhitam.... mahac ca tād dhanam ca iti antotātah....'
put such words under the nirudaka-group, where the words have a Bah. sense in spite of Tat. accent. But that is not acceptable, because all the words in that gaja are Upapada-comp., which begin with nir- (excepting four others beginning with pari-) and comps. beginning with mahā- do not go harmoniously with them. Can we say that such words occur in late passages and were not known to Pān.? Deeper investigation of the point is necessary. Or can we say that tradition forgot the original sense?

14. A similar comp. mahākulā

A similar difficulty arises with the word mahākulā 1.161.1 as an adj. of the cup, said to be divided by the Ṛbhūs. The word has a Karm. accent and in order to have the expected sense (mahat kulam yasya) we should have accent on the first member. Sāy. does not comment on this; the reason is perhaps that as the Bhāṣya proceeds further, grammatical points are not so closely noted. Can we also suggest, that this is an additional argument for the relatively younger age of the particular Ṛgvedic passage? Or, as suggested above this is a case for a new gaja of Bah. combs irregularly accented. Regarding māhādhanā there is ground to suppose that the Karm. sense was acceptable to Pān. and also to early Vedic usage. Regarding this comp. also we might hold then that Pān. had such a sense in his mind, as would agree with the Tat. accent.

15. Conclusion

The foregoing discussion, it is hoped, makes it clear that Pān.'s Vedic rules are very important for the Veda and if applied more extensively would throw considerable light on the interpretation of Vedic words. Gld.'s

32. Nirudakaśais ca, Pān 6. 2. 184.

A note on abbreviations:
In addition to the commonly used abbreviations such as RV = Ṛgveda; Sāy = Sāyana (Ṛgvedabhāṣya); pres. sg. = present singular and so on, the following are used in this paper:
Cat. = Caturthi.
Comp. = Compound.
Karm. = Karmadhāraya.
Tat. = Tatpuruṣa.
Tr. = Trīṣyā; (with the addition of Tat. = Trīṣyā Tatpuruṣa).
Pān. = Pāṇini (Aṣṭādhyāyī).
Prv.-gaja = Pṛavṛddhādī-gaja (Pān. 6. 2. 147).

It should further be noted that unspecified three-figure references are to the Ṛgveda; thus, 3.49. 1 = RV 3.49.1 and so on.
recently published translation of the Rgveda was actually completed more than a quarter of a century back and if a fresh translation, aided by all the research material accumulated during the period, is to be attempted, the results of a deeper study of Pāṇ.ś rules must be taken into consideration for a more authentic rendering of the RV. Such a study may also open some fresher fields: (a) a reconstruction of the gaṇas on the strength of Pāṇ.ś rules dealing with the Vedic language would be possible and would be a good aid to Vedic exegesis; (b) further insight into the chronological problems of the Veda may also be possible on the strength of meaning suggested by accent rules; (c) a study of the irregularities and inconsistencies in the Śāyaṇa-bhāṣya in the light of Pāṇ. will throw new light on Śāy.'s text as also on that of the other Bhāṣyakāras like Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava; (d) and finally it might also throw further light on a few semantic problems of the Vedic language, which would certainly be most welcome to Indo-Europeanists and more so to the Indo-Aryanist and Indologist.
PRONOUNS IN VAḌḌĀRĀDHANE

BY

G. S. GAI, Dharwar

Vaḍḍārādhane is a prose work in Kannada which is ascribed to the authorship of one Śivakōtyāchārīya. It is a collection of stories bearing on Jaina religion which belong to that class known as Jaina narrative literature. In fact, this Kannada work is a partial Kathākōsa giving nineteen stories which are referred to in the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā of Śivārya or Śivakōti and which also bear close affinity to some of the stories given in the Brhat-kathākōsa of Hariśena.1 There is controversy about the date of this work, some assigning it to 6th century A.D. while others opine that it belongs to 10th or 11th century A.D.2 The work is interesting for a student of linguistics and in this brief paper it is proposed to discuss some of the pronominal forms found there.

The First Person

In the singular, the first personal pronoun is ān in the nominative and en in the oblique cases. In the plural, we have ān and nām in the nominative and en and nām in the oblique cases.

Caldwell3 says that en- and nām which are found in the oblique cases represent older forms than the nominative bases. Tuttle4 assumes the basic forms of the first personal pronouns, to be en- in the singular and em in the plural. According to Goda Varma,5 however, the basic form of the Dravidian first person is en. In Kannada the oblique base en- in the pronominal form of the first person singular is more ancient. In this connection, it may be noted that the commentator of the traditional grammar Karnātaka Sabdānuśāsana (17th Century, A.D.) remarks that the northern school of Kannada poets use nām and nām while the poets of the Southern school use en (‘en pākṣa-pāśinō hi dākṣiṇātyā kavijānāḥ iti’). The history of the Kannada pronouns, as studied from the earliest inscriptions, shows that en is the earlier form.

In Vaḍḍārādhane, we get the form ān as the first person singular, while nām and ān forms are found in the plural. In the oldest Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam, yān alone is mentioned as the first person singular nom.

2. Ibid, p. 72.
form while the later grammarians of that language like the authors of Viracakiliyam and Nannul mention nān also, besides yān. This shows that yān is earlier than nān.7 Dr. Subrahmanya Sastri thinks that nān- may have been formed through analogy with nāṁ, which is the first person nominative plural form.8

In most of the Dravidian languages, the distinction between the inclusive first person plural and the exclusive first person plural exists. In Tamil nāṁ is considered to denote the inclusive first person plural in the nominative while nāṅgal denotes the exclusive form.9 In Telugu, mēemu is the nominative form of the exclusive plural while manamu is the inclusive form. In Malayalam nāṁ denotes the inclusive form in the nominative plural while nānial denotes the exclusive form.

As regards Kannada, Caldwell stated that it did not possess this distinction between inclusive and exclusive.10 R. Narsimhachar has observed that Kannada does possess the two forms of the plural of the first personal pronoun, like its sister languages.11 The author of this paper has shown elsewhere that the distinction between the inclusive and the exclusive first person plural did exist in Kannada in the 10th Century A.D. This view gains further support by the study of the pronominal forms in Vaḍḍārādhane. In this work, the forms nāṁ, namman, and namage are used as inclusive first person plural while āṁ, emman, emage and emma are used as exclusive first person plural.12

The honorific singular forms of the third person masc. ātanā (nom.), ātanāṁ (acc.) ātanāge (dat.) and ātanā (gen.) are found in Vaḍḍārādhane. In the history of Kannada language, we meet with such forms for the first time in the 9th and 10th cent. A.D.14 In this work we also come across the corresponding honorific singular forms of the feminine gender like āke (nom.) ākeyanā (acc.) ākege (dat.) and ākeya (gen.), forms which are rarely met with in the language of the inscriptions of the early period.

The Reflexive pronouns found in Vaḍḍārāadhane are tān (nom.) tannāṁ (acc.) tannage (dat.) and tanna (gen.) in the singular and tāmā (nom.) tamma (gen.) and tammol (loc.) in the plural.

7. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil, p. 126;
8. Ibid.
11. History of Kannada Language, p. 84.
A MERGED VERBAL ROOT OF TELUGU

BY

K. S. R. SARMA, Poona

Hereunder I discuss about the Telugu verbal root ettu ' (to) give birth to', ' (to) beget'. The sentence, ēme padimandi pillalanu ettindi 'She gave birth to ten children', shows the use of this root.

One who knows Telugu is prone to think at the outset that ettu ' (to) give birth to' may only be the consequence of a semantic change of the root ettu ' (to) lift', 'raise', etc., for every mother carries the embryo before child-birth and the child itself at some time or other after its birth. As a matter of fact, all the lexicographers of the Telugu Language have recorded only one root ettu and the references are given below:

1. A. D. CAMPBELL 111 (1821)
   ettu v.a. 1. to lift, to raise
   2. to seize, to take away
   3. to procure
   4. to begin
   5. to obtain or procure.

2. C. P. BROWN 123 (1852) ettu
   1. to take up, raise, lift
   9. to raise or levy (an army)
      ānāmām ettu (he assumed a mortal body) to be born.

3. A. Galletti Di Cadilhac 113 (1933)
   1. ettu 'to raise.'

4. Sabdaratnakaramu 108 (1937—2nd Edn.)
   ettu...8. vahintsu
   vādu mant i pēr ettenu
   (He got a good name).

5. Suryarāyāndhra Nighantu 792 (1936)
   ettu (intr. vb.) (Kannaḍa ettu Tamil eduttal....)
   15. pondu, pādayu (to obtain) ettu munmanmagurrala
       nendarēni (She begot many great-grand-children).
We may add to the above a reference from Dravidian Cognates, Madras University, 1944 (p. 58).

Tamil  ῥίτ ‘to lift up’, ‘raise’, ‘hoist.’
Malayālam  ῥίτ ‘to lift up.’
Telugu  ettu ‘to lift up.’
Kannada, Tulu, etc.  ettu ‘to lift,’ ‘hold up.’

I happened to come across the following sentence in a Kannada Reader (Kannada Second Book, p. 58, Department of Education, Mysore, 1952) Ninnannu hetta namma tande entha punyāśāli! (Our father who brought you forth, how blessed is he!) At once, it suggested itself to me that hetta in this sentence and ettindī in the sentence given at the commencement might be originally related. And I began to enquire and this paper is the result thereof.

Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary (1894) on page 1682 has the following entry:

her, heru. I. per. 1. to get, etc., to bear, to give birth to… (prasava prasūta, Naṅgṛharatnākara (MS.) 120; (also some citations from Basavapuruṇa). Further, P.p. hettu;…hettamane Śatikārṛha; hettamma… (the mother who bore one).

Now let us see what Dravidian Cognates of the Madras University says on page 157 under ‘pe’.

Tamil  peru ‘to get’, ‘to obtain’, ‘to bring forth’.
Malayālam  perū ‘to get’, ‘to obtain’, ‘to bring forth’.
Telugu  peṣṭu cp. purudu, pērūkōṇu, virugu (curdle).
Kannada  peru ‘to obtain’, ‘to beget’, ‘to thicken as ghee, Tulu, etc.  curds, etc.’

Again in Kittel’s Dictionary on pages 1011-2, one finds the following:

per, peru … 2. to beget, to generate, to procreate, to bear, to give birth to. Tamil-Malayalam pīra, pira, to proceed from, to be born, arise; … Telugu: to grow, to increase (Śaḍḍānasārpaṇa 285—1872 Edition referred).
P. p. pettu.

per, peru … 2. to thicken, to congeal, to curdle as ghee, curds or oil ājyaḍaṭṭa in Tōṭada Ārya Śaḍḍamāñjari (MS) Tam. uṛṇ; Mal. piri; Tel. virugu.

From the above it may be seen that the common Dravidian root is per. This in Modern Kannada becomes heru, (up till the end of the 9th century p-
is preserved. In the 10th century forms with h- in place of p- began to appear in all parts of the Kanarese area,¹) with its past participle hētu and the Telugu root ettu in the sentence given at the beginning is connected with this, but not with ettu ‘to lift.’

There is curiously enough, another root peṭṭu in Telugu, generally meaning ‘(to) put’ but in such sentences as ā kōdi nālugu pillalanu peṭṭindi (that hen has given birth to four chickens) it means bringing forth. And perhaps for this reason ‘hen’ is called in Telugu kōdi peṭṭa in addition to another word peṭṭi used for all she-animals, in general; (cp. Tam. peṉ and Kan. pen and hen).

pei+u, the euphonic ending of Telugu as in so many cases changes through peṭṭru (orthographically perru in Tamil) to peṭtu in Telugu.

While the original root is thus preserved in peṭtu of Telugu, there is the parallel root ettu from hettu of Kannāḍa through the loss of the initial h. This indicates the probability that some Telugu roots are the result of an earlier separation from the original Dravidian stock and that a second separation took place when the Telugannaḍa branch split into Telugu and Kannāḍa.

Now we have to account for the loss of the initial h for which the following pairs of examples may be seen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kannāḍa</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haḍapa</td>
<td>uḍapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heggu</td>
<td>eggu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēva</td>
<td>ēva-gimpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōti</td>
<td>ēṭi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Kannāḍa while retaining the initial h in many words, has lost it too optionally in some cases e.g., hēṭṭa, ēṭṭu; hēṭṭu, ēṭṭu (Telugu) (increase or excess); the same example also serves to illustrate that Telugu has also retained optionally in some cases the initial h.

In conclusion, we may with certainty say that ettu < hettu < peṭtu < √ per and ettu < ēṭṭu (ēṛu) < √ ēṛ have been merged into one root as evidenced by the Telugu Lexicons.

JIMÜTA-, M.

BY

Walther WUST, München

Altindoar. jîmintä- ist seit Rgveda VI 75, 1\textsuperscript{ab} literarisch überliefert,\textsuperscript{1} bedeutet schon an der Stelle seines frühesten Auftretens unbezweifelbar\textsuperscript{2} soviel wie "Wetter-, Gewitterwolke"\textsuperscript{3} und ist ausser im Alt-, auch im Mittel-Indoarischen, dagegen nicht, wenigstens soviel ich zu erkennen vermagne Neu-Indoarischen bezeugt.\textsuperscript{4} Seine sprachgeschichtliche Interpretation lässt sich in folgenden Linien aufzeichnen:

Eine Analyse aus an-aranischen Sprachmitteln ist mir nicht bekannt.\textsuperscript{5}


2. Charakteristischerweise fehlt jede Diskussion hierüber nicht nur in Karl F. GELNERS Rgveda-Ubersetzung, sondern auch in Hermann Oldenbergs "Textkritischen und exegetischen Noten" zum Rgveda (Berlin 1909 und 1912), ebenso in den vedischen Bibliographien Louis RENOUX bzw. R. N. DANERKARS.

3. Das pw. bucht ausserdem weitere neun, z. T. (fünf) rein lexikographische Bedeutungen, von denen im Rahmen meiner Studie noch die Rede sein wird. Was die Bedeutung "+ Berg" anlangt, so bemerkt bereits das PW. s. v., dass "man auch sonst die Bedii. Wolke und Berg vereinigt angegeben findet". Meinerseits führe ich an: neunengl. cloud "Wolke" c altengl. clūd, m. "Steinmasse, Fels; Hügel".


7. So C. C. UHLENBECK, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wb. der altindischen Sprache (Amsterdam 1888/1899), s.v. (ohne "Nachträge und Berichtigungen"), ebenso Albert DEBRUNNER, a.a.O. p. 777 m. (§ 629), während ebd. p. 499 o. (§ 325) von dem "Ausgang [-ūta-] des unklaren Wortes" die Rede ist.

8. J. N. REUTER, KZ. 31, 1892, p. 598.


vor, wobei Br. an das aus dem Dialog zwischen Yama und Yamî geläufige, gleichfalls ṛgvedische adj. काम-मुता (X 10, 11c) erinnert. Auf die von Br., a.a.O. p. 86 o. gestellte Frage: "Wie nun aber das adjektiv जिमुता zu der substantivbedeutung 'gewitterwolke' gekommen sein mag?", antwortet der Autor mit einer gerade bei ihm nicht überraschenden Erläuterung, der man ebensoviel Kühnheit wie blühende Phantasie zuerkennen muss. Die Bedeutung "Gewitterwolke" nämlich sei von "brahmanisirten iranischen vedainterpret" aufgefasst worden "als eine zusammensetzung von Zendischem zim ..., = zima (= skt. hima) der winter, und dem sanskritischen údha 'hergeführt' partic. praet. von w. vah, führen, tragen, also 'vom Winter herbeigegeführt', was dann auf die gewitterwolke bezogen wurde". Ich übergehe den an die dunkelsten Phasen abendländischer Wortforschung gemahnenden iranistischen Part11 dieser Deutung mit Nachsicht, nicht minder ihren interpretatorischen Teil12 und befasse mich statt dessen nur mit drei Einzelproblemen der intern vedischen Grammatik: dem Wort-Vorkommen des Nomens जिमुता, dem dazugehörigen Akzent und, letztens, dem Kompositions-Verhalten des Substantivs ṣyā-, i. "Bogensehne". Die Ergebnisse liegen zurhand. Wenn Br. meint: "Das Wort जिमुता 'gewitterwolke', das sich nur [Hessorhebing Br.'s] auf die vorliegende stelle [Rgv. VI 75, 1*] oder vielmehr auf die uralte missdeutung dieser stelle stützt, ist eine homunculusexistenz", so wird diese Meinung gründlich widerlegt: nicht nur durch die bereits eingangs Anm. 1 aufgeführten ausser-ṛgvedischen, Br. offensichtlich unbekannt gebliebenen जिमुता-Belege des Veda, denen die im PW. gebuchten Simplex-Stellen aus Mahābhārata und Rāmāyaṇa gut abrundend sich anfügen, sondern ebenso einwandfrei auch durch die vorhandenen altindoirischen Komposita mit जिमुता- als Vorderglied. Ich zitiere जिमुता-svāna-, m. "Donner" (pw.), जिमुता-prabhā-, adj., "vom Ausssehen einer Gewitterwolke, Kauf. 77, 1" (Richard Schmînt, Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Börtlînger, Leipzig 1928, s.v.) so schliesslich जिमुता-varṣī-, "aus einer (vorübergehenden)

11. Gegen die Übersetzung eines Albrecht Wran "von Liebe verwirrt" für काममुता- wendet Br. eigens ein, a.a.O. p. 85 u.: "was vielmehr काम- मुद्गा- erfordern würde, ohne sich Rechenschaft zu geben, wie problematisch allein schon durch diesen seinen kritischen Einwand die Lehnrthese छिम-उख- > जिमुता- wird.


\(^{13}\) Unangiebig bleibt das Vṛddhī-Derivat ḫaimūta-, das zwar belegt ist, jedoch nur zu ḫimūta- in der pw.-Bedeutung 9 "N. pr. verschiedener Männer" aus sagt.


\(^{15}\) J. W. Haum, Der Vṛṣṭya. Untersuchungen über die nicht-brahmanische Religion Altindiens I, 1927, p. 73 f., 92 u. and f., 93\(^{17}\), lol o. wechselt zwischen den Lesarten ṣyā-hroḍa- und ṣyā-hroḍa- ab.

Festeren Boden unter die Füsse gewinnen wir mit Hilfe der zwei -letzten Endes auf H. Grassmann zurückführenden (s.o.-) Versuche, jimūta- von seinem Eingangslautbild her zu verstehen. Es sind dies Ansätze Herbert Peterssons und Wilhelm Oehls, die jedoch beide von Vorgängern nichts wissen, sondern -wie C. C. Uhlenbeck und A. Debrunner- jimūta- gleichfalls, wenn auch nur zunächst wenigstens, als "unerklärt" ansehen. H. Petersson tut dies in seinen "Etymologischen Miscellen" (= Lunds Universitets

16. gāvatmūtām / gāvatmūtām / gāvatmūtām und dergl. in VI 1, 8, 4. K. hält gāvatmūtām für "the correct reading", übersetzt aber nichtsdestoweniger mit dem Kommentar, wie wenn gātānāplutām dastehe.


des Feuers, wenn dieses aus den Reibhölzern hervorbricht", 22 23 Aus dem Altiranischen schliesst sich das singuläre jungavestische masc. garāmu-, "Hitze" an, während das Griechische beisteuert: δόξας, seit Homer, "scharf, durchdringend, herb, bitter"; 25 χρόμος m., genit χρόμος, "ein Fisch" (Hesych; Nebenform χρόμος); Χρίμιλος, Χρομίλος, n. pr. von Personen (mit Bezug zu einem eindeutig akustischen Bereich des


32. Dazu *Jimūtaka*, m. "Lepeocercis serrata; eine Gurkenart" (pw.) und +*Jimūta-mūla*, n. "Curcuma Amhaldi oder Zerumbet" (ebd.).

33. Dies ist, wie ich in meinen "Specimen eines etymologisch- semasiologischen Grundrisses des (Alt-, Mittel- und Jung-) Indogermanischen" p. 338 m. und f. (des druckfertigen Ms.) gezeigt habe, der tiefe Grund, nicht, wie Kluge-Görres, a. a. O. s.v. Wolke irrig meinen, dass "die Westgermanen ..., von ihrem Klima, in dem sich fast jede Wolke abregnete, bestimmt [wurden], die Wolke als 'die Feuchte' zu bezeichnen".
LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON CATURĀṅGADĪPIKĀ OF ŚŪLAPĀṆI

BY

E. D. KULKARNI, Poona

aḵṣatamitra n.9.12 an ally who is unhurt.
agastyavacana n.15.19 a statement or words of Agastyā.
agrakonaga mfn. 3.9 placed in a square next to its front corner (on the board of chess).
aghalaghāta m.16.20 a particular situation in the game of chess, a situation when two pieces (in the game of chess) are obstructed by one piece is called aghalaghāta.
aṁnāṁirṇa n.5.6 an indigestion in the form of ignorance.
atipramāda m.5.8 a great mistake.
atimamatva n.4.5 extreme interest in.
atiyatmena ind. 2.3 with great efforts.
adharmlabhā m.13.7 incurring of the sin.
anyakara m.12.11 another's hand or possession.
anyadāna n.22.15 another throw (in the game of chess).
anyahanāna n.14.17 the act of striking another piece (in the game of chess).
apahārya mfn. 12.2 to be carried off or captured.
apātrastha mfn. 14.2 not being in its proper place.
arakṣayā ind. 4.3 without caring for.
arī m.17.15 an opposite party (in the game).
avadhaya mfn. 20.3 to be understood.
avasthānataḥ ind. 18.19 in (one's own) place or position.
āsaucānta m.18.12 an end of the state of impurity.
āvakaṅghastha mfn. 5.16 occupying the square of the horse (in the game of chess).
aṅgakoṣṭhi f.2.9 a chess-board with groups of eight squares.
asaṅdhi m.6.1 an absence of euphonic junction of final and initial letters.
ātmabala n.4.7 one's own force, one's own piece (in the game of chess).
ā + √ṇā- 12.7 to capture.
ā + √ruh- 10.10 to ascend, to occupy.
āryadhī mfn. 17.16 noble-minded.

1. The vocables in this paper are not recorded by MONIER-WILLIAMS in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary or if a few of them occur, they are not used in their technical sense there. The figures relate to numbers of pages and lines of the text edited by Prof. M. GHOSH (1936).
āvaśyakatva n.5.17 necessity, inevitability.
āvaśyam ind. 14.11 necessarily.
ukta mfn. 12.7 declared.
ūthā i. 21.14 stepping out, striking (?)
ūthākāle ind. 13.9 at the time of ātha.
ūthāntam ind. 22.1 till the end of ātha.
ūthābala n.23.3 an ātha piece (in the game of chess).
ūthita mfn. 12.5 stepped out, struck or knocked down.
uttama mfn. 4.2 superior, more powerful (a chess piece).
udgāramanana n.5.8 vomiting in the form of a statement.
ekaṅkoṣṭha n.5.18 one or single square (on the chess-board).
ekaṅguṇa mfn. 10.6 onefold.
ekaṭaḥ ind. 6.17. one by one, severally.
ekaḍāṇa n.22.14 one throw (in the game of chess).
ekaṭabala n.13.4 one single chess-piece.
karaṇ m.20.7 an elephant (in the game of chess).
kartaṇ mfn. 6.12 a player (in the game).
kākakāśṭha n.3.15 a kind of position in the game of chess, a position when a player has lost all pieces, is called kākakāśṭha.²
kimcita 4.8 to some extent.
kuṇīṣa n.3.1 an elephant (in the game of chess).
koṇa m.2.18 a corner (of the chess-board).
koṇakoṣṭhadvaya n.3.12 two squares in the corner (of the chess-board).
koṇapada n.15.2 a corner square (on the chess-board).
koṇavatikā i.5.15 a pawn in the corner (of the chess-board).
koṇastha mfn. 8.6 occupying the square at the corner (of the chess-board).
koṇṭhaka n.14.14 a chess square.
koṇṭhabala n.13.20 a piece occupying the chess square.
koṇṭhasitatabala n.13.20 a piece occupying the chess square.
koṇḍābhanga m.23.17 breaking up or end of the game.
koṇḍa m.5.13 a place or square (on the chess-board).
√khaḍ- 7.12 to strike, to capture.
khāditum ind. 7.14 to strike or capture.
khādyā mfn. 7.14 to be struck or captured.
khāra m. 9.2 a kind of capture in the game of chess.
gaja m.2.15 an elephant (in the game of chess).
gajatravyakarana n.19.11 a means of three elephants (in the game of chess).

2. Cf. haste range balam nāsti kākakāśṭham tadā bhavet. (CD 15.10). Also cf. pārtha sīrāyasaṅgaḥ kākakāśṭham yadā bhavat, sīrāyasaṅgaḥ bhavat eva kākakāśṭham na vidyate (CD 15.17-18).

NOTES ON CATURANGADIPИKA OF SУLАPAΝI 269

gajadvandva n.20.20 a pair of elephants (in the game of chess).
gajabindhana n.19.22 an obstruction of the elephant (in the game of chess).
gajasāṃmukhe ind. 4.20 in front of an elephant (in the game of chess).
gatāyuṣka mfn. 14.6 one having lost one's life.
garīyas mfn. 6.11 superior.
garbha m.4.10 protection, union.
gāḍhāgāṭhya mfn. 15.2 to be assailed or struck by gāḍhā,
gāḍhāvāji f.15.1 a kind of pawn.4
gautamajalpaha n.20.10 a statement of Gautama.
gautamabhāṣita n.14.6 stated by Gautama.
gautamavacana n.5.14 a statement of Gautama.
granthavid mfn. 22.10 one knowing the śāstra.
grāmyābāṣā f.9.3 a village or local dialect.
ghāṭatrāya n.9.14 three points of an attack.
ghāṭadvandva n.16.19 two points of an attack.
√ghāτay- 6.21 to strike or capture.
ghāṭāghāta m.3.19 an attack and counter-attack.
ghāṭitum ind. 7.9. to strike or capture.
caturāṅga n.1.3 a kind of chess played by four parties.
caturāṅga n.11.7 a kind of victory in the game of chess (＝ catūṛājī ?)5
caturāṅgaśaṅgād f.1.5 playing at chess, the game of chess.
caturāṅgapaddhati f.3.4. N. of a work.
caturāṅgapaddhatikārā m.8.9 the author of the work of Caturāṅgapaddhati.
caturāṅgapatva n.11.10 the state of being forefold.
catūṣka mfn. 3.1 a throw of four (in the game of chess).
catūṣpāṇca mfn. 8.7 a throw of four and five.
catūṛājī f.2.10 an aggregate of four kings; a particular position in the game of chess, a position when one king captures three other kings.6
catūṛājīkāle ind. 19.1 at the time of catūṛājī.
catūṛājībhaṅga m.19.18 disturbing or frustrating of catūṛājī.
catūṛājībhaṅgārtham ind. 20.18 for the disturbance of catūṛājī.
cālayitvā g.5.13 having moved.
cālita mfn.8.6 moved.
cintayitvā g.17.2 having reflected or considered, after proper deliberation.

5. Cf. svapadasthāniya yādi rāja rājānāmi hanti pārthiva, caturāṅge taddh bhūpa vāhayec ca caturāṅga (CD. 11.6).
chettum ind. 7.3. to remove the obstruction (in the game of chess).
jābālavacana n.20.21 a statement of Jābala.
\sqrt[\chihālay-] 17.13 to cast a throw (in the game of chess).
tadbhavā ind. 7.4 in the absence of that.
tannaya m.19.4 that policy or procedure.
tari f.2.15 a boat (in the game of chess).
tasnāt ind. 2.15 after that.
tāṭhālikam ind. 12.9 at once, immediately.
turaṇgama m.3.11 a horse (in the game of chess).
turya mfn. 3.6 a throw of four (in the game of chess).
tṛyāṇa n.3.2 a throw of three (in the game of chess).
tyaktvā g.3.20 having avoided, avoiding.
trīka (v.1.) n.3.3. a throw of three (in the game of chess).
trikoṣṭhaka n.3.11 a group of three squares (on the board of chess).
trevāṭika mfn. 14.18 one playing with three pawns (in the game of chess).
thoka 22.10 a particular situation in the game of chess.\textsuperscript{7}
daksinē ind. 2.13 in the south.
dattvā g.4.11 having sacrificed.
dattvā (with doṣam) g.9.13 having imputed a fault.
darśavitvā g.9.5 having seen, having surveyed.
daśadaṇḍa (m) 23.12 ten daṇḍas (\(=\) four hours).
dāna n.5.9 a throw (in the game of chess).
dānadvāndvā n.22.19 two throws.
dīvamālikā f.3.13 N. of work.
devaśārdula m.2.1 the best among the gods.
doṣa m.9.8 a difficulty.
doṣatraya n.9.14 three faults.
dvāya n.3.2 a throw of two (in the game of chess).
dvairāṣṭita mfn. 18.4 two-fold.
dvaśiṣṭha mfn. 6.6 of two kinds.
dhanadhānayaśaunya n.24.12 want of money and grain.
dharmajña mfn. 4.19 skilled in the rules (of the game).
dharmin mfn. 17.16 knowing the law (of the game).
dheṣṭhi (f) 20.8 a particular situation in the game of chess.\textsuperscript{8}
nakadī f.3.17 a naval attack (in the game of chess).
nayataḥ ind. 19.12 according to the policy.

\textsuperscript{7} Cf. uṣṭhākena hi kartavye dvitiyam dānam ārabhet, dattvā tv ekaṃ hi cāṇyaṭra hanipāda ekaṃ tad balam, uṣṭhān cet kāraṇitvā tu cāṇyaṭ dānam tu khelayet, tadā thokam viśeṣādād iti grāhāvato vidūḥ (CD 22. 7-10).

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. praveṣe yadi rāśi sa karinor bindhanam bhavet tadā dheṣṭhim vidāhyat (CD. 20. 7-8).
nirdoṣa mfn. 7.15 harmless.
nīkṣaṇakatvatadvardhaṇa n.11.9 a display of security of position.
ni + √han- to strike or capture (in the game of chess).
nṛpatiśreṣṭha m.2.5 the best among the kings.
nṛpatrāya n.10.17 three kings (in the game of chess).
nṛparakṣaya n.6.9 protection of a king (in the game of chess).
nṛpaśreṣṭha m.7.4 the best among the kings.
nṛpasattama m.10.4 the best among the kings.
nṛpākṛṣṭa m.3.14 a particular favourable position of the pieces in the game of chess.9

nṛpākṛṣṭabhāṅga m.13.7 a loss of nṛpākṛṣṭa.
nṛpākṛṣṭabhāṅgata n.12.17 a state of destroying or losing nṛpākṛṣṭa.
naukā f.2.18 a boat (in the game of chess).
naukākṛṣṭa n.3.15 a favourable position of the pieces in the games of chess.10

naukācatuṣṭaya n.16.4 four boats (in the game of chess).
naukātārāya n.16.12 three boats (in the game of chess).
naukādvāya n.16.15 two boats (in the game of chess).
pāṇcaka n.3.1 a throw of five (in the game of chess).
pāṇa n.10.7 a kind of coin.
pāṇya n.10.6 stake, bet.
patti m.6.11 a pawn (in the game of chess).
patticatuṣṭaya n.2.16 four soldiers, four chess pieces.
pattipraveśa m.3.17 the pawn-promotion, a particular situation in the game of chess.11

parabala n.18.4 a chess piece belonging to the other party.
parakṣavatadhva m. 11.9 capturing the king belonging to the other party (in the game of chess).
parasmhāsanādhikaṭa m.11.8 an ownership of the throne belonging to other’s (kings) in the game of chess.
pāścimataḥ ind. 2.14 in the west.
pāṭrastha mfn. 14.3 being in its proper place.
pāpapragrasta mfn. 4.19 one who is in danger of being defeated (in the game).
pāpahīt mfn. 15.16 removing the sin.
pitāmahamanu m.19.7 the grandfather Manu.
pureśthra mfn. 5.9 wishing to have a success (in the game).
putrapaurīṇatā f.24.16 a condition of being under the influence of sons and grandsons.

9. Cf. rājatraye hastastha satī svavājo mithraśe ṣatāḥ ṣatunā nītas tadā vākāda-vaka-

dity ukte tātālikham ena hāstāh nayet, nṛpākṛṣṭam etat. (CD. 12. 8-10).


pūrvataḥ ind. 2.13 in the east.
pūrvabala n.23.2 former or first piece (in the game of chess).
pūrvāsauca n.23.1 former impurity.
pra-√pat- 5.2 to place, put.
pramāṇadvaya n. 20.13 two authorities.
praveśakarty mfn. 20.9 one trying to make an entrance.
praveśakāle ind. 11.18 at the time of entrance.
praveśabhaṅga m.18.11 disturbance or frustration of entrance.
praveśabhaṅgaja mfn. 18.17 proceeding from the disturbance or frustration of entrance.
praveśabhaṅgāratham ind. 13.14 for frustrating or repelling an entrance.
pra-√āp- 13.4 to obtain (by capturing a chess piece).
prāmāṇyābhāsa m.8.10 absence of authority.
protthita mfn. 18.2 moved, entered.
bala n.2.13 a chess piece.
balaghātana n.7.19 the act of capturing a chess piece.
baladvandva n.22.19 two chess pieces.
balasamuccaya m.23.17 collection of chess pieces.
balahanana n.9.6 the act of capturing a chess piece.
balāghāta m.7.18 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess.¹²
bahū mfn. 6.6 superior.
bahulōbhatā f.9.19 the state of having great gain.
bālabodhāratham ind. 23.21 for the understanding of the ignorant.
biddha mfn. 9.19 obstructed.
bīdhana n.6.22 obstruction.
bīdhancchedana m.13.6 removal of an obstruction.
√bindhay- 6.21 to obstruct (a chess piece).
bīja n.11.8 central idea.
bṛhmaṇaucaī f.3.15 a favourable position of pieces in the game of chess.¹³
bendhum ind. 7.15 to obstruct.
bendhy mfn. 8.5 a captor of a chess piece.
bṛhmaṇahatyā f.8.2 the greatest defeat (in the game).
bhūpa m.11.7 a king (in the game of chess).
bhūpati m.3.13 a king (in the game of chess).
bhradamāhramaraguṇijita mfn. 1.2 having a humming noise of hovering bees.
mataṅgaja m.4.10 an elephant (in the game of chess).
madhya bala n.5.5 a chess piece in between two other pieces.
mahaddosatva n.19.13 the state of having or incurring great fault.

¹² Cf. balaṣya ghatana pārtha bindhanai cet samuttitham, mitrasya iti viśhyato balaghātas tu ānudava (CD 7. 17-18).
¹³ Cf. apaviṣṭaṁ tu yat sthānaiḥ taṣyopari cauṣṭayenaukācauṣṭayaṁ yatra kriyate yasya naukṣyā, naukācauṣṭayaṁ taṣya bṛhmaṇauketi bhaṇyate (CD 16. 3-5).
mahādyatna ind. 4.6 with great efforts.
mahābala m.4.1 a superior chess piece.
mahābalatva n.20.2 the state of being a major chess piece.
mahiṣṭi m.18.20 a king (in the game of chess).
mālikā f.4.17 N. of a work (= Divyamālīkā).
mitra n.4.8 an ally (in the game of chess).
mitrāpakṣa m.17.11 the side of an ally (in the game of chess).
mitrabala n.7.15 a chess piece of an ally.
mitrarāja m.12.8 a king of an ally (in the game of a chess).
mitrarājapada n.10.8 a position of the allied king (in the game of chess).
mitrakṛtu m.8.12 an enemy of an ally (in the game of chess).
mitravaihāśana n.10.10 a throne of an allied king (in the game of chess).
mīśra m.20.11 N. of the author of Caturangapaddhati.
mīnāmāra m.13.12 an useless affair.
mīnāmāratva n.13.16 the state of being an useless affair.
muniprajñāta mfn. 24.1 stated by the sages.
mūḍhajana m.24.11 a foolish or ignorant person.
mṛta mfn. 18.2 dead, captured (a chess piece).
mṛtavāsi f.15.8 a captured pawn (in the game of chess).
maitreyabala n.17.18 a chess piece of an ally.
yātibhiṅga m.6.13 spoiling of metre.
yama m.2.17 N. of an author.
yānavacana n.8.15 a statement of Yama.
yājñavalkya vacana n.18.8 a statement of Yājñavalkya.
yuddha n.2.16 fight (in the game of chess).
rajaśatikā mfn. 15.3 standing in or occupying the square of a king (in the game of chess).
rajaśraya n.11.1 three kings (in the game of chess).
rajadwaya n.11.21 two kings (in the game of chess).
rājan m.2.15 a king (in the game of chess).
rājapada n.10.3 a king’s position or square (in the game of chess).
rājasāvatīmkhaṇḍikā f.5.15 a pawn which is before the king (in the game of chess).
lāṅghayitvā g.3.11 having crossed or passed over.
lāṅghya14 g.3.12 having crossed or passed over.
vahābhāsa m.15.15 loss of the family or clan.
vakaḍā f.12.20 (= vakaḍāvakaḍī).
vakaḍāvakaḍī f.3.16 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess,16 an assault.

14. The form is unpāninian.
15. Cf. nṛppakṛṣṭam vakaḍāvakaḍī (CD 3.16).
vacanaκramaṇa ind. 2.20 according to the rule or statement.
vaśikāntara (n) 8.13 another pawn (in the game of chess).
vaśī f.3.1 a chess pawn.
vaśīnauḍā f.3.19 the pawn and the boat (in the game of chess).
vaḍhabandhaka n.24.12 death and imprisonment.
vaḍhya mfn. 17.10 to be captured (a chess piece).
vaḍjhmedhāyuta16 mfn. 24.8 having (the fruit) of ten thousand horse-sacrifices.
vaṃe ind. 2.15 on the left side of.
vi+√dāḥ 15.12 to prescribe.
vidhiniṣedha m. (du) 24.2 precept and prohibition.
vipakṣa m.7.3 an opposite party (in the game).
vipakṣaghāṭaṇa n.10.2 capturing enemy’s chess piece.
vipraḥatya f.5.3 (= brahmahatyā).
vilāṇghya g.3.8 having crossed or passed over.
vijāsamukha n.24.11 the mouth of Vyāsa.
vijāsvacana n.7.6 a statement of Vyāsa.
vijāsasamirāṇa n.19.17 a statement of Vyāsa.
vijāsasamirīta n.7.5 a statement of Vyāsa.
sātra m.12.6 an adversary, one of the opposite party (in the game).
sātrurāja m.17.18 a king of the enemy (in the game of chess).
sūlaṇḍi m. 1.3 N. of the author of Caturvāgadīpakā.
sūryādhihya n.11.9 superiority of force or valour.
saṭpada n.3.14 a particular advantageous position of the pieces in the game of chess.
saṣṭhapada n.13.19 a particular situation of the pieces in the game of chess.17
saṣṭhapadānvita mfn. 10.13 having six positions (on the chess board).
skunāva m.9.2 (= khāva).
saṁhṛtta mfn. 11.22 captured (a chess piece).
saṁkataṣṭha mfn. 8.1 to be in a critical position.
sadbala n.8.3 a superior chess piece.
sandāṣya g.24.2 having found fault with, having criticised.
samālikhya g.2.12 having drawn.
sampṛpta mfn. 8.12 become available.
sambhāvyā g.24.1 having well treated or considered.
sarvālaṃphalaprada mfn. 2.2 giving the fruit of all desires, fulfilling all desires.
sarvabala n.4.11 all army, all the chess pieces.
sarvasaṃyāna m.18.20 an entire force, all the chess pieces.

16. The formation of the compound is irregular.
sāṅkātya n.8.3 the state of a critical position.
sīṁhāsana n.3.14 a particular situation of pieces in the game of chess.18
sīṁhāsanakāle ind. 15.17 at the time of sīṁhāsana (in the game of chess).
sīṁhāsanabhāṅga m.17.21 disturbing or frustrating of sīṁhāsana (in the game of chess).
suvyavasthā f.24.1 a proper procedure.
senā f.4.7 an army, pieces in the game of chess.
smita mfn. 23.22 laughing at.
svākṣeṣaṭṭhā n.4.6 a piece of one’s ally-king in the game of chess.
snapadastha mfn. 11.6 occupying one’s own position.
svūbala n.4.2 one’s own chess piece.
svanāra m.12.8 one’s own king (in the game of chess).
svalpa mfn. 6.6 inferior.
ḥaṭṭāt ind. 9.4 immediately.
ḥatyādidoṣa m.9.13 a fault such as capture and the like.
√ḥan- 3.9 to strike or capture (a chess piece).
ḥānana n.9.7 the act of capturing (a chess piece).
hantava mfn. 6.7 to be struck or captured (a chess piece).
haya m. 3.20 a horse (in the game of chess).
haripadāmbhōja n.1.2 the lotus-like feet of Lord Hari.
hastastha mfn. 12.8 being in (one’s) possession.
hastin m. 6.11 an elephant (in the game of chess).
hastisāṁmukham ind. 20.4 in front of an elephant (in the game of chess).

18. Cf. anyad rājapadān rājas yadā yāto yudhiṣṭhira, tadā sīṁhāsanaṁ tasya bhavaṁ
yate... (CD 10. 3-4). Also mitraśeṣānāṁ pārthu yudārohati bhūpatīḥ, tadā sīṁhā-
śanāṁ nāma svayaṁ nayati tad balam (CD 10. 10-11).
OBSERVATION OF SOME COMMON PECULIARITIES IN THE ENGLISH SPEECH OF THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

BY

Golok Behari Dhall, Agra.

In this small world of ours, English language is spoken by the largest number of people and that too by the most significant section of the human race. Apparently though English has lost its importance in India, there is no denying the fact that it still is a dominant factor in the matters of one's career. Its importance in this land or that may diminish, but its usefulness in the career of a world citizen will ever remain as it appears from the present context of things. In India to-day English is still the medium of instruction at the University and the medium of examination in the high level tests like the I.A.S. and the I.P.S., English Viva-voce is a very important test in higher examinations and much depends on how we fare in them. Speech as such may not matter with the layman but it does matter a great deal with important persons like the politicians and the diplomats with whom oratory is the secret of success. One's mannerism in speech, even a mere accent, a stress, a tone may decide ones position in favour or otherwise in a society.

How often do we hear such sentiments expressed—"such and such people speak English very badly, some too fast and some too slow". But in the strict scientific sense we (the non-natives) do not speak English at all judged from the standard of the native speakers except in cases of those who are privileged to be born and brought up early in the English soil. Of course it is said that no two Englishmen pronounce alike very simple words like 'Yes' or 'No'. Going a little further, it is scientifically proved that phonetic reproductions of the one and the same sound by a single individual are not identically the same. Yet the individuals of a nation speak a standard which is meant to be understood by the members of the same linguistic community. However much two members of the same linguistic community differ from each other, their's is only a difference of degree. But the difference in the speech of the foreigners is a difference of kind.

In this small essay an attempt is made to give a phonetic analysis of some outstanding common peculiarities met with in the English speech of a standard Oriya speaker. It is by no means an exhaustive picture. In a sense it is the analysis of the English speech of those educated people who pass as speakers of standard Oriya. The peculiarities in the (English) speech
of the dialect speakers of Oriya are not touched here. The analysis of the speech under reference may conveniently be treated on four levels:—on the levels of (a) single sounds, (b) sounds in combination, (c) attributes of sounds and (d) Intonation.

(a) Single sounds:—

Open your mouth and we can tell you who you are. The identification of nationality and locality can offhand be made from a person’s use of individual sounds if the sound system of the person concerned is known to us. The people of Orissa use in their English speech several individual sounds which are very characteristic of them.

One of the very interesting features is the use of a retroflexed \( \gamma \) sound in place of an English alveolar \([d]\). This occurs particularly in the medial and final positions of words. The following are some of the examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>revio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>ro.(\gamma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardy</td>
<td>hayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above examples English \(-d-\) = Oriya \(-\gamma\-\) (like Hindi \(\varphi\)).

Again

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>hay(\gamma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>had</td>
<td>hay(\gamma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aid</td>
<td>e(\cdot)(\gamma)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where English \(-d-\) = Oriya \(-\gamma\)

This retroflexion is said to have been a feature long since borrowed from the Dravidian system.

Two other English affricates \(dz\) and \(ts\) are never correctly pronounced by the Oriya people. They produce something very much like a plosive without any distinct aspiration. Words like Judge \([dz, dz]\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Oriya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jail</td>
<td>dz(\varepsilon)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jar</td>
<td>dz(\alpha):</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with an initial affricate \([dz]\) are pronounced with a characteristic Oriya sound without any audible affrication. So also is the case of English \(ts\) in the following English words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pronounced as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>(ts\varepsilon^h:ts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheap</td>
<td>(ts\varepsilon^h:p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chain</td>
<td>(ts\varepsilon^h:in)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The \(h\) above \(ts\) to identify the strong affrication in English).
English fricatives like r, z, f, v. are never given their native phonetic value in Oriya. Oriya speakers pronounce f and v as pʰ and bʰ as aspirated bilabial plosives, so much so that an English man is likely to misunderstand a word like 'vowel' for 'bowel'. The labio-dental fricative is very difficult for the Oriyas to produce.

No difference is made by the Oriyas in the pronunciation of the three English sounds represented by the letters g, j, z. They pronounce equally alike these three in their initial position.

**Examples:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>[dziəgrəfi]</th>
<th>jeigrəfi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jail</td>
<td>[dzeil]</td>
<td>as jel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoo</td>
<td>[zu:]</td>
<td>as ju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>(zed)</td>
<td>as jed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(j is used for a palatal plosive without affrication).

The English r is initailly a voiced post-alveolar fricative as pronounced in the words

- red     [ɹd]     
- river   [ərivə]

But the Oriya speakers substitute it by a tapped r, the number of taps may range from two to four. This is confirmed by experiments carried in the laboratory of School of Oriental and African studies in London.*

Besides the consonants English vowels represent the greatest difficulty in any Indian language whatsoever. The English speech of the Oriyas is conspicuous by the absence of English diphthongs and the back vowels. They do not distinguish between the vowels given in different pairs of words below.

**Examples:**

- Cat and Cart
- fat and father
- ham and harm

*See Aspiration in Oriya on the basis of the observer's own pronunciation with texts in phonetic transcription. London University, 1951, by G. B. Dhall.
So far as other English vowels are concerned no significant distinction is made in pronouncing the words in the following paradigms. They are pronounced almost the same.

Examples:—

(a) Cut  (b) West  (c) Had  (d) Short
Cot     Waist    Hard    Sort
Caught  Waste    Heard   Shut

In paradigms (a) (d) it is interesting to note that all the different vowels are substituted only by a simple Oriya back vowel (əᵊ), and the matter is made simple.

The voiced sounds in Oriya produce greater vibration than is produced in the case of the English voiced sounds. In pronouncing say the Oriya voiced alveolar sound [d₁] there is a vibration of the vocal chords from the beginning till the end. But to produce the English alveolar [d], there is no vibration at the beginning and at the end. The difference may graphically be represented as below:—

[Diagram showing English and Oriya sounds]

English d.  

Oriya d.  

Because of the lack of initial vibration in the voiced English plosive the d is sometimes misheard by the Oriyas as t the result being that 'day' is understood as 'tie'.

(b) Sounds in Combination:—

A man behaves in a particular way when he is alone. But his behaviour in a group is always modified by the demands of the society he is in. Sounds in a language also follow the same principle. It may particularly be easy to pronounce a sound individually but it may be difficult to say it in other linguistic contexts. Every sound system has its choices. Genuine Oriya syllables are open; consonantal clusters are not tolerated in the system, particularly at the beginning of word. English conjunct consonants are difficult to pronounce. So unless very careful, an anapticic vowel is likely to creep into the consonant cluster and give the word an appearance very different from the native one. A simple English word like 'Film' is pronounced as 'filəm' or 'filim'. But it is difficult to detect it unless one is
trained for it. But when English words with initial consonant clusters are
used in the context of Oriya sentences, the anaptic vowels almost always
develop into full-fledged vowels. I think that is the case with many other
languages in India.

(c) Attributes of Sounds:

Length, stress and prominence are some of the chief attributes of
sounds. The length or quantity of sounds in the English speech of the Oriyas
is what I am going to discuss here. Length is the time during which a sound
is held on continuously. It is easy to distinguish many degrees of length
but for practical purposes it is sufficient to distinguish two or sometimes
three degrees. When two degrees are distinguished they are called long
and short and we have these two degrees in English. The distinction be-
tween short and long vowels in English can be observed from the two sets
of words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bid</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fill</td>
<td>feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>harm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Oriya phonetic system there is nothing as length though on the
writing level there are distinct symbols for long and short vowels in Oriya.
The system is taken from Sanskrit. In respect of length Oriya spelling is
unphonic. That is why even in the University levels awful spelling mis-
takes are detected. In Oriya speech we do not make any distinction be-
tween long and short vowel sounds. The same habit persists in speaking
English where length has a definite place. So wherever English pronuncia-
tion demands a long vowel we are in the habit of putting in a short one.
Such English words as are noted below are never pronounced correctly by
the people of Orissa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English words</th>
<th>English pronunciation</th>
<th>Oriya pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fees</td>
<td>[fiːz]</td>
<td>[ﬁx]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field</td>
<td>[ﬁld]</td>
<td>[ﬁld]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoof</td>
<td>[huːf]</td>
<td>[huf]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>[fuːd]</td>
<td>[fut]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not a single English word with a long vowel is ever pronounced correctly. In English words where a long vowel immediately precedes a final voiced sound, if proper length of the vowel is not maintained the final voiced sound is heard as voiceless. When an Oriya speaker pronounces English words like 'food' and 'bed' with short vowels they are misunderstood by the English people as 'foot' and 'bet'.

English is known as a stress language in which stress plays a role linguistically significant, as for example by the incidence of stress a particular word may be reckoned either as a noun or a verb. The following words with stress on the first syllable are treated as nouns while with stress on the second syllable are verbs.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Export</td>
<td>Ex'port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Subject</td>
<td>Sub'ject, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But Oriya is a nonstress language in which stress plays no role. That is why we do not generally have the idea that there is something like stress in English and that it obeys particular laws.

In English, related words and their derivatives take their stress at different places in a word. Take for instance some pairs of related English words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examine</th>
<th>Examin'ation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Centralise</td>
<td>Centrallis'ation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa'miliar</td>
<td>Familia'ritiy, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is obvious the pronunciation in the related pairs will have different acoustic effects when uttered with different stresses. But in the mouth of the Oriya speakers each pair appears plain and flat there being no addition of force, in the utterance at any point of stress.

In some parts of Orissa a very strong process of nasalisation is used. The vowel in between two nasal consonants is realised with strong nasalisation. A very common word like 'man' is an instance of that.

(d) Intonation.

Last but not the least important is the intonation. It is easy to master individual sounds, combined sounds and even the attributes of sounds.
But what is most difficult to attain is the intonation, which in essence differentiates one language from another. If anybody has watched an Oriya gentleman speaking Hindi or Bengali, he can easily catch the difference he makes on the intonation level. The very common tone pattern in English is a falling tone. For instance let us take some sentences and phrases with graphic representation of the tone pattern.

I cannot.

Good morning.

I do not want to go.

I can’t understand it.

But the tone pattern in ordinary Oriya speech is almost level. It is more on the side of French pattern rather than the English. An Oriya sentence like ‘I do not understand it’ ऐ में नहीं पहुँचा है can be spoken on a level tone or even with a rising at the end. So from the standpoint of tone, English speech by the Oriyas appears very peculiar.

All that has been said above can be traced in the English speech of a standard Oriya speaker. But there is ample scope for research in the manner of speech of different areas, particularly in the borderlands of Sambalpur, Midnapur and Ganjam where dialects of the Oriya language are spoken. Simple words like cat, rat, land, madam are pronounced as ket, ret, lend, medem in Sambalpur.

A study of the English speech of the Oriyas is very useful from the point of view of its influence on the representation of English loan words in Oriya speech and writings. It is amusing to find in some Oriya dailies the fanciful representation of English names. A few examples may be cited.

Dulles as Djules
Casey as Kesi
St. Pauls as St. Paul’s

A clue to the mystery of such representation can be found by a close study of English speech in the mouth of the people of Orissa.
THE PHONOLOGY OF A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE DIALECT;
THE USE OF PHONEMIC DATA IN DIALECTOLOGY.¹

BY

John J. Gumperz, Ithaca, New York

The present paper consists of two parts. Part one gives a phonemic analysis of the dialect of Rankhandi, part two deals with the utilization of the data obtained, in the preparation of a questionnaire for a dialect survey.

I

0. Rankhandi village is located in Saharanpur District, Uttar Pradesh, about six miles from the Tahsil headquarters, Deoband, and three miles from the hard-surface road connecting Saharanpur with Muzzafarnagar, Meerut and Delhi. The speech of the Saharanpur area is described by Græsson² as part of the Vernacular Hindustani subdialect of Western Hindi. It represents a transition dialect between the Kharı Boli of Bijnaur and Moradabad to the East and the Bangaru of Karnal west of the Jumna river.

The present analysis is based on the speech of one informant, an illiterate chamar mason, a member of the village panchayat.³

1. The Phonemes of the dialect consist of 7 vowels, 19 consonants, length, nasalization and word-juncture.⁴ Vowel phonemes may or may not occur as the high-point of sonority of a syllable, consonants never do.

Consonants : /p, b, t, d, T, D, c, j, k, g, s, h, m, n, N, r, R, l, L/
Vowels : /i, e, æ, a, o, o, u/
Nasalization : / ̃ / Length : / : /
Word juncture : indicated by space.

1. The study resulting in this publication was made under a Fellowship granted by the Ford Foundation. The conclusions, opinions and other statements in this publication, however, are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Ford Foundation. The author is further indebted to the staff of the Cornell University India Project for providing living quarters in the village and for facilitating his contact with villagers.


3. Phonetic symbols used have values assigned to them in the International Phonetic Alphabet (1931). Phonetic transcriptions appear in square brackets, phonemic transcriptions in diagonals. The following additional symbols are used: "C" indicates any consonant "V" any vowel "CC" any double consonant, "CC" any dissimilar consonant cluster. Phonemic symbols are defined in the text.

4. Intonation and phrase junctures have not been analyzed.
1.1. Vowels. The dialect has three types of vowel nuclei: simple, e.g., /di:n/ 'day'; long: consisting of simple vowel plus length, e.g., /ti:n/ 'three'; diphthongal: consisting of sequences of two simple or long vowels, e.g., /bha:i:/ 'brother'.

1.11. Simple vowels. There are seven simple vowels, showing contrasts in tongue position: front, central and back; tongue height: close, half open, open; rounding: back vowels are rounded, others are unrounded. Simple vowels may occur initially, i.e., after word-juncture or pause; medially, i.e., between other vowels or consonants; but not finally, i.e., before word juncture or pause, /e, æ, o, ɔ/ occur only with length.

1.12. Vowel length. /i, u, a/ may occur both with and without length, other vowels are always phonemically long. With /a/ long-short contrasts occur in all environments, with /i/ and /u/ contrasts are limited to monosyllables and certain disyllables of the type CV C C'V and C V C V C where V is a simple vowel. Long vowels occur initially, medially and finally in all environments with the following exceptions:

/a:/ /u:/ and /ɔ:/ do not occur before single or double /r, N, D, T, R/ followed by /i/ or /e/ (stem morphemes containing these vocalic nuclei have alternants with /a:i/ /u:i/ and /ɔ:i/ in these environments).

There are four allophonic varieties of length [V] [V:][V] [V:], the last being the longest. In monosyllables and in words of the structure C V C V C, (see above), long vowels appear as [V:], short vowels appear as [V]. In polysyllables /a/ /i/ and /u/ appear as [V] before double consonants and dissimilar consonant clusters; before single consonants /a/ appears as [V] and /i/ and /u/ vary freely between [V:] and [V].

Long vowels appear as [V:] before most dissimilar consonant clusters, as [V:] before single consonants in words of the type CVCV; before double consonants and after /b/ before /r/ in words of the type CVhV:r/ and before clusters of nasal plus consonants in words of the type CVCC'CV, long vowels appear as [V:]. In final position long vowels vary between [V:] and [V:].

1.13. Vowel sequences. Sequences of vowels may consist of either a long vowel plus a short vowel or two long vowels, e.g., /ia:r/ 'friend'; /ra:it/ 'night'; /bha:i:/ 'brother'. Sequences of the latter type are disyllabic if the last element is /a:/ /i:ɔ:/ or /i:e:/, all others are monosyllabic, i.e., diphthongal. The short vowel in a diphthongal nucleus is always non-syllabic. In nuclei consisting of two long vowels, the first vowel is syllabic. Allophonic length variations in diphthongal nuclei correspond to those of long vowels (see. 1.12).
1.14. Allophonic Variations. This section deals with those allophonic variation in vowel quality of a general nature which apply to more than one phoneme; a list of individual vowel phonemes and allophones is given in Section 1.51.

Vowels are retroflex before retroflex consonants. Vowels are slightly nasalized before nasals. This allophonic nasalization is not as pronounced as that indicated by /~/. Vowels are tense before double consonants. Allophones of /i/ and /u/ before length are slightly higher and tenser than those in simple nuclei, /a/ before length is an open central vowel, /a/ in simple nuclei has a number of allophones centering around the mid central region (see 1.5). Allophones of /e:/ and /o:/ do not vary in vowel quality, regardless of phonetic length (see. 1.12).

/i/ and /u/ have nonsyllabic allophones [j] and [w] before other vowels, which are often pronounced with a slight amount of palatal or bilabial friction noise. These glides occasionally also appear after /i:/ and /u:/ in monosyllabic or disyllabic vowel sequences.

Before /i/ in diphthongal nuclei ending in short vowel, /u:/ and /o:/ are considerably fronted, /a:/ is raised and fronted. The nonsyllabic vowel glides in the diphthongs /u:i/ /o:i/ and /a:i/ are [u], [e] and [e:] respectively. Vowels are fronted after nonsyllabic /i/.

1.2 Consonants. The consonants of the dialect include 10 stops, 5 spirants, 3 nasals, one alveolar trill, one retroflex flap and two laterals. Only stops show voiced-voiceless contrasts. Spirants are normally voiceless, nasals, laterals, trills and flaps are voiced. Consonants occur initially, medially and finally, with the exception of /R/, /N/ and /L/ which do not occur initially.

1.21. Consonant length. Long consonants occur medially before long and short vowels, e.g. /pata:/ ‘address’; /patta:/ ‘leaf’; /nha:tta:/ ‘bathes’. All consonants except /h, r, R, L/ may occur with length. For the sake of convenience long consonants are written with double consonant symbols.

1.22. Consonant clusters. Aside from aspirates no initial clusters occur. In some medial clusters a vocalic release intervenes between the two consonants. The nature of the release is determined by the preceding vowel. It is [ŋ] after /a/, [i] after [i], [ŋt] after /u/ and [ŋt] after /o/; e.g.

5. /c/ and /j/ are phonetically affricates, however, phonemically they pattern as stops.

6. Some literate speakers of the village dialect also have /x/ /l/ /f/ and /z/. A number of villagers do not seem to have a contrast between /R/ and /D/.
/bakra:/ [baˈkraː] ‘goat’; /khiriː/ [khiˈriː] ‘a rice dish’; /kæːhtaː/ [kaːˈhtaː] ‘says’. This release occurs with all clusters except those consisting of nasal, lateral, /N/ or /s/ plus stop or spirant and /ks/. Finally, only clusters of nasals plus consonant occur. A few three-consonant clusters consisting of nasal plus stop, plus another consonant occur medially. All of these have a vocalic release after the second element: e.g. /tʃːntraː/ [tʃːntˈraː] ‘platform’.

All consonants except /s/ may be followed by h. These aspirate clusters differ from the others. They occur in medial consonant clusters in positions where ordinarily only single consonants occur, they do not appear finally. Furthermore, words with medial /Lh/ or /Nh/ sometimes show variant forms with /hL/ or /hN/. In all other respects /h/ patterns like other consonants; it occurs in those environments in which consonants ordinarily occur and clusters of /h/ followed by consonant have an intermediate vocalic release (see above).

1.23. Allophonic variations. Stops have lenis pronunciation intervocally. Initially, the pronunciation is slightly fortis. Voiced consonants have a vocalic release finally, voiceless consonants have aspirate release. The release is most pronounced before pause. In emphatic speech, especially in calls from one person to another from a distance, words with final voiceless as well as voiced stops are often followed by a strong vocalic release, which is much more pronounced than that mentioned above, e.g. /jəswʌnt/ [dʒəswənt] ‘name’; /aːT/ [aːTə] ‘eight’.

1.3. Nasalization. Phonemic nasalization occurs with simple vowels, long vowels and diphthongs. e.g. /hæsNaː/ ‘laugh’; /bhæːs/’buffalo’; /bæː iː/ ‘left’. The domain of nasalization is the entire syllabic vowel nucleus. In some words nasalization appears sometimes one syllable, sometimes on another, e.g. /jʊ:əː/ or /juː:əː/ ‘well’.

1.4. Juncture. There are two types of phoneme to phoneme transitions within utterances, normal transition and word juncture? The latter is characterized phonetically by a slight hesitation or pause in the transition from one segment to another, e.g. /oː daːm/; [oː daːm] ‘that price’; /goː daːm/ [goː daːm] ‘store’; /ɪn kɑː/ [ɪn kɑː] ‘his’; /dɪŋkɑ/ [dɪŋkɑ] ‘hay fork’.

There are a number of allophonic features of surrounding phonemes which serve as additional indications of word-juncture. Stops after juncture are fortis, stops before juncture have vocalic or aspirate release (see 1.23).

7. There are several other junctural features marking longer utterance units which have not been analysed so far.
Long vowels have allophonic length [\(V\):] before juncture and \(\{V\}\) in normal transition e.g. /kha:ki/ [kha:ki:] ‘brown’; /ma: ki:/ [ma: ki:] ‘mother’s’.

Another indication of juncture can be gained from stress distribution. Word stress is predictable, i.e. non-phonemic. In disyllables, the first syllable usually carries slightly higher stress, except with words of the type VCV:C and CaCV: In trisyllables high stress is ordinarily on the second syllable unless the second syllable has the nucleus /a/ or the word ends in /i:a/, /i:o/ or /i:e:/, in which case the first syllable is stressed. In utterances such as /do: do:/ ['do: 'do:'], ‘two two’, each syllable carries an equal amount of stress, whereas in /ua:da:/ ['ua:da:] ‘promise’, the second element has lower stress.

A phonemic word is defined as a stretch of speech bordered by two word junctures or a pause and word juncture. Phonemic word boundaries do not always coincide with word boundaries established by morphological criteria. /in ka:/ ‘his’ consists of two phonemic words, whereas morphologically it can be considered as one word since /ka:/ does not occur in isolation.

1.51. List of Vowel Phonemes and Allophones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>Fairly lax, close front vowel, lowered and retracted, e.g., /dil/ ‘heart’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>[eV]</td>
<td>Half close front vowel, somewhat tenser than [i], occurring before length, e.g., /te: l/ ‘oil’; /khe: tti:/ ‘farming’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>[æ:^]</td>
<td>Lowered and retracted, half open front vowel, as tense as [eV], occurring before length, e.g., /bæ: l/ ‘bullock’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ&gt;/</td>
<td>[æ:&gt;]</td>
<td>Somewhat more centralized than [æ:^], occurring finally before length, e.g., /aggæ: / ‘in front’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>Lax, mid central vowel, e.g., /pata:/ ‘address’; /makkı:/ ‘corn’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. The symbols in this column represent the most common phonetic value of an allophone. In actuality each allophone has a range of articulations centering around the given value. Environments are stated only for allophones with restricted occurrence.
Phoneme | Allophone | Description
--- | --- | ---
[əɻ] | Lower and more retracted than [ə], occurring before back vowel in the next syllable, and after consonants except /h/ before /N/, e.g., /jahoː/ 'pond', /boː/ 'laN' 'speak'.
[3] | Considerably fronted, after /h/ before /N/, /m/, and /r/ e.g., /kahaN/ 'say'; /raham/ 'mercy'.
[əʌ] | Raised and fronted before /h, R, D, r, N, L/ followed by /l/ or /e:/ e.g., /sahi:/ 'true', /dari/ 'rug'.
[Ɂ] | Non-syllabic, centralized unrounded back vowel, occurring in the diphthong /aʊː/, e.g., /ca:oR:ə/ 'wide'.
[Ɉ] | Somewhat higher than [Ɂ], occurring in /auː/, e.g., /sauːkaːr/ 'rich'.
[ʌ] | Low central vowel, occurring before length, e.g., /baːt/ 'word'.
/u/ | Fairly lax rounded front vowel, lowered and centralized, e.g., /cuːsaNa:/ 'chew'; /phuːl/ 'bridge'.
[w] | Bilabial glide, occasionally pronounced with spirant friction noise, occurring after /iː/ before /h/, e.g., /tiːuhaːr/ 'festival', (see 1.13).
[ɔ] | The vowel is considerably fronted after certain consonants followed by /iː/ or /eː/, e.g., /buriː/ 'bad'; /kuNtiː/ 'hook'.
/o/ | Half close, rounded back vowel, somewhat tenser than [u], occurring before length, e.g., /moːr/ 'peacock'.
[œ] | Raised half open, rounded back vowel, occurring after /h/, e.g., /jahoːr/ 'pond'.
/ɒ/ | Rounded, lowered, half open back vowel, occurring before length, e.g., /phɔːj/ 'army'; /mɔːkaː/ 'opportunity'.

Johannes J. Gumperz
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Allophone</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>Voiced, bilabial stop, e.g., /ba:LTi:/ 'pail'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>Voiceless, bilabial stop, e.g., /pa:p/ 'sin'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>Voiced, interdental stop, e.g., /da:nti:/ 'sickle'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>Voiceless, interdental stop, e.g., /ti:n/ 'three'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/D/</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>Voiced, retroflex, post-alveolar stop. The preceding vowel has less 'r' color than before /R/ and /N/, e.g., /uDa:Na:/ 'make fly'; /bhe:D/ 'sheep' (see 1.2 footnotes).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T/</td>
<td>[t̚]</td>
<td>Voiceless, retroflex, post-alveolar stop, e.g., /Tu:IT/ 'broken'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>Voiced, palatal affricate, e.g., /jinas/ 'plant'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>[tʃ]</td>
<td>Voiceless, palatal affricate, e.g., /ca:nd/ 'moon'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>Fairly retracted, voiced, velar stop, e.g., /go:bbar/ 'cow dung cake'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>Fairly retracted, voiceless, velar stop, e.g., /ka:m/ 'work'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>Post alveolar spirant, produced with the tip of the tongue slightly behind the alveolar ridge, e.g., /sa:nj/ 'evening', /sa:di:/ 'wedding'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>Voiced, glottal spirant, occurring initially before vowels; intervocally and medially before voiced consonants, e.g., /haua:/ 'wind'; /lo:ha:/ 'iron'; /so:hNa:/ 'good'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Voiceless, glottal spirant, occurring medially before voiceless consonant and finally, e.g., /khata:/ 'says'; /ra:h riha:/ 'is remaining'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aspiration, voiced after voiced consonants, voiceless after voiceless consonants, lip position is that of the following vowel, e.g., /dhi:/ 'girl'; /cho:Ta:/ 'small'; /culha:/ 'stove'; /ka:phi:/ 'enough'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>Voiced, bilabial nasal, e.g., /mu:c/ 'mustache'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>Voiced, interdental nasal, e.g., /na:j/ 'grain'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Allophone</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>Voiced, velar nasal, occurring before velar stops, e.g., /rang/ 'color'; /bæ: ngaN/ 'brinjel'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>Voiced, palatal nasal occurring before palatal stops, e.g., /sa:nj/ 'evening'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/N/</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>Voiced, post alveolar, retroflex nasal pronouned with considerably more 'r' color than [q] e.g., /ba:N/ 'wood'; /gaNDa:/ 'dirty'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>Voiced, post alveolar retroflex nasal flap occurring intervocally, e.g., /caNa:/ 'gram'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>Voiced, alveolar trill, e.g., /ro:TTi/ 'food'; /ce:ri:/ 'cattle fodder'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/R/</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>Voiced retroflex flap, more retroflex than [q] e.g., /læRa:Na:/ 'cause to fight'; /pagRi:/ 'turban'; /guR/ 'brown sugar'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>Somewhat longer in duration and tenser than [ʔ], occurring intervocally after long vowel or diphthong and finally after long vowel, e.g., /mae:Ra:/ 'drag'; /be:R/ 'rope'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/A/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>Voiced, clear, dental lateral, e.g., /la:1/ 'red'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/L/</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>Voiced, retroflex lateral, e.g., /a:La:/ 'wall shelf'; /a:L/ 'wrestling'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.53 List of Diphthongs.9

(a) Last element /i/ or /i:/:
   /a:i/ /ra:it/ 'night'; /pa:iN/ 'water'.
   /u:i/ /du:il/ 'cattle blanket'; /pu:iri/ 'fried cake'.
   /o:i/ /kho:ir/ 'trough'; /dho:iri/ 'servant'.
   /ai:/ /riji:/ 'comforter'.
   /a:i:/ /bha:i/ 'brother'.
   /o:i:/ /rasi:/ 'kitchen'.
   /e:i:/ /be:i:ma:n/ 'dishonest'.

(b) Last element /e:/:
   /a:e:/ /a:e/ 'came'; /pha:e:da:/ 'result'.
   /ae:/ /gae:/ 'went'; /gae:ra:/ 'thrashing ground'.

9. Nuclei starting with nonsyllabic /i/ and /u/ occur before all vowels except /e/ and /o/ and are not listed here.
PHONOLOGY OF A NORTH INDIAN VILLAGE DIALECT

(c) Last element /u:/:
/a:u:/ /ta:u:/ ‘father’s older brother’; /ta:u:Li/ ‘soon’;
/au:/ /sau:ka:r/ ‘rich’;
/e:u:/ /je:u:Rhi:/ ‘rope’;
/i:u:/ /si:u:Na:/ ‘sew’.

(d) Last element /o:/:
/a:o:/ /kha:o:/ ‘eat’;\(^{10}\)
/ao:/ /cao:Ra:/ ‘wide’; /Da:o:L/ ‘irrigation ditch’.

1.54. List of consonant clusters.

Medial clusters with intermittent vocalic release.

(a) Clusters beginning with a stop:
/pN; br; bR; bN; tr; tn; dr; TN; Tt; Tm; jb; jm; cR; kc; kR; kN; kL;
kr; gN; gR;.

(b) Clusters starting with /r, R, l, L, s, m, N/:
/rg; rd; rt; rb; rD; rl; rN; rk; Rb; Rk; RN; Rt; Is; lk; lm; LN; LR;
s; sr; sN; sL; sr; sb; mN; mT; mk; mR/.

Medial clusters without vocalic release:
/sp; st; sT; ks; LT; nt; nj; nc; nt; NT: nd; ND; mp/.

Three-Consonant clusters.

Clusters containing aspirate consonants:

(a) With vocalic release.
/ThL; khL; kht; phr;.

(b) Without release: /njh; nth; Nth; NDh;.

Other Three-Consonant clusters:
/ntr; ngl; ngN; NgL;.

Final Clusters:
/ng; nj; nt; nd; NT; ND;.

1.55. Syllable structure.

The following patterns of syllable structure occur: V; CV; CVC;
CVCC; CCV; CCVC; CCVCC.

10. Some villagers do not have a contrast between /D:/ and /ao:/.
2. Up to the present time dialectologists have shown relatively little interest in integrating structural linguistic techniques into their research methodology. Phonemic analysis represents a recent development in the history of linguistics in comparison with the more than seventy-five year old tradition of modern dialect research. Some of the large-scale linguistic surveys which are still in progress were started at a time when the notion of the phoneme was still in its infancy. Nevertheless as early as 1933 Bloomfield stated that: "In order to record and estimate a local form we need to know its structural pattern in terms of the phonemic system of the local dialect". His remarks, however, have gone almost unheeded and up to now most dialect surveys have failed to provide sufficient information on the phonemic systems current in the areas they survey.

The difficulty in obtaining structural data from conventional dialect studies is to some extent due to the fact that there are fundamental differences between the field techniques of dialectology and those used in the analysis of a single type of speech. The ordinary descriptive linguist works primarily with one informant, for a fairly long period of time. He is not bound to any predetermined form of questioning. He can recheck his data as often as necessary by rearranging utterances in sets according to phonetic similarity and testing the pronunciation of each item by contrasting it against other similar forms. The end product of his field work is a series of utterances arranged according to phonetic similarity, illustrating each of the distinct segments of the language. These are then rearranged into a list of phonemes and allophones (see. 1.5). In the course of his long hours of contact with the informant, the linguist has ample opportunity to learn to distinguish between natural and forced responses and make allowances accordingly. The dialectologist, on the other hand, works with a large number of informants. His time with them is limited and moreover he must obtain comparable information from each interview. He is therefore compelled to adhere fairly rigidly to a questionnaire prepared in advance.

The result of dialect research depends largely on the type of questionnaire that is used. It must contain a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the essential features of morphology, phonology and the lexicon of the dialect. One cannot expect to obtain answers to questions that have not previously been built into the questionnaire. Furthermore care must be taken to ensure natural responses. The material must be arranged according to topics dealing with everyday life, so as to interest the informant in the content matter and turn his attention away from the actual speech forms. The informant cannot be asked to go over the same material several times.

2.1. The criteria used by dialectologists in selecting items for the study of differences in pronunciation are largely phonetic. In comparing two variants of a certain form the phonetician is interested only in determining the exact pronunciation of each variant. Thus, for example, observing that the word for night is [raːit] in the dialect and [raːt] in standard Hindustani, he will take care to include in his questionnaires a number of other examples for this feature, such as [baːil] ‘ear of corn’ and [kiuːər] ‘door’ etc. The structural linguist on the other hand is interested in a further question, i.e., is there a contrast in the dialect between the clusters [aːi] and [aː:]? In order to determine this he needs still other dialect forms for contrast, such as [baːt] ‘word’; [ceːt] ‘Hindu month’. Forms of this type are quite frequently lacking in dialect field records, and as a result comparison between dialects is too often limited to phonetic features only.

2.2 In order to minimise these gaps in the data and to make it possible to consider phonemic as well as phonetic features, the dialectologist must have a certain amount of advance information on the contrastive features of the dialect. This can easily be obtained, if instead of collecting illustrations for the sounds of a dialect from written sources, as is usually done, a phonemic analysis of the type illustrated in section 1 is made. It is then possible to select from the list of phonemes and allophones a set of key words illustrating each of the phonemic contrasts and allophonic variations. These words should be similar in phonetic shape so that comparison can be made in terms of analogous pairs. Thus if a form such as /aːl/ ‘a vegetable’ is chosen as an example for the phoneme /A/, the phoneme /L/ should be illustrated by /aːL/ ‘wrestling’ and not by /phaL/ ‘fruit’ or /aːLaː/ ‘wall-shelf’, where the /L/ occurs in different environments.

It is however, not sufficient to include in the questionnaire only those contrasts which are found to occur in the speech of one informant. An attempt must be made to provide for as many as possible of the other contrastive features which might occur in the area to be surveyed. This can be done by comparing the phonemic system of the informant with that of the regional variety of standard Hindustani, spoken by the educated people in the area and with information on dialect variations collected in the area. In the case of the Rankhandi area we find a large number of phonemes that are common everywhere, such as for example the stops. There are others, such as the consonants /N/, /L/; the vowels /aeː/; /ɔː/, the diphthongs /aːi/, /uːi/, /oːi/, /aoː/, that are found only in the village dialect. Others such as /x/ /ʃ/ /z/, the final clusters /rd/ /rs/ etc., are found only in

12. Several other phonemic analyses should be made in the area, until no more new contrasts are found.
Hindustani. Furthermore /ao:/ and /R/ occur in one form of the village dialect and not in others (see 1.2 and 1.53). There are also differences in distribution of individual phonemes. For example, in the dialect /e:/ and /o:/ occur before double consonants, and /h/ occurs after initial /n/ and /m/, which is not true for city Hindustani. Special care must be taken to provide a large number of examples for all contrasts involving the variant features because it is likely that there will be a number of dialect differences with respect to them.

The following list of monosyllabic words containing various vowel nuclei may serve as an illustration of the type of key words that should be introduced into the questionnaire for the purpose of testing for contrast: /ci:1/ 'skin'; /pi:r/ 'place of worship'; /di:l/ 'heart'; /sir/ 'head'; /be:1/ 'creeper plant'; /khe:t/ 'field'; /be:l/ 'bullock'; /ca:t/ 'Hindu month'; /ba:1/ 'ear of grain'; /ra:it/ 'evening'; /ba:l/ 'hair'; /ba:t/ 'word'; /Tu:m/ 'jewel'; /jhu:T/ 'falsehood'; /tum/ 'you'; /duk/ 'pain'; /jhu:il/ 'cattle blanket'; /Tu:it/ 'broken'; /mo:r/ 'peacock'; /kho:d/ 'dig'; /kho:ir/ 'trough'; /kho:id/ 'dug'; /ph:j/ 'army'; /p:d/ 'plant'; /sao:R/ 'comforter' /Dao:L/ 'ditch'.

All these items can be fitted into the topical arrangement of the questionnaire along with other items illustrating features of morphology and lexicon. It is advisable to test for as many contrasts as possible at an early stage of the questionnaire, so that a preliminary analysis can be made after the first interview and doubtful points can be checked in later interviews.

2.3. If we combine the various phonemic systems current in the area into one single system, treating all forms as if they occurred in the speech of a single speaker, we can obtain a structural frame work which can be used as a tentative frame work for structural comparison. Speakers can be divided into a number of groups, depending on which of the total number of contrasts they observe. Pronunciation differences can be graded according to whether they are on a phonemic or on a phonetic level.

The inclusion of sets of analogous pairs in the questionnaire has also some advantages for field work as such. It helps to focus the investigator's attention on those items which must be recorded with special care. Furthermore he can to some extent eliminate his hearing difficulties by checking doubtful items in contrast with others.

13. It is tentative in the sense that it must be modified and expanded as new contrasts are discovered.

14. An excellent example of this type of structural frame work, which covers nearly every vowel contrast found in the various standard forms of English is given in: Trager and Smith, An Outline of English Structure, Norman Oklahoma, 1951, pp. 21-29.
2.4. In order to determine whether the structural data gathered through preliminary phonemic analysis in the field could also have been obtained from previously published material, an analysis was made of the Saharanpur dialect samples quoted by Grierson.  

A number of discrepancies were found, especially in the vowel system. Grierson shows no contrasts between /æ:/ and /ɛ:/; /ɛ:/ and /o:/; /a:/ and /a:i/; /o/ and /o:i/; /u:/ and /u:i/. The consonant systems agree. However only one instance of /L/ is given, in the word /ka:L/ 'famine', which also appears as /ka:l/ in another part of the text. Furthermore it would not have been possible to find sets of analogous pairs of the type mentioned above. A questionnaire prepared solely on the basis of Grierson's material would be in danger of omitting a great deal of structurally relevant material.

The preceding discussion has definite implications for any future new linguistic survey of India. If structural comparisons are to be made, it will be necessary to make descriptive studies of the phonology and morphology of a large number of local dialects before efficient questionnaires can be prepared.

DERIVATION OF VERBAL FORMS IN MODERN TELUGU

BY

K. Mahadeva SASTRI, Madras.

The Modern Telugu Movement was started sometime in the first decade of the present century for the purpose of making the spoken language the vehicle of literary expression. The movement was opposed vehemently by the traditionalists who wanted that the old literary language should continue. The battle was fought for nearly thirty years and finally the Modern Telugu Movement has won the day. Since the forties newspapers in Telugu adopted the spoken language unreservedly. The Radio also made it popular through its talks programmes. At the present day not only the bulk of the modern Telugu literature is written in the spoken language, but old Telugu classics like the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are being written in the spoken language with an effort to reach a much wider reading public. In all these ways modern Telugu has come to stay; it is accepted in principle by almost every writer. Such of those who cling to the archaic dialect either do so because they were nurtured in the old tradition or because they feel modern Telugu in its present state without a standard form is not yet a fit medium for serious literature.

We are now in the formative stage in the Modern Telugu Movement. It is desirable at this juncture to try to bring about a certain amount of uniformity in grammar and in spelling in Modern Telugu, a conventional standard for the language to be employed in literature. To this end a dictionary of modern Telugu usage indicating the sounds and grammatical forms of the various dialects in the country and tracing their connection with the older forms in the language is to be compiled. The present paper provides some materials on the finite verbal forms of the Godavary dialect, for such a work in view.

The verbal forms in modern Telugu are not necessarily of recent origin. Indeed many of them are very old. We know about their existence in the older stage of the language from different sources like the inscriptions, commentaries of classical works and other prose-books, popular literature which is generally found written in the dēśi metres, etc. The old Telugu grammarians expressly mentioned about some 'heterodox' forms which cannot be employed in the kāvyas, e.g., Kētana (13th century A.D.), gives the Aorist tēccutāru ( > Modern testāru); pres. part. of the auxiliary verb konu, konṭu (< konutu); Appa-kavi (17th century A.D.), gives, e.g., Aorist vastāḍu,
testādu, etc., which are current at the present day. Thus we can safely imagine that beside the old literary dialect, there was a parallel stream of the colloquial language all through these centuries. Our endeavour is now to trace the development of the modern Telugu verbal forms from their old prototypes.

**Past Tense:**

caduvu, 'to read'; ceyu, 'to do'; Note: — c is pronounced in this language as a dental affricate [kɕ] in connection with the non-palatal vowels, and as a palatal affricate [ɕj] in connection with the palatal vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary form</th>
<th>Spoken form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. Sg. Masc.</td>
<td>cadi-v-enu, cadi-v-inā-ðu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-enu, cēs-inā-ðu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. &amp; Ntr.</td>
<td>cadi-v-enu, cadi-v-inā-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-enu, cēs-inā-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Masc. &amp; Fem. Ntr.</td>
<td>cadi-v-i-ri, cadi-v-inā-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-i-ri, cēs-inā-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sg.</td>
<td>cadi-v-i-ti-vi, cadi-v-inā-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-i-ti-vi, cēs-inā-vu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>cadi-v-i-ti-ri, cadi-v-inā-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-i-ti-ri, cēs-inā-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Sg.</td>
<td>cadi-v-i-ti-ni, cadi-v-inā-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-i-ti-ni, cēs-inā-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>cadi-v-i-ti-mi, cadi-v-inā-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cēs-i-ti-mi, cēs-inā-mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three kinds of formations in the literary dialect: (i) the -enu forms in the III. Sg. which do not contain any marks of gender. They are very old forms in the language and are frequently met with in the pre-Nannaya inscriptions. (ii) finite verbal forms of III Pl. and I & II Sg. & Pl., made by adding the pronominal fragments to the past verbal theme. The sign of the past consists of i(na) in the III. Pl. (cf. cadi-v-i-ri, 'they read'), and iti in the I and II persons (cf. cadi-v-i-ti-ri, 'you (Sg.) read', cadi-v-i-ti-mi, 'we read'). (iii) corrupted forms of the past participial adjectives which have come to be used as finite verbs in all the three persons.

The verbal forms of the colloquial speech of the present day are all derived from the past participial adjectives by a second degree of corruption. In the language of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa the participial adjectives are used as such and are kept distinct from the finite verbal forms. But gradually the latter became obsolete and the participial adjective in its corrupted form came to be
used as the finite verb. But even to-day the distinction in meaning between
the full form and the corrupted one is maintained, e.g., cadivinavāḍu ‘one
who has read’, cadivināḍu, ‘he read’.

The development of the modern verbal forms of the past is as follows:

III. Pers.     cadivinavāḍu > cadivināḍu > cadivāḍu;
cadivinādi > cadivindi; cadivinavāru >
cadivināru > cadivēru; cēsinavi > cēsinayi > cēsēyi

II. Pers.      cadivināvu > cadivēvu; cadivinavāru > cadivināru >
cadivēru

I. Pers.       cadivinānu > cadivēnu; cadivināmu > cadivēmu

It will be seen from the above examples that an ē sound has developed
in the language by contraction of ī and a. There are many other instances
where the sound has developed secondarily through contraction, e.g., tāṭi +
āku > tāṭēku; māvri + āku > māvēku, etc. This sound which was not
there originally in Telugu has no symbol for it in the alphabet, so it is written
either as ā or ē according to the fancy of the writer. This sometime leads to
very great confusion. For example, cadivēru, (< cadivināru), ‘they read’
if it is written as cadivēru as is often done, confounds with cadivēru (< cadivēdaru) ‘lest they should read.’ To eliminate this ambiguity, it is necessary
to provide a symbol for ē. There are also some other new sounds which
have either developed within the language or become familiarised through
loan words for which symbols have to be invented in Modern Telugu.

Present Tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III. Sg. Masc.</th>
<th>Literary form.</th>
<th>Spoken form.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cādv-uc-unnā-ḍu</td>
<td>cē-s-unnā-ḍu</td>
<td>cēs-t-unnā-ḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cē-uc-unnā-ḍu</td>
<td>cē-uc-unnā-di</td>
<td>cadiv-ut-unnā-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. &amp; Ntr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>cē-uc-unnā-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Masc. &amp; Fem.</td>
<td>cādv-uc-unnā-ru</td>
<td>cēs-t-unnā-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntr.</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ru</td>
<td>cēs-t-umnā-ṛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-vi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sg.</td>
<td>cādv-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
<td>cādv-ut-umnā-ṛu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-ṛu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Sg.</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-nu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-nu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-mu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-mu</td>
<td>cē-uc-umnā-mu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The present verbal theme is formed by *ucu* in the literary dialect, by *utu* in the spoken dialect. *unna* is the past participle of the auxiliary verb *unlu* 'to be'. (cf. the auxiliary verb *rahā*- to stay, in the present conjugation in Hindi). It seems that *ucu* is a softened form of *utu* and became generalised in the literary dialect. *utu* forms are found in the older language side by side with those in *ucu* although they were not accepted by the grammarians. It is worth noting that whereas the past verbal forms in the literary dialect were formed by adding the pronominal fragments to the past theme there are no such corresponding forms for the present. Indeed there was not regular finite verb for the present in the 11th century. There were only participial adjectives like *caduv-uc-unna-vāru*, 'they who are reading', *cēy-uc-unna-vāda-nu*, 'I who am doing'. Later they became corrupted in usage: *caduv-uc-unnā-ru*, *cēy-uc-unnā-ru* and began functioning as the finite verbs in the literary dialect. The colloquial forms are derived from those with a present theme in *utu* (cf. *pād-ut-unnā-ḍu*, 'he is singing', pres. part. *pād-utū*). *caduv-ut-unna-vāḍu* > *caduv-ut-unnā-ḍu*; *cēy-ut-unnā-nu* > *cēs-t-unnā-nu*, etc.

### Aorist Tense (Bhaviṣyat-taddhārma):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Literary form</th>
<th>Spoken form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. Sg. Masc.</td>
<td><em>caduv-unu</em></td>
<td><em>caduv-utā-ḍu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēy-unu</em></td>
<td><em>cēs-tā-ḍu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. &amp; Ntr.</td>
<td><em>caduv-unu</em></td>
<td><em>caduv-ut-undi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Masc. &amp; Fem.</td>
<td><em>cēy-unu</em></td>
<td><em>caduv-utā-ru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Sg.</td>
<td><em>caduv-udu-ru</em></td>
<td><em>cēs-tā-ru</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>cadiv-eda-ru</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēy-udu-ru</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēs-eda-ru</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td><em>caduv-udu-ru</em></td>
<td><em>cēs-tā-ru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cadiv-eda-ru</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēy-udu-ru</em></td>
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<td><em>cēs-eda-ru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>I. Sg.</td>
<td><em>caduv-udu-nu</em></td>
<td><em>caduv-utā-nu</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>cadiv-eda-nu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēy-udu-nu</em></td>
<td><em>cēs-tā-nu</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>cēs-eda-nu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td><em>caduv-udu-mu</em></td>
<td><em>caduv-utā-mu</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>cadiv-eda-mu</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēy-udu-mu</em></td>
<td><em>cēs-tā-mu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>cēs-eda-mu</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Corresponding to the primitive past forms with -enu in the literary dialect, we have -unu forms in the bhavijyat-taddharma, without any marks of gender in the III. Sg. and III. Ntr. Pl. All other forms are made from the base in -udu or -edu by adding the pronominal fragments. The colloquial forms are derived from a base in -utu, the same as for the present tense, by adding the pronominal signs to it, e.g. (cēy-utu + vāḍu >) *cēy-utā-du > cēs-tā-du; (cēy-utu + avi>) cēy-uta-vi (Guntur dialect) > cēs-tā-yi instead of the regular cēs-ta-yi. The long vowel is due to analogy with forms like cēs-tā-du, cēs-tā-ru etc. (cēy-utu + adi>) *cēy-uta-di > cēs-ta-di, also cēs-tun-di. This form with the nasal is due to the influence of the present verb cēs-tūndi < cēstūnnadi.

It seems that the theme of the aorist -udu, -edu and that of the present -utu are ultimately related.

After the present tense was formed with the help of the auxiliary verb utu the Aorist forms became appropriated to the future in the spoken language.

Future Tense:

The following forms are used in the literary as well as in the spoken dialect:

III. Sg. Masc.  caduv-a-gala-du
               cēy-a-gala-du
Fem. & Ntr.  caduv-a-gala-du
               cēy-a-gala-du
Pl. Masc. & Fem.  caduv-a-gala-ru
               cēy-a-gala-ru
Ntr.  cēy-a-gala-ru

II. Sg.  caduv-a-gala-vu
         cēy-a-gala-vu
Pl.  caduv-a-gala-ru
     cēy-a-gala-ru
I. Sg.  caduv-a-gala-nu
        cēy-a-gala-nu
Pl.  caduv-a-gala-mu
     cēy-a-gala-mu

As stated above the spoken language uses the Aorist for the simple future. The above forms are also used in the future besides their original sense of śakyārtha, i.e., indicating capacity to do a thing, e.g. caduvagala-du, 'he will read', also 'he can read'. The full form must be like caduv-an-kala-vāḍu = 'in (the act of) reading he is capable' = he can read.
Conclusions

1. The past -enu forms (e.g. cēs-enu) and the aorist -unu forms (e.g. cēy-unu) of III. Sg. are classical and are very ancient forms in the language. They have gone out of use in the spoken language of the Coastal Andhra districts.

2. The past finite forms formed by the theme in i(ti) plus pronominal fragments (e.g. cēsiri, cēṣitiri) have now become archaic; in their place corrupted forms of past participial adjectives are used as finite verbs. Such forms are also used in the III. Sg.

3. The present base in -ucu has been replaced in the modern dialect by what is probably its own ancient form -utu. Both in the literary and the spoken dialects, the present finite verb was derived from the present participial adjective.

4. The theme of the aorist is -udu or -edu in the classical dialect, -utu in the spoken dialect.

5. The aorist forms were found sufficient to serve for the future after the present tense became characterised. The -kala forms of the classical dialect are also in common use to-day, often in the sense of śakyaṁrtha (cf. the development of futurity in the English verb: 'He will come' originally meant 'he has the will to come').
THE TERM EĻUTTU IN TAMIL GRAMMAR*

BY

A. Chandra Sekhar, New Delhi

The use of the term eļuttu in the oldest extant Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam is of immense interest to students of Indian linguistics and culture. This paper attempts to assess the significance of the term, especially as it is employed in the Eluttatīkāram of this grammar.

From the first and second sūtras of the Eluttatīkāram which exclude kūrriyalikaram, kūrriyalukaram and āytam from the category of eļuttu, while saying that these are similar to eļuttu,1 it appears that the term eļuttu is used to mean only significant speech-sounds, that is the phonemes, of the Tamil language.

eļutteṇa-paṭupa
akaramutal nakara iṟuvaṅ
muppaṭenpa
caṅtuvuṟar marapiṅ muniṟaiṅkaṭaiye
avaitām
kūrriyalikaram kūrriyalukaram
āyam eva
muppāṟṟuliyum eļutṭoraṇṇa

(TE, 1 and 2)*

The next two sūtras mention the terms kūṟṟeļuttu and netṭeļuttu where, again, eļuttu means only speech-sound.

avarrul
a i u e o evnum
appāl aintum
oṟaḷaṟu icaikkum kūṟṟeļut-t-enpa.

*This paper was read before the meeting of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi in May, 1955.

1. The very reference to muppāṟṟuli, the three dots, indicates clearly that writing was known and practised at the time of Tolkāppiyam and that there is similarity between the writing then and that of today.

2. TE, 1 and 2 means Tolkāppiyam Eluttatīkāram, sūtras one and two.
"Among them, a, i, u, e, o—these five are short eluttu with only one ālapu or mātra." (TE, 3)

ā i ē ai ō au
appāl ēlum
irālapu icāikkum netṭēlutt-ṛṭya.

"ā, i, ē, ai, ō, au—these five are long eluttu with two mātras." (TE, 4)

The terms valleluttu (hard consonants or plosives), melleluttu (soft consonants or nasals) and ītaiyeluttu (medials) refer to spoken symbols only, since they describe the nature of the sounds as hard, soft and medial.

vallelutt-ṛṭya ka ca ṭa ta pa ra
mellelutt-ṛṭya na ṇa ṇa ma ṇa
ītaiyelutt-ṛṭya ya ra la na la īa

[TE, 19, 20, 21].

In the following sūtras of Tolkāppiyam, however, eluttu means the written symbol.

mūvalapu icāittal ārēlutt-ṛgrē
nīṭtam vēṇṭiṇ avvalaputtaiya
kūṭṭi elūtal eṃmaṇār pulavar.

"There is no eluttu with three mātras. Learned men say that to lengthen the sound (to three or more mātras), the symbol for the short vowel should be written by the side of the long vowel. The number of symbols of short vowel thus added will depend on the length required."

(TE, 5 and 6)

These two sūtras, especially sūtra 6, clearly refer to the practice of writing. Eluttu in sūtra 5, which states that there is no eluttu with three mātras, may be taken to mean either the written symbol or speech-sound. But the next sūtra clearly implies that speech-sounds with three or more mātras occur in Tamil but that there are no symbols to represent them with.

sūtra 41:

kuṇricai molivaiṇi nēnricai niṟaikkum
netṭēluttimpar otta kurreluttē.

"A short vowel (kurreluttu) belonging to the same class as a long vowel (neṭṭēluttu) is used along with the vowel in order to have the required
mātra whenever the two mātras of the long vowel are not sufficient." In other words, whenever a vowel is lengthened so as to have three mātras or more, it is represented in script by the symbol for the long vowel followed by one or more symbols for the short vowel of the same class. For example, a with three mātras will be represented as: āa, with four mātras āaa, etc.

sūtras 13, 14, 15, 16; 17:
araïyâlapu kurukal makaram uṭaittē
icaiyitam arukum teriyuā kālai
uṭperu pulî uruvākumuī
meyyin iyarikai pulîyotu nilaiyal
ekara okaratt-iyarikaityum aṭṭē
pulli-y-illā ellā meyyum
uruvuru-cē akaramōt-uyirittalum
ēgai uyirōtu uruvutirint-uyarttalum
āyir-tyala uyirittal-ārē.

"The quantity of m is shortened to quarter of a mātra when it follows some consonants. When this happens, the m takes a dot within it. The (pure) consonant is represented by adding a dot (to the symbol). e and o also have the same nature (that is, short e and short o are represented with dots above). All consonants (i.e. consonant symbols) without dots represent consonant sounds followed by a; those (symbols) for consonants followed by other vowels are different."

sūtra 58:
Ikara yakaram iruti viravum

"(The symbol) i is sometimes used for y at the end of words."

As can be seen from the abovementioned sūtras, Tolkāppiyam uses the term eluttu both in the sense of speech-sounds and letters of the alphabet.3

So also does the Middle Tamil grammar Naṟṟull. By and large, in TE the term eluttu4 refers to the practice in writing.

3. The practice of using the term moţi both in the sense of language and in the sense of word (cf. TE, 58) may be noted here.

It was obviously due to the use of the term eluttu both in the sense of speech-sounds and in the sense of writing that Naṟṟull talks of olivaṭiyam (spoken form) and varivaṭiyam (written form) for eluttu, and uses the terms oliyeluttu and variyeluttu to distinguish between speech and writing.

4. The term eluttu is to be derived from eļu "to raise", and the term eluttu according to this derivation would mean something which is raised (or caused to come out) from within, that is the speech-sound. Obviously, the term eluttu came to be applied to writing long after the term came to refer to speech-sounds, the reason being that letters form units of the written word just as speech-sounds form units of the spoken word.
THE TERM ELUTTU IN TAMIL GRAMMAR

The chief conclusion that emerges from the foregoing study is that writing was a well-established practice during the time of Tolkāppiyam, some time before the beginning of Christian era, and that there is at least some similarity between the Tamil writing of today and that of Tolkāppiyar's time.

5. Two verses from Kural, verse 1 and verse 392, are of interest in this connection. The opening verse of the book indicates that the Tamil author was familiar with the other systems of writing prevalent in India in his time (c. 2nd century of the Christian era).

\[ \text{akara mutal-v-eḷutellām-āti} \\
\text{pakavas mutarrē-y-ulaku} \]

Parimēlakar, the commentator on Kural, says that the author had observed that a was the first letter not only for South Indian languages but for the North Indian languages as well.

Verse 392 refers to the importance attached to a knowledge of writing by ancient Tamils.

\[ \text{enēnga-v-ṇat-y-eḷutēpa-v-iveṭaṇṭur-} \\
\text{kanēnga vāḷum-uyirku.} \]

"Writing and arithmetic are like the two eyes of living beings."

6. In view of this conclusion, it is necessary to revise the theory put forward by Buhler, Gopinatha Rae and others that the Tamil system of writing is to be derived from the Asoka variety of Brāhmi.
THE NASAL PHONEMES OF KANNADA

BY

H. S. BILIGIRI, Bangalore

0.1 In this short paper I propose to examine the nasal sounds occurring in the standard colloquial Kannada of Mysore (hereafter written simply as Kannada). The analysis is based upon my own pronunciation which, I have reason to believe, can be fairly described as Kannada.

0.2 Six nasals are found in the Kannada orthography. They are m, n, ŋ, ñ, ų, and the anusvāra. The last one can be included in the preceding five, as it is pronounced as a homorganic nasal before plosives and affricates, and as m before other consonants.

1.1 There are six nasal sounds in Kannada: [m], [n], [ɲ] [n̪], [ŋ], and [N]. Their phonetic descriptions respectively are bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar and blade-alveolar.

1.2 [m], [n], [n̪] are separate phonemes. Many minimal pairs can be found to prove this. But, the following three words would suffice: /a:me/, [a:me]² 'tortoise', /a:ne/ [a:ne] 'elephant', and /ai:ne/ [ai:ne] 'anna'.


2.1 After having established the nasal phonemes of Kannada I now propose to discuss their distribution. Before that, a general statement of their distribution may be made: All the three nasal phonemes occur

1. I must gratefully acknowledge two articles which have inspired me to write this short paper:
   (b) "Affricates in Kannada speech"—T. N. Seekantaiya, particularly the paragraphs No. 2, 3, and 4 on p. 86, IL, 1954.

2. Ibid., 1(b).

3. There are some deviations from the IPA system of transcription in this paper. They can be easily identified from the context. It should also be noted that the phonetic transcription is not accurate in regard to the vowels. This, however, does not alter the issue.

4. (a) In this paper no distinction is made between native and loan-words, as it would be irrelevant in a descriptive statement.
   (b) Hereafter /J/ stands for a voiced blade-alveolar affricate.
THE NASAL PHONEMES OF KANNADA 307

(a) initially (except /ŋ/); e.g.: /maːle/ [maːle] ‘rain’, /naːku/ [naːku] ‘four’.

(b) intervocally; e.g.: /soːne:/ [soːne] ‘drizzle’, /beːne/ [beːne] ‘peg’, /aːme/ [aːme] ‘tortoise’.

(c) with homorganic plosives, and affricates; e.g.: /tampu/ [tampu] ‘coolness’, /heṇḍa/ [heṇḍa] ‘toddly’, /kaṇtu/ [kaṇtu] ‘instalment’; for the other allophones of /n/ see section 1.2.

(d) with other consonants; e.g., see sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5.


(f) but not finally.


Forms like /niːkaːvi/ and /niṃganda/ are not to be considered as contradicting the preceding statement about /n/ in 1.2, because these forms are to be analysed as having juncture /+-/, occurring between the /n/ and the stop, or as /niː+kvi/ and /niː+ɡanda/ respectively. The contrast is only apparent, not real.

/n/ occurs as the second element of clusters with /m/, /ʃ/, /l/, etc., e.g.: /sumne/ [sumne] ‘simply’, /baːjnalli/ [baːjnalli] ‘in the mouth’, /haːlnoːnu/ [haːlnoːnu] ‘milkman’, etc.

2.4 The phoneme /ŋ/ occurs as the first element of clusters with /g/, /ʃ/, /ʃ/, /m/, /ʃ/, etc., e.g., are: /taŋɡide/ [taŋɡide] ‘It is cool’, /kaŋcuccutte/

5. This list and the lists to follow are, however, not exhaustive.

/p/ also occurs as the second element of clusters with only retroflex consonants like /t/, e.g.: /poʔna/ [poʔna] 'packet'.

2.5 /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, occur in a cluster of three consonants also, provided they are the first elements, and the second elements are homorganic plosives or affricates. The following are some of the clusters that occur so:

(a) /mb, mp/+t/, /d/, /k/, /l/, /l/, /m/, etc., e.g., are: /nambta:ne/ [nambta:ne] 'he believes', /nambda/ [nambda] 'he believed', /nambke/, [nambke] 'belief', /kambi/ [kambi], 'rug', /namble/ [namble] 'can I believe?', /kempmu:ti/ [kempmu:ti] 'red face', etc.

(b) /ŋt, ŋd/+k/, /c/, /l/, /h/, etc., e.g., are: /ɡuŋdɛŋdu/ [ɡuŋdɛŋdu] 'round ball', /ɡantlu/ [ɡantlu] 'throat', /tɔŋda:su/ [tɔŋda:su] 'stray cow', /tunʃkaru/ [tunʃkaru] 'mischievous calf', etc.

(c) /nt, ŋd/+k/, etc., e.g.: /tindkoll[i] [tindkoll[i] 'Let him eat for himself.'

(d) /nk, ng/ [ŋk, ŋg] +t/, /b/, /d/, etc., e.g., are: /mankbu:di/ [mankbu:di] 'magical ash', /nunqta:ne/ [nunqta:ne] 'he swallows', /nungda/ [nungda] 'he swallowed', etc.


2.6 It might have been noticed, by the examples given above, that an interesting point emerges out of them: whenever we find clusters of the type described in sections 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5, we may almost be certain that we are dealing with more than a single morpheme, the border between the morphemes being between the nasal phoneme and the following consonant, or between the homorganic cluster and the following consonant. I have said almost, because there are utterances like /camca/ [tʃamtsa] 'spoon', /carma/, [tʃarma] 'skin', /va:sne/ [va:sne] 'smell', etc. which are single morphemes; this is only one side of the question, for, we have utterances like /ninʃ:o:pi/ [ninʃ:o:pi] 'your cap', /ninje/ [ninje] 'to you', /ninʃɛŋdu/ [niNtʃɛŋdu] 'your ball', etc., which have two morphemes, the final /n/ of /nin-/ having respectively become /n/, [n], and [N] owing to the following consonant. However, one can fruitfully look for a morphemic boundary in such cases.8
A PHONÆSTHETIC ASPECT OF RETROFLEXION

BY

Bishwa Nath Prasad, Patna (Poona)

The historical aspect of the process of cerebralization in the Indo-Aryan languages and the influences at work have been thoroughly dealt with by Wackernagel in his Altindische Grammatik I (Die cerebrale, paras 143-151, pp. 164-177) and by J. Bloch in his L’Indo-Aryen (pp. 53-59). I therefore directed my attention to a phonetic-phonological treatment and a study of the articulation based on word-palatograms. While doing so, one of the most important points which struck me was the prosodic nature of the consonants of the retroflex series, because it was noticed that along with the variations in the articulation contact of the retroflex series the prosodies concerning them also showed considerable variations in the modern Indian Sanskritic languages like Hindi, Bhojpuri, etc. In my thesis entitled A Phonetic and Phonological Study of Bhojpuri (University of London, 1950), I called attention of the scholars to this important and interesting aspect by referring to the linguistic theory of prosodies as elucidated by Professor Frith in his "Sounds and Prosodies" (TPS., 1947, 127 ff.). As a matter of fact the entire treatment of these sounds as we find it in Sanskrit grammar, e.g., in the rules formulating the change of s to ś and t to ñ when in contact with ṣ or a retroflex plosive and of the change of n to ñ when preceded by r or s in the same word is based on prosodies. It was therefore suggested that both for its diachronic and synchronic analysis the process of cerebralization might be profitably studied and interpreted in this new light for a clear understanding of its linguistic implications. It is gratifying to note in this connection that Dr. W. S. Allen subsequently presented an illuminating study of the prosodic processes of retroflexion in Sanskrit in his two learned articles in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

*The usual transliteration marks ṭ, ḍ, ḍr have been used in this article for the IPA symbols for the retroflex sounds and ḍ has been used for the IPA ñ.


3. Pāṇini, Āstādhyaśā, 8.4.1 and 8.4.4. Thus Sanskrit has praśaṇa 'question', but praśāṇam for questioning, aśī 'eighty', but aṣṭau 'eight'.

I am here going to throw a hint on yet another aspect of retroflexion which may be termed as its 'phonæsthetic' aspect,5 and which may be found somewhat helpful in tracing the historical bearings and development of the retroflex series in the modern Indian languages.6

The number of words with initial consonants of the retroflex series in modern North Indian Languages like Hindi, Nepali, Bhojpuri etc. is definitely less than those with the consonants of the other Vargas,7 as it appears from the dictionaries like the Hindi Sabda Sagar (Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabha, Benares), Turner’s Nepali Dictionary and the Word-Index in Ghieribbon’s Bihar Peasant Life. Amongst the consonants of the retroflex series themselves, the aspirated forms ëh, ëh and ëh are less in use than the unaspirated forms ë, ë and ë. The retroflex consonants sound harsh to the ears of the speakers of the languages referred to above. Their phonæsthetic sense is well evidenced in the onomatopoetic words in their use. They have the likeness of the retroflex consonants in the rattling sounds and disturbing knocks, e.g.,


6. Widely divergent views have been expressed by those dealing with the historical aspects of cerebralization in the Indo-Aryan languages. The most commonly accepted theory has been to treat the set of cerebral sounds as of Dravidian origin developing partly from a tendency to harden the pronunciation of the dentals under the Dravidian influence and partly from the wholesale borrowings of a large number of non-Aryan words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and through them in the modern Indian languages. As against this view John Beames contended that the cerebrals are the real equivalents of the European ë and ë and that it is not these but the Indian dentals which have grown out of the cerebrals by the process of softening which the Aryan organs of speech have undergone owing to the climatic effects (see John Beames, A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, p. 235. See also Hoernle, Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, pp. 8-10). Jespersen (Language, pp. 196-197) also points out that the cerebrals exist in the Nordic languages and some sort of cerebrals must therefore belong to the original stock of Indo-European phonetic system.

Compare in this connection the general tendency of equating the English alveolar sounds with the Indian retroflex sounds. See Chatterji, ODBL, pp. 641-42.

7. An exception may probably have to be made for Sindhi which shows special fondness for the cerebrals e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Sindhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ëin</td>
<td>ëiná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëas</td>
<td>ëah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëukh</td>
<td>ëukhá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëa:n</td>
<td>ëa:ná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëa:t</td>
<td>ëa:tá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For an appreciation of the position with regard to the initial retroflex consonants in the modern North Indian languages it may be noted that the Vedic had very limited use of the retroflex consonants and had only one initial retroflex consonant ë. Pāli also had a very limited number of initial cerebrals. The Pāli Lexicon by Rhys Davies and Srinivas has only nineteen words with initial retroflex consonants.
khaṭ-khaṭ, khaṭar-khaṭar, in the harsh noise of a crow—ṭā: y-ṭā:y, or of a frog—tar-tar, in the unpleasant strokes and rapping sounds of a hammer, e.g., ṭhā:y- ṭhā:y, ṭhak- ṭhak, ṭhukur- ṭhukur, in the belching and bellowing sound dāka:r, in the angry and chiding words dā:t- ṭiṣpāṭ and in loud burst of laughter ṭhaha:ka:

Words denoting unpleasant sensations and sounds of anything referring to violence, terror, awkwardness, perplexity and roughness are often associated with retroflex sounds, e.g.,

kaṭar- kaṭar 'the biting sounds generated by the friction of the teeth.'

ghaṭ-ghaṭ 'noise in drinking some liquid, impatiently and in an unmannerly way.'

gat-gaṭ 'swallowing in a hurry big quantities of food with noise.'

kar-kaṛ 'crack.'

tar-tar 'the breaking sound of wood.'

dhar-dhar 'to do anything hurriedly.'

bar-bar 'to talk gibberish.'

bhar-bhar }

par-par 'unpleasant noises.'

paṛa:ka: 'cracker.'

dhara:ka: 'crash or explosion.'

ṭho:kar 'a stumbling block.'

ṭhe:s 'knock.'

ḍham-ḍham in which the retroflex represents the thundering sound and the nasal represents the sound of a drum.

Not that all the words having retroflex sounds denote unpleasant things and sensations, but many words signifying something obnoxious and awkward are associated with retroflex sounds. For example,

gar-bar 'topsy-turvy'

haṛ-bar 'hurrying in confusion.'

bakhe:ra: 'wrangling'

bekte:ṛ 'squint'

gure:r 'look with eyes expressing extreme severity.'

lāra:yi: 'battle'

ṭhagṛ:ra: 'quarrel'

ṭeṭiha: 'quarrelsome'

ṭhag 'cheat'

luteṛa: 'robber'

ṭhā:s 'stuffing'

ṭhṭṭ 'throng'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te:rh</td>
<td>'crooked'</td>
<td>da:h</td>
<td>'jealousy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra:di:</td>
<td>'prostitute'</td>
<td>ra:τ</td>
<td>'a widow of bad character'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:yi:n</td>
<td>'witch'</td>
<td>do:m</td>
<td>'one of the untouchable classes; notorious for their stealing habits'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Out of two or more synonyms, one having one or more retroflex consonant is invariably suggestive of a derogatory sense and is intentionally used to convey it when necessary, e.g.,

ma:thā:; sir ‘head’, but mū:ri: or mū:τ when disgust or sarcastic sense is to be conveyed.

Similarly:

peyr ‘leg’, tā: g or tāgarī:

gala:, gardan, ‘neck’, nare:ti;

pe:τ ‘stomach’ dhi:rh ‘large belly’ or ‘pregnancy’,

ke:s, ba:r ‘hair’ jhjō:ta: ‘scattered and ugly big hairs’.

Such interesting correlations between the occurrence of retroflex sounds and the characteristic contexts of experience and situation in which they are used illustrate their phonaesthetic function in Hindi, Bhoj, etc.

This predominant phonaesthetic sense keeps the speaker’s traditional interest and appreciation alive to the beauties of his songs and ballads which conform to the canons of poetic ‘excellences’ or ‘guṇas’ as laid down by the Indian rhetoricians, according to which, the retroflex consonants are inappropriate for sweetness (mādhurya) in poetry as they are harsh and not suited to the Pathetic (Karṇa), the Privative Erotic (Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra) and the Quietistic (Śanta) emotions (rasas). Not that the retroflex sounds are altogether despicable, but their beauties have also to be appreciated for their suggestiveness in the case of the property of Floridity (ōjaguna) which is suited to the Disgustful (bhīhatsa), Heroic (vīra) and Furious (raudra) emotions in poetry.

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8. The dōms are probably the remnants of the stock to which the Romany Gypsies belonged. See Grammon's Introduction to Mrs. Grammon's "An English-Gipsy Index", p. 7 (Indian Antiquary, XV, 1888, p. 14).

9. The etymology of the type of instances cited above deserve to be examined.

10. Mammata, Kavyaprakāśa, VIII, 74-75.
BUDDHIST HYBRID SANSKRIT

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, Madras

I

The peculiarities of the Sanskrit in which a class of Buddhist Sanskrit texts are written have frequently been remarked upon, studied in some detail and compared with Pali, Middle Indo-Aryan, etc. The series of these studies have culminated in the three volumes of Prof. Edgerton\(^1\) on what has been christened by him as Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS). Among the several studies on aspects of this language are some papers of Edgerton himself who had been working on the subject for the past two decades. In his paper on the "Metre of the Saddharma-pundarika"\(^2\) he said that this hybrid or mixed Sanskrit was based on a lost Prakrit, the proto-canonical language of the Buddhists. In his paper on the Prakrit underlying BHS\(^3\) which he wrote at about the same time as the paper previously mentioned, he clarifies this statement of his that the Pali of the canonical texts as well as the Sanskrit of these texts in question are originally recasts of an older Prakrit.\(^4\)

Buddhist Sanskrit would admit of a three-fold classification, (i) normal literary Sanskrit whose deviations from the Paninian norm were at a minimum, (ii) the class of writings in which deviations from the normal Sanskrit were numerous and varied, and (iii) a further class in which bizarre constructions abounded and outlandish vocabulary appeared.\(^5\) If we draw a middle line, we may see on one side a style, grades of which strive more and more to approximate to the literary Sanskrit norm, and on the other a

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4. In his detailed review-article on Edgerton's BHS., J. Brough says (BSOAS, XVI, p. 363), more acceptably as it appears to me, that "there seems to be no compelling reason for postulating a single Prakrit dialect as the 'original' language; and it seems much more likely that the texts were handed down in diverging ways in different communities."
5. The range and variety of the vagaries are such that, while they can be recognised as a kind of Sanskrit, to deem them a language and lay down a grammar for them seem to be a sakkara, pace the monumental labours and achievement of Edgerton.
style, grades of which tend more and more to become mixed and even strange. In its most aberrated form this latter style would appear to be the result of the expansion of Buddhism in the trans-Indian territories, where the literary efforts of some non-Indian Buddhists should have contributed new constructions and words; indeed, we have evidences of such trans-Indian Sanskrit Buddhist works. Similarly in the former style, the grades in which that style was more clearly recognisable as literary Sanskrit, it should bear close relationship to such writings in Sanskrit which display a grammatical freedom, judged from the Paninian standard. Laying aside for the time being names like Pali, Middle Indo-Aryan and Proto-canonical Prakrit, if we bear in mind the fact that in actual speaking, Sanskrit exhibited solecisms or colloquialisms and that writings bearing the stamp of popular origin and vogue could not escape colloquial lapses, lack of accord in gender and number, declensional vagaries, unsettled usage of different kinds of present participles, confusion of ātmāne and parasmai padas, etc., we can see that the base of this mixed language is the spoken form and that it is not exclusively Buddhistic but common to the class of Brahmanical literature called the Epics. This mixed language or the Gāthā dialect as it was once referred to is really popular or colloquial Sanskrit. It was also a fluid form whose lapses from the norm could not yet be reduced to any dialectal rules or uniformity. It was in this form of popular Sanskrit that the Epics were written, a fact which at one time led scholars to suppose that the Epics were recasts of Pali or Prakrit originals. The Epic Sanskrit, as Winternitz says, approaches more nearly to the language of the people, so that one may call it a more popular form of Sanskrit; and shows 'solecisms such as are often committed by uneducated and inferior authors like the Purana composers. Burrow, who is the latest to write on it, says that the popular character of the epics is evidenced by their language. "This is Sanskrit definitely enough as opposed to the contemporary Middle Indo-Aryan, but it is a Sanskrit which continually violates the rules which Pāṇini had laid down and which were

6. E.g., Goériga-vyākaraṇa, Vimalabodha-paripṛcchā, etc. See F. W. Thomas, India and its Expansion, Calcutta University, p. 65.
7. See Hopkins, The Great Epic of India, pp. 260-266, where he calls it dialectic Sanskrit: '...most of the grammatical irregularities in the epic are mere dialectic variations.' Also Kellhorn, JRAS 1896, p. 18, who said that these epic forms are more Pali than Sanskrit. On the untenability of the supposition that the epics were recast from Pali originals see Keith, JRAS 1900, pp. 2-3. Jacobi also opined so and added: "Pali and Epic language are two different developments."
8. History of Indian Literature, English translation, I, p. 44.
9. Ibid., p. 461. Some varieties of technical literature also exhibit such a style of Sanskrit.
always observed in the more orthodox literary circles. The recitation and transmission of the Epic legends was not the business of the Brahmans, but of the Sūtras. It was natural that their language should be of a more popular nature than that of the educated classes par excellence, the Brāhmans. At the same time it is interesting that all along in spite of the competition of Prakrit, Sanskrit was cultivated in much wider circles than the priestly schools for whom Pāṇini’s work was intended. (italics mine) the knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the epic reciters must have depended primarily on usage and not on formal instruction.

Epic Sanskrit has thus material worth study side by side with that of the Buddhist Sanskrit works. Further refinements of the epic texts have of course obliterated many of the old forms which might help us in this study of popular Sanskrit, but even as they are, the epic texts do still have vestiges of their old diction. To take an example: In his paper on the Prakrit underlying BHS, already referred to, Edgerton said, (p. 50): “Again, all readers of Pali are very familiar with the common expression yena ... tena, ‘where (someone or something was), there (someone else went)’. In themselves, yena and tena are perfectly normal Sanskrit (as well as Pali) forms; but this use of them, I believe, is not known except in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit though frequent there.” (italics mine). In the next sentence, Edgerton called this a characteristic example of BHS. Sukumar Sen has also dealt with it in his Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit. In his recent BHS Grammar Edgerton notices this ‘yena -tena’ in art. 7.32 (p. 44) under CASE—Instrumental, and here he says, modifying his earlier affirmation that this usage “is not quite unknown in Sanskrit (at any rate epic)” and cites an instance from the Mahābhārata. So also under yena in his BHS Dictionary, p. 448.

This ‘yena -tena’ construction is quite a common thing in Epic Sanskrit. It is significant in more ways than one to come across this, more than once, in the text of the Rāmāyaṇa, which, going by the concensus of opinion, has been brought very much close to the literary norm. The Rāmāyaṇa can give us six passages with this yena-tena, the construction appearing elliptically sometimes with only yena, and sometimes more fully with even a

11. Cf. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyana: ‘But the language of these others was no different language, but only a less perfect one.’ And H. Oldenberg, Das Mahābhārata; ‘At the time of the epics there had been types of Sanskrit of a higher and a lesser degree of perfection.’

12. See Jacobi, Das Rāmāyana, where he says that apart from the language of the Śīta there must have been types of a less good Sanskrit in other social circles. We may add that Patañjali himself records that outside of the ordained and sacred acts, the Ṛṣis spoke colloquial forms: yavānas tavarāno nāma ṛṣayo babhūvah etc., I. i. 1.

double *yena-tena*. There are three instances in Book II, one in III and two in VI. Ayodhyā 33.16, Southern text has:

\[
\text{gacchantam anugacchāmo *yena* gacchati rāghavah} \]

*ibid*. 33.22 reads:

\[
\text{vanam nagaram evāstu *yena* gacchati rāghavah} \]

*ibid*. 52.11,

\[
\text{jagmatur *yena* tau gaṅgām sitayā saha rāghavau} \]

In Āranya 31.19, Southern text, we have,

\[
yena yena ca gacchanti rākṣasā bhayakarṣitāh \]
\[
tenā tena sma paśyanti rāmam evāgrataḥ sthitam \]

100.31 of Yuddha reads:

\[
\text{ubhau hi *yena* vrajataḥ tena tena śaromayaḥ} \]
\[
\text{ūrmayo vāyunā viddhāḥ jagmuḥ sāgarayor iva} \]

108.2 of Yuddha has the following: 14

\[
yena yena ratho yātī tena tena pradhāvati \] (Southern text).

The comparison of the above readings, found in the Southern text, with those in the North-Western recension and the Eastern text edited by Gorresio reveals significant facts: The first line in Southern text II.33.16 is represented by II.36.18 and II.33.18 in the N.W. and Eastern texts; these two texts between themselves read similarly and the line appears in an amended form without our *yena-tena*:

\[
rāmam evānugacchāmo kim no dārair dhanena vā \]

The second passage is represented in N.W. and Eastern texts by II.36.23 and II.33.23:

\[
\text{vanam nagaram evāstu *yatra* gacchati rāghavah} \]

where the restoration of *yatra* for the locative sense is a patent emendation. In the third case, however, the N.W. and Eastern texts preserve the old construction:

\[
jagmatur *yena* vai gaṅgām sitayā saha rāghavau \]

N. W. 53.8 Gorresio, 49.5, with slight change, gaṅgām vai.

The case of the fourth is instructive, for the whole canto in which it occurs in the Southern text,—the episode of Akampana making an advance report to Rāvana of the destruction of Khara and his hosts,—is absent completely from the N.W. and Eastern texts. In the fifth case from the Yuddha-

kāṇḍa, the verse as it occurs in N.W. 78.66 omits one of the two tenas, balancing thereby with the single yena, and substitutes it with yāyuḥ, though here too among the readings recorded, we have the Bha-reading preserving tena, tena; in Gorresio also, VI.79.60, similar emendation occurs but with babhuh instead of yāyuḥ. In the sixth instance, the double yena-tena occurs in both the N.W. text and Gorresio (87.21 in N.W. and 90.20 in Gorresio).

Now a consideration of the variants in the above passages in the three recensions shows that the Southern text is valuable for preserving better the older diction; also, it is interesting to note that a canto missing in the two recensions, and occurring only in the Southern and hence likely to be suspect, reveals archaic features.

We may note also another similar passage in the Rāmāyaṇa, VI.32.30,
Southern text:

nunam anyām mayā jātim vairitam dānam uttamam
yāham adyha śocīmi bhāryā sarvātīthi api

We are used in classical Sanskrit to time-specifying accusatives, but here is an out of the way accusative in the place of the locative. The absence of this verse from the corresponding cantos in the North-Western and Eastern texts confirms our earlier observation about the comparatively better preservation of archaic passages in the Southern text.

II

Some instances of BHS vocabulary from the BHS Dictionary may now be examined.

These words show different categories. Firstly come those ancient words of the common language which the new religion uses and specialises in a sense for its own forms, as a result of which these old words fall out of use in the communities outside this new religious movement. Examples of such Buddhistic words are Caitya, Śramaṇa etc., which are quite common in non-Buddhistic significance in the older times. To cite an apt analogy from Tamil, there are special terms and expressions which the Śrīvaiśṇavas use and have come to be termed as their parlance or paribhāṣās; these were old words used in the whole Tamil community, and attested by inscriptions, but when the Śrīvaiśṇavas began making special use of them, the rest left them off.

Some of the words of BHS are really old words of common usage and go to the common stock of the vocabulary of the Vedic and Epic India.

In such cases when a new religious movement is forging ahead and building itself up into a certain distinctness, there is a natural tendency to introduce certain changes and adopt certain peculiarities or choose certain neglected or unfamiliar words and ideas and bring them to the fore. There
is an idiosyncratic conscious effort at using common words with certain innovations in prefixes and suffixes. One set of Buddhistic words is thus formed by adding before normal Sanskrit words the upasargas *abhi, anu* or *upa*, and adding at the end the *ka*-pratyaya; *a*-stems are adopted in forms having i-endings; variation is secured by fully using *nam* where the present participle does not have it, and by using words in their augmented forms; also word-forming suffixes are extended analogically to more words than found to take those suffixes in ordinary Sanskrit usage: e.g. *kṛtāvin, śrutāvin, samitāvin*; and among derivatives from a same root, adopting one not in vogue: e.g. *samaya* for *samiti*.

We shall first see certain instances of BHS words from Edgerton's Dictionary which are found in Vedic and Epic usage, then certain others which can be traced in special popular branches like Nātya and Kāma Sāstra, next some words which can be seen in the Brahmanical schools of philosophy like Vedānta and Yoga, and last, some for which usage in classical Sanskrit can also be cited.

BHS Dict. p. 576⁸, *Sampūspita*: in full bloom. Edgerton contrasts it with *Puspita* which alone is used according to the Sanskrit usage while the former is characteristic of BHS. *Sampūspita* seems to be handed down from Vedic times. Cf. Taittirīya Āranyaka, X.9:  

<yathā vrksasya sampūspitasya durād gandho vāti,  
evam punyasya karmano durād gandho vāti>

In the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, Adiparvan, 116.2, describing Pāndu roaming in the forest on the eve of his fatal erotic mood, we read *supuspitavane* which has in the footnotes the reading *Sampūspita*; the latter would appear to be the more idiomatic old usage and the su-prefixed form may easily be held to be suspect.

It is clear that Mahāyāna Buddhological literature bears the impress of the Sanskrit Itihāsas. It is noteworthy in this connection that some of the words and ideas that have been noticed in BHS are to be seen in the Epic also. To cite some examples:

BHS Dict. p. 223⁸, (*Anārabdha*) and p. 103⁸ *Arambha*, in the sense of slaughter. Ārambha in the sense of slaughter is known in Sanskrit, in addition to the form Ālambha. In Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara, Rāvāṇa threatens Sītā that if she does not come round within two months, cooks will butcher her (*ārabh*) for his breakfast. The two forms *ārabh* and *ālabh* seem to be doublets and as the latter became better known later, even where *ārabh* occurred, it had been emended into *ālabh*. The Kumbhakonam edition with Govindarāja's commentary and the Venkateswarā Press edition with the same commentary read this line:

*mama tvām prātarāśārtham ārabhante mahānase* | (V. 22.9)
The M.L.J. Press edition carries the emended form ālabhante; the text with Tilaka commentary (Bombay), the N.W. text (17.13) and Gorresio’s edition (vol. IV, p. 252) carry a more drastic emendation of the whole line:

sūdāh chetsyanti khaṇḍaṣaḥ

Here again the value of the Southern text is seen.

BHS Dict. p. 45a. Edgerton notes Nyagrodha-parimanyālā in the list of sāmudrika-lakṣaṇas. This is met with in the Rāmāyaṇa in the description of Rāma by Sītā, (III.47.34 M.L.J. Press edn.), the Matsya Purāṇa and the Bhaṭṭīkāvyā.

BHS Dict. p. 523a. On Sabda-vedha and Sabda-vedhitva, Edgerton refers to Mahābhārata, but not to Rāmāyaṇa, where it forms part of the story; Daśaratha killing the hermit-boy by mistake, Ayodhyā 63.11 (M.L.J. Press edition) and to Raghuvarsa following this (IX.73).

BHS Dict. p. 621: Hema-jāla. Edgerton says that this is not noted as a compound in Sanskrit. In the Rāmāyaṇa, however, this compound itself, in the same sense, occurs in descriptive passages three times: M.L.J. Press edn. V.6.36 describing śibikās—hemajālaparicchinnāḥ; V.45.3 in the description of the chariot—hemajālaparikṣiptāḥ; and VI.75.56 describing fighters in the army—hemajālācītabhujām.

BHS Dict. p. 133; Upaka (ga): This is found in Epic usage in expressions like Puṣpopaga-phalopagāḥ describing trees. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara, 14.35:

ye kecit pādāpaś tatra puṣpopagaphalopagāḥ |

BHS Dict. p. 171b. Kalatra: Edgerton says that it means in Sanskrit only wife “except once in Harṣacarita.” In the larger sense also, of servants, family etc., it occurs in Sanskrit. One instance may be cited: When Hanumān offers to take Sītā on his back, she uses the word Kalatra only in the sense of person in one’s charge or to be protected by one: Kalatravati sandeḥaḥ. Rāmāyaṇa, V.37.48 (M.L.J. Press edn.).

BHS Dict. pp. 18-19. Adhvan meaning Kāla, Time. In the Yogasūtras IV.12.13 and Vyāsa’s Bhāṣya thereon, Adhvan is used in the sense of the three phases of time, past, present and future, from which the semantic shift to Time itself is quite understandable.

BHS Dict. p. 44b. Aparāmrśṭa: Uninfected, Untarnished. In the same sense the Yogasūtras use this word in their definition of Iśvara:

kleśakarmavipākasayair aparāmrśṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣaḥ iśvarah |

BHS Dict. p. 23a. Anāvṛtti (ka): Characterised by no return. The word in this sense is quite common in Vedānta literature from the earliest strata of it.
BHS Dict. pp. 251-252. Tāyin. It is said here that this is unquestionably a re-Sanskritisation of the Prakrit-Pali form of Tādys (Tādi(n), Tāyin); the suggestion on the basis of the Tibetan assumption that Tāyin is from Sanskrit Tāyin is also discounted. Its primary meaning is given as 'such a one as the Buddha' and from that the meaning, 'Holy', 'Protector' and so on.

Now we have Vācaspati Miśra describing Akṣapāda, the founder of Nyāya, as Tāyin in his Tātparyapariśuddhi:

namāmi dharmaṇīyamavairāgyaṁśvaryadāyaṁ
nīdaye vāgviṣuddhīnāṁ aṣṭapādaṁ tāyīne

The forms Tāya and Tāyana appear to be original in Sanskrit in the sense of the 'flourishing' or 'he, who or that which grows evermore or becomes profuse', Sphitibhavati, and referring to superhuman and divine personalities. Pāṇini gives the form Tāyana in that sense in I.3.38—vr̥ttī-sargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ. The BHS Tāyin may better be referred to this Sanskrit Tāyin.

BHS Dict. pp. 494-495. Vibhajati, Vibhajīya, Vibhāgīya, where Vi-bhaj and its derivatives are noticed in the sense of 'detailed explanation'. This usage is not unknown in classic Sanskrit in the śāstra texts. Thus Vācaspati Miśra's Bhāmati-commentary on Śaṅkara’s Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya is called Vibhāga and Vācaspati himself says in one of his introductory verses of the Bhāmati:

natvā viśuddhavijñānam śaṅkaram karupaṇidhim
bhāsyam prasannagambhiram tatpranītam vibhajyate

This meaning of analysis and explanation is also seen in the grammatical technical term Pravibhāga; cf. Bhartṛhari, Vākyapadīya, II.316:

śabdārthāḥ pravibhajyante na rūpād eva kevalāt

See also my Bhoja’s Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa, I. p. 94.

On p. 186, in art. 38.16 of his BHS Grammar, Edgerton notes the gerund Vighāṭya, ‘having opened’ and says that Sanskrit knows only Vighāṭayati, and if long, only Udghāṭayati. In his BHS Dict. p. 483, he notes Vighāṭayati and makes the same observation.

Now ‘ghāṭ with vi with elongation’ in the sense of ‘having opened’ does occur in Sanskrit. See Nāṭya Śāstra V.12 (KM and Kasi editions):

vighāṭya vai yavanaikām.

BHS Dict. p. 70. Avacara which Edgerton asserts is, despite a few rare occurrences, a Buddhist word, occurs regularly in the compound Tālaavacara, the musician whose province is Tāla and it occurs many times in the Rāmāyaṇa and other later texts also.
BHS Dict. p. 176a. Kāñcanamayī bhūmi, the 'golden region' which lies in the north. This is evidently a reference to Uttara-Kurus to which Nāṭya Śāstra also refers. See Nāṭya Śāstra XX. 102, Kasi edn.:

ḥṛdyā sarvā bhūmiḥ śubhagandhā kāñcani yasmāt |

BHS Dict. p. 166. Kāthāvastu. Cf. vastu in the sense of theme of a story, etc., is a very common word in Nāṭya Śāstra literature.


BHS. Dict. p. 123. Uttarakalā. Edgerton renders it as ‘further, higher art’ and adds, “No clue has been found as to precisely what is meant.” Its precise meaning will be clear if we turn to Vātsyāyana’s Kāma Sūtras where the Uttarakalās are referred to. The Uttarakalās are four, form part of the Pāṇīcālikī Catusṭaṇḍi, the 64 sexual arts codified by Pāṇīcāla, the final four of this series being called Uttarakalās. See especially Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana, I.iii.15 end.

BHS Dict. p. 317a. Patracchedaka. The note on this word shows that it cannot be explained merely on the basis of the BHS references. It is one of the sixty-four arts and is mentioned among accomplishments of fashionable gentlemen. It consists of the cutting of various designs on leaves as a means of whirling away time or engaging oneself when one is in company with friends and ladies; sometimes these cut-leaves carrying different kinds of significance are also sent by lovers as messages to their beloveds. See Kāma Sūtras I.iii.15, 16 and Jayamaṅgalā thereon and Kāma Sūtras III.iv.4, patracchedyakriyāyām ca svābhāpyāyasūcakam mithunam asyā darśayet and IV.iv. 38,

patracchedyāni nānābhāpyāyākṛtini darśayet etc. Also Dāmodaragupta’s Kuṭṭaṇīmata, 74, where, this is mentioned as an accomplishment, and a person with pretensions to fashion and culture carrying the scissors used for this leaf cutting.15

BHS Dict. p. 255b. Tulākūṭa and p. 429a Mānakūṭa, in the sense of fraud committed by merchants in respect of weights and measures can be traced in Sanskrit Dharma Śāstra literature under Vyavahāra. See Yājñāvalkya, Vyavahāra, Sāhasa, 240:

tulāsāsamānmānām kūṭakṛt.

BHS Dict. p. 36β. Anusmrī; mindfulness. It is not known why Edgerton says this is “virtually non-existent in Sanskrit.” It occurs twice in the Brahma Sūtras themselves, I.2.30 and II.2.25. In the Mahābhārata it

15. See also my Gleanings from Somadeva’s Yaśastilaka Campū, Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, I. ii, p. 258; iii. p. 305.
occurs in the name of the well-known hymn Bhīṣmānusmṛti and its related forms Anusmaraṇa, etc. occur freely in Bhakti-literature.

Similarly Anusūti on the same page. In this same form and also in the forms Anusūta, Anusūtataca, it is commonly used, even now, in expositions of Śāstra-texts to refer to the continuity and internal connection between one passage and another in the text.

BHS Dict. p. 99. Abhirūpya. Abhirūpa of course is found in Sanskrit. For Abhirūpya, Appaya Dīkṣita’s Varadarājastava, śloka 14, (Vani Vilas Press edn.) may be seen:

    tad varṇayāmi bhavataḥ katham abhirūpyam

BHS Dict. pp. 84b and 111a. Āsecanaka. This is a word in common use in hymns where the deities are praised, particularly Devī-hymns: e.g. mecakam āsecanakam mithyādṛṣṭāntamadhyahbhāgani te |

(Navaratnamālā stotra, verse 9, Kāvyamālā Guccchaka V.)

BHS Dict. p. 315. Pañcāṅgula. This auspicious mark with the spread-out palm is mentioned in Sanskrit literature. See Pratimāṇṭaka, Act. III, Pravesaka:

saudhavarṇakadattacandanapañcāṅgulā bhittayah
and Harṣacarita, Bāṇa’s description of the palace on the eve of Rājyaśri’s marriage:

piṣṭapañcāṅgulamaṇḍyamānolūkhalamusalālādyupakaraṇam.

BHS Dict. p. 437. Mṛga-dāva, the deer-park of Sarnath. The word dāva or dava, forest, is preserved in Sanskrit in the compound ‘forest-fire’, dāvāgni or dāvāgni; Kālidāsa uses it separately also in Raghuvamśa II.8: adhijadhanvā vicacāra dāvam.

BHS Dict. p. 215a. Gocara in meaning no. 3, ‘sustenance’, ‘food’ and ‘a village where it is available’ may be compared with Gocara in classical Sanskrit in the sense of the cow’s pasturage. Cf. Kirātārjuniya, IV.10:

upāratāḥ paścimarātrigocarāt

describing cattle.

BHS Dict. p. 216a. Gotra, meaning no. 2, ‘mine’. In classical Sanskrit Gotra is well-known as mountain; ‘mine’ is only its extension. It may be noted also that in the BHS passages cited for this meaning of ‘mine’, the meaning ‘mountain’ which has etymologically basis, can equally apply.

BHS Dict. p. 217a. Gopānasī is said to be “rare in Sanskrit” and “an essentially Buddhist word”. But see Māgha’s Śiṣupālavadha, III.49:

    gopānasīśu kṣaṇam āśtitānām

in the description of mansions.
ON TWO NEW INDO-ARYAN WORDS

BY

S. M. KATHE, Poona

1. Sanskrit *kāj-jvala-, *kad-dyota- 'fire-fly, glow worm'

For the Sanskrit word kājjala- m. a cloud, n. lamp-black, two variants have been recorded by MONIER-WILLIAMS in his Dictionary as kajjvala- and kajvala-. However, it is an interesting fact that for a fire-fly or glow worm Koṅkaṇi preserves the word kājjuḷo and Marāṭhī kājvā. The normal word for this in Sanskrit is khadyota- attested in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, on the basis of which another word kha-jyotis- is recorded in the Rājānighaṇṭu as quoted in Śabdakalpadruma.

The Koṅkaṇi form goes back to OIA *kaj-jvala-ka- which is paralleled by the form *kad-dyota-ka from which Marāṭhī kājvā is derived. The use of kad, kim-, ku- as prior members of compounds marking the uselessness, badness or defectiveness of what follows appears, therefore, to have been a living element in the Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages as attested by the Koṅkaṇi and Marāṭhī forms for the glow-worm.

2. Sanskrit kapāla.

The Koṅkaṇi word kavaḷigā indicates a medium or large-sized vessel usually made of copper or brass in which rice is cooked or water is boiled. While the Sanskrit word kapāla- 'cup, jar, dish (used especially for the Puroḍāsa offering)' and its compounds aṣṭākapāla- 'prepared or offered in eight pans', pāṇicakapāla- 'prepared in five cups or bowls' do not survive in other IA languages the Koṅkaṇi form appears to preserve an isolated inherited form in its original meaning. The suffix -(i)gā in kavaḷigā seems to parallel that found in īṭṭīgā 'a brick' < Sk. īṭṭākā for which Kannāḍa dialects have īṭṭīgā. Koṅkaṇi has borrowed here from Kannāḍa as in other loan-words from Kannāḍa such as vāntigā < Kan. vāntigā 'subscription'.

These two survivals of OIA usages in NIA languages, particularly the uncultivated dialects, indicates how rich the dialectal field is in capturing vocabules which ultimately show the linguistic wealth of unrecorded OIA and NIA dialects.

1. Cf. Kan. 'kavaḷīgū (a) Siva’s alma-pot, a skull; (b) a kind of metal vessel of various dimensions (My.)—recorded in KRṣṭI’s Kan.-Eng. Dictionary.
SINHALESE DICTIONARY

An Effort in Modern Indo-Aryan Lexicography

BY

Julius de LANEROLLE, Ceylon

I. Introductory

1. Sinhalese is admittedly the most developed and probably the most mixed of all the modern Indo-Aryan languages. It can claim to be unique in one or two other respects as well. For one thing, it is easily the first among the spoken languages of the Indo-Aryan group to develop literary activity; and, what is more, it has also preserved an unbroken succession of records spread over a period of two thousand years. It is to be noted, therefore, that in the Sinhalese language and its vast literature is found a very interesting field for lexicographical research. The following is a brief account of a pioneering enterprise undertaken in that field.

II. An Earlier Effort

2. There are several ancient nighantu and practical dictionaries of Sinhalese, but the idea of compiling a comprehensive Sinhalese Dictionary on scientific and historical lines was first mooted in 1884 by Dr Reinhold Rost, the eminent Orientalist and Librarian of the India Office. It was shortly after the first volume of the New Oxford English Dictionary was published that he wrote to the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the subject. His letter addressed to Sir John F. Dickson, who was then President of the Society, was read at a General Meeting held on 4 October of that year. A full discussion followed and a Committee of four members was appointed to take necessary steps in the matter. They indexed a few Sinhalese texts and prepared what was called a "Specimen Vocabulary", taking Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary for their model; but they achieved nothing worthy of note before the whole undertaking was eventually given up. This marked the first effort made by the Society, or by anybody at all, at least to lay the foundation of a systematic Sinhalese Dictionary. It could hardly be regarded as a bad failure, though, because time was then by no means ripe for a scientific undertaking of that kind.
III. Present Effort

3. But it stands to the lasting credit of the Society that its second effort was crowned with such unqualified success as can be seen from its magnificent performance in planning the present Sinhalese Dictionary on modern scientific lines and issuing six English and five Sinhalese parts before the whole organization was handed to the University College which later developed into the University of Ceylon. This second project too had a chequered career, and was not without near-failures. It nearly broke down twice—once under the Society, and once under the University itself.

4. After a long period of inaction it was Sir Cecil Clementi who, as President of the Society, brought the matter to the forefront and gave it the practical shape which it took immediately after his departure from the Island. In the course of his farewell Presidential Address delivered on 7 October 1925 he stressed the importance of compiling a Sinhalese Dictionary on historical and scientific principles after examining all essential facts of the language. He had clear-cut views of the subject and wanted the Dictionary to be so designed as to help not only a fuller understanding of the language but also the rapid growth of a modern literature. Accordingly, in 1926, the Society decided to undertake the compilation of a Sinhalese Dictionary the aim of which "should be to give an adequate account of the origin, meaning and history of every Sinhalese word, old or new, found in inscriptions, in books, or in common speech."

IV. International Co-operation

5. In 1925, when Sir Cecil Clementi gave his farewell address to the Society, the Government of Ceylon had already made arrangements for Professor Wilhelm Geiger, of Munich, to pay a visit to this country in connection with his translation of the Cūḷavamsa. Sir Cecil, knowing as he did the importance of the co-operation of European scholars in the work connected with the proposed Sinhalese Dictionary, took the opportunity of making a special reference to that eminent scholar's impending visit. He hoped, he said, that Professor Geiger would not be allowed to go away without giving the Society his views as to the lines upon which the dictionary could best be prepared.

6. Professor Geiger was eventually consulted. After a careful study of the Society's proposal he submitted a Report, dated 3 February 1926, setting forth in brief outline what organization there should be and what form the dictionary itself should take. His recommendations, though very sound and generally acceptable to all schools of modern scholarship, somehow escaped the attention of the early Editors who in March 1927 started the work according to a plan of their own.
7. In the meantime, the Board of Studies in Comparative Philology, University of London, at a meeting held on 22 October 1926, had unanimously passed the following resolution:

"This Board welcomes the project of producing a dictionary of the Sinhalese language on historical lines, and, in view of the important position which Sinhalese holds in the comparative study of the Indo-Aryan languages, ventures to express the hope that the etymological portion of the said dictionary will be dealt with by scholars thoroughly versed in Comparative Philology."

After the work of the Dictionary had progressed for more than a year the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford 1928), at which the first Editor-in-Chief (Sir D. B. Jayatilaka) read a paper giving an account of the progress that had been made so far, passed a resolution urging the desirability of appointing a Consultative Committee of Comparative Philologists to advise the Editors. In pursuance of this resolution a London Committee was duly formed, to whom a set of specimen entries prepared by the Editors was submitted for report. After a careful examination of the entries the London Committee suggested a number of important and far-reaching improvements, which the authorities in Ceylon decided to adopt in full measure. But the London scholars declined to continue as official consultants under the circumstances then prevailing, and so took place the first crisis noted above. It then became evident that the personal direction of a competent scholar from abroad was necessary; and, accordingly, Professor Geiger was invited to frame the general plan of the Dictionary in accordance with his Report of 1926.

V. Editorial Treatment

8. For the purpose of collecting materials two specially designed forms were used at the beginning; but these were eventually given up, it being found unnecessary to make separate lists of words. With the arranging of words in alphabetical order, which brought together hundreds and thousands of cards bearing the same word or phrase, the third stage of the work was reached. This part of the scheme had made considerable progress when Professor Geiger was invited. He arrived in Ceylon accompanied by Mrs. Geiger in December 1931, and worked for more than three months examining the vast materials accumulated in the Dictionary Office. His investigations resulted in the final plan of the Dictionary which, as can be seen from the scheme given below, consists in a mode of editorial treatment not only historical and etymological but also comparative and descriptive. It was only after this plan was evolved that real editorial treatment was effectively started. For, it must be remembered that no systematization of the basic materials could
possibly be undertaken without first fixing the plan of the Dictionary. This systematizing process, with which the work entered upon its fourth stage of development, was soon found to be bristling with unforeseen difficulties, especially owing to the defective manner in which the collections had been handled by untrained workers. A good many of the voluntary helpers and almost all the competitors who took part in a word-collecting competition were eventually found to have done their work most unmethodically and with no regard for accuracy or precision. Even some members of the Office staff themselves had done no better. Despite these imperfections, Professor Geiger found the materials accumulated in the Dictionary Office quite ample for the purpose and the work done so far unmistakably helpful. The whole editorial work was ever since carried on under the able guidance of Professor Geiger who, at the invitation of the Managing Committee, consented to hold the position of Director on the Editorial Board. With him was throughout associated Professor Helmer Smith as consultant, and the present writer as the only working Editor.

VI. Extra Work Done

9. Sinhalese Texts. From the very outset the fact had to be taken into account that the printed Sinhalese classical texts, except a very few handled by really able scholars, were at that time in a state of hopeless corruption; so much so, that it was found impossible to proceed with the work of the Dictionary without first bringing out standard editions of some at least of the most important ones. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka then decided to undertake the formidable task of collating a large number of ola Manuscripts and bringing out critical editions of several Sinhalese texts, from which to quote in the Dictionary. This work was done with the active cooperation of the whole Staff, but the books were printed at his own expense. The texts so issued were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Pages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saddharmaratnāvaliya (in full)</td>
<td>1,032 pp. Royal 8vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya (in full)</td>
<td>290 pp. Demy 8vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jātaka Aṭuvā Gāṭapadaya (in part)</td>
<td>244 pp. Demy 8vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pansiyanas Jātaka Pota (in part)</td>
<td>202 pp. Royal 8vo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,768 pp.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Orthography. In view of the corrupt condition of a large number of other printed texts and the consequent confusion prevailing in respect of spelling, it was also found necessary, before proceeding far with editorial work, to ascertain the principles of the traditional orthographic system that
had been consistently followed in all Sinhalese writings right up to the 16th century. This proved by no means an easier task because nearly all the available ola Manuscripts of the ancient texts were mere transcripts made after the confusion had set in. But this research too was entered upon in right earnest and, as a result, not only the principles of the orthographic system but also its historical development were successfully traced. At Professor Geiger's special request some results of these researches were published in 1934. And they have ever since been very helpful in solving many a problem arising out of the corrupt texts.

11. Grammar. Sir Cecil’s parting advice (as reported in the Journal, CBRAS, xxx 78, p. 68) was that the preparation of an historical grammar of the Sinhalese language should be taken in hand after the dictionary had been compiled. He even cited two models to follow, namely, Whitney’s Sanskrit Grammar and Brochet’s Historical French Grammar. But, as the editorial work of the Dictionary began to expand, it was soon found necessary to fix the grammatical relations of the language before further progress was made. Professor Geiger had therefore to undertake the preparation of a new Sinhalese Grammar based on the notes which he had collected since the publication of his earlier Grammar in 1900. The new Grammar so prepared was published in 1938.

12. Glossary. Professor Geiger’s Scientific Glossary of Sinhalese words, first published in 1897, was also revised and issued in an enlarged edition, mainly for the benefit of those scholars in other countries who took an active interest in researches connected with the Sinhalese Dictionary.

13. Land and Revenue Terms. As has been aptly pointed out by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka in his Preface to the Dictionary (p. xi), there are still to be found hidden in temple libraries and in the possession of certain individuals a considerable variety of old documents, such as sannas, tuḍapat, siṭṭu etc., coming down from the time of Sinhalese kings and relating to grants of lands, transfers, mortgages, decisions of cases and other matters of a similar character. These Manuscripts often contain words of a technical nature which, though their exact meanings are no longer remembered, are yet of great ethnological and linguistic value. A fairly large collection of these records found in Government possession was examined and indexed by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka himself, who was thus able to add to the Dictionary a considerable number of most interesting words and phrases which would otherwise have gone unnoticed and unheard of. But when the time came for giving “an adequate account of the origin, meaning and history” of those words and phrases it was found well-nigh impossible to do so without first making a comprehensive study of the subjects themselves in which they were involved. This special research too had to be undertaken by a single worker who had to study for
that purpose no less than two thousand unpublished documents together with all modern authorities on the land tenure and revenue systems of ancient Ceylon.

VII. Scheme of Work

14. The scheme of the dictionary work proper was one of gradual development. It necessarily represented a lengthy process and was somewhat of a complex nature. The numerous operations involved in it could be resolved into ten stages, as follows:—

(a) Collecting words and phrases from books, inscriptions, common speech etc. on cards (specially designed lists having been given up at an early stage).

(b) Arranging cards in alphabetical order.

(c) Systematizing basic materials: (1) examining every individual card under a single word or phrase, referring it back to its original source, and ascertaining the meaning it bears in that particular context; (2) making exact copies of all the quotable passages on the cards themselves; (3) separating those cards that bear the same word into homonymic categories; (4) studying the development of meaning under each homonym in historical order; (5) noting down in each case the idiomatic uses and specialized meanings.

(d) Tracing the historical development of forms by means of fresh researches.

(e) (1) Where there are doubtful readings in the printed books, verifying them with Manuscripts. (2) Writing rough articles.

(f) Revising rough articles with special attention to philological and comparative information.

(g) Setting the articles in type and reading the first proofs.

(h) Consulting experts and incorporating their advice.

(i) Reading the second proofs and checking the references and cross-references.

(j) Reading and passing page proofs.

VIII. Criticisms

15. When the first part of the Dictionary was published in 1935, criticisms came from all quarters, representing all shades of opinion both modern and traditional. There was general satisfaction among scholars and nobody
criticised the work adversely, not even those who proceeded to cavil at minor details.

16. **Time-lag.** There was, however, considerable blame laid on the Editors and the Management for the seemingly inordinate delay involved in the work. That was mainly because the whole project was taken in hand with a promise to finish it in five years. But the unforeseen difficulties experienced by the Editors were not generally known at that time, nor were the unpredictable complications inherent in a scientific work of a purely pioneering nature undertaken on a large scale. Some of these have already been briefly enumerated above under the heading "Extra Work Done" (paragraphs 9-13). Since the plan of the Sinhalese Dictionary is admittedly a very comprehensive one, and somewhat similar to that of the New Oxford Dictionary, a comparison between the two ought to prove interesting, especially in respect of the time needed for such an undertaking. The Sinhalese Dictionary, when completed, is hardly expected to be of the same gigantic size as the Oxford Dictionary is; but it nevertheless comprises a more complicated process. When the work of the Oxford Dictionary was first begun, the whole grammar of the English language had been scientifically and historically settled; nearly all the etymologizable words had been properly etymologized; all English texts had been systematically and critically edited; whereas the case of Sinhalese practically every one of these essentials had to be done by the Editors themselves. When the Oxford Dictionary was first taken in hand, there were other standard dictionaries of the English language, such as Johnson's, Ogilvy's and Webster's, all of which undoubtedly proved helpful in the new undertaking. As a matter of fact, the Oxford Dictionary was started as an attempt "to complete the vocabulary of existing dictionaries and to supply the historical information which they lacked". In the case of the Sinhalese Dictionary, it had no such earlier works to profit by, the existing practical dictionaries being of little avail. When the work of the Oxford Dictionary was organized, more than 800 voluntary readers offered their help, and this number eventually rose to 1,300. The Sinhalese Dictionary had only 50 such volunteers to help in its work, and they read only one text each. As regards the time needed for the completion of a work of this nature, experience has shown that it can never be estimated with any degree of certainty. Mr. Coleridge, the first Editor of the Oxford Dictionary, after the work took its formal shape and progressed for about two years, was confident enough to refer to his programme in the following terms: "I believe that the scheme is now firmly established . . . . and I confidently expect . . . . that in about two years we shall be able to give our first number to the world. Indeed, were it not for the dilatoriness of many contributors, I should not hesitate to name an earlier period". This was written on 30 May 1860. Coleridge died in April 1861, after which Dr Murray was appointed Editor. The first part
of the Dictionary, which Coleridge promised to publish in about 1862, was actually issued 22 years later, on 1 February 1884; that is to say, 26 years after the work was first started by the Philological Society. On 16 May 1884 Murray said that "it might be possible . . . . to produce two parts in the year, and thus finish the whole in 11 years from next March". This estimate too proved incorrect. For, it was in 1928 that the last part of the Dictionary was issued, i.e., 44 years from 1884 and 70 long years after the work was first begun.

17. A Misunderstanding. Certain misgivings were expressed in the press when the Sinhalese-English version first appeared without any allusion to a Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary. On this score there was some criticism, but that criticism was all based on the assumption that no decision had ever been made to issue a Sinhalese-Sinhalese Dictionary for the benefit of the Sinhalese reading public. In point of fact, however, the very first decision taken by the authorities was to prepare both versions, though the publication of the English version was given priority, with a view to eliciting criticism from international scholars. Later, after the Sinhalese version began to be issued, the Managing Committee decided to bring the two versions abreast of each other.

18. Once the Sinhalese version was published, appreciations were not slow in coming—even from those who had expressed their misgivings in strong terms. The late Very Rev. Father S. G. Perera, S. J., who was one of the foremost critics of the Dictionary, was the first to review it in the local press (Ceylon Daily News, 10 September, 1937). His views, as representing those of an intelligent critic, may not be found amiss in this connection. The opening para of his review was as follows:

"The compilers of the Sinhalese Dictionary must be heartily congratulated on the production of this excellent Sinhalese edition, scientifically conceived and carefully edited with etymological explanations, and illustrated by examples taken from the whole range of Sinhalese literature. This is not only the first Sinhalese Dictionary of its kind but also an epoch-making work which is destined to have an abiding influence on the literature of the future. Its chief claim to our esteem is that the editors have sought to give, as far as can be ascertained, the etymology and the various meanings of every word. That is admittedly a task bristling with difficulties and the present reviewer wishes to pay his tribute of praise to the penetration and perspicacity shown by the editors".

19. The review was a considerably exhaustive one, in the course of which the learned critic referred not only to some of the good points, but also to many apparently bad ones. At the same time, however, he did not
omit to mention that whatever short-comings he came upon were of minor importance. His concluding remarks were significant:

"Such trivial errors are inevitable in a work of this sort and I conclude, as I have begun, by warmly congratulating all concerned in the production of this Dictionary".

20. In fairness to the Editors it must also be stated that even of such "trivial errors" many pointed out by Father Perera and several others could no longer be regarded as errors, in the light of the explanations offered by the Editors. But they never claimed their work to be without errors and omissions. In fact, there are many more serious ones than those the critics have pointed out, and it is hoped that all these will be duly corrected and supplied when the Dictionary comes to be revised.

IX. Under the University

21. The Dictionary, after it came under the aegis of the University, passed through the second crisis noted above (para. 3). As soon as the work was transferred to the University, the Editor made certain far-reaching suggestions with a view to making the Dictionary the nucleus of a research establishment within the framework of the University organization, but the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Iyor Jennings) was not prepared to accept any such proposals. Seemingly better counsel prevailed and the Dictionary was at once made part of the Sinhalese Department under the Faculty of Oriental Studies, when the Editor was obliged to resign. The University authorities, without so much as consulting the Government, then suspended the work of the Main Dictionary and started the compilation of what was called a Shorter Dictionary. With the Editor’s departure came all European consultation also to an end. After more than six years’ work, one part of the Shorter Dictionary was issued. It was very adversely criticised in the press, and a question was raised in Parliament demanding the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate into the suspension of the Main Dictionary and other relevant matters.

22. The University Senate, in the meantime, decided to abandon the work of the Shorter Dictionary and to resume the Main Dictionary more or less on the same lines as were suggested by the quondam Editor just before he left. He then came back and re-organized the Dictionary Establishment in accordance with his original plan and started work from the point at which he had left it nearly seven years before. During his absence nothing had been done on the main dictionary. As soon as he resumed the work he wrote to Sir Ralph Turner (London), Prof. Jules Bloch (Paris) and Prof. Helmer Smith (Uppsala)—Professor Gelger had meanwhile passed away—intimating them of his having undertaken the work for the second time and inviting their kind help as consultants. They readily agreed—not officially, of course,
but as a matter of personal favour to the Editor. The whole Establishment
is now on a sound footing, and so far there are more than eight parts, both
English and Sinhalese, ready for the printer.

X. Some Lessons From Experience

23. The inner history of the Sinhalese Dictionary offers many a useful
lesson to those who are bent on similar ventures in other Indian languages.
So much so, that a brief recapitulation of some of the experiences in that
direction can hardly be found amiss. It would appear that the wasteful ex-
periment just referred to cost the University well over half a million rupees,
quite apart from the deadly effect it had on the smooth progress of the Main
Dictionary. The Vice-Chancellor was probably justified, under the circum-
stances, in suspending the work of the Main Dictionary; but the Shorter Dic-
tionary experiment should never have been tried without expert guidance.
It would be interesting in this connection to note that a similar proposal was
made at one stage to the Royal Asiatic Society also, but the Society simply
rejected it out of hand. It was pointed out on that occasion that the money
voted from public funds was not for a practical or shorter dictionary but for
one the aim of which was "to give an adequate account of the origin, meaning,
and history, of every Sinhalese word".

24. It will be seen from paragraph 8 above that, from the time the
dictionary was first started up to the arrival of Prof. Geiger in Ceylon, a period
of four years was spent more or less on speculative work a good part of which,
latterly, either proved unnecessary or called for revision. Had there been
expert planning from the very outset all this wastage of time and labour could
have been eliminated.

25. As stated above, the whole dictionary project was taken in hand
with a promise to finish it in 5 years. This only shows that during the early
stages everything was done without having a correct perspective of the undertak-
ing. On this point one need hardly expatiate, especially in view of what
has already been said in paragraph 16.

26. It is perhaps true that there will always be extra work to do in con-
nection with an undertaking of this nature. But the extent of such work
should be properly controlled, in a well-planned scheme. In the case of the
Sinhalese Dictionary it assumed abnormal proportions because there was
confusion in the early planning, with the result that the whole burden of
extra research had to be borne by Professor Geiger and the Editor. Each of
the extra operations enumerated in paragraphs 10-13 had to be undertaken
either by the one or the other all by himself—and that, in the midst of his
normal editorial work. It need hardly be said that future dictionary-makers
in Indian languages will do well to avoid such situations in their planning.
AN ANALYSIS OF THE SYLLABLE IN BORO

BY

J. BURTON-PAGE, London

0.0. The following observations are based on the speech of Mr. Bhabendro Narzi, who during May and June 1955 was attached to the Summer School of Linguistics held at the Deccan College, Poona, as an informant for one of the classes of advanced students working in Field Methods of Descriptive Analysis. Mr. Narzi (hereafter referred to as N.) is a native speaker of the language referred to in the LSI as 'Boo' or 'Plains Kachari', here spelt Boro in accordance with the findings below. He is in his early twenties, and comes from the neighbourhood of Gauhati, Assam, where he works as a pleader's clerk. I wish to thank him here for his willing co-operation, and also the members of the class who worked with him under my direction, particularly Mr. P. C. BHATTACHARYA. Some of the results of the work of this class are presented here, and it is my great pleasure to offer them to Dr. Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI on this occasion.

0.1. The period of time available for work with the informant did not allow a study of the Boro language sufficiently intensive to enable a detailed account of all its phonetic and phonological features to be presented here; it has therefore been decided to restrict the scope of the present study to an account of such phonetic, phonological and tonal data as appear relevant to a description of the syllable, particularly the monosyllable in disjunction. It must be borne in mind that as these observations are based on the utterances of a single speaker they cannot be considered as necessarily having any wider relevance; they are thus tentative, and are not to be interpreted as a final treatment of the Boro language as a whole.

0.2. N. was familiar with a system of orthography in which a modification of the Assamese script is used, hereafter referred to as the Boro script, and somewhat less familiar with a Roman script in use by missionaries working in the Boro areas. Neither of these orthographies is sufficiently systematic to account for all the relevant data of the language as now recorded, and the systematic transcription used here, which represents an analysis

1. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III Part 2. It must be remembered that the 'Boo' material in that work, like that in S. E. ELIZ's Outline Grammar of the Kachari (Basa) Language (Shillong, 1884) on which it was largely based, is drawn from the dialect of Darrang, which differs from that recorded here in several particulars.
of the data at the phonological level, does not necessarily coincide with either the missionary script or any possible transliteration of the Boro script. This 'systematic' transcription is given in italic type.

It is regretted that, owing to the impossibility of procuring I.P.A. founts in time for this publication, no close phonetic transcription of the examples can be given. Detailed description has been given, in general phonetic terms, of the phonetic realizations of the phonological units, which it is hoped will prove adequate; the systematic transcription is not to be interpreted as a phonetic representation.

1.0. It has been found necessary to postulate the following phonological units for the analysis which follows:

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Denti-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal and Pre-glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONSONANTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop/Plosive</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
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<td>s z</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rolled/tapped</td>
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<td>Constricted</td>
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**VOWELS**

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<tr>
<td>Open</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1.00. It will be observed from the table above that a distinction has been made between 'vowels' and 'consonants'. This distinction is based on phonological rather than on phonetic criteria: only the six units tabulated
under 'vowels' can function as nuclei of syllables, and all other units are regarded as 'consonants'. For the most part these distinctions follow the phonetic data; in some cases, however—e.g., when dealing with what are phonetically successions of initial consonants—the phonetic and phonological interpretations will differ.

1.1. The six vowel units i, e, o, ø, u are interpreted phonetically, with reference to tone and stress, as follows:—

1.10. i and e represent close and mid unrounded front vowels respectively. i in Tone 1 syllables is very close, almost cardinal vowel No. 1; in Tone 2 syllables it represents a less close vowel, and in Tone 3 syllables a vowel even more lowered from this, and somewhat retracted. A similar range of degrees of closure may be used in the description of e: almost cardinal vowel No. 2 in 1S, an opener variety in 2S, and a variety more open still, approaching cardinal vowel No. 3 but more retracted, in 3S. E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1si</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2bi</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3si</td>
<td>be wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1der</td>
<td>increase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2se</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku3ser</td>
<td>sugar-cane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.100. In unstressed syllables it has been necessary to recognize only one front vowel, written i in an initial syllable which bears no tone-mark. This is interpreted phonetically with variations from a voiceless tense front vowel of very short duration to a voiceless alveolo-palatal or palatal fricative, as in:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl1sa</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si1kla</td>
<td>young girl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.11. ø represents an open unrounded vowel, front in 1S, almost cardinal vowel No. 4; back in 3S, almost cardinal vowel No. 5; and between these two in 2S. E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ha</td>
<td>yes, what is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ha</td>
<td>land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ha</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1baybay</td>
<td>broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2baybay</td>
<td>bought</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. For a description of the tones and the system of marking them, see Section 21. 'Tone 1 Syllable' is abbreviated by 1S, 'Tone 2 Syllable' by 2S, 'Tone 3 Syllable' by 3S.
3. Verbs are marked according to word- and not syllable-tone; cf. Section 210.
1.110. In unstressed syllables in connected speech $a$ may be interpreted phonetically by an unrounded mid-central vowel.

1.12. $o$ is interpreted as a half-open back rounded vowel, between cardinal vowels 6 and 7, in 1S and 2S, and as an open back rounded vowel, almost cardinal vowel 5, in 3S. E.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1^a{hor} & \text{give} \\
2^a{hor} & \text{night} \\
3^a{hor} & \text{hang down}
\end{array}
\]

A closer variety of this has been observed in open syllables in final position, e.g., $2^2bo^2ro$ Boro.

A central off-glide was frequently recorded where $o$ is followed by $n$ or $\eta$.

1.120. $o$ is not represented by a special vowel-sign in the Boro script, but is assumed as the 'inherent vowel'; and, in all cases of Assamese words in Boro which have been recorded in N.'s speech, is the Boro equivalent of the Assamese 'inherent vowel'.

1.13. $u$ is interpreted as a fairly close back vowel, more or less unrounded. In 1S it is tense, and somewhat more advanced than cardinal vowel 8; in 2S and 3S it is rather more lax and somewhat lowered. E.g.,

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1^u{sur} & \text{circling} \\
2^u{sur} & \text{who?} \\
3^u{sur} & \text{iron}
\end{array}
\]

1.130. In unstressed syllables it has been necessary to recognize only one back vowel, written $u$ in an initial syllable which bears no tone-mark. This is interpreted phonetically with variations from a voiceless tense unrounded back vowel of very short duration to a voiceless bilabial or labiodental fricate, as in:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
tu^2{tri} & \text{front of face, muzzle} \\
lku^2{a} & \text{mist} \\
lku^1{ga} & \text{bird's beak}
\end{array}
\]

These examples, as those in Section 1.100, are phonetically mono-syllables. Their phonological analysis as disyllables is supported by the Boro script.

1.14. $o$ is here used to represent an unrounded vowel the range of which varies from half-close and back to close or half-close and central; its range therefore overlaps partially with that of $o$, partially with that of $u$, but it is always distinguished from these by tense lip-spreading.
This range does not appear to be correlated with tone; a correlation was, however, observed between the quality of \( e \) as the vowel-nucleus of a verbal particle with the quality of the vowel-nucleus of a preceding, syntactically bound, verbal root. E.g., where the verbal root has a back vowel as its nucleus, as in\(^3\):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{\^{a}be} \) \( \text{\^{a}tanto} \)} & \quad \text{let him live long} \\
\text{\( \text{\^{a}nu} \) \( \text{\^{a}hordon} \)} & \quad \text{it can be heard} \\
\text{\( \text{\^{a}n} \) \( \text{\^{a}labedon} \)} & \quad \text{I am carrying}
\end{align*}
\]

the vowel \( e \) in the particles \( -to\) and \( -don \) is back in quality, whereas in the following examples, where the verbal root has a front vowel as its nucleus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\( \text{\^{a}be} \) \( \text{\^{a}tanto} \)} & \quad \text{let him go} \\
\text{\( \text{\^{a}be} \) \( \text{\^{a}paydon} \)} & \quad \text{he is coming} \\
\text{\( \text{\^{a}be} \) \( \text{\^{a}lirdon} \)} & \quad \text{he is writing}
\end{align*}
\]

the vowel \( e \) of these particles is advanced to a central position.

1.2. The sixteen consonant-units postulated in Table 1, Section 1.0, represent a total of individual occurrences with reference neither to combination one with the other nor to syllabic place; as will be demonstrated later, the total number of potential commuting consonants in each place is limited (cf. Sections 2.21, 2.23). The phonetic interpretation of these units is described below.

1.20. \( p \) \( t \) \( k \) as word-initials are voiceless plosives, respectively bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar, accompanied by a feature which has been described as 'aspiration'.\(^4\) The nature of this 'aspiration', however, varies according to the quality of the following vowel, and would be more precisely described as a complex voiceless friction homorganic partly with the consonant and partly with the vowel following.

As syllable-initials in word-medial position \( p \) and \( k \) have been frequently recorded without occlusion. In N.'s speech there appeared to be free variation between articulations with and articulations without occlusion at all tempi of utterance, though with the non-occluded variants occurring most frequently in the faster tempi.

These units are not considered as syllable-finals, for which see the following section.

\(^4\) E.g., in the LSI, loc. cit., and elsewhere. This interpretation seems to be at least partly implicit in the Boro script, which represents these units by those characters which are usually described as 'aspirated consonants' in terms of the Assamese script. No difference has been observed between words where these (usually transcribed \( kh \), \( th \), \( ph \)) are written and words where the 'unaspirated consonants' (usually transcribed \( k \), \( t \), \( p \)) are written (e.g., in loanwords from Assamese).
1.200. b d g as syllable-initials represent bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar plosives\textsuperscript{5} respectively, with voicing but without the complex 'aspiration'-feature of p t k.

As syllable-finals b and d may be written (the velar has not been recorded in final position). There is in such position no contrast between voiceless/voiced or between aspirated/non-aspirated, and therefore this context requires only one bilabial and one denti-alveolar term; the phonetic features of these finals when in junction (cf. si\textsuperscript{1} kreb \textsuperscript{2}sub, smoke a cigarette, where the final -b is tense and voiceless, contra \textsuperscript{3}ya si\textsuperscript{1} kreb \textsuperscript{2}suba, I don't smoke, where the -b- of \textsuperscript{2}suba is voiced and somewhat lax) have led to the selection of b and d rather than p and t; but this is entirely a matter of convenience, and is not to be interpreted as having any other significance. These symbols in this context, then, represent (a) voiceless unexploded stops before pause and before voiceless syllable-initials, and (b) voiced stops, unexploded before voiced consonantal syllable-initials, or voiced plosives before vowels.

1.21. s and z represent respectively voiceless and voiced fricative articulations ranging from alveolar to palatal; in some cases observed these were preceded by occlusion, thereby giving the acoustic impression of affricates. No examples, however, were recorded where such affricates were the only variants possible; in all cases investigated variation between affricated and non-affricated forms could occur, and nowhere was any instance recorded of lexical differentiation depending on contrast between these two varieties. From an investigation of the scatter of these forms it appears that s is most commonly interpreted as a fricative in all positions, z usually fricative before front vowels and, when not initial in the word, before back vowels also. When initial in a word z was more frequently affricated before back vowels. In the junction context -Nz-, where N indicates a nasal consonant, only the affricate has been recorded.

The place of articulation of s and z depends on the nature of the following vowel: before i and e both are alveolo-palatal, before e and u both are palato-alveolar, before a and o between palato-alveolar and alveolar, in all cases with tongue-tip down; in the initial context fricative plus r, both s and z are interpreted as alveolar.

1.22. h represents a pulmonic effort whose resonance accords with that of a following vowel, without voice in 1S and 2S; in 3S there is frequently some voicing.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{5} Occasionally a laxly articulated variety of g is heard medially in the word. In N.'s pronunciation there was free variation between tense and lax varieties.
\textsuperscript{6} cf. Section 2.21.
1.23. \(m\) and \(n\) are interpreted as bilabial, denti-alveolar and velar nasals respectively, and all are voiced in all positions. \(\eta\) has not been recorded in initial position. These three units in contexts other than sentence-initial may be regarded as foci of prosodies of nasalization whose relevance is initiated with a preceding vowel.

1.24. \(l\) is a voiced alveolar lateral without friction, whose resonance accords with that of a following vowel.

A palatalized variety of \(l\) has been observed in \(\text{ge}^{2}\text{ler 'alligator}'\) (loanword from Assamese \(\text{g}ha\text{r}i\text{yl} ?\)).

1.25. \(r\) represents a voiced alveolar rolled or flapped sound, with two or more taps when initial or medial, usually with only one tap or flap when the second member of an initial complex or when final. As a final in IS before pause, variation was recorded between \([r?]\) and \([t?]\); for the prosodic nature of the glottal stop, cf. Section 2.1.

1.26. \(w\) and \(y\) represent velar and palatal constrictions corresponding to the vowels \(u\) and \(i\), but of shorter duration and greater tenseness, \([w]\) and \([j]\) respectively.

\(w\) and \(y\) have been used to represent the closing features of the so-called 'diphthongs' \(aw, ay, ow, and oy\); in all cases these agree with other consonants in their patterning, and it has not been found necessary to establish a phonological category of 'diphthongs', since these can in all cases be considered as vowel plus consonant.

1.3. Other phonetic features have been recorded which have not been specifically noted above, such as juncture-forms between syllables and between words, and between either of these with pause. As no attempt is being made in this paper to delimit the Boro word on formal grounds the exponents of juncture are not being considered here, except in so far as they are implicit in the processes used to set up phonological categories and to establish the categories of tone.

2.0. A syllable may, of course be considered as a phonetic description or as a phonological abstraction; it is sometimes convenient to refer to both phonetic and phonological syllables in Boro. By 'phonetic syllable' is here meant an utterance with one nucleus bearing a point of high sonority; by


8. Slight friction with voicelessness has been observed in N.'s pronunciation of \(\text{du}lki 'yesterday'\).
'phonological syllable' is understood a formulaic statement of an abstraction from utterance, whose nature is defined more fully in the following sections. For example, the words analysed as consisting of two phonological syllables such as tu ³tri, pi ³sow and ku ³ser (cf. Section 1.100 and 1.130 above) comprise only one phonetic syllable. The following descriptions apply to the phonological syllable only unless the phonetic syllable is expressly mentioned.

2.00. The syllable may be described in terms of placed and unplaced features.\(^9\) Features considered as having no place are tone, intonation (pitch) and stress, and other prosodic features, as those of interverbal and intraverbal junctions, while place is assigned to components of the syllable initial, nucleus and final.

2.1. Of the unplaced features, intonation and stress are more conveniently considered as abstractions from units longer than the syllable, and are thus excluded in principle from this paper, although the results of a study of these are implicit in the tonal categories which have been set up. Similarly, the prosodies of junction are not considered here, vide Section 1.3. Tone, however, is (for non-verbs; cf. Section 2.10 below) more conveniently treated as a function of the syllable.

By tone is meant the totality of the features associated with the utterance of the syllable as a whole but which have no assignable place, excluding intonation as a term of the sentence and excluding stress also. For the descriptions which follow the 'syllable in isolation' or one-word sentence has been selected for convenience, with reference to normal speaking style appropriate to unimpassioned statement or reply. The three tones postulated are numbered 1, 2 and 3 for convenience here.

Tone 1 is characterized by 'clear' voice, tenseness and shortness of the vowel nucleus, high pitch, and final glottalization.

Tone 2, the tone of most frequent occurrence statistically, is also characterized by 'clear' voice. The vowel nucleus is less tense and of longer duration than that of Tone 1 syllables, and the pitch is middle or high-middle falling to low, or mid-low. There is never a final glottal check.

Tone 3 is characterized by either 'breathy' voice or by creak. The vowel-nucleus tends to be lax, and may be lengthened. The pitch may be low-level, or, more frequently, falling from mid-low to low or very low. When the vowel-nucleus is not lengthened, a final consonant may be glottalized.

The three tones are here distinguished by a superscript figure 1, 2 or 3 before the syllable to which their relevance applies. Certain initial syllables

\(^9\) For 'syllabic place', see Eugénie J. A. Henderson, 'Notes on the Syllable Structure of Lushai', BSOAS XII, 713 et seq.
in disyllabic words (which are those mentioned as phonetic monosyllables) carry no distinctive tone and are left unmarked.

2.10. Such marks are applied, with the exception noted, to all syllables of non-verbs. Verbs are formally distinguished from non-verbs by being characterized by word-tone, rather than syllable-tone, whereby the verbal operator particles *dog, toq, gan, man, bay* etc., are considered as tonally neutral, and whose prosodic characteristics are predictable from those of the verb with which they are colligated. These, therefore, need no tone-mark. Such unmarked syllables differ from the unmarked syllables of non-verbs by being non-initial, and hence no ambiguity can arise.

2.2. It has been found possible to describe all Boro syllables in terms of the following placed features:

(a) One of 28 possible consonantal initials (Section 2.21).
(b) One of 6 possible vowel nuclei.
(c) Length of vowel (cf. Section 2.22).
(d) One of 9 possible consonantal finals.
(e) The glottal stop (cf. Section 2.230).

Not less than two (i.e., the first and second) not more than four of these places may be filled in any one syllable, and (c) and (e) are mutually exclusive. (a) is referred to as the ‘syllable-initial’, and such of (b) to (e) as occur are referred to collectively as the ‘syllable-final’.

2.21. The possible syllable-initials are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLEX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zero is also regarded as commuting within the system of initial alternances.

No correlation has been observed between syllable-initial and tone, except possibly in the case of h (cf. Section 1.22).

2.22. Any vowel (cf. Section 1.0) can appear as the nucleus of a syllable. The relations between vowel-quality and tone have been discussed under the headings of the different vowels above.

All vowels may be accompanied by length in syllables not closed by the glottal stop, and length has not been recorded in the few cases of syllables closed by other stops. In the style of utterance being considered here these are restricted to 2S and certain 3S, although in other conditions—e.g., non-final syllables—the nucleus of 1S may be lengthened in certain contexts, e.g. of surprise or emphasis.

2.23. The possible consonantal finals are:—b, d, m, n, η, l, r, w and y. For b and d as finals, see Section 1.200; for w and y see Section 1.26.

Final l appears to be restricted to loanwords, e.g., *pen*sol, from English ‘pencil’; *pa*l*tu, from Urdu ‘fältū’, ‘spare’.

The other finals need no comment.

2.230. The glottal stop is a phonetic feature restricted to 1S and some 3S in certain contexts only, and although it is valid to assign place to it in syllable structure it is not necessary to consider it as commuting in the system of final alternances, since owing to its relation to tone and to its occurrence in sentence-final position only (i.e., in junction with pause) it is to be considered as a prosodic rather than as a phonematic feature. Furthermore, it can occupy a definite place after other consonant-finals, which other consonants cannot.

2.24. A table of the recorded syllable-finals, as defined in Section 2.2, is given below.

### TABLE 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i:</th>
<th>e:</th>
<th>a:</th>
<th>o:</th>
<th>o:</th>
<th>u:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i?</td>
<td>e?</td>
<td>a?</td>
<td>o?</td>
<td>o?</td>
<td>u?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eb</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>ob</td>
<td>ub</td>
<td>ud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:m</td>
<td>e:m</td>
<td>a:m</td>
<td>o:m</td>
<td>o:m</td>
<td>u:m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:n</td>
<td>en?</td>
<td>an?</td>
<td>on?</td>
<td>on?</td>
<td>un?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:η</td>
<td>enη</td>
<td>a:η</td>
<td>e:η</td>
<td>o:η</td>
<td>u:η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inη</td>
<td>enη</td>
<td>a:η</td>
<td>e:η</td>
<td>o:η</td>
<td>u:η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:r</td>
<td>er?</td>
<td>ar?</td>
<td>or?</td>
<td>or?</td>
<td>ur?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a:1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:w</td>
<td>o:w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(o:1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw?</td>
<td>ew?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:y</td>
<td>o:y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay?</td>
<td>oy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here the realization of length or glottal stop depends on the tone of the syllable of which the above expressions constitute the final, and therefore, provided the tone is marked or otherwise implied, need not be signified in a phonological transcription. (Since, however, there are three tones, this principle in reverse—i.e., that length be indicated and that tone be inferred therefrom—cannot apply.) We may, then, simplify the table above by writing, in the phonological transcription, as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eb</td>
<td>ab</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>ob</td>
<td>ub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>em</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(al)</td>
<td>(al)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw</td>
<td>ow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>ey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. The Boro script is cumbersome with regard to its indication of the tones; this is effected partly by diacritics such as the virāma and visarga signs, partly by a variation of symbol either initially or finally (e.g., by the use of the characters for the dental and retroflex series in the Assamese script, which are not distinguished in the utterance of Boro.). This cannot be illustrated here owing to the non-availability of the necessary founts; it is hoped that an account of the phonetic interpretation of the Boro script will be possible shortly, but this must of necessity be published elsewhere.
26. On the Interpretation of a Rule of Panini  
   By Kasthuri Chandra Chatterji, Calcutta  
   ... 104

27. A Study of Accent in Relation to the Alpha-Phonoid Theory  
   By C. R. Sankaran, P. C. Ganeshauderam, B. Chattaraj Dose and  
   A. D. Taskar, Poona  
   ... 195

28. Certain Verb-Compounds of Sanskrit and Some Parallel Formations in Awadhie  
   By Baburam Saksema, Allahabad  
   ... 204

29. Language and Literature  
   By Siddhashwar Varma, New Delhi  
   ... 206

30. A Note on the Morphemic Values of Consonants in Tamil  
   By P. C. Ganeshauderam, Poona  
   ... 209

31. A General Note on the Andamanese Languages  
   By Duttindra Nath Basu, Calcutta  
   ... 214

32. Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics—History of the Dishes, Idli and  
   Doce, between A.D. 1100 and 1900  
   By P. K. Gode, Poona  
   ... 226

33. Interpretation of Two Oriya Words  
   By Siddhashwar Hota, Puri  
   ... 233

34. Change, Analogical and Semantic  
   By Henry M. Hoentgen, Philadelphia, Pa.  
   ... 233

35. Panini's Rules and Vedic Interpretation  
   By S. S. Bhuyan, Baroda  
   ... 237

36. Pronouns in Vedāṅgādānana  
   By G. S. Gai, Dharwar  
   ... 250

37. A Merged Verbal Root of Telugu  
   By K. S. R. Sarma, Poona  
   ... 253

38. Jñātā-. M.  
   By Walther Wüst, München  
   ... 255

39. Lexicographical Notes on Caturangadipikā of Sālapāni  
   By E. D. Kulkarni, Poona  
   ... 267

40. Observation of some Common Peculiarities in the English Speech of the  
    People of Orissa  
   By Golok Behari Dhall, Agra  
   ... 276

41. The Phonology of a North Indian Village Dialect; the Use of Phonemic Data  
    in Dialectology  
   By John J. Gumperz, Ithaca, New York  
   ... 283

42. Derivation of Verbal Forms in Modern Telugu  
   By K. Mahadeva Sastri, Madras  
   ... 290

43. The Term Ejittu in Tamil Grammar  
   By A. Chandra Sekhar, New Delhi  
   ... 302

44. The Nasal Phonemes of Kannada  
   By H. S. Biligiri, Bangalore  
   ... 309

45. A Phonasesthetic Aspect of Retrolexion  
   By Bishwak Nath Prasad, Patna (Poona)  
   ... 309

46. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit  
   By V. Raghavan, Madras  
   ... 313

47. On Two New Indo-Aryan Words  
   By S. M. Katte, Poona  
   ... 323

48. Sinhalese Dictionary  
   By Julius de Lamerolle, Ceylon  
   ... 324

49. An Analysis of the Syllable in Boro  
   By J. Burton-Page, London  
   ... 334
CONTENTS

1. Lexicological Gleanings from the Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra
   By Constantin Regamey, Fribourg, Lausanne, Switzerland ..... 1

2. Vēdīquē Nīrītī
   By Louis Renou, Tokyo ..... 11

3. The Castle Dialect of the Muxia in South-East Burdwan
   By Subhumer Sen, Calcutta ..... 16

4. Vāntam Āpātum
   By L. Alastor, Hamburg ..... 21

5. Notes on the History of the Infinitive in Middle Indo-Aryan
   By L. G. Schuermann, Melbourne ..... 29

6. Anuttama and Anuttara, 'Unexcelled, Supreme'
   By Franklin Edgerton (of Yale University) Laramie, Wyoming, U.S.A. ..... 33

7. Vedic Ga(m)bhiram: Avestan Gubra-
   By Manfred Mayrhofer, Würzburg ..... 38

8. Signed Verses by Sanskrit Poets
   By M. B. Emeneau, Berkeley, California ..... 43

9. Reflections on Sarva- in Vedic Texts
   By J. Gonda, Utrecht ..... 63

10. Vedīquē
    Von A. Debrunner, Bern ..... 72

11. Vēdīquē Kārūdatin-
    Par E. Benveniste, Paris ..... 83

12. Three Lexicographical Notes on the Gopālakāśicandrikā
    By F. B. J. Kuiper, Leyden (Holland) ..... 86

13. Zero and Pānini
    By W. S. Allen, Cambridge ..... 106

14. Indica Ex Iranica
    By H. W. Bailey, Cambridge ..... 114

15. The Intrusive -- in Indo-Aryan
    By P. B. Pandit, Ahmedabad ..... 120

16. Jāyasy and Alācōl
    By Satyendranath Ghoshal, Visva Bharati ..... 124

17. About Viscakdrākrasah in the Mirukta II. 3
    By M. A. Mehendale, Poona ..... 128

18. A Passage from Harihadrā's Samarādityakathā
    By A. M. Ghate, Dhurwar ..... 144

19. Marāthī Elements in a Prākrit Drama
    By A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur ..... 147

20. Linguistics in India
    By Itach J. S. Taraporewala, Bombay ..... 153

21. Vīcārambhānām
    By J. A. B. Van Buitenen, Poona ..... 157

22. A Khowar Tale
    By Georg Morgenstierne, Oslo ..... 163

23. A Study of Personal Names in Cutchkam Literature
    By V. J. Subramaniam, Trivandrum ..... 170

24. Telugu Loans in Tamil
    By S. V. Subramaniam, Taticrin ..... 179

25. Sanskrit Kines- and Related Words
    By T. Burnell, Oxford ..... 187
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