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THE  
HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE





# THE HISTORY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This book has now been thoroughly revised and Lectures I, V and XIII have almost been rewritten, and there have been several additions and alterations in Lecture XIV. It is regrettable that many typographical mistakes disfigure the pages of this work ; my physical disability can hardly excuse me with the readers for this defect.

Appreciation of the merits of this work by some noted scholars has been a matter of great encouragement to me. Of public opinions, I refer here to what the distinguished Oriental scholar Dr. L. D. Barnett has been pleased to record in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) for 1923. Writes Dr. Barnett :

“ Mr. Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here. Opening with a stout denial of Sir G. Grierson's theory of the origin of the Aryan Vernaculars, he maintains their derivation from the Vedic Language and explains their variations as due to the influence of non-Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian ; in particular, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Magadhi Prakrit, and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian speech. . . . . To us the most attractive chapters are II-IV, on the names of Vanga and Banglā, the geography of ancient Banglā with the connected

regions—Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Vanga, VI, on Bengali phonology, and VII-IX, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of special value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language. On the whole, it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive, and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali.”

I make specific mention of the remarks of Dr. Barnett as some hints I obtained therefrom led me to rewrite several chapters in bringing out this second edition.

Our scholars have not as yet attempted to write a history of our country by taking notice of the ethnical elements which have come into the composition of our people, and for this reason it has been difficult for general readers to understand how some people of Dravidian speech could exercise some influence upon our language in its early formative period. A peculiar bias of Aryanism befogs the minds of many, and a sort of misdirected patriotism does not allow many to see things as they are. The revised, or rather the rewritten Lecture V may to a certain extent be helpful to the young scholars to form right notions relating to our ethnical situation.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

B. C. MAZUMDAR

1927

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The following lectures on the History of the Bengali Language are intended to give a sketch, in broad outline, of the origins of that language and the various influences, linguistic, ethnic, social, that shaped and moulded its earlier history. One essential requirement of a scientific procedure in an investigation of this sort, I have steadily kept in view. The ethnic as well as the social history of a people or group of peoples must corroborate and light up the linguistic history, if the latter is to be rescued from the realm of prehistoric romance to which the story of philological origins, as so often told, must be however reluctantly assigned by the critical or scientific historian of to-day. One or two incidental results of my application of this anthropological test may be here mentioned. I have had no occasion to invent different Aryan belts for the imaginary migratory movements of some unknowable patois-speaking hordes, to account for the distinctive and peculiar phenomena of the provincial languages or dialects, *e.g.*, those of Bengal: they are fitly explained by the successive ethnic contacts and mixtures with neighbouring or surrounding indigenous peoples. Similarly I have had no hesitation in recognizing within proper limits, the principle of miscegenation in the growth of language, as of race, provided that the organic accretions from outside grow to the living radicle or nucleus which persists as an independent or individual entity. In this way I have sought to explain many of the phenomena regarding the grafting of Dravidian structural and syntactical elements,

on some languages or dialects of so-called Aryan stock (including those of Bengal). One interesting example of this is to be seen in the accent systems of the different Bengali dialects, which naturally show traces of that ethnic miscegenation to which the anthropological history of the people bears an unmistakable testimony, the more so as tone and accent are among what may be called tertiary racial characters of speech, and in their deep working redispersions, and relative stability, supply fit material for experimental variations of this sort.

In the course of these lectures, I have dealt with the more important topics relating to the origins of the Bengali language, explaining my own views and conclusions, rather than combating the theories that hold the field, and I have used the illustrative material briefly and suggestively, rather than exhaustively.

A few words may be necessary to explain the occasion of the present publication. It was in 1909 that I first gave a definite shape to the results of my study of the Bengali language and its history, but certain eye troubles which began at about that time, interfered with the immediate completion of my plans. Three or four years later, after those troubles had ceased with the total loss of eye-sight, I turned to my materials again, and worked at them, till in 1917 not knowing what to do with these unpublished papers, I sent them, at the instance of a friend, to the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts in the University of Calcutta to see if any use could be made of them in connection with that scientific study of the Vernacular, which had long been one of Sir Asutosh's cherished projects in his scheme of University reconstruction and extension. To my great surprise, not unmixed with thankfulness, I found myself called upon, months later, to deliver a course

of lectures on the History of the Bengali Language, in the Post-Graduate Department in the University of Calcutta. I took the advantage of the opportunity so generously afforded, to revise my original papers, in view of a number of facts<sup>3</sup> that had been since brought to light. I have to thankfully acknowledge that when revising these papers, I was very much benefited by some highly valuable suggestions, which my friend, the eminent scholar Dr. Brojendranath Seal very generously offered.

Having had to use an amanuensis, and being without the means of inspecting either the manuscripts or the printed proofs, I am afraid, the following pages must contain numerous errors and misprints, for which the reader will, I know, excuse me. I am thankful to my young friend and colleague Babu Hemantakumar Sarkar, M.A., who has prepared the indexical contents and has brought several serious misprints to my notice.

I cannot end these prefatory words, without giving an expression, however feeble and halting, to the feeling of deep gratitude which overpowers me, when I think of the opportunity which Sir Asutosh as the presiding genius of University education in Bengal, has opened to one circumstanced like me, an opportunity not only of that active self-expression which has now become the staff of my life, but also of the fruition of my life's studies and constructive endeavours in one important direction.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

B. C. MAZUMDAR

1920





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# The History of the Bengali Language

## LECTURE I

### INTRODUCTION

#### *A. Preliminary*

*How Philology is related to Ethnology.*—I should state at the outset that my inquiry regarding the origin and development of the Bengali Language will necessarily lead me to consider and discuss some facts relating to the ancient and modern inhabitants of Bengal, for in my opinion, a discussion which is merely philological and does not take into account the people or peoples whose language is the subject-matter of inquiry, is bound to prove abortive. The philologists, for example, may establish by a comparative grammatical study of the modern vernaculars of Northern India, that the inhabitants of different provinces speak one form or another of some common ancient speech. So far so good. The linguistic taxonomists, again, may classify the modern vernaculars in different groups by looking into their essential structural peculiarities, and may also with reference to the phonetic peculiarities of each speech, set down some rules to indicate what sound or peculiarity of one speech should be equated with what other sound or peculiarity of another. No one can belittle the usefulness of this sort of scholarly work, but those who learn philology merely by reading some text-books, should be reminded that neither Vararuchi nor Grimm nor Verner, nor all of them taken together, can be wholly relied upon to explain all the deviations from the norm. *How the ear*

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of a man will be the recipient of a sound, or how he will imitate it in speech, will depend upon his culture; what the 'apabhrāṃśa' will be in one stage of culture will not be so in another. Consequently the generalised rules of equation applicable to some words of one speech, may not be applicable to other words of that very speech.

One or two familiar examples may be cited here to illustrate how under different social or cultural conditions foreign words are at times naturalised in a language. It is not due to the phonetic peculiarities of the speakers of Bengali and Hindi that the foreign names Grongerham and Ramsay are reduced by the common people to 'Gangārām' and 'Rāmsahāy'; the common people to remember such names aright associate them at their sound suggestion with names which occur in their society, and thus bring such amusing forms into use. Again, looking merely to the colour with which the metal 'tin' was found coated, a lantern was given the name 'lāltin' by the common people of Orissa, but now the literate people of that country call it by a name which is almost similar to the real pronunciation of lantern. The word 'baby' is far from difficult to pronounce, but as to fondle little children the parents in India call them 'bābā,' the Indian servants in European houses have given 'bābālok' the term for the babies.

There are also other good reasons why we cannot acknowledge the all-sufficiency of the rules alluded to, but it will be a digression to adduce them here. What I want to bring out prominently is that we cannot study the phonetic changes in a speech without taking the speakers of it into account. After observing the differences among the sister dialects, we raise the question, why the parent tongue underwent different sorts of changes in different provinces; we ask why the 'apabhrāṃśa' forms

in use in Hindi for example, did not become current in Bengali? Why is it, we may ask, that the Sanskrit name 'Prahlaḍa' is reduced to 'Pahalāḍ' in Hindi and to 'Pellāḍ' in Bengali, or 'Kṛṣṇa' of Sanskrit becomes either 'Kāṇḍi' or 'Kānu' in Bengali and 'Kānhu' in Oriya? What were the solvent elements in different provinces that brought about the characteristic changes noticeable in different speech of common origin? To get to the facts, which induced different sorts of changes and modifications in different provinces, we must direct our attention to provincial racial peculiarities, as well as to the physical conditions of life which were present in those provinces. This is exactly what is not done by some philologists. And we shall presently see how even some trained philologists create imaginary races to explain away their difficulties without caring to study the actual racial peculiarities existing in different provinces.

*Karl Pearson on Philology.*—This is the reason why many scientists look to the philologists and their work with much disfavour. Such an eminent man of science of our time as Karl Pearson speaks slightly of the philologists, as they do not generally pursue the scientific method in their inquiry, for they ask us to enter into the 'play-room for their individual fancy,' and accordingly we cannot always get into the domain of philology any classified fact or system 'independent of the individual thinker' (*vide Grammar of Science*, p. 10).

*Grierson's views on the origin of Indian Vernaculars.*—Grierson's fanciful theory regarding the origin of Indian dialects may be adduced as a fitting example of an unscientific procedure. I should not fail to mention here that this eminent scholar (a particular theory of whose creation is going to be discussed) has placed us all under a great debt by his splendid research in the

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Prākṛta and Apabhraṃśa speech of our country. As the theory of this oriental scholar appears in an essay contributed by him to such a work of authority as the Imperial Gazetteer of India, a brief discussion of it seems called for.<sup>1</sup>

I set forth first of all the propositions which Grierson has asked us to accept on his authority and from which he has drawn all his conclusions. They are :

(1) Modern Aryan languages were not derived from Sanskrit. 'Some pastoral tribes (long before the Vedic days) found their way across the Hindukush' and spread their languages over the whole of Northern India as far as Dibrugarh in the extreme east of Assam, and Calara to the south of Bombay. All the modern vernaculars have their origin in the 'patois of these pastoral tribes.'

(2) The latest comers of the Indo-Aryans settled themselves in the so-called Midland by forcing the earlier immigrants 'outward in three directions—to the east, to the south and to the west.' The latest comers would not necessarily be on good terms with their predecessors, who quite possibly opposed them as intruders, nor did they speak the same language. One particular Indo-Aryan dialect of these late comers may be taken to represent the archaic language of the R̥gveda.

(3) Sanskrit is the polished form of the archaic Vedic tongue. This polish was given to the Vedic tongue by the labours of the grammarians, culminating in the work of Pāṇini.

(4) The other languages (*i.e.*, the languages derived from the patois of the earliest settlers), namely, Marathi,

<sup>1</sup> Remarks I here offer are abridged from what I wrote in 1908 in criticism of Sir George Grierson's views published in the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I. My criticism appeared in Modern Review, August, 1908.

Bengali, Oriya, etc., remain unaffected in their essence by the speech of the Midland.

It is very difficult to meet Sir George Grierson, for he has not chosen to cite authorities, nor has he adduced reasons in support of his propositions beyond what he has added at the end of his paper by way of his own signature. Where he has adduced reasons, he has rather stated new propositions in the name of reasons which stand equally in need of support. As to the original cradle-land of the pre-historic Aryans, nothing has yet been settled; and the oldest record of the Aryans, the Vedas, being far from replete with evidence as to their original home and migratory movements, the question relating to the appearance of Aryans in India is still a matter for careful inquiry and research. However, we do not hold Grierson responsible for the unscientific theory about the origin of the Aryans, which seeks to establish ethnic unity among races of men of different countries on the basis of some linguistic agreement. This is not the place for me to show that the facts established by the anthropologists tend to demolish the theory of there being necessarily any genetic affinity between the races of men speaking different Aryan dialects. We shall only notice here that Grierson has put the old theory into shadow by formulating a new theory of considerable proportions by the sheer force of his imagination. He has mapped out the whole imaginary cradle-land of the Aryans and given a graphic description of the migratory movements of *some unknown people of an unknown time*. May we ask what facts justified Grierson in taking up the vague suggestion of Hœrnle as an established fact to put down with confidence that the patois of some pre-Vedic pastoral tribes had taken root in India before the Vedic dialect prevailed?



The evidence is declared to be linguistic, and it is said, has been obtained by Grierson while pursuing his linguistic survey. The method of reasoning, the fact set forth in support of the proposition, and the proposition itself, may be briefly stated thus : The Aryan languages in use in northern, eastern and south-western countries not only differ from the languages of Mid-India, but also differ from one another ; the Vedic Aryans must have occupied the Midland ; hence it is established, in the opinion of Grierson beyond any doubt, that the languages other than those of the Midland originated from the patois of some pastoral tribes who preceded the Vedic Aryans. The method of reasoning is wholly unscientific. All the dialects are admitted to be Aryan in origin, but as they differ from one another, their origin has been presumed to have been different. The very fact that they are so many dialects, shows that they must not be one and the same, and they must have marked points of difference, even though they might have been derived from one and the same language. Dialectic variations always take place because of distance from a centre and because of contact with other tribes or races. Facts have not been adduced to show that the dialects in question were not thus formed, as they are formed normally everywhere. On the other hand with reference to Grierson's remarks in the Report of the Census of India, 1901, and in his monograph on the 'Pisācha Languages.' I am constrained to say that the learned author has built a stupendous structure with very weak materials, on the foundation of a fancy of his own. Sir Herbert Risley has very rightly remarked that without at all resorting to the theory of patois-speaking hordes, the changes in the dialects of Central India can easily be explained by referring them to the people speaking them. Need I make a statement of the well-known truth that it

is 'grammar' and not 'sound' or 'vocabulary' which gives a dialect its character? Merely because some tribes of the Punjab frontier use some words of Aryan origin, Grierson concludes that these tribes are remnants in hilly countries of the oldest Aryan people. It is on the evidence of sound and vocabulary he has thought out different origins for some dialects of Northern India. Merely from similarity of sounds Grierson has inferred that the 'Pakthas' of the R̥gveda are the modern Pathans without caring even to ascertain if those, who are now called Pathans, existed in the Vedic days with such a tribal name. I would not have wondered if the Afridis, who, to serve the convenience of a theory might be called 'Āpridis,' were similarly put forward as the authors of the 'Āpri' hymns. I cannot bring myself to imagine that Grierson, who is widely known to be a great oriental scholar, has made his authoritative statements regarding our archaic and classical languages without possessing sufficient knowledge of them. But on the other hand, it appears rather strange that one having even a very common acquaintance with the languages of old India could for a moment think that Sanskrit is the polished form of the Vedic language. The grammarians, who have been given the credit of having polished the Vedic language, called this language by the name 'Chhāṇḍasa' and described what is now called Sanskrit by the term 'Laukika-Bhāṣā' (or current language). Grierson could not but have noticed the matter in Pāṇini's book, but he has not attempted to explain it. The great oriental scholar must also have noticed in Pāṇini's Grammar that the Chhāṇḍasa language was an object of reverential study, and nobody could even dare to handle it with a view to reform it. There are stringent rules that under no circumstances the Vedic form should be deviated from; it has been stated

that to do so would be to commit sin. I should not discuss the point at any further length, for later on I shall have to deal with the character of the Vedic language in an independent lecture. The reasons why the Classical Sanskrit varied from the Vedic language will be discussed in its proper place. I have only suggested here that the history of a language involves the history of the people speaking it, and as such we cannot trace it by philological research alone.

It is thus distinctly noticeable how by solely adhering to philology as wholly dissociated from ethnology such an eminent scholar as Sir George Grierson has got himself involved into a process of reasoning which may be called an argument in a circle. The reason for his not adverting to the normal causes (as suggested by Risley) to explain various deviations from Sanskrit in several vernaculars is that in his opinion a patois-speaking horde did actually come into India to create a linguistic difference, and again to prove that actually such a horde came into India, Sir George refers us to the variety of forms which some vernaculars present. "

### *B. Preparatory*

*Bengali-speaking tracts.*—If we exclude the recently acquired district of Darjeeling from the political map of Bengal, the entire indigenous population of the Presidency of Bengal will be found to be wholly Bengali-speaking. The district of Sylhet to the north of the Chittagong Division and the district of Manbhum to the west of the Burdwan Division, though falling outside the Presidency of Bengal, are but Bengali-speaking tracts and nearly three million souls live in those two districts. By eliminating the exotic elements from the Bengali-speaking areas indicated above, we get a population of not less than fifty million

that has Bengali for its mother-tongue. It is quite an interesting history how Bengali was evolved, and how it became the dominating speech of various tribes and races who were once keen in maintaining their tribal integrity by living apart from one another, over the vast area of eighty thousand square miles.

*Bengali loosely called a Sanskritic language.*—Bengali is called a Sanskritic language by some philological scholars, but what these scholars definitely mean by the term Sanskrit is not always explicitly stated. If we can only tolerate such a loose use of the term as to make it indicate indiscriminately the Chhāndasa speech of the early Vedic days as well as the speech which Pāṇini described as Laukika, the nomenclature of the philological scholars may be allowed to stand. I consider, however,

Aryan Vernacular,  
a better name.

safer to call the Bengali speech an Aryan vernacular to avoid the suggestion that the language in which the poets from Kalidasa to Jaydeva composed their works, was the progenitor of Bengali. It has to be distinctly borne in mind that the word 'Aryan' as used by me, has not even remotely any ethnic significance; it will indicate the Vedic speech and such other varieties or families of speech as are allied to, or have affinity with, the Vedic speech.

*Elements which are essential to determine the character of a language.*—Let me repeat explicitly what I have suggested above just now that a language is mainly, if not wholly, determined by its grammar or structure and not by its vocabulary which may always swell by the process of word-borrowing. This statement should not, however, be construed to mean that the vocabules are not at all of any importance in tracing the history of a language. We shall see later on that to identify the Bengali language with some old-time obsolete language, we shall no doubt

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primarily look to the grammatical structure of the obsolete speech, but the examination of phrases and vocabules will also be necessary, for special idiomatic expressions and peculiar formation of words bear peculiar marks of particular provincial origin; as foreign words are naturalized according to the genius of every language, proper study of words naturalized in a particular way will also have to be made. It will be seen that various are the sources from which we have derived our material for our language, and there are languages which are allied to Bengali; how very careful we have, therefore, to be to determine the history of our words and in fine to determine the history of our language, need hardly be emphasized.

*The value of studying the accent system.*—I should also add here that the accent system is a great factor in a language, and should be considered as an essential element of it; different forms of Apabhramśa in different dialects of one common original speech are partly due to different accent systems. It will be necessary therefore to refer to the accent systems of our neighbour ing tribes to solve some points of difficulty. In ignorance of the fact that some non-Aryan speech exercised some influence upon Bengali, and misled by the description of our language as Sanskritic, many capable scholars of our country have devoted themselves of late to the ingenious but wasteful work of digging out Sanskrit roots and stems for such Bengali words and inflections as are entirely of other origin. This work is conducted on the flimsy basis of feeble sound suggestions. It is interesting to note that this very unscientific method was once resorted to in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, and many scholars attempted to reduce all languages to

Sound suggestions  
are misleading.

Hebrew and in some cases to an original Gothic on the strength of some remote or imagined sound similarity. .

How at times our Pandits try to derive foreign words from Sanskrit roots or how they coin altogether new Sanskrit words or roots to sanctify some words of doubtful origin, may be illustrated by a few examples. To do the foreign word 'Bāki' (remaining) an honour, such an amusing new word has been coined as 'Bakii.' How the words 'Nābālak' and 'Sābālak' have been coined in Bengal is interesting to learn. One who attains majority is called 'Bālig' in Arabic, and so one who is not a 'Bālig' or is in his '*hizān*' is a 'na bālig' in our correct court language; very curiously enough this term has been reduced to 'Nābālak' in Bengali, though 'not a bālak' (child) is the opposite meaning of the term. Perhaps 'one with a boy,' i.e., of age to become a father, is the idea involved in the curious word 'sābālak.' It is true that the Persian word 'Garam' comes from an Avestic word which is but a variant of Vedic 'Gharṃma,' but it is not correct that the form 'Garam' is an Indian 'apabhrāṣa' of our Vedic term. The mistake in this case is due to not taking into consideration the time and circumstances under which the word came into use in our country.

I note two more words of Persian (originally Avestic) origin, which are wrongly supposed by some to be of Indian origin. Vedic *Sahasra* is but a variant of 'Hazarrā' of Avestic, and the word 'hāzār' came to us only recently during the Moslem rule. The word 'Bāju' (an ornament worn on the upper arm) is not our own coining, but has come from Persian source; certainly it is from 'Bāhu'; but this is the Avestic form of Vedic word, 'Bāhu'; e. g., Avestic—'dar-e-jo bāzu, corresponds

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to 'Dirghabāhu'; the word 'darāj' from 'dar-e-jo' is also now in use in Bengali.

Some old-time authors of works on lexicon were also not free from the sort of defect noted above. Failing to find out the origin of the Prākṛta or vernacular 'Kḥiḥkiduār' (back door) a hideous word was coined in the name of Sanskrit, namely, 'Khatakkikā,' though in some Sanskrit works of the Jainas the term 'Kilakitadvāra' actually occurs. For the Deśī word 'Chāngoḍi,' a basket (in use in Pali and some vernaculars), such a word as 'Changerikā' was coined, though no root for it is obtainable in Sanskrit. Not knowing that the vernacular word *ফিষ্ট* (dirt formed from secretion in the eye) comes from *Prachyuti*, a word, namely, 'Piṣṭjata' was coined for its origin.

An example in the contrary direction may also be fittingly noted here. The derivation of 'rāstā' (road) as given by some from the word 'rāhā' is faulty; it is to be noted that according to the Persian grammar the noun form 'rāstā' cannot be formed from 'rāhā' by the addition of suffix 'ist'; again, we clearly see that 'rathyā' was reduced in Pali to 'racchā' and this form 'racchā' was always in use in Prākṛta to become naturally the progenitor of 'rāstā.'

*Enumeration of questions necessary to be considered as a preparatory measure.*—If our work is not to be barren of good results, we must direct our inquiry to the solution of the following questions, as preparatory to the analysis of our language, with a view to detect and unravel all the influences which were at work in building it up: (1) We have to consider carefully—(a) the geographical limits of ancient Vanga or Bengal which has given our language its distinctive name and, (b) the ethnic character of the tribe or tribes which inhabited

the area previous to the settlement of the people who brought in what may be termed a form of Aryan speech. This enquiry involves necessarily the consideration of the ancient political or ethnical character of other tracts which were once closely allied to the whole of Vanga, and constitute to-day with the old-time Vanga the province of Bengal in which Bengali is the dominant language. (2) As far as it can be traced, we must determine what form of Aryan speech was first brought into or super-imposed upon the country roughly defined above. (3) The Aryan or Aryanised and the non-Aryan hordes which made inroads into Bengal, from the earliest known time to the end of the 12th century A.D., i.e., up to the time of the Mohammedan influence in Bengal, and secured settlements in different parts of the country, must also be taken into account to explain some factors which generally appear anomalous in our language.

It is too much to expect that we shall succeed in mapping out definitely how the stream of our language flowed with an unbroken continuity from a well-defined source and received in its bosom many affluents in its successive course of progress. No doubt what is true in all cases has been true in respect of the evolution of our language; presumably nature never allowed any break to occur in her process of upbuilding, but all the links in the evolution are not now clearly discernible, for many earlier forms were not preserved in literary records, and we have now only to surmise their existence from a very small number of what may be termed "fossil words."

*Some philological propositions stated.*—Before entering upon my subject, I set forth and discuss some propositions which are generally accepted as correct and are of such value as no one should lose sight of in such an inquiry.



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*Linguistic miscegenation.*—The first proposition, if put in the language of A. H. Keane, will stand as follows : There is no such phenomenon as linguistic miscegenation. I fear I cannot accept the proposition as universally correct, following the history of the origin of some European languages. It will be noticed later on that in our syntactical forms, that is to say, in the very structure of our language, some elements foreign to our language have accommodated themselves. This sort of mixture cannot but be recognised as miscegenation. I admit, however, that the foreign elements which no doubt change the structure are absorbed by the main organism ; this assimilation by intussusception takes place according to the active principles inherent in the organism. Consequently the new structure which becomes wholly separate and independent, cannot be said to be mixed as a language in the individuated form. No language of this world can coincide with another, for every language has its own separate grammar or structure ; but it can be shown that in their growth many languages in India incorporated many foreign elements and have adopted foreign methods of expression. We can only say that no two languages are identical, but as in the case of human races, so in the case of human speech, absolute purity cannot be thought of. I must not doubt acknowledge that we are at times misled by some instances of mixed vocabularies and wrongly pronounce a language to be mixed on that account. If Mr. Keane has emphasized upon this proposition in stating that there cannot be any miscegenation of languages I am in entire agreement with the views of the distinguished anthropologist. As an example, I may cite the case of the so-called Urdu speech (by endorsing

Urdu, not different  
from Hindi.

the valuable opinion of Mr. Keane) which is wrongly supposed to be different from Hindi and is asserted by some to be a mixture of Hindi, Persian and Arabic. My suggestion to do away with the name Urdu as an additional name for the standard Hindi language was no doubt accepted by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley during the census operations of the year 1911, but the sentiment of some people for the ridiculously unscientific term had to be, I fear, respected. The whole structure of the so-called Urdu speech is Hindi, the Hindi pronouns are conjugated with verbs in all tenses and moods according to the Hindi rules, yet forgetting the fact that no amount of word-borrowing can change one language into another, Urdu has been set up as a different language. That the words of Persian and Arabic origin are much in use in Hindi and more free use of them is possible, is lost sight of. Words of such foreign origin are prevalent in Bengali and Oriya as well. If we borrow European words more freely and adopt what is called Roman script in our writing, will the Bengali language be entitled to claim another name? Such a sentence of a European Lady as গাভী ! দুধ খেও (milk the cow)—is wholly English and not Bengali, even though excepting one definite article all the words are Bengali. The vulgar people confound language not only with vocabulary but also with script. The Nāgri letters which have no better pretensions to antiquity than Bengali letters, are called even by many educated persons "Sanskrita akṣara," merely because to serve some convenience, many Sanskrit books are published in Bengal in Nāgri character.

One word more regarding word-borrowing. It must be noticed that the words borrowed from other languages have all to conform to the genius of the languages into which they are adopted. This is what takes place in the

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Bengali language and this is what as a matter of course takes place in Hindi even though the speakers, through whose agency the adoption is accomplished, are Moham-medans.<sup>1</sup> That an adherence to an unscientific situation has a mischievous effect on education must be duly appreciated.

*Some examples of miscegenation.*—It will be shown in its right place how some particles and suffixes (both primary and secondary) of distinct Dravidian origin are noticeable in the morphology of our tongue, and what is still more striking, how some modes of expression indicating *change of thought* have been accommodated by Bengali by borrowing them (or rather assimilating them unawares) from the Dravidian speech. How in some cases the syntactical order of sentences in Hindi has been changed because of the influence of Moslem culture, is well-known to Hindi scholars; the usual order of words in a sentence such as 'Jamin-kā-upar,' is now often changed into 'upar Jamin-kā' in imitation of 'bar-u-e jamin.' It should be noted that those who speak the so-called Urdu tongue are Indians and the overwhelming majority of the Mohammedans are of Indian descent, and are consequently expected to think according to the traditional thought of the country.

How the syntactical structure of modern Bengali has been modified and altered under the influence of English literature is a fit subject for a separate independent study. I quote here only two sentences to illustrate the case :  
 বন্ধন আরি বেবিল্যাম আমার শত্রুকে সেই বিনি-সকটে, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> The sort of composition which at times our Sanskrit Pundits and Arabic scholars indulge in by introducing artificially Sanskritic and Arabic forms to make a flourish of pedantry, can hardly be classed under any form of speech.

would have been laughed at some thirty years ago. Our celebrated Bankimchandra composed the following sentence in his 'Durgasandini' more than sixty years ago : বদি তন্মূহর্তে ককমধ্যে বজ্রপতন হইত তবে রাজপুত কি পার্থান অধিকতর চমকিত হইতেন না ।

Again, a bit of change in the matter of thought is distinctly noticeable in our almost universal use of the word ভয়ানক (awful) in association with words indicating pleasant ideas in such phrases of recent time as ভয়ানক ভাল, ভয়ানক সুন্দর, etc.

(2) *How a new language evolves.*—The second proposition I should put forward is, that it is only when a new structure is gradually built with new elements on a fresh basis, a new language is evolved ; but this new language by coming in contact with other languages cannot change wholly its own structure, for such change amounts to death or extinction of that language. The imperceptible slow change with which a new language is developed is by itself a matter for study. Never can a living people change radically or discontinuously, nor can its natural and organised mode of thinking which expresses itself in the form or structure of its speech, be radically changed.

It should be remembered in this connexion that the speech of a living people striving for progress is ever progressing and growing imperceptibly by absorbing new elements when coming in living contact with other languages. Two examples of European method of expression in Bengali have been cited above ; this has been due to the awakening of a new spirit which impels a man to express himself in a new sort of impressive or emphatic manner. Moreover, merely by long sojourn in other countries men of influence of a society may get themselves accustomed with turns of expression quite different from what prevail in their own tongue, and may introduce

in their language what they get accustomed to, though the newly-introduced expressions may be regarded wholly unidiomatic or outlandish at the first introduction. The Hindi form 'Ā-giā' in the shape of 'এ গিচ্ছা' for the idiomatic expression 'সেচ্ছা' has become almost normal in our language now; the wholly unidiomatic expression—তিনি স্বাধীনভাবে 'উপর' বক্তৃতা করিবেন (he will speak 'on liberty') for তিনি স্বাধীনতা বিষয়ে, etc., does not very much jar upon our ears now. New modes of expression foreign to our language and thought are imperceptibly accommodating themselves in our language.

(8) *A Patois is not a separate language.*—My next proposition is that what is called a patois or a rude or vulgar speech, is never a separate language. Isolation and want of culture bring about deformities, and these deformities characterise a language as a rude dialect. The language of the Māl Pāhādis is as much Bengali as the language of the peasants of Northern Yorkshire is English. Such an unscientific term as 'sub-dialect' cannot be tolerated.

(4) *The shibboleth test.*—I come now to another matter of great interest and significance in this inquiry. The *shibboleth* test is usually applied to distinguish one race from another, but without duly judging its value. I cannot therefore conclude this portion of my lecture without uttering a word of caution in that direction.

That different phonetic systems do exist as racial peculiarities must be fully recognised and appreciated both by the anthropologists and philologists, though we may avoid treading the debatable ground as to whether the phonetic peculiarities imply necessarily in all cases differences in the anatomical structure of the vocal organs. For all practical purposes we can safely leave aside the extreme case of the Papuans illustrated by Miklukho-Maclay,

for I shall presently show that the races I have to deal with in this book are not absolutely incapable of imitating those utterances with which we are here concerned. We may spare the vocal organs an inspection when differences may be clearly explained by climatic influences or by the long-standing habit acquired by unconscious imitation of the sounds of some neighbours.

The shibboleth test may be of practical value when two races remain apart from each other. It must, however, be borne in mind that the pronunciation of words in a particular manner does not necessarily indicate peculiarity in the structure of the vocal organs; it may at times be wholly due to the education of the ear. If an infant born in England of pure English parents be nurtured wholly in an Indian home he will not display the peculiarities of English pronunciation, and will never mispronounce Indian names. I can speak from what I have carefully observed myself that the English baby born in India and brought up by Indians utters with perfect ease, when grown up, those words which the English people say it is impossible for them to pronounce. Bengalees who have settled in Orissa, but have not mixed their blood with the Oriyas, pronounce Bengali words in Oriya fashion with Oriya pronunciation and Oriya intonation. Not to speak of the higher caste people of Bengal, there is overwhelming evidence that the very people whose environment has changed the pronunciation of even the Brahmins in East Bengal, do change their pronunciation when they settle in the district of Hughli.

The racial peculiarities in the matter of uttering vocal sounds are no doubt very marked but my personal examination of various Indian tribes in the matter of their capacity to utter certain sounds has strengthened my

view that there is no difference between man and man as far as the inhabitants of this country are concerned as to the construction of the organ or organs of speech. I have found the ears of some practically isolated tribes so trained that they fail to catch certain sounds uttered to them and accordingly they imitate them very badly ; but when they are for some time with us, they do not betray any organic defect in uttering new sounds. The Mundās and the Orāons are well known for their very settled phonetic peculiarities, but when employed in our houses as domestic servants they learn to speak Bengali very faultlessly, though when speaking their own tongue they do not deviate from their own path in the matter of pronouncing their own words.

The hilly accent of Manbhum, the nasal twang of Bankura and Burdwan, the drawl of Central Bengal, which becomes very much marked in the slow and lazy utterance of words by women, and the rapid wavy swing with which the words are uttered in quick succession in East Bengal, may to a great extent be explained by climatic conditions as well as by the social life of ease or difficulty ; but the influence of the tribes of different localities among whom the speakers of the Bengali language had to place themselves, must not be either minimised or ignored. It should be remembered that a man of the so-called Aryan descent may lose the power of uttering such sounds as are generated, for example, by 'sh' or 'bh' because of the dominant environing influence of the people of other races. That the disability is not organic and cannot invariably be considered to be a racial characteristic, has been partly demonstrated.

*Definition of racial character of speech.*—It is desirable that I should here clearly define what I mean by a racial character of speech.

All phonetic or linguistic peculiarities that mark off one race or stock from another are not necessarily racial characters in the scientific sense of the term. By a primary racial character I mean only such of the linguistic peculiarities, or marks of a people as have an organic or physical basis in the cerebral or vocal mechanism and as are also transmitted from parent to offspring under the operation of the principles of Heredity and Variation. The capacity for speech, for example, is such a primary character for the human race. But I am free to admit that over and above such hereditary organic characters, there are secondary characters of speech,<sup>o</sup> racial peculiarities, which though not embedded in the physical conformation, are accompanied by what Wundt has called inheritable predisposition and which, therefore, appear in individuals from generation to generation under the normal conditions of existence though, no doubt, in the absence of suitable stimulus or under very marked changes of environment they do not persist but give place to acquired or induced variations. I am inclined to think that the forms and relations of thought which lie at the basis of the syntax of different families of languages, though not the grammatical structures or paradigms themselves, constitute secondary racial characters of the nature of predisposition. There is reason to believe also that accent systems, though originally acquired under persistent climatic, dietic and social conditions, have now come in many cases to be more or less stable, more or less transmittable characters and may have given rise to predispositions of the sort. But besides these primary and secondary characters there is a third sort of racial peculiarities of speech which, no doubt, distinguish one people from another but which are acquired under the influence of the tradition or of the environment, physical and social, and have to be so



acquired by the individuals from generation and generation, and which disappear whenever the tradition or environment is changed. This traditional element in a speech constitute that part of it which is a social tradition and has no ethnic significance in the biological sense of the term. Among these traditional elements of speech, which may be loosely termed tertiary racial characters, I would place the phonetic system (the vowel and consonant system) as well as the grammatical paradigm (including the tense-formatives) of a language or family of languages. But as we have seen, all the racial characters, secondary no less than tertiary, the predispositions no less than the merely traditional elements, are liable to be changed under change of environmental conditions, and replaced by newly acquired or induced characters.

The fact thus stands that different sections of the Bengali people have the capacity of speaking the Bengali speech alike. But I must utter a caveat here lest a wrong anthropological use be made of this philological fact as has been done in so many cases. On the basis of this fact we cannot necessarily postulate a unity or homogeneity of race. We cannot necessarily formulate the theory that either there has been a thorough-going miscegenation of blood among all the sections, or that these sections do not represent different races of bygone days. I purposely strike this note of caution, though I am perfectly aware that there has been considerable miscegenation of blood among many races of India, for I consider it unsafe to draw any conclusion from facts furnished by linguistic investigation alone.

*Race vs. language.*—To determine any question of race by the test of language alone is as bad as to pronounce any opinion relating to the character of a language merely by referring it to the race to which the speakers may generally be

known to belong. We shall have occasion to see later on why we cannot put any absolute reliance upon all the generalised rules framed by some noted philologists; in our linguistic inquiry we have to (as in all branches of science) ascertain facts and then to classify and interrelate them to get at a truth, and should never allow ourselves to be respecters of names or of theories associated with big names. Ready-made saws and formulae may help us to work out a question easily, but there will be hardly any justification on that score to make them sacrosanct. The word of caution uttered in respect of philological theories should also be uttered regarding some unscientific popular notions about truths in the field of ethnology. I am reminded of 'dolicocephalic' grammar and 'brachycephalic' dictionary (so humorously coined by Max-Muller), when depending upon head measurements race-classification is attempted by amateur ethnologists and linguistic character of the race is sought to be solved in the light of that classification.

We are not much concerned in this inquiry with those linguistic phenomena which fall legitimately within the province of the physiologists, though it is pretty certain that the time is not distant when to explain even the ordinary phonetic changes in a speech, the help of the physiologists will be requisitioned in preference to that of the linguists. We shall have to study carefully the settled and abiding peculiarities of some races of men in the matter of their accent systems and syntactical forms to measure the influence of those races in the upbuilding of our language, but as to how a particular race became settled in its habits to a particular mode of thinking or in a particular way of intonating certain sounds, will not concern us in pushing on our

research. Practically speaking, accent being a thing of very hard growth, it survives through many changes; as such, a comparative study of the accent system of various peoples belonging to several linguistic groups may help us in determining the origin of many peculiarities disclosed by the people of different provinces of Bengal.

*Misapplication of the rules of Philology.*—I have thought fit to add a word relating to the misapplication of some principles of philology in this country by some of our scholars. Not only we should acknowledge unequivocally and with gratitude that as in other branches of science so in the matter of philology we owe a great debt to modern Europe for our knowledge, but we should also realise the supreme importance of referring to, and studying with diligence, what by their research the European scholars are giving to the world. It is, however, very necessary for our scholars to see that theories or propositions relating specially to philology formulated with the help of facts collected from various speech of Europe, may not be misapplied here in India in studying the phenomena of our languages. A few illustrative examples are adduced to explain what I mean.

A scholar with good education in linguistics asserted recently to me (very likely because of misconception of the proposition relating to the reduction of the tenues into mediae) that T and D in our vernaculars are not interchangeable in the formation of 'apabramśa' forms; he said so because he did not refer to what actually occurs in our languages. A few examples to contradict the assumption will quite do. We get কড়াই and কড়া from কটাহ, কুড়ে from কুটি or কুটর, বড়া from বট, বাড় from বাটা, চড়ুই or চড়াই from চটক, চড় from চপটি, জড়ান from জট or জটা, বাড় and বাড়া from বাটা, তুড়ি from তটন

of fingers), *টি* in *Prākṛta* from *তৃ*, *বড়ি* (border) from *বট*, *নাড়* of *Prākṛta* from *নাটক*, *গোড়া* from *গুটপাক*, *পাকড়* from *পকটি*, *পেড়ি* (a basket in Orissa) from *পেটিকা*, *বাড়ী* from *বাটী*, *বড়ি* from *বটিকা* (*Sanskrit* *বৰ্জ* ল), *শাড়ি* from *শাট*, *উপড়ান* from *উৎপাটন* and *হাঁটা* from *হিঙ*.

The scholar alluded to above maintains that our vernacular words have nowhere been formed by dropping the initial letter or syllable of the original. To remove this wrong notion the following examples are given, namely : *গিনি* of *Pali* is from *অগ্নি*, *লাউ* is from *অলাবু*, *ডুবুর* is from *উদ্বুর*, *বি* is from *অপি*, *শিথিল* became *সিথিল* in *Prākṛta* and is *চিলা* now, from *বেহ* we get *বেহ*, from *নিষ্রেণী* (a ladder) came out *নিশানি* (as in *Oriya* now) and our *শিঁড়ি* has been formed by dropping *নি*, from *Sanskrit* *সদ্বিকৰ্ণ* comes our *নিকট* of which *সকাশ* is another form, from *উৎক* (the topmost end) we have got *উক*, *শকট* was first reduced to *শগড়* (still in use in *Oriya*) and from it came *গড়া* (now in *Oriya* only) and *গাড়ি*, from *Prākṛta* *দোহলন* (still current in *Oriya*) came out *হেলন* (to rock), and *গাহ* (*Oriya* and *Maithili* *গহ*) from *উৎগহ* (and not from *গহ* for without *উৎ* the import is not conveyed by the word; *গজান* to sprout and *Oriya* *গজা* 'a shoot' are from it).

It has been asserted in a printed document by another scholar that in the phenomenon of metathesis the initial letter of a word does not change its place with a subsequent letter. Without referring to *Patanjali* who has derived in his *Mahābhāṣya* 'সিহা' from 'হিমা', 'তর্কা' from 'কর্তা' and so forth, we may merely just get up a short list of our words to show that the statement is not correct. We have got *কিক* from *কেপ*, *হলু* and *হালুকা* from *লবু* ( *লাহ* ), *লাক* has been reduced to *কাল* in Eastern Bengal, *হুদ* became *বহ* in *Pali* and our *বহ* is from it, from (pseudo-*Sanskrit* *লোহি*) came out *লোহি* and *লহ* and then we got *ঢিল* or *ডেলা*, from *লোভা* comes *ভোপা* or *ভোপা* (to

bury, in Oriya), from পটুকান (পত্ = পড়্) came out টপ্ কান, to overtop by throwing down another, etc.

*Foreign Influence in Bengal.*—I conclude this lecture by referring to the influence of various foreigners, upon us. Even our village school boys learn to-day that many foreign nations of Western Asia and of Europe have been influencing us in divers ways, at least from the 4th century B.C.; what impress our religious and social institutions have received thereby, should be studied diligently in special works. Not that these questions do not bear upon the history of our languages, but I am constrained to leave them out of consideration to avoid dealing with facts of complex nature. I touch only some points very superficially and irregularly, just to awaken the interest of the students in this subject of much moment. The use in the Mahabharata of the word *স্বয়ম্* (of Greek origin) to signify a tunnel, in a chapter bearing no mark of lateness, is of greater significance than the adoption in our later time Astronomical works of the term *Horā* of Greek vocabulary or of the Zodiac system of Ptolemaic Astronomy. Many words which are treated as *Deśī* in consideration of their uncertain origin, may one day reveal their history to show what relation one day subsisted between us and some foreigners. The words which have come to us, either because of trade or because of casual acquaintance with foreigners, may not be of much value to us, but the fact of trade relation with outside peoples may throw much light on many dark parts of the history of our language. The use of the word *কামলক* or *উষ্ট্র* (Vedic *উষ্ট্র* = horse, and only later, a camel) by Kalidasa and other poets, by adopting the Arabic name of the animal, may not signify much, and similarly our acceptance of such Portuguese words as *গির্জা* (agreja), *চাবি* (chave), *পাউকটি* (pao), *যাভুল* or *যাভোল* (martello) and *শাবান* (sabao = Fr. savon) may

not be a matter of serious importance, but there are other things related therewith which we cannot afford to ignore.<sup>1</sup> Regarding important facts disclosed by the records of early trade relations, some instances may be taken from the accounts of the early European traders. We learn from some Greek accounts that the Greek people traded with the Dravidians at least as early as the 1st century A.D.; the names of ports and towns of Southern India as recorded by the Greeks, distinctly show that the land of the Dravidians came then under the influence of the Aryans, for many ports and towns are found in that record to bear names of Sanskritic origin. It is in consequence of this trade relation that many Indian articles still bear Indian names in disguise in Western Asia and in Europe. Here are some examples: (1) The English word 'rice' comes from Greek 'oruzo' which is the phonetic representation of the Tamil word 'arici,' (2) শর্করা in early language indicated sand or sand-like things, and then very likely in the 2nd century B.C. it commenced to signify *sugar* by distinguishing itself from লিকত শর্করা (sand), and this name of the article went very likely to Italy through the Arabs to become the progenitor of the word sugar, (3) the English word 'tamarind' is derived from Persian 'Tamar-i-Hind' (the sour fruit of India), (4) it is admitted by the Romans that they got 'ivory' from the Kalinga people of India and that the word is of Indian origin; it may therefore be suggested that this word might have originated from ইভ (elephant) + রদ (tooth) + ইয় (suffix), which could take the Prākṛta form ইভরিয়; such a use of Prākṛta words in Kalinga in the 1st century A.D. is not impossible as the people of

<sup>1</sup> We may notice that in ignorance of their origin some have sought to derive চাপি from চাপ (pressure) and পীড of পীডক from (foot) on the wrong supposition that the dough is kneaded with feet.

Kalinga are known to have adopted Aryan culture from a much earlier time, (5) along with the above examples I may mention the recent word 'mango' which is the Portuguese form of the Dravidian word मङ्गो.

## LECTURE II

### • ANCIENT BENGAL AND ITS PEOPLES

#### *The Antiquity of the Names Vanga and Bāṅglā*

It is a fact that the Veda Samhitās and the early Vedic literature do not mention the name Vanga either in connection with the names of Indian tribes or in any enumeration of the countries owned by the Aryans as well as by the non-Aryans. The Rigveda Samhitā does not know even Anga, but this Anga country is mentioned in the Atharva Veda. In the Atharva Veda Parīṣiṣṭa, however, the word Vanga occurs with Magadha as a component of a compound word; but as the scholars do not attach any value to it owing partly to the lateness of the Parīṣiṣṭa itself, I advisedly leave this mention out of consideration. It will be quite unscientific, however, to come to such a positive conclusion on the basis of this silence that the Vedic fathers had no knowledge of the country or tribe which bore the name Vanga. I cannot too highly speak of the critical acumen of the learned scholars who have attempted to reconstruct the history of the Vedic times with the materials furnished by the Veda Samhitās, but we have no patience with those who have gone the length of making this bold statement with much confidence that the state of things not disclosed by the Vedic mantras was non-existent in the olden days. The uncritical scholars do not see that even if it be conceded that all the mantras or prayers to gods, as had been composed at different times by the Ṛṣis, were wholly collected, and we get them now fully preserved



in the Samhitās, it cannot be asserted that a complete picture of the Vedic times can be presented with the help of the mantra material alone. Let me take up a hypothetical case just to illustrate the force of my remarks. Just fancy that a cataclysm sweeps away all that we possess and are proud of to-day, and some historical critics arise after the deluge to write a history of our time with the help of such a prayer-book as the *Brahma Sangit* of the Brāhmas, or a collection of Rāmprasād's songs, unearthed in the debris of some buildings, will the material be sufficient for the purpose? Will not such an inference on the basis of the hymns and prayers of the Brāhmas that the Bengalees of our imaginary pre-deluge era were all monotheists of the Brāhma type, be a gross misstatement of fact? Is there anything in the hymns of the Brāhmas to indicate that there is such an institution as the Calcutta University or that this country is being ruled by the British people? Rāmprasād's songs may supply the information that we had such a thing as oil-pressing machine, and that machine was worked by bullocks being blindfolded; but will not this be a very poor picture of the civilization of Rāmprasād's days? We meet with an entertaining passage in a drama of our celebrated dramatist and humourist, the late D. L. Roy, which purports to be a taunting challenge to the effect—should we think that the Gopis of Brindāban did not know the use of *jirā marich*, since there is no mention of this condiment in the Śrīmadbhāgabatam? We cannot afford to forget that however much the Vedas relate to the general conditions of life of the ancient times, they are but ideal prayers and hymns which again, only a section of the Indian Aryans offered to the gods. There is ample evidence in the very Veda Samhitās that all the Aryans of India did not pursue the religion which is reflected in the Vedic mantras.

No doubt we do not meet with the name Vanga in the Veda Samhitās and the Atharvan mentions only Anga as the outermost border country lying to the south-east of the territories of the Aryas; but when we come upon this fact that the later Vedic literature such as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions Vanga as a country held by a barbarian tribe, while the early Buddhistic literature (not likely of a date earlier than the Brāhmaṇa) is as silent as the Vedas are, it becomes difficult to attribute such a silence to ignorance. From these facts we can only make this plausible inference that Vanga and its adjacent parts were not colonized by the Aryans till the 6th century B. C.\* Let me discuss this important point of chronology by considering the value of the facts disclosed by the aforesaid literature.

It is evident from the manner in which the border tribes have been mentioned in the 22nd Sūkta of the 5th Book of the Atharva Veda that the Māgadhas and the Angas were alien barbarous people who resided outside the pale of Aryan country but it is also clear that the countries of these barbarians were in close proximity to the land of the Ṛṣis. In this Sūkta this wish has been expressed in offering a prayer to Agni that the fever called "takman" may leave the holy land of the Aryas and may reside in such border countries as Anga and Magadha which are really the home (okaḥ) of the fever. This fever which is considered to be of malarial type has been asked in the prayer to assail the barbarians and specially their wanton fugitive women (described as Sudrās) on account of their having left the Aryan protection in Aryan homes. It is rather clear from this mention that the Ṛṣis of the Atharva Veda utilised the services of the people of Magadha and Anga, and were particularly keen about keeping the Sudra women in Aryan villages. Looking to what has been

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stated of Anga we may only provisionally hold that Vanga which lay still farther off to the south-east, was only inhabited in those days by people other than the Aryans. We get in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of a much later date that the holy sacrificial fire travelled as far east as Videgha (Vidaha) in Mithilā. It is therefore pretty certain that the Aryans did not even then come in any real contact with the Vangas of Bengal. We notice in the Atharva Veda that the Kirāta people of the Himalayan region were the neighbours of the Aryans and the Kirāta women supplied such roots and herbs as were used for charms and for medicine; such a peaceful relation with the south-eastern border tribes is not indicated in any Sūkta. In the Aitareya Āraṇyaka the Vanga tribe finds only a bare mention in conjunction with the Magadha people. Some early references relating to the people of Magadha, of Anga and of other neighbouring barbarian tracts in such a fashion, that they were beasts or snakes, have been misinterpreted by some Indian scholars. We cannot forget the fact that almost all the tribes were known by the totem names of their clans or tribes; it is therefore strongly suspected that when the Aryans knew the totem names of different tribes, they had some intimate knowledge of them. When the tribes are not made identical with the names of birds and snakes, quite another interpretation has to be given. In the history of the conquest of the rude aboriginal tribes we get one and the same mythical account all over the world: the rude tribes in their mountain fastnesses and forest tracts are represented as giants or dwarfs with mysterious powers, or they are imagined to possess power of transforming themselves into beasts or birds. The Rāksas were no doubt of superior mental and spiritual powers, but they represent the Rakṣas and the Yakṣas as magicians and Māyāvis, as invested

with abiding authority over the elements. The reason is not far to seek. The aboriginal people who knew every part of their land in the hills and the forests, could appear suddenly and could escape unnoticed to places which were difficult of access to the conquering trespassers; moreover the rude tribes who were unable to cope with the civilized intruders, took to some subterfuges which made their hostility to be dreaded in proportion to its secrecy. When the blow was struck in darkness, the awe-struck Aryans who had supreme contempt for the valour of their foes, were led to attribute it to supernatural or non-human, rather than to human agency. In any view of the case, knowledge on the part of the Aryans of the people of their country may be presumed.

It has been just mentioned that in the early Buddhist literature where detailed lists appear of many countries and peoples, the name Vanga is conspicuous by its absence ("Buddhist India" by Rhys Davids, pp. 23-29). The importance of this omission lies in this, that Buddha who flourished towards the end of the 6th century B.C., had his activities mostly in Magadha which is not far off from Bengal. The story of Vijaya Simha, on the other hand, points to a pre-Buddhist colonization of Bengal by the Aryans. How far we can rely upon the Sinhalese account based upon a tradition merely, or rather upon a legendary account, that Vijaya Simha was a king of Bengal and that he led his victorious campaign into Ceylon the very year the Buddha attained his Nirvāṇa, has not yet been critically discussed. It can, however, be asserted on the evidence of linguistic palæontology that the early conquerors of their land went from the eastern Gangetic valley and carried with them the speech which prevailed in Magadha at least during the 4th century B.C. Not only the Sinhalese, but even the Vaeddās and their

very wild congeners use a large number of Māgadhi words in their speech, which are of the time I have spoken of. The use of the words "gini" for fire, "gonā" for cows, "goyā" and "goyi" (the Prākṛta forms of godhā and godhikā), "vāso" to indicate residence (as in kaeto-vaso, forest residence), "ini" from the root  $\sqrt{\text{g}}$  = to go (as in gamanini), etc., which occur in the old Māgadhi Prākṛta, by even such Sinhalese as lead a rude life in distant forest tracts, raises a presumption in favour of very early Māgadhi influence in Ceylon. It has to be noted that the Sinhalese are non-Aryan people, and the Tamil-speaking Hindus who have most influence with them, are not at all familiar with the Māgadhi words noticed above. As the early chroniclers of Ceylon could always prevail upon the Gotama Buddha to visit the island off and on, it is unsafe to rely upon the dates given by them in their pious zeal for the cause of religion.

The account that Vijaya and his successor proceeded to Ceylon from Vanga, cannot also be easily dismissed, for there are indelible marks of the influence of the eastern Gangetic valley on the speech of the Sinhalese. It is a fact that many words and grammatical forms as had their origin in the soil of Bengal at a comparatively recent time, are current in the speech of even some isolated forest tribes of Ceylon, along with the Māgadhi words of earlier date as just now noted above. This argues in favour of the proposition that the later immigrants must have proceeded directly from Bengal. Whoever the early conquerors of Ceylon may be, it will be quite reasonable to suppose that even when the old Māgadhi of the 3rd or 4th century B. C. changed its own character considerably in farther east, lots of people of the lower Gangetic valley continued to pour into Ceylon to exercise linguistic and other influences upon the aboriginal races of that island.

As to the currency of the modern Bengali forms in Ceylon, I may just by way of illustration refer to the following words, namely—*Mācha* (fish), *gācha* (tree ; occurs also as *gāha* in one tribal speech), *petti* (small ; the Bengali word *peti* or *pāti* is used now to signify contempt). A good deal will have to be said in a subsequent lecture regarding the accent system of our speech by comparing the prevailing system with the systems of some Dravidian races, and the old and the modern grammatical forms will have to be similarly considered. As such we cannot do anything beyond pointing out here that in Ceylon the word “*bhūmi*” is pronounced as “*bumi*” or “*bimi*,” the word “*bhāt*” is pronounced as “*bāt*” and the form “*karāṇa*” (to do), of which the modern Bengali form is “*karā*,” is in use. I may only note in passing that in some eastern districts of Bengal “*ba*” is nearly the sound of “*bha*” and “*karāṇa*” is the form of “*karā*”; the sentence *Ār ki deon jāy* for *Ār ki deoā jāy* occurs in a humorous song composed by our poet Rajani Kanta Sen whose early death we all mourn. As to Sinhalese accent system, the remarks of Mr. R. L. Turner may be profitably quoted. He writes : “With regard to Sinhalese, it is hard to come to a decision, because firstly, all long vowels have been shortened, and secondly, an extensive umlaut has taken place.” The importance of the phenomenon noticed by Mr. Turner, will be appreciated by you when you will be treated to our Bengali accent and phonetic system. The facts relating to Ceylon as have been discussed here rather perfunctorily, do not fail to show that men of Aryan speech and civilization commenced to colonize Bengal from a time not later than the 4th century B. C.

Probabilities, however, seem to be on the side of the supposition that an appreciable number of Aryans chose to make Vanga their home, even when the Aryans of the

holy Midland country had neither occasion nor liking to take any notice of the eastern tracts of the barbarians. Even when the notice of the tracts was forced upon them later on, they looked down upon those of them who resided among the barbarians. Some statements in the old Dharmaśāstras warrant us in making this inference.

There are some good reasons to suppose that the Dharmaśāstras fathered upon Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha, though older than many other Dharmaśāstras, cannot be placed beyond the 6th century B. C. Baudhāyana has given the limits of Āryāvarta in the following words : Āryāvarta lies to the east of the region where the river Saraswati disappears, to the west of the Kālaka-vana (the forest region which extended over a large area to the south and south-east of Magadha), to the north of the Pāripātra mountains, to the south of the Himalayas (I Pr., I Ch., K. 2). That Bengal is here excluded from the land of the Aryans, is sufficiently clear. After stating the accepted orthodox view regarding the geography of the Āryāvarta, Baudhāyana as well as Vasiṣṭha very grudgingly extends the limits of the Āryāvarta on the authority of "some" who have been mentioned as "others." By virtue of the extended definition, Bengal and some other countries fall within Āryāvarta ; for, according to this definition of the holy land, Āryāvarta lies to the south of the Himalayas and to the north of the Vindhya range—being limited east and west by the two oceans (Vasiṣṭha I, 8 and 9). The conclusion seems inevitable that the stray settlements of the Āryas at places beyond the limits of the holy land, commenced long before the time of Baudhāyana, and the settlers were being recognized with some reluctance during the time of Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha. This proposition will receive full confirmation from the following facts. Baudhāyana whom all the

authors of the old-time Dharmaśāstras follow, has laid down some model rules of life for the twice-born Āryas in the second Kāndikā of the 1st Prāśna of his work ; I give here the purport of the whole Kāndikā because of its special importance. It has been stated on the one hand, in verses XIII and XIV, that the people or peoples of Anga, Magadha, Avanti, and other lands lying close to the land of the Āryas, are of mixed origin, while the lands of the Puṇḍras, the Vangas and the Kalingas are so unholy that one should go through a penance on one's return from those countries ; on the other hand, it has been stated in noting certain deviations from the model rules of the holy Madhya Deśa or Pāncālā country that those who reside in southern countries, marry the daughters of maternal and paternal uncles, and those who belong to some northern countries, follow the trade of arms and go to sea. As these deviations have been excused on the ground of their being special provincial customs we cannot fail to see that the Āryas who were of the twice-born rank, became the settled inhabitants of the unholy lands long before the time of Baudhāyana. We notice that Puṇḍra and Vanga were separate countries in those days, and that there were Aryan settlements in Puṇḍra and Vanga, though they might not have been as extensive as in Magadha and Anga. We should further notice that sea voyage was allowed in olden days in some northern countries of the Aryans, which fell outside the limits of the Madhya Deśa. This fact is in support of the proposition that the Aryans of the eastern Gangetic valley proceeded to Ceylon as early as in the 4th century

B. C. We thus see that however scanty our material is, we cannot definitely assert that Aryans did not commence to colonize Vanga during or earlier than the 6th century B. C.

Let us now discuss some other facts for further light



on the subject; let us now see what accounts we may get of the ancient Vanga people on examining some records of non-Aryan activities of a time when the Aryans disdained to take any notice of the tribes, who were not within the pale of Āryāvarta. Recent researches in Farther India by such scholars as Mr. Phayre and Col. Gerini have disclosed these facts that the Telegu-speaking and Tamil-speaking Dravidians of India reached Farther India both by land and sea, and established colonies and political supremacy in many parts of Farther India; and that the Hindus poured in, only subsequently, to dominate that land by displacing the Dravidian supremacy. The earliest date we get of the Hindus who went to Burma, is 923 B. C. I accept this date on the authority of some scholars, but I cannot vouch for its correctness. The Kṣattriya adventurers who are said to have proceeded from Hastināpur and to have established an extensive territory in Upper Burma with Bhamo for its capital in 923 B. C., are reported to have displaced the Dravidians who had organised their new *Kalinga Ratta* previous to the Aryan inroads into the country. This should lead us to suppose that the Dravidian invasion in Farther India took place at least a century before 923 B. C. It is also reported of the Telegu adventurers that they established their supremacy over Arakan and the tract of country now covered by the Chittagong Division in about 850 B. C. The accounts of Kyauk-pandang by Mr. Phayre in his history of Burma may be profitably referred to in this connection.

What concerns us principally here is that the people of Bengal formed a powerful colony in Annam in Farther India not later than the 7th century B. C., when they were being despised and not taken any notice of by the Aryans in India. The traditional and legendary accounts

relating to Annam, as are reported to appear in some Chinese records, affirm that the leader of the Bengali adventurers who became the king of Annam, bore the name Luck-lom, and that he married one Annamese girl named Auki.\* It has been gathered from these records that the province of India to which Luck lom and his people belonged, was called Bong-long, and that Luck-lom and his followers were of Nāga Vamśa or rather had Nāga for their tribal totem. It becomes pretty clear that the name of the land which was then unknown in Āryāvarta, was Bong-long (the original form of Bāṅglā) and the people of Bong-long were known by the name Bong. That the term Vanga indicated the name of a tribe may be amply proved on the authority of the old Hindu literature. You may refer to Col. Gerini's accounts regarding the Bong-long kings in his work entitled "Researches in Ptolemy's Geography." Archæological research in Cambodia and Annam by Ayomounier, De la Ponte and other European antiquarians should be carefully studied in the interest of the history of India. We will presently see that those who bore the names Anga, Vanga and Kalunga, were regarded by the Aryans to have been of non-Aryan origin. I should also mention here that the kings of Bong tribe reigned till the second decade of the 3rd century B. C., when some Buddhist Kṣattriyas of the Magadha country became supreme in Annam. It is known that eighteen kings of Bong-long origin reigned for over 350 years in Annam. We find that the compound letter or suffix "long" was added to "Bong" to signify the country belonging to the Bong people. I am inclined to think that this "long" is the Annamese form of the non-Aryan suffix "lā," and that not only the name Bong or Vanga as the name of a tribe, but the word "Bāṅglā" is as old as the word Vanga. I shall not be accused of giving reins to wild

imagination if I consider this non-Aryan suffix "lā" to be still persisting in our language, and that we detect this suffix in such words as "phoglā," "totlā," etc. I should, however, note that the "la" or its derivative "lā" which indicates past tense (as in *karīla* or *karīlā*), has nothing to do with the "lā" spoken of here. Be that as it may, we get it as a certain fact, and that is a great gain with us, that the word Bong-loug or Bānglā was the name of some indefinite portion of our present Bengal at least as early as the 7th century B.C., and the name Vanga (which originally signified a people) is of great antiquity.

We learn this good lesson from the accounts of the Vanga people that we should not invariably make the Aryan activities in a province the sole starting point for the historic period in that province, and should not consign all pure and unmixed non-Aryan activities to the limbo of all forgotten formations by writing the convenient term "Pre-historic time" over the events of the non-Aryan people. We see that the Vangas, previous to their being influenced by the Aryan civilisation, created a history in this world. Far from therefore being ashamed we are rather proud of this ethnical record that those who have to be presumed to form the bulk of our population to-day, are the Vangas who founded once a ruling house in Annam in Farther India.

Another fact of great historical significance relating to the early migratory movements of the people of Bengal has to be narrated from the records of the Dravidians of Peninsular India. Very ancient Tamil books inform us that many Nāga-worshipping tribes proceeded from Bengal as well as from other parts of Northern India to establish their supremacy in the Tamilakam country. Of these tribes, the Marans, the Cheras and the Pangala

Tiraiyar interest us most. The Cheras, it is stated, proceeded to Southern India from the north-west of Pangala or Bengal and established the "Chera" kingdom of much historical note. It is significant that the Cheras are mentioned in the old Brāhmaṇa literature as occupying the eastern tract of the Magadha country. As to the Marans who are said to have been the neighbours of the Cheras in Northern India, it is equally important to note that the mighty Pandya kings claim to be of Maran descent. The Marans who were also called Maravars, are reported to have been a very fierce and warlike people, and that they worshipped the goddess Kālī on the top-knot of whose hair stood an infuriated cobra snake. The Pangala Tiraiyars are recorded as the latest immigrants, and it is narrated of them that they proceeded from the sea-coast of Bengal by boat and founded the Chola kingdom at Kānchi. As the phrase Pangala or Bangala Tiraiyar is equivalent to তীর-বঙ্গ (Tira-Vanga), we can assert unhesitatingly that these people had received Aryan influence in Bengal before they left for the Madras coast. These traditional or legendary accounts may not be strictly correct in all their details, but their general story must be accepted as historical truth, since the ancient Tamil writers knew nothing of Bengal and its neighbouring tracts when they recorded these traditional accounts. We shall see later on that these accounts are quite in harmony with what will be narrated in a subsequent lecture.

Let me mention another fact in this connection. It is narrated in the old Tamil books that when the Nāga-worshipping tribes were colonising Southern India, the Makkalas were the principal and the most influential people in the South. As this Dravidian term Makkala or Makkāḍa could be easily transformed into Markata, many Aryans called them monkeys though without much

justification. To do justice to the Makkalas it must be mentioned that they have a very high social status in the Tamil-speaking country and many aristocratic zamindar families belong to the clan of the Makkalas. It is reported that these Makkalas once occupied those highlands of Central India which are included in the *Danḍakāraṇya* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Be that as it may, these Makkalas once freely intermarried with the *Nāga* tribes and brought about racial homogeneity in many parts of Southern India. We associate nothing but rudeness and barbarity with the term non-Aryan; but adverting now to the momentous activities of the high class non-Aryan people of olden days we should do well to change or modify our notions considerably.

We have noticed that the *Tiraiyars* or the sea-coast people of *Pangala* or *Bāṅgalā* took a sea-route to proceed to Southern India; we also notice that the *Bong* people established a ruling dynasty in *Annam* when the *Telegu* people were influential in *Burma*. It will therefore be very reasonable to conclude that the *Vangas* of ancient time were a sea-faring people and reached the coast of *Tonquin Bay* by a sea-route.

### LECTURE III

#### THE GEOGRAPHY OF OLD BĀNGALĀ AND OF OTHER RELATED TRACTS

In order to fix with some definiteness the land which was the principal home of the non-Aryan Vangas, let us follow the geography of the ancient time, as we find in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas. I am strongly inclined to think that the eastern portion of the indefinite tract which was once called *Kāśka-rana* and which once formed the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta, came to be designated as *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* in comparatively later times. It is pretty clear that the name *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* came to be associated with the tract which lay to the south of Gaya, to the east of Shahabad, to the south of Bhagalpur and to the west of Bankura and Midnapur. The temple of Baidyanāth at Deoghar in Bengal (now in Bihar) is still considered to be situated in the *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* tract, for the priests of Baidyanāth recite a mantra by indicating this geography in worshipping the image of Baidyanāth. A portion of *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* got the name *Rāḍha* or *Lāḍha* as we notice in the Jaina records. The *Āchāranga Sutta* of the Jainas, though it narrates things of Buddhistic and pre-Buddhistic era, was composed at a time which may be regarded recent. According to the accounts of this book the temple of Baidyanāth is in *Rāḍha* or *Lāḍha* country. The people who inhabited *Rāḍha*, are described to be black-skinned and rude in manners, and are reported to have been fond of robbing the pious Jaina intruders. In the *Brāhmāṇḍa* section of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* the whole tract lying to the north of the *Dārukeśvara* river and extending along the *Panehkot* hills, has been called

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the Rāṭha country and the temple of Baidyanāth has been mentioned as existing in that tract.

That the main portion of the Bhagalpur Division was designated as Anga country is well established now, and there is no need of demonstrating it here. It has also been well ascertained that the Suhma country which had Dāmālipti or Tāmralipta for its capital, must be identified with a very considerable portion of the district of Midnapur. We get in the Mahābhārata that the five sons of Bali were the progenitors of the allied races of the Angas, the Puṇḍras, the Vangas, the Suhmas, and the Kalingas (Adi, C. IV, 4217-21). All these tribes have been so described in the Mahābhārata as to indicate that they lived in close proximity to one another. The Puṇḍras have been mentioned as Suhmottaras in the Matsya Purāṇa, and in the Mahābhārata too the Puṇḍras and the Suhmas have been placed near to each other (Adi, C. XIII, 24, 58). No doubt the Puṇḍras proceeded northward subsequently and founded Puṇḍravardhan in North Bengal, but their early distribution points to the fact that they occupied the tract of Bengal which lies to the north of Midnapur.

The account we get of Bali Raja from the Dravidian source should interest us all. The Hindu account is that Śrīkṛṣṇa by resorting to a godly trick sent Bali to Pātāla or Nether world. It is interesting that Bali who was a Daitya, is worshipped in Southern India as an ideal Raja of the good old days, and there is a town by the sea-coast of the name Mahabalipuram over which Bali presides. Bali is called Mābali or Mahābali and there is a religious festival of high importance to celebrate his memory in the Malayalam tract of the Madras Presidency; this festival is called Onam. It is narrated that no one ruled the earth with so much justice as Bali did, and all sorts of sins and iniquities were unknown in his time. The

song that is sung at the Onam festival, relates these accounts; two lines of it are given here, which purport to say that in Bali's time theft and other crimes were unknown :

• Māvali nadathu bajjum kalam  
Kalla khedilla kalabhu milla.

You can clearly see that it is the Southern country which is our Pātāla, and the Pauranic account relates to the invasion of the country by the Aryans. That Bali was considered to be the forbear of the Vanga people as well as of other allied races, shows that the non-Aryan origin of all these races was fully known to the Aryans. That Bali's queen gave birth to Anga and his brothers, was narrated to Hiuen Tsiang when he was at Monghyr. The feminine form of Bali as Bali-amma is the name of the principal goddess of the Sinhalese and the Vaeddās of Ceylon; her consort Kānde has assumed now the name Skanda because of Tamil-Hindu influence.

Let us now halt to consider a point of ethnic interest. The writer of the passages occurring in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas as relate to the history of the non-Aryan tribes, did not certainly make a scientific ethnological study of the tribes in question, but the facts narrated above justify us in holding that they carefully observed and noted some important points of agreement and difference between those tribes. The Angas, the Vangas, the Puṇḍras, the Suhmas and the Kalingas were noted in the first place as tribes perfectly distinguishable from one another, and in the second place as peoples closely allied to one another. It was noticed that they were all Nāga-worshippers and that they were all the sons of Bali. Regarding Nāga worship I may remark in passing that the story of Behulā commemorates how the new-comers in the lands of the Angas and the Vangas



had to accept and venerate the religious cult of the original inhabitants. We can see from the account we now obtain of Bali that the name of the common ancestor of the tribes under review was not the creation of a fancy of the Aryans. It has been stated in the previous section that those who proceeded to Southern India from Bengal and its neighbourhood, had Nāga for their totem, and we have now seen that Bali is still worshipped in the Southern Presidency. The cumulative effect of the whole evidence is in favour of this supposition that the original inhabitants of Bengal were by race and habits allied to those who are now designated as Dravidians.

The Vangas who were always connected with the Puṇḍras and the Suhmas, must have occupied the tract of country which lay to the east of our modern Burdwan Division. The fact that the Pāṇavas conquered Vanga after subverting the Puṇḍras and led their victorious soldiers to Suhma after devastating Vanga, supports this position fully (M. Bh., Sabbā, XXX, 23-25). We find also in the Raghuvamśa that Raghu conquered the Vangas after finishing his task with the Suhmas and planted his victorious banner in the midstream of the Ganges. The popular notion that Vanga as described by Kālidāsa, should be identified with the modern Eastern Bengal, is erroneous. To clear up the point I have first to note that in all old records we get the Vangas in close proximity to the Puṇḍras and the Suhmas; we may then refer to the historical fact that when Suhma lost its old name and became a sub-province with the name Daṇḍa-bhukti, it became a Bhukti or sub-province of Vanga. The Tirumalai inscriptions decide this point clearly and unmistakably. It has been recorded in the inscriptions (E. I., Vol. 9) that the celebrated Chola Raja first came upon Dakṣiṇa Rājya on crossing the northern frontier

of Orissa; he then raided Vanga and at a place in the north of Vanga (not in Barinda, nor in any other province) defeated the then Pāla Raja in a battle and just after finishing that work came upon Uttara Rā'ha which was the adjoining country. It was from Uttara Rā'ha, *i.e.* from the tract covered by the districts of Hoogly, Burdwan and Birbhum that the adventurer proceeded to the coast of the greater Ganges on the other side of which lay Barinda.

What was the extent of this Vanga in olden days, has next to be ascertained. With reference to the geography of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas we may say that the main portion of Northern Bengal and some portion of the district of Mymensingh were included in the Prāgjyotiṣa country or Assam, over a portion of which the Kirātas predominated. The Tripura country or the Chittagong Division was no doubt once under the sway of the Telegus of Kalinga, but as the Vangas also extended their influence over Annam in Farther India their extension in the Tripura country in the dim past cannot be very much doubted. It is highly interesting that not knowing them to be the relics of bygone days the present ruling chiefs of Tippera use the ensigns of those old rulers who are now almost forgotten in history. The ensign bearing the representation of a fish and the pān or betel-leaf-shaped ensign are used among other ensigns on ceremonial occasions. Let me mention that fish has always been a subject of veneration and an emblem on the royal banner of a powerful section of the Dravidians, and a broad leaf is the emblem of the Kirātas who now reside in the wild tracts of Cachar. As to the eastern limit of Vanga we have obtained a rough and indefinite idea only. We have to approach this point again after considering some other facts which are important for the history of our language.

In the *Vṛhatsamhitā* of Varāha Mihira (6th century A.D.) Vanga is mentioned by the name Samatāṭa but no definite geography is indicated; all that we know is that Samatāṭa lay between Utkala and Mithilā. This statement tends to show that even as early as the 6th century A.D. one general name Samatāṭa could be used for all the provinces of Bengal, as lay between Orissa and North Bihar. In this connection it is interesting to learn that in the enumeration of some tribes of minor importance dwelling in the Rāṭha country on the Bengal frontier, the Purāṇas have designated the tribes as *Pravangas*. The extension of the name Vanga to the Rāṭha country is clear in this statement. Let us then refer to the accounts of Hiuen Tsiang who is not much removed in time from Varāha Mihira. The celebrated Chinese traveller went from Champā in Bhagalpur to a place called Kie-chu-ho-khi-lo which was 400 *li* from Champā to the east. The traveller or pilgrim kept the hilly and jungly tracts of Rajmahal to the right and proceeded to this place, following the stream of the Ganges. No identification of this place has yet been made but this country or province appears to have been composed of the northern portion of the Burdwan Division, the whole of the district of Berhampore and a considerable portion of the district of Nadia, since, going from this country eastward and crossing the Ganges after trudging the distance of about 600 *li* Pundravardhan was reached. At this time Kie-chu-ho-khi-lo contained six or seven Buddhist monasteries and there were 300 Buddhist priests there.<sup>1</sup> It has been stated that the people were fond of learning and were simple and honest. It is reported that the people spoke a

<sup>1</sup> Kuchiakol is a familiar village name in this tract; it is not unlikely that such a name the capital town of this province or political unit bore in the 7th century A.D.

dialect of the Midland language. By "Midland" the Magadha country is meant. Existence of ten Hindu temples was also noticed by the traveller. It appears from his description that the country had then only recently lost its independence and was being governed by the king of a neighbouring country before Śilāditya Harṣavardhan annexed it to his kingdom. It will be presently seen that the Rājha country was at this time being ruled by Raja Śaśānka or rather by his descendants who were sworn enemies of Har-avardhan. I think therefore that the neighbouring Raja who then dominated Kie-chu-ho-khi-lo was of the family of Śaśānka *alias* Narendra Gupta. The description that somewhere on the northern portion of this country not far from the Ganges, was a high tower made of bricks and stones, and that this structure was ornamented with rare sculptures and on the four faces of the tower there were sculptured figures of the saints, Devas and Buddhas in separate compartments, is of great archæological interest. Looking to the fact that elephants roamed about on its southern frontier it may be supposed that between Samatāṭa (which stretched along the coast of Bay of Bengal) and Kie-chu-ho-khi-lo lay a tract covered with wild vegetation, which could invite the wild elephants of Rajmahal hills. Who knows that Banagrām (now the headquarters of a sub-division) does not carry in its name the memory of the old physical aspect of the locality?

The description given of Puṇḍravardhan of rather vast area shows that a very considerable portion of Northern Bengal was then under the influence of the culture of Magadha country, and that this country extended to the frontier of Assam. It is to be noted that the culture of Magadha which prevailed over all parts of Bengal, was absent in Assam where Buddhism could not make any impression. This phenomenon partly explains why the

Assamese speech was not then exactly identical with that of Northern Bengal. The people of Assam of those days are reported by the traveller to have been "of small stature and of dark-yellow complexion"; this description leads me to think that the Mongolian element predominated then in Assam, and because of this ethnic character the language of mid-India became slightly different in Assam. Hiuen Tsiang then goes to Samatāṭa of Bengal after travelling a very long distance from Kāmrup. As particulars of that route are not on record, the geography remains incomplete as to the extent of Vanga to the east. But it seems to be implied in a statement that the hilly tracts of Tippera and Chittagong which were not visited by the traveller, were included in the Samatāṭa country, for the traveller speaks of those tracts when describing the Samatāṭa country as a wild country difficult of access. Another fact is quite clear that just to the south-west of Samatāṭa was the Suhma country. This tallies exactly with what we inferred regarding the geography of old Bengal from ancient Indian records. It must be specially noted that the influence of Buddhist priests and Magadha culture were as extensive in Samatāṭa as they were in Suhma, Kie-ohuho-khi-lo, Puṇḍravardhan and Kārṇasuvarṇa. The Puṇḍras, the Submas and the Vangas who were kindred tribes, were dominated by one and the same cultural influence during the seventh and very likely during the sixth century A.D.

Śaśāṅka or Narendra Gupta who annexed some portions of Orissa and Ganjam to his empire had his principal seat at Kārṇasuvarṇa in the seventh century A.D. This Kārṇasuvarṇa was no doubt located somewhere to the south of the wild tract which stretched forth from the Rajmahal hills, since going 700 li north-west from Tāmra-līpta, Kārṇasuvarṇa was reached. Having narrowed

down the limits of different provinces with the help of Hiuen Tsiang's topographical survey, it may be safely asserted that Karnaśuvārṇa was the capital of the Rājha country in the seventh century A.D. The records of moral and intellectual advancement of the people of Karnaśuvārṇa as left behind by Hiuen Tsiang, justify us in making this inference that all over the country which forms now the presidency of Bengal, the influence of the Magadha civilization of the seventh century A.D. did effectively and extensively prevail.

I have related several facts which have some bearing upon the province which is now known by the name Orissa; it will be necessary also to relate what relation subsisted between Bengal and Orissa to explain some points of linguistic unity between the languages of those provinces. I have just now mentioned that Śaśāṅka *alias* Narendra Gupta annexed some portions of Orissa, but it must be stated that his influence can only be traced in Kongada (i.e., over some portions of the district of Puri and Ganjam) where Oriya language now prevails. It must be made clear that the Kalinga country of historical note and the territory of Śaśāṅka had no connection with the high-lands which were possessed in ancient time by the tribes known by the names Oḷra and Utkala. With reference to the people of that part of Orissa which was within the range of Śaśāṅka's influence we get this account from Hiuen Tsiang that with respect to their written characters they were the same as those of Mid-India, but their language and mode of pronunciation were quite different.

It is a significant fact that we do not get a well-defined country bearing the name Utkala in the Mahābhārata though the situation of Kalinga to the south of Suhma and Vanga is rather well defined in many parts of that work. In the Viṣṇu Pārva, for instance (IX, 348), the

Utkalas have been mentioned as rude people and nothing has been stated regarding their owning any country in an organised form. Vanga seems to have been in olden times connected with Anga on one side and with Kalinga on the other; for the Angas, the Vangas, and the Kalingas are found constantly linked together in the Mahābhārata as people closely allied by race and position. (*Vide*, for instance, Drona Parva, Chap. LXX.) In the Purāṇas also the Utkalas have been distinctly mentioned as a rude tribe of very early origin, having no affinity with the races around them. (*Vide* Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Canto LVII, Hari-vamśa, X, 631-32.) From the description given by Kālidāsa in the 4th Canto of the Raghuvamśa it becomes clear that just on crossing the river Kapisā the country of the Utkalas was reached. Here too there is mention of the Utkalas, i.e., of a tribe but not of any country possessed by that tribe. The river Kapisā is the modern Kasāi or Kānsāi which flows through the southern parts of both Chutia Nagpur and Midnapur. The Utkalas in Kālidāsa's days had no political organization, for Raja Raghu had not to conquer the country of the Utkalas, and the people only showed the soldiers of Raghu their way leading to Kalinga. Again, in the Purāṇas the Utkalas have been mentioned in the east near about the Bay of Bengal, and in the west, in connection with the wild tribes of Mekhala of the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur in the Central Provinces. It is also to be noted that in the Purāṇas the river Vaitarani is described to be flowing right through the Kalinga country. All these facts taken together lead us to suppose that the hilly and wild tract of the Utkalas extended from Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj to the borders of Bilaspur and Raipur, and that this Utkala country lay to the south of the river Kānsāi and did not extend much to the south beyond the northern portion of

the district of Balasore. The sea-board districts of Orissa were then within the Kalinga country, and the whole of the Kalinga country as far as the Godāvari to the south had the designation of Muṣu (three) Kalinga. This Muṣu Kalinga became Trikalīṅga in the language of the Aryans and the people who had their sway over the country, got the name Trikalīṅgas or Telingas or the Telugu people. Thus we see that a very long and narrow strip of land extending mainly through hills and forests was recognised in olden days as the land of the Utkalas. But about 200 years after the time of Kālidāsa the political situation was much changed. A considerable portion of the district of Midnapur to the south was no doubt still then a part of Utkala but the bulk of the population continued to be the rude Utkalas whom Hiuen Tsiang describes as uncivilised, tall of stature and of a yellowish black complexion. Some portions of the districts of Balasore and Cuttack seem to have been included at this time in the Utkala country and the Rajas having their seat somewhere in the vicinity of Mayurbhanj (J. R. A. S., N. S., Vol. VI, p. 249) presumably governed the newly formed Utkala country during the seventh century A.D. That the capital town of Utkala during the earliest days of Hindu influence was in the northern part of that country is fully supported by the statement of Hiuen Tsiang that the capital of "U-cha" (Utkala) was over 200 miles to the north of "Kongada" country. It has now been established by the discovery of old inscriptions that the district of Puri bore the name Kongada in the seventh century A.D., and Śaśāṅka *alias* Narendra Gupta of Karna-suvarṇa was about then its mighty overlord. The country of Kalinga became limited at the time to the territories where Telegu is now spoken.



## LECTURE IV

### GAUḌA, RĀḌHĀ AND VANGA.

It is regrettable that it is too often assumed by some Bengali scholars devoted to historical research, that in the 9th century and earlier the name Gauḍa signifies Bengal. That the name Gauḍa is of comparatively recent origin, and that we do not meet with the name during the time of the Imperial Guptas, must be admitted by all. In the Calcutta edition of the Matsya Purāṇa (Ch. XII, 30) it has been stated that Śrāvastī was founded in the Gauḍa deśa by Rājā Śrāvasta, son of Yuvanāśva of the Ikṣāku family.<sup>1</sup> The date of this passage is unknown, but it can be said that for the well-known town Śrāvastī to have been founded by the Rājā in the Gauḍa deśa, Gauḍa must have been lying to the north of Kośala and to the north-west of Mithilā. That this was the geography of Gauḍa in the eighth century A.D., is perfectly clear from poet Vākpati's description in his Gauḍa-vaho Kāvya. The hero of the poem first proceeded against the king of Magadha who was also the Lord of Gauḍa, and after having slain him led his army against the king of Bengal, whose territory lay far to the east near the sea coast (verses 413, 417, 418 and 419). On noticing the fact, that Yaśovarman did not proceed to any other part of Bengal, and some time after his return home at the termination of his warlike

<sup>1</sup> By referring to the text of the Purāṇa it will be unmistakably seen that the old Kośala country of the Ikṣākus has been described and place names in Oudh and its neighbourhood have been strictly discussed; there will then be no room for supposition that this reference to Śrāvastī is to any other Śrāvastī of any other province lying outside the Oudh territory.

expedition went straight to Oudh to erect a pillar at Ayodhya to signify his already accomplished conquest of Magadha-cum-Gauḍa, we cannot but be inclined to hold that Gauḍa at this time lay to the north of Magadha.

The meaning or import of the word Gauḍa is not very clear. Those who keep cattle and sell milk are called Gauḍa in Orissa; here this term must either be the Apabhraṃśa form of Gopāla or a slightly changed form of the Vedic word Gaura which meant wild ox as well as buffalo. If the origin of the name has anything to do with the term Gopāla, we may identify Gopāla Kakṣa of Mahābhārata with the Gauḍa country of our inquiry, since Gopāla Kakṣa is placed near about Kośala, and not far away from the Kauśiki Kaccha or the valley watered by the Kuśī (M. Bh., Sabhā, XXX, 5). The evidence of the Purāṇas is in support of this identification. We get the name of a tribe called Gomanta (those who keep cattle) just after the name of the Magadha people, in the enumeration of the eastern tribes in the 44th verse of the 57th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. In the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV, 123) after enumerating the tribes of Assam and North Bengal, the Videhas and other tribes of north Bihār have been mentioned; in this enumeration the Govindas come after the Magadhas, while we get Gomanta for Govinda in the Mārkaṇḍeya. The geography of Gauḍa as indicated above and the presence of a tribe near about that Gauḍa with the name Gomanta or Govinda persuade me to believe that the word Gauḍa is derived from the name of a tribe who grazed cattle and kept dairy.

When Alberuni visited India, Thāneśwar was included in the Gauḍa country. Mr. Jackson has rightly observed with reference to this extension of Gauḍa country that "this explains why the Sārasvat Brāhmaṇas of the holy

Sarasvatī are the Gauḍas *par excellence*," and why Gauḍa and Vaṅga are mentioned separately in the Barodā grant of 812 A.D. We find in the second volume of the Cochin Tribes and Castes by Mr. A. K. Iyer that the Brāhmaṇas in that country who claim to be Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas and have now no manner of knowledge of the geography of northern India, assert on the strength of their family tradition that a place called Trihotrapur was their original home. This Trihotrapur must be identified with Tirhut or Terhot which also once fell within the limits of Gauḍa. Mr. Iyer says that these Brāhmaṇas still use some words in their speech, which belong to the Prākṛta of Magadha and Mithilā. I myself noticed that the women of this sect of the Brāhmaṇas wear a single Sāree like the women of Mithilā and Bengal, and do not dress themselves like the other Brāhmaṇa women of the southern country.

The political condition of Bengal from the latter half of the eighth century to the twelfth century A.D. during the supremacy of the Rājās who on account of their having compounded their names with the word Pāla, are known as Pāla kings, has been clearly set out by Babu Rakhaldas Banerjee in two easily available works. I shall therefore refer briefly to those facts alone of that period, as have direct bearing upon my subject. The early Pāla rulers were principally lords of Gauḍa and Magadha, and ruled Bengal from their headquarters in Bihar. As a dependency or as an annexed province of Magadha-cum-Gauḍa, Northern Bengal which lies between Mithilā and Assam, could at this time be called Gauḍa or a part of Gauḍa, but it must not be forgotten that in the Geography of the Purāṇas Northern Bengal has always been mentioned as a tract lying outside the limits of Gauḍa and Mithilā. Let me cite an analogous case to explain the situation. When Orissa constituted a part

of the Presidency of Bengal, the term Bengal could be found in some works of history and geography to signify Orissa along with Bengal proper ; if because of such political inclusion of Orissa in Bengal, no portion of Orissa could be confounded with Bengal proper, no one will be justified to identify any portion of the Varinda country with the Gauḍa Deśa of the 9th century, or of earlier times.

When the Westerners such as the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas became supreme all over Bihar, the successors of Nārāyaṇa Pāla ruled over a limited area which is supposed to be the Rājha country, having lost Gauḍa and Magadha. When these successors of Nārāyaṇa Pāla lost their real dignity, Northern Bengal came into the possession of a Mongolian tribe known in History as the Kāmbojas. Very likely these Kāmbojas came from Farther India, but no discussion on the point is here necessary. When Mahīpāla regained the possession of Northern Bengal, he styled himself as Gauḍeśvara in memory of the past glory of the family. True it is that Mahīpāla and his successors regained subsequently a footing in Mithilā and Magadha, but the good old time did not return. Constant invasion of Bihar by the Westerners and the permanent domination of the province by some of them, wrought such changes as had far-reaching effect both in Bihar and Bengal.

We have seen that in Rājha, Pundrabardhan and Vaṅga, that is to say all throughout the country of Bengal, Māgadhī culture including the Māgadhī speech was prevailing since long ; and now we see that at the transfer of the capital of the Pāla Rajas from Magadha to Bengal the chance for a very free development of Māgadhī civilization in Bengal became very great. If we compare to-day the eastern Bihārī speech with Bengali

on one side, and with what is called Western Bhojpuri on the other, we find that the Eastern Bihāri speech, in its colloquial and vulgar form, agrees in many essential points with Bengali and differs much from Western Bhojpuri. This fact has been noted by Hærnle and Grierson. The fact is that Bihar of to-day is altogether a changed country on account of the mighty influence of the Westerners, while Bengal continues to be the real heir and representative of old Bihar.

Incessant migrations and displacements of various tribes make it uncertain as to which people formed the substancial lower stratum in Rāṭha, when the civilisation fostered in Karnaśuvarṇa was humanizing the frontier lands of Vaṅga. The Puṇḍras are found mentioned in the Purāṇas once in conjunction with the Suhmas and another time in North Bengal, on Assam frontier in the company of two other tribes, namely, the Pravijayas and the Bhārgavas. It seems that the Puṇḍras thrived better in North Bengal, while in Rāṭha they could not secure any prominent position. Of the other tribes mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, either under the general name, the Pravangas (*i.e.*, the tribes of Vaṅga frontier), or as stray tribes such as Māla, Māhiṣika, and Mānabattika, we get to-day the representatives of the Māl people in Bānkura and Mānbhūm, and the Mānas of the Mānabattikas may only be surmised to have been the originators of the geographical name Mānbhūm.

The epigraphic records of a line of rulers of some parts of Orissa and Dak-iṇa Kośala during the tenth and eleventh centuries disclose some facts which are of real interest in the history of Bengal. I have given elsewhere these rulers the designation Kośalendras, as their political activities lay principally in the Sambalpur tract. These Kośala, Guptas, though they originally came of the family

of Śiva Gupta of Rājim and Ratanpur (Chattisgarh Division, C. P.), their immediate ancestors, or rather the branch of the Kośala family to which they belonged, got something to do in ruling some parts of Bengal. It is found recited in the plates of Yayāti who is the second ruler of this line (*vide* my paper in J. B. & O., March 1916) that his father Janamejaya and after him he himself, became Kośalendra as well as the lords of Trikalinga or the sea-board tracts of Orissa and Gañjam, and that the family to which they belonged, was a ruling family somewhere in Vaṅga as clearly distinguished from Rāḍha and Varinda. These Kośala Guptas had a large number of Bengali Kāyasthas in their service (*vide* my paper, Ep. I. XI), and in the course of their inroads into the Sambalpur tract helped lots of Bengali people to settle permanently in Sambalpur, Sonepur and Bolāngir-Pāṭṇā. The Tewars (or Tivaras or Dhivaras) who migrated from Bengal in large number, call themselves Bongālis, though in language as well as in other matters they have become Oria, and do not even know where Bengal is. The Orias call it a Baṅgāli Paṭṭā where the Tewars live. It is amusing to note that the Tewars who live now over 400 miles away from the farthest limit of Bengal and do not know even a syllable of our language, returned Bengali as their language at the census of 1911 to the census officer of Bolāngir Pāṭṇā. As we meet with the Kalitās in Northern Bengal, and also get a very large number of Kultās in the Sambalpur tract, and as the widely apart Kultās and Kalitās agree in many social customs, I throw out this suggestion that a clan of the Puṇḍras bore the caste name in question, and those of them who did not proceed to North Bengal, got into the Sambalpur tract in the time of the Kośalendras as Śūdra cultivators. That a large number of Aryanised people was necessary

for the new Rājās in a backward country full of aboriginal tribes, cannot be much doubted.

I shall show what indelible marks our language put upon the Oriā speech as prevails in the Sambalpur tract, when in a subsequent lecture I shall take notice of the old forms of our language. The epigraphic records of Bengal proper, of the Kōśala Guptas and of the Chola kings have amply proved that even during the time of the later Pālas the different parts of Bengal bore different country-names of Varendra, Uttara Rājha Daksina Rājha and Vaṅga, though the general name Vaṅga prevailed as the country-name over all the tracts. It is only to be noted that Suhma which lost its name long ago, became then a province of Vanga, and the tract covered by the Contai subdivision got the name Daṇḍabhukti and became a Bhukti or subdivision of Vaṅga.

Some facts which reveal the plasticity of the society of Bengal during the time of the Pālas and Senas, may be noted to examine the old formative elements of our population. I have just spoken of the Bengali Kāyasthas as were in the service of the Kōśala Guptas; these Kāyasthas with their surnames Ghoṣa, Dutta and Nāga, have described themselves as Rājakas, that is to say, as descendants of the *Anabhiṣikta* families of the Rājās of Kōśala who must be regarded as Kṣatriyas. The Kōśala Guptas were Kṣatriyas, since from Tībaradeva downwards the Rājās of this line formed their marriage alliance with the recognised Kṣatriya families of Northern India; the Rājās of Kōśala and their descendants assumed the title Gupta from the time of their connection with the Magadha Guptas. I may mention here that the rule or custom still continues in the Rāj families of Orissa, that the descendants of the *Anabhiṣikta* members of

the Rāj family become Bābus,<sup>1</sup> and these Bābus are employed as ministerial officers.

More interesting seems to me the history of the Vaidyas of Bengal who like the Kāyasthas are in no way inferior to the Brāhmaṇs in intellectual powers and moral virtues. The term Vaidya, we all know, is singularly peculiar to Bengal to indicate a *caste*; this term for medical profession may be assumed by any man of any caste from Brāhmaṇ downwards, in other parts of India. It is an interesting history how a high class of people got Vaidya as a caste-name in Bengal. As the Vaidyas acknowledge universally, because of their family tradition, that their origin has to be traced from the Sena Rājās of Bengal, we should see what history we may get of the origin of these Senas.

That the Senas described themselves as Karnāṭa Kṣattriyas, i.e., the Kṣattriyas of the Dravidian country, is well-known. Referring to these Senas and the rulers of their kin, who once became supreme in the Northern Mithilā, Mr. R. D. Banerjee writes in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V. No. 3 :

"The invasion of the Coḷa King did not change the political divisions of the country, but it left one permanent mark in the shape of a body of settlers who occupied the thrones of Bengal and Mithilā, as the Sena and Karnāṭa dynasties, during the latter days of the Pālas (p. 73)." To unveil the mystery of the warlike people who came with Rājendra Coḷa and settled in Western Bengal,

<sup>1</sup> The term Bābu is a diminutive of Bābā and is a term of endearment generally; the Bengali word Bāpu to signify this meaning is of similar origin being derived from Bāpā; Bāpā is another variant of Bāpu.



we have to peep into the history of some castes of Southern India.

Regular Brāhmanic supremacy and the settlement of new Brāhman in Southern India commenced, no doubt from the 10th century A.D., when Jaina supremacy came almost wholly to an end, but Brāhmanic ideas had commenced to prevail over Jainism nearly a century earlier to pave the way for the new condition of things, which dates from the 10th century A.D. Very likely those who had priestly functions in the Jaina temples, assumed Brāhmanic rank during the earliest period of Brāhmanic influence, for we get such genuine Dravidian sects as the Kammalas and the Visva-Brāhman who though not recognised by the modern Brāhmaṇs as men of Brāhmanic order, do return themselves as Brāhman and perform priestly functions in the houses of many people of lower order. The Vellālas who were superior to the sects named above, and who were known for their military prowess, became Brāhman sometime earlier than the 10th century A.D. As to the derivation of the term 'Vellāla' there are two views; according to one it comes from 'Vellam' (flood) and 'alan' (ruler); according to the other derivation the word comes from 'vel' the god of war. Both these derivations suit the Vellālas who were once dominant people in the country. It is a historical fact that these Vellālas of warlike disposition studied the Vedas and performed fire-rights, when Brāhmanic influence commenced to grow in the land; on account of their knowledge or rather the study of the Vedas they got the designation Vaidya in southern country. This term Vaidya does not signify or relate to medical profession. That besides being engaged in Vedic studies the Vellālas or the Vaidyas became military leaders and high civil officers of the Rājās, is what we know from the old records. Many

Vaidyas are known to have become the priests of the Dravidian Kings, and their occupying the situation of high class officers of the Coḷa as well as the Pāṇḍya Rājās is also on record. It is also very significant to note that the Vaidyas or the Vellālas who were not employed in the rāj service as mentioned above, followed very generally the medical profession, though this profession did not give them the name Vaidya. In Southern India the physicians were called *Ambattans* and not Vaidyas. The barbers once took largely to the medical profession, and now the barbers in general are called by the honorific name *Ambaṭṭan*, though this term does not really indicate the barber caste.

I strongly suggest that the Vaidyas of Bengal owe their origin to the Vellāla Vaidyas, with reference to the above facts which may be summarized as below :

(a) The Vellālas were Vaidyas because of their Vedic studies, were recruited as high officers of the Rājās and were physicians very commonly.

(b) The Vellāla Vaidyas are known to have been in service of the Coḷa Rājās.

(c) Those who came to Bengal at the time of the Coḷa invasion, described themselves as the people of *Karnāṭa*.

(d) Those who claim to be the descendants of the Senas, are physicians by profession, wear Brāhmaṇical thread, call themselves Vaidya, and assert the right and privilege to read the Vedas.

(e) The term Vaidya as the name of a caste is unknown elsewhere in Northern India and is peculiar to Bengal alone.

Though the surname Sena can be easily explained without referring to any caste-name in the southern country, I may mention this fact that a section of the Vellāla Vaidyas in the Tamilakam country is known by

the name Shānan. If my suggestion is not a bad one and may at least be considered arguable, I point out the fact that an early Rājā of the Sena dynasty had the name Ballāla which is meaningless in a Sanskrit language but is honorific in the South Indian speech according to the derivation already given. I may consider another fact along with it. The name of the ancestor of the Senas who first settled in Bengal, is not known, but the claim of the Senas that they belong to the Chandra Vamśa, has some reference perhaps to the name of their ancestor; that the first military leader from whom the Senas traced their pedigree, bore the name Chandra, appears pretty certain from what the poet Gobardhan Acārya has written in his 'Āryā Saptasati; the word রাকা (full moon) as occurs in the 39th verse is what I allude to here. The line of the verse stands as :

সকল কলা: কল্পিত্ত্ব প্রভু: প্রবক্ষ্য কুমুদবকোচ ।

সেনকুলভিলক ভূপতি রেকো রাকা প্রদোষত ॥

To complete my survey of the races and tribes of different parts of the presidency of Bengal who after adopting the speech which flowed in from Magadha and Mithilā, developed some provincial peculiarities in the language, I should mention that the Indo-Chinese people of Farther India raided Bengal from time to time. The sway which the people of the Mekhong Valley established once in Eastern Bengal is perhaps still commemorated in some geographical names. I suspect that the river Meghnā in eastern Bengal is the changed form of the name Mekhong. As to the Indo-Chinese origin of the name Dacca I do not entertain any doubt: the word Dhakkā means "old Ganges" in the language of the

people of the Mekhong Valley, and we get the river Budji-Gangā flowing past the town called Dacca.\*

Lots of geographical names in the Bengal Presidency as well as in other parts of India remain unexplained, and such names as Hooghly, Bentra, Tāki, Jāguliā, etc., appear meaningless to us though it is perfectly certain that our meaningless geographical names had some meaning in some forgotten speech of past time. That the anthropologists and the philologists have collected a deal of information regarding the old races and their languages by rightly interpreting the seemingly meaningless geographical names, is perhaps too well-known. In Bengal it is a huge task fraught with numerous difficulties. In the first place, many old tribal dialects have now died out altogether; secondly, many names have been partly transformed into other names, because of the altered pronunciation of them by people who speak now quite a different speech; and thirdly, in our mania to Sanskritize the old names we have intentionally effaced the history which was impressed upon the old geographical names. As this subject requires a separate and independent treatment, I need not dilate on it any further.

\* The Lāos have been the principal people of the Mekhong Valley; this induces me to suppose that the name Lao Sen as a name of an old time Emperor of Bengal, is only a generalised form to indicate that the Lāu people once came into Bengal. The curious form of the name is altogether non-Indian, for Lāu (a gourd) is not likely to be the name of an anointed Hindu Emperor.

## LECTURE V

### *The influence of the Dravidian speech on Bengali*

*Old racial elements in Bengal.*—What I have narrated and discussed in Lectures II, III and IV, may not be accepted by all as wholly correct in all their details, but one fact I may dare say stands out very prominently into relief, viz., some races of man closely allied to the Kalinga people of old (whose descendants speak the Telugu tongue to-day) had been in possession of Bengal as ruling races before the people of Aryan culture poured into the land to dominate them. It may be fairly presumed that in those olden days the whole of the East Coast of India was principally swayed by those who used one form or another of the Dravidian speech. This statement does not preclude the possibility in those early days of the existence of some other tribes both in Bengal and elsewhere who had for their speech other tribal languages. Now it could not but have been the case that when the Kalinga people were left perfectly free to pursue their own culture, the people of their kin in Bengal commenced to lose their own language by coming under the domination of the people of superior culture. Thus the old language of the Kalinga people could, in course of time, assume a new form by being differentiated from the old speech best represented to-day by Tamil, while the people of Bengal could only retain some words of their old-time language in their old archaic form. It will therefore be no riddle to us if we find on examining the old linguistic survivals in Bengali ~~that~~ the forms retained in Bengali, do in many cases

agree more with Tamil of farthest south than with Telugu of a comparatively northern country. This is what I ask all to remember when I propose to measure the Dravidian influence upon our language.

‡ *Non-Aryan influence admitted by all.*—The Vedic or the Chhândasa speech was very much changed when the Brāhmaṇas were composed; the language of the Brāhmaṇas again differs widely in many essential particulars from what is called the classical Sanskrit, as well as from the speech which has unfortunately come to be designated by the name Pali. That the later Prākṛtas and the provincial vernaculars differ similarly from one another as well as from the earlier speech, is a well-known fact. Even the scholars who are mere linguists and have only made a comparative study of all the modern vernaculars of North India without taking into consideration the ethnic characteristics of the speakers thereof, have not failed to notice that the changes and deviations from the form cannot be wholly explained by those laws which some Prākṛta grammarians and philologists have formulated to account for all sorts of linguistic changes and modifications. Some modern philologists have, however, discerned that the influence of some people other than the original speakers of the Aryan tongues must have been at work in bringing about the aforesaid changes, though no particular non-Aryan people has been pointed out, from whom this influence might have emanated.

*Cerebral sounds and Sten Konow's views.*—Looking to the fact that cerebral sounds prevail very much in the Dravidian speech it has been vaguely asserted by some that some Dravidian people in their close relation with the speakers of the Aryan speech, exercised such an influence with the latter as had the effect of inducing

dentals to be changed into cerebrals. Mr. Sten Konow's remarks on this point as appear in the IVth volume of the Linguistic Survey of India, are very correct in my opinion. Since such a change of a dental into a cerebral is not wholly unknown in some Indo-European languages, Mr Sten Konow considers quite possible that the Indo-Aryan cerebrals developed quite independently without there being any special inducing cause. Referring then to the phenomenon in the later Prākṛtas that there is almost a wholesale change of dentals into cerebrals, the learned scholar offers a very reasonable suggestion which I quote in his own words :—"The cerebral letters, however, form an essential feature of Dravidian phonology, and it therefore seems possible, that Dravidian influence has been at work, and at least given strength to a tendency which can, it is true, have taken its origin among the Aryans themselves."

One fact relating to the cerebral pronunciation as has not hitherto been noticed, though very noteworthy, is that even though cerebral letters prevail very much in Dravidian speech, these letters are never initials of genuine Dravidian words. Curiously enough, we observe this very peculiarity in the Vedic as well as in the early time classical Sanskrit; in later Sanskrit however, there are many words which though not onomatopoeitic in origin, have cerebrals for initials. 'Tāṁka' (the top of the hill), 'ṭhakkura' or 'ṭhakura' (a word of respect), 'ḍamaru' (a musical instrument), and 'ḍhuk' (to signify entering into) are some examples. As India has been the home of divers races of men since remotest antiquity, it is difficult or rather unsafe to particularize definitely the influence of any special non-Aryan race, as the sole cause of various classes of linguistic change. ११

*Cerebrals in Bengali.*—I should notice in this connection an important peculiarity of Bengali phonology which has not to my knowledge been hitherto noticed. It has already been made pretty clear that some people who were once closely allied to the speakers of Dravidian speech ethnically as well as in culture, form the bulk of our Bengali-speaking population; yet it is to be noted as a fact that the cerebral letters are not so much cerebral as they are dental with us. If we carefully notice our pronunciation of the letters of the 'T' class, we will see that we articulate 'T' and 'D', for example, almost like English T and D without turning up the tip of the tongue much away from the region of the teeth. We can detect this peculiarity very clearly, if we compare our sounds with those of the Mahrattas. As we articulate 'D' and 'Dh' more as dental than cerebrals, we have been required to introduce two new consonants ढ and ढ़ to produce special cerebral sounds; that for the latter sounds the letters 'D' and 'Dh' quite do in other provinces, is well known. This natural organic aversion to articulate cerebral letters with distinctness explains why the cerebral 'N' is uttered wholly as dental 'N', and why in some eastern districts ढ and ढ़ are wholly pronounced as 'R' and 'Hra' (ह्र); in Eastern Bengal the letters are not articulated by the learners of the Alphabet, but their physical appearance is described as ढ-এ ঞ্চ and ढ़-এ ঞ্চ letters.

*Phonetic agreement and disagreement with Assamese.*—It should be noted in this connection that the people of Assam are wholly in agreement with the Bengalees in the matter of pronouncing 'N' and other cerebral letters, while in all other provinces of India the cerebral sound of 'N' is distinctly brought out. The students of Indian phonetics should not, however, lose sight of the fact that



the Assamese discloses many phonetic peculiarities which are wholly unknown in Bengal, though in respect of one point as noted above, agreement exists between Assam and Bengal.

The title of this discourse indicates that an attempt will be made here to trace the Dravidian influence upon the Bengali Language ; true it is so, but to do this work well we should face all sorts of difficulties that beset our path in this direction. We may fail to account for the peculiarities referred to here and we may fail also to trace the origin of many words in common use in Bengali, as are not of Sanskritic origin and not also of Dravidian origin, but we should not fail to notice them as important factors in our language, remembering that our country could not but preserve many relics of many tribes of unknown origin who have now wiped off completely their tribal history.

*Kirānti influence considered.*—The phenomenon I have spoken of, may be partly explained by postulating a Kirānti influence ; but since when and to what extent this influence has been in existence, need be inquired into. The earliest reference to the Kirātas occurs in the Atharva Veda which discloses a good deal of knowledge of the eastern lands from where the original form of our speech flowed into our country. We find in the Atharva Veda (X, 4, 14) that the Kirāta women were employed to dig out medicines for use as charms in the Himalayan region. That the Kirātas were mountaineers, is clear from some statements in the Vājasaneyi (XXX, 16 etc.) and in other later Saṁhitās. These hilly people have been mentioned, however, in Manu (X, 41) as Vṛātya Kṣattriyas. We get in the Brāhmaṇa literature in connection with the story of Asamāti, that the Kirāta priests who knew charms, came into prominence in the

Aryan society. I cannot say if the dark yellow colour of skin ascribed to the Kṣātriyas in the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, has anything to do with Kirāta intermixture. The Kirāta cult of magical charms and mystic *mantras* having been universal in Northern India, a special influence of the Kirātas in Bengal cannot be formulated.

It is true that in Eastern as well as in Northern Bengal direct Mongolian influence can be formulated from some known facts of history. It is also true that the inability to articulate  $\Psi$  and  $\Phi$  occurs in some eastern districts only, but not in Northern Bengal. The consonants of  $\bar{v}$  class, however, are made very much palatal in Eastern Bengal unlike what the Mongolians do, while these consonants are made semidentals or rather pronounced by almost closing the teeth in Central Bengal. This question, however, will be discussed in a subsequent lecture.

*Distinct Dravidian influence.*—It is really very curious that some peculiarities which are doubtless due to Dravidian influence, have been sought to be explained by some eminent philologists by a cause other than the real one. Such an eminent scholar as Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar considers such changes in the oldest known Prākṛta, as Dhammo for Dharma, Saṁkappo for Saṁkalpa, Siloka for Śloka, etc., to be due to the natural vocal tendencies of the Aryan speakers themselves. Explanation for these changes was not sought anywhere outside the mouth of the speakers, as the influence of the Dravidians who now reside far away from the limits of Northern India, could not be thought of forty years ago, when the Wilson Philological Lectures were delivered in 1877. The fact that the Dravidians could once be the neighbours of the Aryans in the Northern country, did not suggest to the scholars. I have mentioned before

that according to the Dravidian traditions all the dominant tribes of South India migrated from Northern provinces to Peninsular India. It is a distinct and definite characteristic of essential nature in the Tamil language that an initial of a word can *never be formed of double consonants*, and compound letters formed of consonants of different Vargas can occur nowhere in a word. If we refer the changes under consideration to the essential peculiarities of the Tamil speech, our problem will be solved. Compounding of 'R' with 'M' as in 'Dharma' and 'L' with 'P' as in 'Sañkalpa' cannot be tolerated according to this rule, and to maintain the long sounds of the compound letters in question the very letters have to be doubled. This is how at first in Prākṛta the consonants joined unto 'R' were doubled by dropping the 'R' or ʾ (रेक्), and then in giving Sanskrit form to the changed words additional ʾ (रेक्) was added, and the new rule was formulated that a consonant may be optionally doubled if it is joined unto 'R' in the shape of a ʾ (रेक्). If we compare the early Prākṛta forms or the so-called early Pali forms with the later Prākṛta forms, we can see that as time went on, the Dravidian influence went on increasing; the early forms such as Brāhmaṇa, Sneha, etc., as have been considered to have been exceptions by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, were reduced to Barāmmaṇa or Berāmmaṇa and to Sineha or Neha, etc., at a later time.

Dravidian 'Ku'.—When by about 1865 Bishop Caldwell suggested that the Tamil 'Ku' as a dative-denoting suffix was identical with Oriya 'Ku', Bengali 'Ke' and Hindi 'Ko', denoting exactly the dative case, a host of critics rose up to throw away the right suggestion of the Bishop. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar clearly saw the mistake of Trumpp and Beams, but could not accept

the suggestion of Caldwell, as he thought that a Dravidian language could not possibly influence the Aryan speech in that manner. Trumpp suggested that 'Ke' of Bengali came from 'Kṛte' and Beams rightly rejected the derivation, as 'Kṛte' could not signify the sense conveyed by 'Ke'. Beams himself, however, was wrong when he sought to derive the suffix denoting the dative from old Hindi 'Kahā'. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar showed that as in no Prākṛita, either 'Kṛte' or 'Kahā' (derived from 'Kaksa' according to Mr. Beams) signified any dative sense, the proposed derivation could not be accepted. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar is right that for many case-denoting suffixes we have to look to pronouns and pronominal roots, but his imaginary case that 'KehI' as well as 'TehI' *might have been in use* to signify instrumentality, and 'KehI' might have been subsequently used to denote a dative case, cannot be accepted, or rather may be easily rejected by using the very argument with which the learned scholar himself has rejected the theory of Mr. Beams. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion that 'Rāma's Kahā' might mean at first "Rāma's somewhere," and thence the sense "to give to Rāma," might have originated, is very faulty as the old time forms do not warrant such transformation. The derivation would not have been sought in such a roundabout manner, if the cause of such changes as 'Dhammo', 'Sainkappo' and 'Siloko' could then be rightly detected.

That it is the Dravidian 'Ku' which has been adopted in some Aryan vernaculars as the dative-denoting suffix, receives further confirmation when we look to the use of it in Oriya. It has to be first noticed that 'Ku' is the very form which is in use in Oriya; we notice next that to indicate 'to do' or 'for doing' in a special idiomatic form, this dative-indicating suffix is employed

in Oriya exactly in the manner in which it is done in Tamil. Corresponding to 'Karibār' or rather 'Karibār jānya' of Bengali we get 'Karibāku' (along with 'Karibā pāi') in Oriya in agreement with the Tamil idiom; 'Perakku' (for increasing), 'Pāgaku' (for dividing) etc., are specially idiomatic in Tamil. In Hindi, 'Ka' (in the shape of 'Kā' or 'Ke' or 'Ki') is used after 'Karnā', 'Jānā' etc., to signify this sense (as in 'Karnekā', 'Jānekā' etc.) by making the forms doubly infinitive as it were.

*Position of the Dravidians.*—How the Dravidian people could influence the speakers of the Aryan speech in dim past, should be a subject of special research. Many ethnological problems relating to the Dravidians, have not yet been solved. The ethnologists of our time agree in the main that the Dravidians have been autochthonous in India; even though this proposition is not free from doubts and difficulties, the situation of the Dravidians in India as neighbours of the Aryans since the earliest time of Aryan activities, cannot be denied. Again, adverting to a list of the races of man made out either by the ethnologists or by the linguists, we can see that the representatives of all races in greater or smaller number came to live in India, and did not find the country an uncongenial home. How the jetsam and flotsam of the floating races of the world were absorbed in the main body of the Indian population, is impossible now to ascertain. I cannot discuss all these questions here; but this fact relating to the range of influence of the Dravidians during the days of early migrations of peoples should be present in our mind, for the ethnologists are giving us new facts every day pointing to a widespread influence of the Dravidians in remote past.

What important disclosures will be made in this direction at the right interpretation of the newly-discovered remains at Harappā and Mohenjodāro, we do not know ; what relation subsisted once between the Dravidians and the old people of Sumer and Akkad has not also been duly ascertained as yet. It is beyond my depth to say anything either in favour or against the suggestion of Sten Konow (J. R. A. S., 1912) that the Etruscans of Italy were originally of Dravidian descent and that the Etruscan language discloses some characteristics of the Dravidian speech, but it is pretty certain that the Dravidians had once an extensive influence in India and its neighbourhood.

*Influence of Dravidian Speech on Sanskrit.*—The influence of this people here in India is all that concerns us. I proceed therefore to show that the early time speech of India was not free from the Dravidian influence. Patanjali's *Maṭṭbhāṣya* proves that much was done to maintain the purity of the classical Sanskrit ; yet borrowing of words from Dravidian sources could not be altogether stopped.

The subjoined list of a small number of words of undoubted Dravidian origin in use in the Aryan languages of various times will show to some extent the influence of the ubiquitous Dravidians upon the people of Aryan culture in all ages. The influence spoken of will be noticed to be of different nature and character in different ages and in different provinces. A trade relation or a social contact of not very close character is all that is traceable in very early times, but the influence of the Dravidians in Magadha and its neighbourhood at the time of the formation of the so-called Pali language, appears to be considerable ; later on this influence seems to have been very deep and abiding upon the Aryan tongue in use in the province of Bengal.

✓ *A List of Dravidian Words in Aryan speech*

(1,2,3) *Kāla* to signify 'black' does not occur in Vedic but is in later Sanskrit and Pali; it cannot be derived from *Kṛṣṇa*. Drav. *Kar* (=black, as in *Karā+ Nādu* = *Karnādu* or Canara) which is also spelt in some words with 'l' final, is the original word. From the root *Kar* we get the Tamil word *Karappu* (black). I am strongly inclined to hold that '*Kāla*' signifying 'time', comes from this source since 'darkness' and 'fate' are associated with the idea of it in its early time use. Macdonell has pointed out that the use of it is only once in the R. V. and that too in the late tenth book; he shows also that the use in the A. V. discloses the meaning of 'fate'. This word should not be cofounded with '*Kal*' (pronounced as '*Kāl*') from which also comes '*Khal*', a stone vessel in Bengali as in S. '*Udukhalā*'.

(4,5,6) *Kaṭu*, *Kuṭi* or *Kuṭara*, and *Kuṭumba*—To determine the origin of these words this principle has to be borne in mind here as well as in other discussions that *words which are without roots in real Sanskrit but are well rooted in another language and are in the company of other words of cognate meaning derived from the living roots of the soil*, should be presumed to be borrowed words; that words of foreign origin may at times simulate the appearance of Aryan words, should also be kept in mind. *Kaṭu* as *Kaṭuā* in Hindi is almost Drav. in form. For *Kuṭi* compare the Tamil root *Kuṭi* occurring in *Kuṭisāi* (Tamil) and *Gudise* (Telugu) signifying exactly a hut; Vernacular *Kuṭe* or *Kuṭiā* is nearer to the original.

(7) *Kuṭṭam* (spelt as *Kuṭram*) signifies 'blame' as well as 'bad moral conduct' in Tamil; this word is traceable in S. *Kuṭṭini* and Vernacular *Kuṭni*.

(8) S. *Khaṭṭvā* is evidently from *Kaṭṭil*, a bedstead.

Borrowing of this word was at an early time, for *Khaṭṭvā* occurs in Panini though no genuine Aryan root for it is obtainable.

(9, 10) *Vala*, *Nārikel*—*Vala*, to surround, is now admitted to be the root of Sanskrit *Balaya*; the very form *Bālā* (a bangle or a bracelet) which is in use in Bengali, is met with in Dravidian. *Nārikel*, though unknown in the Vedic, has been a fruit of great importance with the Aryans. *Kel* was the old and original word for it in the Kerala country and then it was reduced to *Nāikel* (*Nāl*=good) in which form it is still current in the Kerala country; there is no doubt that the word and perhaps with the word the tree itself came to N. India from the above locality.

(11) *S. Tāmarasa*... a lotus comes undoubtedly from *Tāmarāi* Kumārila of the Tantra-Vārttika mentions it as a Tamil word in Sanskrit.

(12) *Nīra*..... This word as well as another synonym for water, viz., *Tuṣa*, naturally arouse our suspicion as their roots are unobtainable in genuine Sanskrit. 'Nīra' for water, does not occur in the Vedic speech, while the Drav. root of the word is in such other words as *A-ru* (tear drop) and *Ā-ru* (river); *Nīra* is *Nilu* in Telugu. It should be carefully remembered that such very familiar objects as 'water', 'fire', 'wind', etc., are expressed in all languages by one word only and synonyms for them in Sanskrit were originally (when of Sanskritic origin) adjectives indicating different qualities. The now common word 'Jala' for water comes from Vedic *Jalāṣa* (cooling); other synonyms need not be referred to for discussion. It is a well-known phenomenon that various tribes coming together with their tribal speech to form one people, may give rise to many synonyms for a word, and most of these synonyms may for some time live in non-literary



provincial dialects to assume literary dignity afterwards.

As to *Taya*, unknown in early times, we notice that an aboriginal tribe of Tippera uses this word for 'water', and *Tui* to signify 'water,' occurs in many dialects spoken in and near Manipur. T. C. Hodson shows (J.R.A.S., 1914. pp. 143-50), that this *Tui* is connected with Chinese *Sui*. The word in question may therefore be presumed to have come from the Kirāta source. The word *Kuri* for twenty occurs in some Mongolian speech in the Himalayan region; this word may be presumed to be identical with our Beng. *Kuḍi*, twenty.

(13) *Māma*. It is now well established that in ancient Indian Aryan language a special word to denote *mother's brother* was not in use. Again, we meet with *Mātura-Bhrātā* (evidently a variant of 'Mātur-Bhrātā') in the Brāhmaṇas; no doubt, the first component *Mātura* of this compound word assumed the form *Mātula* *Māma* of late Sanskrit must clearly have originated from Drav. *Māmu*.

(14) *Mālya* or *Mālā*. a garland (*Śrak*), is from Malai which is same as *Mālā*, for our final 's' is generally 'ai' in Tamil, (e.g., *Maṇi-Mekhalai* for *Maṇi-Mekhalā*); we should notice that Malai again is from colloquial Tamil *Mā* = flower. Because of this non-orthodox origin the use of the word has been prohibited in the Jaimini Gṛhyasūtra.

(15) *Malai*.. is mountain in Drav.; very likely in the third century B. C., when the Aryans after some acquaintance with the people of the south confounded the general name for a mountain with the name of a particular mountain, a *Malaya Giri* (tautology) was made the seat of spring breeze flowing from south.

(16) *Mina*...as a word to signify 'fish' was unknown not only in the Vedic but also in very old classical Sanskrit,

but this *Mīna* or fish which was on the ensign of the Pāndyas and was the name of the Dravidian tribe *Minavar*, became a synonym for *Mataya* and fish-god. as well, very likely when the Pāndyas established some relation with the northerners. *Mīna* of Tamil is also *Min* in the dialect of the Kandhs, and *Minu* in the Canarese tongue.

(17) For a synonym of *Śaṅkha*=conch shell (*Śaṁ* or blissful sound being blown through a *Kha*=a hollow or cavity), we get *Kambu* in late Sanskrit; this *Kambu* comes from Drav. *Kombu*=a horn (also,=branch). This article was no doubt obtained from southern sea-coast.

(18) *Tāmra*—for 'copper' is of late origin. *Loha* was perhaps copper originally when '*Ayas*' signified bronze. Very likely *Loha* came to designate 'iron' when a good quality of it was obtained from the land of the southerners in whose speech the copper is '*Śembu*' or '*chembu*'; the Dravidians have names of all metals in their speech and 'iron' is *Irumbu* with them.

(19) *Āli*..... a female companion in Drav., is admitted by all to have been borrowed in Sanskrit. We may note that *Āl* is a genuine word for 'man' in Tamil and '*Maṇidan*' is of late introduction.

(20) Hemchandra rightly notes that *Ghoḍo* is non-Sanskritic, which has been reduced to *Ghoṭaka* in Sanskrit now. This so called Deśī word seems to have been derived from Telugu *Gur-rā-mu* in which 'mu' is merely a suffix. In Telugu *Cor-u* signifies 'nail'; the *hoofed* animal *par excellence* seems to be *Gur-rā* or horse. Tamil *Pāri* is the oldest term for horse and *Kudirai* is a later word to indicate the swift running of the horse.

(21, 22) We notice in this connexion another phenomenon of equal importance. Some Sanskrit words naturalized by the Dravidians in their Drav. method

are found retaken in Sans. as new words, unconnected with their original forms; for instance, Dambha, reduced to *I-tampan*, has come again as *Ātopa* (cf. *Sātopam Parikramati*) in Sans., and the Drav. *Chettā* a derivative of *Śabda*, appears in Sanskrit in the form of *Chit* as in *Chithār*.

(23, 24, 25) We meet also with many Dravidian words in Pali; I cite only three examples here: *Āma* indicates 'assent'; this is exactly the meaning of the Tamil word *Āma*. *Inkha* signifies 'come here' in the imperative mood. Compare Tamil *Inke*, Marathi *Inkde* and Telugu *Ikde* indicating the same meaning; the Pali word appears also in Sanskrit as *Ingha*. The Tamil plural-forming suffix *Gal* is met with in *puppa-gal* (a nosegay) in Pali. It has been already noticed that reduction of many words into Pali such as *Dhammo*, *Samkappo* etc., has been according to Drav. phonetic peculiarity.

*Dravidian words in Bengali*—The words cited next are in use in Bengali principally, but it will be noticed that some of them are in general use in Northern Indian vernaculars. Special influence upon Bengali grammar will also be noted below. In respect of the spelling of many words occurring in the list below it has to be remembered that letters such as 'Kk,' 'Th,' 'Ph,' etc., do not occur in Tamil and the sounds of 'K', 'Kk', 'P', and 'T' are in many cases represented by 'Kk', 'G' 'Ph' and 'Th' in N. Drav. Tongues, and 'Ch' and 'Ś' are always identical in Tamil. That Āi as final is virtually 'Ā' has already been noticed.

How change in pronunciation and in consequence thereof change in spelling of such words as *Dhammo*, *Samkappo*, etc., occurred in Pali has been noticed above; it is phenomenal that this Dravidian phonetic

peculiarity is disclosed by Bengali alone to-day, and words like *Prahlāda* and *Brāhmaṇa* are pronounced in Bengal as *Pellād* and *Berāmmaṇ* respectively. Examples of some other Sanskrit derivatives reduced into Bengali exactly in Dravidian method are given here :

(1) In pure Dravidian like Tamil a vowel must come before the initial 'R' and 'L' and according to this rule we find that *Nagna* reduced to *Langa* or *Langā* has taken the vowel 'U' for initial to form the word *Ulanga* ; *Ulagan* is met with in a province of Orissa. (2) 'Ch' being same as 'Ś' in Dravidian, *Śālā* (house) has been reduced to *Chālā* and *Chāl*. (3) *Kuṭhār* has been reduced to *Koḍāl* and *Koḍālī* in some Dravidian speech, and we too have given currency to exactly similar forms *Kuḍal* and *Kuḍālī*, independently of the Dravidians. (4) We get *Pel* for *Bal* and *Palī* for *Balī* in Tamil ; *Pelāpelī* to signify a tug of war (*Balābal* = one *bal* against another) and *Pālwan* for *Balbān* are in use in Bengali. *Pelāpelī* is in old Bengali and also in Oriya and the modern form of it is *Thelātheli* ; *Pelāiā* corresponding to modern *Phelāiā* (throwing away) occurs in the Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana.

(26) *Aḍāi*—to enclose (virtually *Aḍā* ; it would be *Aḍā* in Beng. pronunciation). It gives us *Āḍ* as in *Āḍe-hāte* and also *Āḍā-āḍī* (each gaining ground and enclosing it for himself) ; *Āḍāl* (a hiding place), may also be derived from it ; but *Āvaraṇ* may also be referred to for its origin, as *Abḍāl* is another form of it.

(27) *Akkul*—'armpit,' occurs in a compound word to signify the very meaning in N. Bengal and in some part of E. Bengal. The compound word is *Kōthkul*. *Kōth* comes from the early form *Kuchhi* from Sans. *Kukṣi*. Ticklish sensation caused in the armpit is called *Kātu-kutu* in Bengal ; either the first portion or the second of this

duplicate word represents perhaps the old forgotten word once in general use.

(28) *Uḍuttu*—to wrap and to clothe, is most likely the progenitor of *Oḍṇā*, *Uḍuni* and Oriya *Uḍibā* (to cover with a cloth). It may also be derived indirectly from Sans. *Begṭana*.

(29) *Oram*—end or margin; *Ora-pāra* of Pali signifying the distant or unknown land across wide river or sea, is certainly from this word. To indicate the sense—there is no end of a thing, *Or-nāi* is in use in Bengali.

(30) From *Kakkirai* (cucumber) comes undoubtedly *Kākri* of Oriya; Beng. *Kākuḍ* is also from it though it does not always signify cucumber. By dropping the initial *Ka* was also obtained *Kkiri* to give us the word *Khirā* (a sort of cucumber). The word is used in this meaning in E. Bengal, in Midnapore and also elsewhere.

(31) *Kallā*—a clever but wily man in Beng., is from *allan* (a thief).

(32) Drav. *Kari* as in *Kaskari* has given the last component of Bengali *tarkāri* and from it Anglo-Indian word 'curry.' *Kai* (a fruit or vegetable) is in our *Kāibichi*=seed of tamarind.

(33, 34) *Kāṇā*—(pseudo-Sans. *Kāna*) from *Kana* (eye) the defect about which is indicated by the term. It appears in the form of *Kannu* in Telugu. Similarly from *Kel* (to hear) we get *Kālā* to signify a deaf. The noun form is *Kelu* in Tamil.

(35) *Kud*—to leap, is in many northern vernaculars including Bengali.

(36) The Oraons who speak Dravidian tongue have given us *Khokā-khuki* from their *Koktai Hādu* and *Kukki Hādu* (*Hādu*=child); it is exactly *Kokā* and *Kuki* which we get in some eastern districts.

(37) *Kattai*—of Tamil is *kattē* in Telugu ; it signifies a log of wood and in this sense the word *Khātua* is in use in some parts of E. Bengal.

(38) *Kaḍal*—signifies a sea in Tamil and *Khāḍal* is the northern form of it. We have exactly *Katāl* to signify the high tide coming from the sea, and the Bay of Bengal is called *Khāḍi*. It is also to be noted that the very word *Khāḍāl* is in use in some parts of Bengal to signify the stagnant portion of a river which may fitly be called a pool.

(39, 40) *Kottu* of Tamil is *Kuttā* in Telugu to mean to pick up ; *Khōtā* to pick up, is from it. Tamil *Kuḍ* to gather is also with us in *Kuḍāna* to gather or to collect. It is to be noted that *Kuḍāna* is in the shape of *Gulāna* in Midnapore, and *Guḍāna* and *Guṭāna* are but variants.

(41) Tamil *Kattu* (to bind) is our কট in Bengali ; the upper edge of our lower garment when tightened around the waist, a portion is tucked in to fasten the waist band and this tucked-in portion is called *Khot*.

(42, 43) Our *Gotā* (entire) is from *Okati* (one). The Oraon form *Gottān* conveys the same meaning. Tamil *Goḍā* signifies wall, hence basis or foundation. Beng. *Goḍā* indicates beginning or lower or base portion of a thing. From *Gondu* (Gum) we have got our *Gād*.

(44) *Chakkari* (beautiful) = *Chikari* of Bengali as in *Chikari Kālā* or *Chekṇāi*.

(45, 46) *Chapa* which is as good as *Sapa* has given us *Sap-chātāi* (a mat) ; merely *Sap* is also in use for a mat. Along with it *Pay* of Tamil is also in use for a mat, for in Telugu form *Ṭi* is added as in the case *Pṣ-ṭi*=mouth ; we clearly see that our *Pāṭi*, a fine mat, is from this word, *pay-ṭi*. It may be mentioned that *Mādur* (for mat) which is of general use is also of Kolarian origin (*Mād*=bamboo ; mat originally made of bamboo slips).

(47, 48) *Chinna* and *Sinna* (both Tamil and Telugu) = small. The old use of these words may be noticed in *Chinā-jok* (called also *Chhinā-jok*) a tiny leech. The Oriya form of the word is *Sāna* and in Nepalese also the word is in use in that sense and form. In the district of Sambalpur the third brother who is next below *Mājhiā* (*lit.* middle) or the second brother, is called *Sān Mājhiā* and sometimes in the contracted form *Sān-jiā* or *Sājiā* which corresponds exactly with *Sejo* of Bengal as in *Sej Dā*, both in form and meaning, and so the word *Sān* is embedded in the word *Sejo*. In the district of Midnapore *Sāna* actually occurs for the fourth brother that is after *Sājiā*. We notice another important word *Śiru* = small, for from this we have got our *Saru* (=thin).

(49, 50) Our *Chholā* (gram) comes from *Chollam* = gram in general. *Śol* which means 'sound' and 'whisper' has given us *Śor* as in *Śor-gol*.

(51) *Tāḍi* is beard in Tamil which exactly corresponds to *Dāḍi*. It is doubtful if *Dāḍi* as derived in a lexicon from *Damṣṭrā* is at all correct; for, such a roundabout expression for *Śmaśru* is hardly imaginable. Moreover, it is not easy to think that in Dravidian no name for beard existed and the word was only borrowed from northern country.

(52) *Tala* or *Talāi*, head,.....we get in such a phrase as *Māthār telo*; Sans. *Tālu* bears another meaning and has no connexion with it.

(53) *Toḍāi* (properly *Thoḍā*) is the name for the thigh; in E. Bengal *Thoḍā* is the word for the thigh.

(54) *Tittu* in Tamil signifies 'to abuse' and also secondarily 'to abuse with cruel joke.' Oriya *Thaṭṭā* and Beng. *Ṭhāṭṭā* are from it.

(55) *Nolā* = tongue; is in colloquial use in Bengali.

(56) *Niral* is primarily a shade and secondarily a place apart ; our *Nirālā* is from it.

(57) *Naḍa*—to move or to walk, is exactly the word in use in Bengali and Oriya to signify moving as well as running. *Naḍā* is to move, while *Nōḍ deoā* (*Nor debā*, Oriya of Sambalpur) is to run in East Bengal.

(58) *Piri*—to divide by keeping one part apart from another, is in use in the form *Pili* among the 'Baruis' of E. Bengal to indicate the separated lines made in planting *Pān* (a leaf used in chewing).

(59, 60) *Paṭṭu*=silk ; Sans. *Pattabastra* is from it *Paṭṭai* is the bark of a tree ; in Oriya *Paṭa* signifies the same thing. Our *Pāt*=jute, is from it as the bark is the important portion of the plant. Perhaps a dug-out having originally been made of bark of tree a boat is called *Pāṭuā* in Oriya and *Paḍagu* in Dravidian. It may reasonably be supposed that a word like *Paṭuā* to signify boat was once in use in Bengal, since *Pāṭuni* or *Pāṭni* is he who is a ferryman. Similar to *Paḍagu* the word *Paḍhou* (a boat) is in use in the Puri District.

(61) . *Pāl* of Tamil is *Pālu* in Telugu to signify milk. In the word *Pālān* signifying 'udder' of a cow this word has been retained in Bengali.

(62) *Pala*=many, is our *Pāla* or *Pāl*=a flock or a crowd.

(63) *Payaru*=peas, the indigenous pea of Bengal of small size is called *Payrā-maṭar*. (*Maṭar* is the Deśī word for Sans. *Kala*)

(64) *Billi*=cat ; it is *Bilai* in Kond speech as well as in Oriya ; E. Bengal term is also *Bilai*, while general Bengali term is *Biḍāl*. *Biḍāla* or *Biḍāra* for *Mārjjāra* is first met with in Pali and then in later Sanskrit.



(65) *Pillā*=child, has been retained in such a phrase as *chhele-pile* ; in E. Bengal *Polā* is in use. In Oriya *Pilā* is actually the term.

(66) *Puckchi*—or *Puchi* an insect; having been reduced to *Pukki*, has originated *Pokā* a worm in Bengal.

(67) *Magan*=a son, is also found in the form *Makkan* ; to give a son an endearing name this term is used in Bengal as *Mākhan* ; *Mākhanlāl* is a very common name in Bengal.

(68) *Muḍi*=to end, *Muḍivu*=the end ; our *Muḍā*=end is strongly supposed to be from this root. The word *Muḍā* (originally *Muḍhā*) as in *Māchher Muḍā* is certainly from *Muṇḍa* (head), but this *Muḍā* (as in *Kāpaḍer Muḍā* or in *Rāstar Moḍe*) cannot be easily associated with its homonym of *Muṇḍa* (head) origin ; it signifies exactly 'end.'

(69) Tamil *Motāi*, Telugu *Motā*, a bundle of luggage ; our *Moṭ* conveys the same meaning. In the Sambalpur area it is pronounced almost in Dravidian fashion as *Motā*.

(70) *Vattam*=low tide ; exactly in this sense the word *Bhūtā* is used in Bengali.

(71, 72) *Vāna* or *Vānan* is both 'sky' and 'rain' ; the meaning 'flood' is also noticeable in Telugu. *Bān* is flood in Bengali. *Vānā* is quite another word and its Telugu meaning is 'banner' ; in this very sense the word is in Oriya and was in use in Bengali as met with in old Bengali literature.

(73) *Vāśal*=door-way (perhaps from *Vā* or *Vāy*=mouth, and *illa*=house). This word is of great ethnic interest. Excepting the case of a very small community in Bihar, the Bengali custom of holding *Vāsar-ghar* after marriage is unknown elsewhere in Northern India. The Sanskrit word *Vāsara* does not even distantly signify

what is signified by it. Even now there are many aboriginal tribes among whom it is the custom to disallow in joke the bridegroom and bride to enter into their apartment after the marriage ceremony is over; the married couple is made to stand at the doorway (i.e., the *Pāśal*), and the womenfolk generally very merrily cut many jokes. In the *Bāsar* custom in Bengal this sort of merriment goes on but it is done inside the house and not at the doorway.

(74) *Viḍum* or *Viḍu*—a house, is the word for our *Bhitā* = the homestead land as well as house.

(75) The Bengali definite article *ti* has come from Dravidian source and this will be elaborately discussed in its proper place in Lecture XIV under the caption—Article as a part of speech.

(76) The secondary suffix *mi* as in *Nekāmi*, *Bokāmi*, etc., is in use in Bengali and Oriya only and it agrees both in its function and form with the Tamil *Māi* (employed to make nouns of adjectives). Caldwell has rightly shown that this suffix has nothing to do with Sanskrit *Mat* or *Bat*, for it has been shown that borrowed suffixes of *Mat* or *Bat* origin are quite distinct and separate from *Māi* corresponding to English 'ness' in Tamil, e.g., *Poru* = wit and *Porumai* signifies patience in Tamil.

(77, 78) *Suffixes Ar and Gal*.—The Dravidian plural forming suffixes *Ar* and *Gal* in use in Bengali should receive a very careful attention. That *Gul* or its variant *Gulā* (in use in Bengali and Oriya only) comes from *Gal* will be evident from the following facts: (i) in the *Jātaka* stories composed in old Māgadhī, Prākṛta or Pali, we get *Puppa-gal* (*lit.* many flowers) to signify a nosegay; (ii) In the Prākṛta works of later days, we notice such expressions as *matla-gal* (*mātrā samūha*), *Bisa-gal*, *ma-a-gal*, etc., as plural forms; (iii) *Gulī* or *Gulā* of Bengali

and Oriya signifies plurality exactly as *Gal* does in Tamil and as it did in old Prākṛta as noted above. We notice that *Gulā* has assumed the form *Gilā* or *Gilāk* in that Bengali-speaking tract which is quite close to Assam ; Mr. Laxmi Narayan Bejbarua has suggested to me that the Assamese *Bilāk* is very likely a variant of *Gilāk*, since this Assamese form cannot be traced to any Mongolian source.

That our plural-forming suffix *rā* originates from Tamil *Ar* need be discussed next. We have to notice first that the plural form with *rā* is peculiarly Bengali as distinguished from Māgadhī, Oriya and Assamese. We have next to notice that neither any Prākṛta form, nor any provincial idiomatic use can be cited in support of the view that the possessive case-ending *r* became the plural-forming suffix *rā*. That this suffix was adopted in Bengali on the soil of Bengal, is quite evident : being a new suffix of vulgar or popular origin it was not much used in the literary language of olden days ; the editor of the Śikṛṣṇakṛittan has noted only three instances of its use in the whole book. One early use of the suffix exactly in the form of *Ar* may be noticed in the formation of the word *Payār* (*Pada* = *Pay* + *ar*) which signifies a couplet or verse of two lines. We shall see that *ā* became once a plural-denoting suffix in Prākṛta ; that this *ā* could naturally be compounded with *Ar* to give rise to the suffix *rā* can be easily formulated, since such compounding of different suffixes in the formation of one new suffix is noticeable in other cases ; for example, *k* of *Aṃhākam* (*Aṃmākam*), *Tumhākam*, etc., was joined with honorific *Dvīya* of *madīya*, *tadīya*, etc., and the whole portion (i.e., *Dvīya* + *k*) was compounded with possessive denoting *r* to form the suffix *Diger*.

It has been due to the mode of thinking of the bulk of population of Bengal that as in Dravidian the Bengali verbs do not distinguish between singular and plural; as to the use of genitive forms as adjectives the phenomenon can be explained without formulating a Dravidian influence upon Bengali, but the fact is mentioned as in this respect Bengali agrees with the Dravidian idiom; such idiomatic expressions as *Ek-er nambar juāchor* (first-rate cheat), *Tin-er Bhāg* (third part), *Sukher khapar* (happy news), *Goler kathā* (a complicated affair), *Jhāler māchh* (a dish of fish hot in preparation) etc., may be referred to.

*Social Influence.*—To measure properly the social influence of the original inhabitants of Bengal upon the people of Aryan culture such ethnological notes have to be added as is not very much possible here. My Bengali essays relating to the subject have not been translated into English as yet and my article in English on the origin of the Goddess Durgā (J. R. A. S., 1906) is not exhaustive even on the point it deals with. That in the *Bisarjjan* of the *Devī* goddesses of the *Śakti* cult a special Dravidian method is followed in Bengal, is interesting to note. Like the village deities of mystic powers of South India, the images are carried away when the *Pūjā* is over by keeping the face of the deities turned to the villages, not allowing perhaps the deities of the images to know where they are being carried away; the deities get out of the villages keeping their back to the goal by carrying away (as it is the idea in Southern India) all the baneful and malignant influences. In Southern India the images are thrown away a good distance out of the village, but in Bengal they are all immersed in water. Agreement in the matter of domestic ceremonies and in

many religious ideas may partly be noticed if my Bengali essays spoken of above, be referred to.

*What the term Dravidian indicates.*—It is not the place where I can discuss the ethnological problem relating to race fusion, but I can say on the strength of some known facts of South India that the word Dravidian is not of ethnic significance and that many tribes of various origin speak to-day in the Peninsular India a speech which has been designated as Dravidian. I notice here a very familiar saying of the Tamil-speaking country, that an *Akallan* became a *Maravan*, a *Maravan* became an *Agambadiyan* and an *Agambadiyan* became a *Vellalan*. That the tribes who are quite mixed up now, once spoke different speech, may be detected from the phenomenon that in the Tamil language there are 34 synonyms for the word 'wind,' 50 for 'water,' 35 for 'cloud,' 62 for 'earth' and 60 for 'mountain.'

We cannot dissolve a thoroughly mixed-up people into their original elements, but we can push on our research to see if the words of unknown origin and the turns of expressions not in agreement with the idioms of Aryan speech or the idioms of the known Dravidian speech, can be traced to some other origin or origins.

*Influence of Non-Dravidian Races.*—It has been noticed above that by examining many Desi words of unknown origin we are forced to hold that there were other tribal influences at work in Bengal in by-gone days. Of those who retain their tribal integrity and speech the Kolarian people may pass in our review as they are our neighbours. Relating to the theory about the Mon-Khmer people I should not speak even a word here; I can only note that the Kô people differ as widely as from pole to pole from the Khâsis of Assam and other people of Further

India, in physical appearance, in language (including grammar and phonetic system), in the forms of social institutions and in the form of religion. No doubt once the Kol-speaking people occupied a wider geographical area but how far, we cannot say. A few words of theirs are in our language, but they do not speak of very close social relation. From their *Mad* (bamboo) or more properly from their bamboo-made 'mat' comes our *Mādur* (a mat); their *Ālān* (tongue) survives in *Āl-jib*; the words *Kodā* and *Kuḍi* of their *Kodā-han* and *Kuḍi-han* survive in East Bengal as *Kodā* and *Kuḍi* (corresponding to *Khokā Khuki*); their *Bāiti* (kitchen knife) is our *Bāli* and their *Jhīngā* (a vegetable food) is used by us in that name. *Salāng* is tall in their language, and in Eastern Bengal a tall tree without many branches is called *Saḍangā* tree. How the Kurku word *Gadā* (river) is in the name *Godāvarī* (*Gadā* + Drav. *Āru*) or the name *Dāmodar* discloses the *Dā* root of the Kolarian language, need not be much discussed, but they are pointed out merely to suggest what a great geographical area the Kolarian people might once have possessed.

## LECTURE VI

### BENGALI PHONOLOGY

*The method of analysis proposed.*—An analysis of the character of our vocalic and consonantal sounds can only lead us to form a definite idea regarding our provincial accent system. As such, a comparative study of Bengali phonology should be carefully pursued, though this sort of study involves a detailed consideration of the phonology of not only the ancient Vedic and the post-Vedic languages, but also of the Dravidian accent system. It is a hard work to do; but I must make an attempt in this direction, in the hope that my failure may lead to success by attracting the attention and calling forth the energy of worthier scholars.

The letters of the ancient alphabet, which are not articulated in our pure Bengali speech, and which we keep in stock for the only purpose of representing the words of the ancient languages of India, will be dealt with only briefly.

*A*—(i) The usual sound of this vowel may be represented by 'o' as it is pronounced in pot, not, hot, etc. The sound of it in ancient times may be presumed to have been like 'u' in but, cut, hut, etc., and so the long sound of this short *A* may easily be made into *ā* (as 'a' in part, calm, large, etc.). This may explain why অ is the long form of অ, as ঐ and ঊ are the long forms of ই and উ. In Marathi, Canarese, Tamil and Telugu অ is pronounced as short অ; this sound is exactly similar to our short unaccented অ sound as in আমর, আনাজ, আচার, etc. The Mundās and the Orāons of Bengal frontier do also

pronounce অ as আ short. The Bengali sound of অ as verging upon the sound of 'ও,' is naturally subdued when it is in the beginning or in the middle of a word, but it is distinct at the end of a word when the final vowel, as a matter of course, is not হস্তু in sound. Forgetting this natural mode of pronunciation some writers unnecessarily write মতো for মত (like), ভালো for ভাল (good), কোনো for কোন (certain), etc. This process may be called wasting the black paint to paint a Negro black. The spelling reformers, moreover, fail to see that the sound of অ as a final, only approaches the sound of ও, and it will be creating confusion, if this sound be made identical with 'ও' for there is much difference between the sounds of ও and অ verging upon the sound of ও. As to where the final অ does or does not retain its sound will be shown later on.

(ii) The pronunciation of অ in Oriya is midway between the Bengali and the Tamil pronunciation. The sound in Oriya is similar to 'a' in ball; while we pronounce রবি as Robi the Oriyas pronounce it as Raw-bi. This Oriya pronunciation of অ is the highest exercise we make in producing the ancient sound when reading Sanskrit, and this is the sound we produce when accent is put upon অ not followed by ই or উ sound in a word. For example, when there is an accent on অ of অত (so much) the অ sounds like 'aw' in raw or like 'a' in ball. অ in অতি, however, does not change the normal Bengali sound even though accented, as the ই sound follows it. Our spelling reformers may also take notice of the fact that even when we attempt to maintain the purity of the sound of অ as in অত, the sound is almost an 'ও' to the men of other provinces of India.

Open and close sound of A.—The Vedic sound for অ may no doubt be presumed to be our short আ, but we



notice in the Atharvan Prātisākhya (e.g., 1, 36) that besides the open sound, there was also a close or *samvṛta* sound of अ which, it appears, we have only inherited in Bengal. It is difficult to say, if this *samvṛta* sound has come down to us through Pāli and other later Māgadhi Prākṛtas, for we have no Prākṛta Prātisākhyas to bear evidence of such a transmission. No doubt in Pāli, i.e., in the old Māgadhi Prākṛta all nouns ending with the vowel sound of अ are found in the form नरो, दधो, etc., in nominative singular, but this cannot perhaps be said to have been due to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of अ at the end of a word, for though there was no *visarjania* in use in Pāli, it may be said that in its origin the sound came out of an elision of *visarjania*. It is, however, worth noting that besides a general *samvṛta* sound for अ, we can detect in the Vedic itself a tendency of अ (as final) to be reduced to the sound of ए when joined to the *visarjaniya*; we first notice it very unmistakably in several euphonic combinations where the final अ sound with the conjoined *visarjaniya* is reduced to ए; we again may notice that the dual form of देवः, for example, is देवौ; the word देवः must have been pronounced as देवो (as in Pāli) for, to create dual form by the lengthening of the final sound, the long sound of ए (which is ऐ) was reached, and this became the dual-denoting suffix. It should be mentioned here that the dual with ऐ is later in date in the Vedic language, and that the earlier विकृति is noticed as अ in Chāṇḍasa.

In consequence of their settled habit of pronouncing अ with its long and open sound the people of Upper India when pronouncing such words as 'long,' 'follow,' etc., by half adopting them in Hindi, utter those words as लार, फालो, etc. The Bengali boys on the other hand, not being accustomed to emit the sound of 'i' and 'u' as in 'bird' and 'cut,' pronounce them as रा-ऊ (hard) and फा-ऐ, etc.

*Nasal sound in the long sound of A.*—We gather from the works on Vedic phonology that both अ and आ carried in their full-bodied open utterance a half-distinct nasal sound. We can detect that the half-distinct nasal sound developed into a full-bodied nasal letter, when the sound in अ and आ was very long drawn to create, for instance, the plural form; this is why ভবতি became ভবন্তি, and we get in the Vedic speech জ্বন্তি as an additional plural form by the side of জ্বতি. How a long sound naturally evolves a nasal, will be noticed presently. For want of any work on phonology relating to the old Māgadhi speech, we cannot say if the Prākṛta speakers of old Magadha displayed the peculiarity noticed in the case of the Vedic speech. It is, however, a fact that in the district of Bankura, as well as in the western portion of Burdwan a final half-nasal occurs at the ends of such words as করিয়া, খাইয়া, etc., and they are pronounced as করিয়াঁ, খাইয়াঁ, etc. We also find that in some cases of our অপভ্রংশ words, where অ or any other vowel is accented to maintain the long sound occurring in the original word, we put a half-nasal on the accented vowel, though the derivation of the word does not justify the nasal. আঁটি (from S. অস্থি, or অট্ঠি). জেঁক (from জলোক), and সোঁতা (from সিন্ধু) are some fitting examples. That in old Māgadhi Prākṛta a nasal was introduced in similar cases, can be presumed from some অপভ্রংশ forms; for example, from বক্র comes বক্, and from Vedic कृत् comes the form कहु; our vernacular forms বাঁকা and কাঁথা, I need hardly say, are from বক্ and কহা respectively. We may note that বক্ and কহা were adopted in Sanskrit from Prākṛta. সাপ from सर्प in Hindi may be compared with the above forms.

*The nasal of A.*—I proceed now to show that there is a natural basis in our very organ of speech, for the occurrence of this phenomenon, that আ carries at times

a nasal sound with it. To do this, I have to notice also that অ is sometimes transformed into ই in the lengthening of the voice, as will also be pointed out presently. To serve our purpose, the results of a scientific research touching the origin and character of the vowel sounds may be briefly stated here. Helmholtz and Koenig made very accurate and delicate experiments in the mouths of men, and thereby accomplished a nice analysis of the natural sounds produced by our vocal organs; it has been established since by experiments that U (উ) is musically speaking the lowest, I (ই) the highest, and A (অ) the central of all the vowels. This scientific evidence in support of this proposition, that অ, ই, and উ are the three cardinal vowels, shows with what degree of accuracy the old grammarians of India analysed and classified the vowels as well as the consonantal sounds, many centuries before the Christian era. We all know that অইউঋ is the first Māheśvari sūtra, with which the old Sanskrit Grammar starts. It will not now be difficult to see how অ becomes ই in the Vedic speech in the lengthening of that long vowel, some examples regarding which will be presently adduced. It has also been established by physical experiments that if অ or অ্ sound is lengthened without allowing the sound to reach a high pitch, that is to say, without allowing it to develop into ই sound, the lengthened voice is sure to become nasal; this is why অ্ carries with it a nasal when the sound is lengthened.

*Ā and some grades of long sound.*—(i) Generally speaking our অ্ is a short vowel and it becomes long only when there is accent upon it. In respect of all long sounds, it has however to be noted, that there are different grades of them, and one sound though long, may not be so long as another long sound may be. It is difficult to

symbolise grades of length, but we may formulate at least a "half-long" sound, as intermediate between short and long. When আ is followed by a হ্রস্ব consonant, that is, which does not carry a vowel sound, it becomes a half-long vowel as আ in আজ্, রাত, ভাত, পাত, etc. In the words আপন, কাপড়, পাতা, বাকুই, বাড়ি, etc., আ is short; this short sound of a long vowel may be termed as the normal long sound in Bengali. We do not make any distinction between long and short sounds of vowels according to Sanskrit rules. As a rule, the single letters when uttered separately as independent syllables or words, are uttered long; our children, unlike those of Upper India, pronounce অ—অ, আ—আ, ই—ই, ঐ—ঐ, ক—অ, খ—অ, etc., when learning the alphabet. Words of one letter are pronounced long, as it is the case in the Tamil speech. In Tamil, there are 42 one-letter words and they are all sounded long. The Bengali one-letter word 'না,' to indicate a reply in the negative, is rather long, while it is short in না জানি, যাব না, etc., where it has been joined to, or compounded with other words. The initial letter of a word of two letters is pronounced long, when the final letter is হ্রস্ব; cf. ফল, শিব, শুড়, etc.; it is to be noted that here the words of two letters are words of one syllable, and as such, the rule regarding one syllable is applicable. (ii) I have spoken of the nasal sound which আ develops at times; it may be noticed that when আ carries a nasal sound in Bengali, it has the tendency to be pronounced long, no matter whether it is followed by a হ্রস্ব consonant or not; the long sounds of আ in আঁশটে, আঁচড়, কাঁঠাল, বাঁশী, হাঁড়ি are examples.

*A reduced to I.*—In the Vedic speech, আ when made very long, was at times transformed into ই sound; compare সিধ্যতি and সাধতি (succeed), শাস্তে (teaches) and শিষ্টে (taught); this is especially marked in final আ, as হিত

from হা, গীত from গা, গীথ as a variant of গাথ, দীঘ from দা and হীন from হা (Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, p. 4). With reference to *gā* mentioned here as a root, the unscientific grammarians of India may say that the root is 'gai' and not গা overlooking the fact that 'gai' is only a creation of the grammarians in consequence of forming a generalized rule for some roots. We may notice in this connection that in the অপভ্রংশ formation of আখ্ from ইক্ষ্, the ই sound of the original has been reduced to আ in Bengali.

It will be noticed that in a large number of cases the final আ preceded by ই sound is changed into এ, as it is in the Vedic speech. Here the rule or law is, the preceding vowel sound influences the one coming after. This is the inverse of 'umlaut.' In our pronunciation মিঠা becomes মিঠে, রিষড়া becomes রিষড়ে, বিশ্বাস becomes বিশ্বেস, etc.<sup>1</sup> If however the final আ comes after the উ sound, the আ is changed into ও; কুটা, পুরা, বড়া, etc., are pronounced as কুটো, পুরো, বড়ো, etc. If the final আ is attached to য় (which is pronounced as অ in Bengali) in a word of more than two letters, the whole of the final letter য় is changed into এ or ও as the case may be, and this এ or ও takes the place of ই or উ of the next preceding letter; নদীয়া becomes নদে, বাঁশবেড়িয়া—বাঁশবেড়ে, করিয়া—করে, পড়ুয়া—পড়ো, লিলুয়া—লিলো, etc.; গিয়া, দিয়া, ধুয়া, জুয়া, etc., being words of two letters are changed into গিয়ে, দিয়ে, ধুয়ো, জুয়ো, (জুয়োচোর) contracted into জোঁচোর), etc. We thus see that though 'য়' is seemingly pronounced as 'অ' the ই-অ sound is partly in our tongue and ears, to effect the phonetic change described above. Since the words are sure to be pronounced in the manner indicated above,

<sup>1</sup> As in Eastern Bengal the last syllables are accented, the final আ of মিঠা and such other words does not change into a full-bodied এ.

even though they are spelt correctly in their original form, our spelling reformers may give up the attempt of spelling the words by representing all sorts of change of sounds, caused by phonetic decay. The writers I speak of, want to introduce the verbs only in their contracted forms, but not the nouns, adjectives, etc. With what logic this distinction is sought to be made, is not easy to see. Why should we not write ইন্দিরে, জৈশেন, কৈশেশ, মিথো, বিচের (as in আচার বিচের), etc., if করে, গিয়েছে, etc., for করিয়া, গিয়াছে, etc., may be introduced with propriety? Moreover, the unscientific spelling reformers do not see that the final ষ of চলিয়া for instance is only slightly coalesced with preceding ই sound in ordinary conversation: চলিয়া (constituted of চল্ + ইআ) is really reduced to চল্ + য়া (য় being the substitute for ই-আ), and in central Bengal this final ই-য়া is pronounced almost as য়ে subduing the ই sound a little; in E. B. the very same thing is in reality done but in pronouncing the final ষ with subdued ই sound the final আ sound is made a bit into 'a' of "mat." Thus what is painted in literary spelling is exactly sounded in conversation, only that in quick pronunciation the ই sound as noticed above is subdued in the utterance. This is why the proposed contracted spelling চলৈ (confounded with চলৈ, walks) does not or cannot indicate the sort of sound intended to be produced.

Having enunciated the rule regarding the change of final আ into এ, I must further note that the change spoken of takes place even though other words are compounded with the words ending with আ, and even when suffixes or inflections come after the final আ; যরৈছিল from যরিয়ছিল, এল from আইল, বেঁধেছে from বাঁধিয়াছে, যেতে from যাইতে, etc., may be noted. No one should confound the forms পাইতে, নাইতে, চাইতে, etc., with যাইতে, পাইতে, খাইতে, etc.; in the former series, the letter 'হ' of the verb stem, has only

lost the sharp aspirate sound, and as such গাহিতে, নাহিতে and চাহিতে have been reduced to the softened-down forms; it will therefore be ridiculous, if one would attempt a further contraction of the words of the first series into পেতে, নেতে, চেতে, on the analogy of যেতে, পেতে and খেতে, which are the contracted forms of বাহিতে, পাহিতে and খাহিতে. We shall see from other examples later on, that even where we use the letter 'হ,' our tongue glides over the sound of 'হ' almost unawares, to allow the letter to perform its physiological work.

I.—I have said that there is no vowel in Bengali which has an inherent long sound; as such, ঈ and ঊ are used only to spell the words of Sanskrit origin. I have also noticed that the vowels are sounded long, when we put accent or emphasis upon them, and they are all short when not accented. In pronouncing the Sanskrit word *ঈশ্বর* we do not really make *ī* long, but only a slight long sound is uttered as the result of our pronunciation of the compound letter which follows *ī*; all letters become slightly long in our pronunciation, when they are followed by a duplicated or a compound letter, and so no distinction can be made between the sounds of *ই* and *ঈ* when we pronounce *ইচ্ছা* and *ঈশ্বর*. Since we cannot indicate by phonetic representations the long or rather accented sounds of অ, আ, এ and ও, and since *ঈ* has not got a long sound in Bengali, it is hardly correct to write *কী* for *কি* to indicate accent or emphasis; for example, when we put emphasis upon the word *তুমি* (you) in such a sentence as *আমাকে কে মারবে? তুমি?* no one can seriously think of spelling the word as *তুমি*.

I have shown under the heading অ how this sound is changed into এ; it is also to be noted that when as a general rule the aforesaid change takes place in our pronunciation, one exception is observed in some

parts of Eastern Bengal. In the district of Dacca the *ই* sound without being changed into *এ*, a metathesis in the sound occurs; for example *করিয়া* becomes *কইয়া*, *বালিয়া* becomes *বাইলা* (বেলে=sandy), etc. It is to be further noted that this phenomenon also occurs when the compounded *ই-অ* sound which is represented by what is called *ব-ফলা* is taken by a consonant after the *অ* or the *আ* sound, and so *মধ্য* and *বাধ্য* are pronounced in some eastern districts, as *মইধ্য* and *বাইধ্য*. As a letter with *ব-ফলা* is pronounced in Bengali as a duplicated letter, the *ই* sound comes before a compounded letter, specially when there is an aspirate sound at the end of the compound letter; thus the word *ব্রাহ্ম* will be pronounced *ব্রাইহ্ম* in Dacca. I must point out in this connection that we meet with the forms *কইল* and *ধইল* for *করিল* and *ধরিল* in our old Bengali books which were composed in the *Rāḥa* country. I have shown in a preceding section that the *Pundra* people who inhabited the *Rāḥa*-land, proceeded to North Bengal in early times, and a large number of them migrated also to the Sambalpur tract during the time of the *Kośala* Guptas. There may be or may not be any causal relation between this fact and what I am going to state now, but it is curious that unlike their neighbours on all sides, the people of Sambalpur reduce *পানি*, *বালি*, *মালি*, etc., to *পাইন*, *বাইল*, *মাইল*, etc.; a line of a song composed in the vulgar speech of the Rangpur district will disclose the above peculiarity in that far-off locality in Northern Bengal: *আমার মইনু (মিন্‌সে—husband) ছিল ঘরতে (ঘরে) কি সতে (কি কারণে) আগু (রাগ) কইরা (করিয়া) গইছেন (গিয়াছেন) বাহে (মহাশয়) একনা (একটা) কথাতো (কথায়)*.

We utter the *ই* sound in some cases to prepare the ground as it were, for pronouncing a compound letter of which a sibilant is a component part. The English word *school* is pronounced *sa-kul* in the Punjab, *e-skool*



in the U. P., *us-kul* in some parts of Orissa and *is-kul* in Bengal, in the sea-board districts of Orissa and in the Madras Presidency. I may remark in passing that the disinclination to pronounce a compound letter as an initial, is India-wide ; as the speakers of Aryan speech in Europe pronounce the initial compound letters aright, and as it is a rule in the Dravidian speech that the initial letter can never be a compound letter, I am inclined to formulate a widespread Dravidian influence since a remote past to explain this peculiarity in our pronunciation. It will be noticed later on that this inclination to drop the letter 's' as a first part of a compound initial letter, is noticeable in the Vedic speech as well. In the U. P. the introductory vowel sound becomes *अ*, when the initial compound letter terminates with *अ* sound, and so *अन* is uttered as *आअन*; in the case of other terminal vowel sounds *ए* becomes the introductory sound. In the Punjab the compound letter is split up, and one letter is pronounced after the other ; in the Tamil pronunciation however, *ই* must be pronounced not only before the compound letters of the class spoken of above, but even before other initial compound letters ; if even the second letter of a word is a compound letter, and the initial letter is a simple one, the *ই* sound is uttered by the Tamil people ; the Tamil Apabhramśa of *ব্রাহ্মণ* is *ই+ব্রাক্কধন* ; this is also a rule in the Tamil speech that an introducing vowel is added to a word beginning with *ব* and *ল*.

*U*.—I need hardly repeat that *U* has got no place on the list of pure and genuine Bengali vowels. *উ* is changed into *ও*, when as a pure vowel it is followed by *অ* or accented *অ* in a word of two syllables ; we may notice this change in *ওঠ*, *ওঠা* and *ওড়া*. In the Chittagong Division *ও* is changed into *উ* sound in some cases.

In our vulgar Bengali pronunciation a compound or duplicated letter with final অ sound takes ই or উ when followed by ই or উ in the syllable, and so ইটে, কুটে (কৃষ্ণ), মিটে, etc., become ইটি, কিটি (in কেল-কিটি), and মিটি, and পুটে, কুটে and উচ become পুটু, কুটু and উচু; it will be noticed that at the dropping of one চ, the long sound of উ has generated the half nasal চন্দ্রবিন্দু. Consideration of the sound of ঞ will follow when we take notice of the sounds of য, র, ল and ব (v).

*E, O and two diphthongs.*—These vowels and the diphthongs ঐ and ঔ have lost their original sounds and are pronounced as ‘e’ in met (or as ‘a’ in mate), as অই, as ‘o.’ of the English vowel, and as অউ. The original sounds of these vowels have been partially retained in Tamil and Telegu, or rather, the Dravidian sounds of those letters nearly approach the ancient Aryan sounds of them. We learn from the remarks of the ancient Grammarians (*e.g.*, Vārtika of Kātyāyana, VIII, 2, 106; under Mahābhāṣya, I, 1, 48), that এ is equal to অ+ই and ও is equal to অ+উ, and ঐ and ঔ being respectively the farther long sounds of এ and ও, the sound আ for অ has to be prefixed to ই and উ respectively, to obtain the proper sounds generated by ঐ and ঔ. The following examples collected by Prof. Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar, may be profitably cited. We get in *saptami* singular অশ্ব+ই=অশ্বে, পদ+ঐ=পদে, and ভব+ঐ=ভবে; notice also যমা+ঐ=যমে (twin sisters). When we get অন্প (pond) from অমু+আপ, we see that উ has become long under the influence of succeeding আ. The two examples তম+এ=তমে and দেব্য+এ=দেবৈ are illuminating. I may notice in passing that in Orissa ঐ is pronounced almost as ‘ei’ and ঔ as আউ. It is clear that our Bengali pronunciation is wholly peculiar to us. ঐ and ঔ being merely long or augmented forms of এ and ও

respectively, they ceased to be in use in the Prākṛta speech.

*E* (ঐ).—(i) The sound of the vowel as indicated above is after the ancient Aryan sound of it, and this sound is uttered only in pronouncing the words which are at times designated by the technical term ভৎস্ব. The initial sound of ঐ in indigenous Bengali words can be represented by 'â' in mat. This normal sound of Bengali ঐ is so very exclusively peculiar to Bengali that no letter or letter-signs of our ancient script can represent it. It took me full six days to make a boy of the U. P. to pronounce the English word 'bat' correctly ; the sound was altogether new to his ears and he was constantly varying his pronunciation from "bet" to "bate." It is very important to note that this â sound, as it occurs in bat, mat, etc., exists in the Dravidian tongue of Tamil ; the pronunciation of the word কல் (stone) as Kâll or of অন্ব (cajoling) as ânbu, are examples. Some Bengali writers who do not know what the real sound of ঐ is, make at times the unscientific and useless attempt to represent the sound by ঐ+অ to convey the peculiar Bengali sound to the ears of the foreigners. They do not know that the spelling গ্যাণ for গেল is highly misleading to the people all over India, for হৈঅ is the sound of both ঐ, and ঐ কলা,—outside the Presidency of Bengal. The Indians of all other provinces, as well as the Europeans who come to learn Bengali after studying Sanskrit or Hindi, are sure to pronounce গ্যাণ as গিহ্যাণ. This method of representation will therefore be of no help to the outsiders and will have the mischievous effect of teaching the Bengali boys a very wrong sound of ঐ, which they have to deal with in their Sanskrit text-books. The Bengali boys learn the normal sound of Bengali ঐ even when they commence to lisp in their early infancy. All

that we should do, is to frame rules regarding the normal and Sanskritic pronunciation of the vowel এ. As we have to learn the sounds of the vowels of the foreigners from the foreigners, our special Bengali sound has to be learned by those who are not Bengalis.<sup>1</sup> To indicate this special sound of এ, we shall put a circumflex upon it.

I have stated that the initial এ in the তৎসম words does not become the normal Bengali এ. I could notice only four words, namely, এক, কেন or কেনা, বেলা and হেলা, which only seemingly form exception to the rule; we see that the old এক became এক্ in the Prākṛta, and so the newly formed Bengali word এক is not, inspite of its physical identity, identical with the original Sanskrit form; the words বেলা and হেলা are not of ছন্দস origin and they were only adopted in Classical Sanskrit from Prākṛta. In tracing the derivation of হেলা we may notice that অবধীরিত্ত became অবধিরিত্ত and then অবহেলিত্ত and from অবহেলা comes the word হেলা ফাল, কেন and ফল are the only words with ক initial which occur in the Vedic language, of which কেন alone belongs to the Aryan stock, being perhaps a decayed form of *spena*. I notice here that in Northern and Eastern Bengal, the general tendency is to pronounce the initial এ of even the তৎসম words, as ঐ, and so কেবল, কেশব, দেশ, দেবতা, শেষ, etc., are pronounced with ঐ initial.

এ as a single letter and as an adjective, taking indicative particles as টি or টা, or particles of emphasis ই or ও, or being joined to other altogether separate words as ঐক্য,

<sup>1</sup> Our young scholars as well as our spelling reformers should do well to read such an elementary work on phonetics as Sweet's or Dumville's book to learn (1) that to create additional vowel to represent all sorts of sounds, an indefinitely large number of vowels has to be introduced which is an impossible task, and (2) that it is impossible to introduce phonetic spelling for common use in literature.

যকল, etc., retains its Sanskrit sound. The initial এ sound in a monosyllabic word, where the final consonant is হস্ব, is pure; compare টের (to perceive) and টেরা (one who squints) and ঢের (much) and ঢেরা (clumsy, as in ঢেরা গই). When however the final হস্ব consonant is nasalised, the normal ঐ sound will prevail, as কেক (a sound), বেক-শিরাল, বৈট (sumptuous feast), বেঙ্ক, ঢেঙ্ক (a fish), টেঙ্ক, ঠেঙ্ক, পেন্-পেন্ (slow teasing murmur), etc.

The words which are designated by some as ভৎভব, including the অপভ্রংশ words are subject to the rule governing the indigenous words. In Sir Rabindranath Tagore's highly suggestive work শব্দতত্ত্ব the rule regarding the Sanskrit sound of এ, where normal Bengali sound might be expected, has been very nicely enunciated. His statement that the এ sound when followed either by ই or উ sound, does not change into ঐ, is quite correct; the other rule formulated by him as noted below, should also receive universal acceptance. When the Prākṛta or অপভ্রংশ or দেশী root or stem of a word has an initial ই, the word derived from it with an initial এ will be pronounced with pure এ sound; কেনা begins with pure এ sound, as the original stem or root is কিন্ (compare the forms কিনিলাম, কিনিয়াছিল, etc.), while বেচা having বেচ and not বিক্র for its origin, is pronounced otherwise; ঘেরা from ঘির্ (cf. ঘিরিল, ঘিরিলাম), ঢেরা from চির্ (cf. চিরিল), মেলা from মির্ (cf. মিশিতে) and মেলা from মির্ (cf. মিলন, মিলিতে) are some examples. মেলা from মির্ may be contrasted with মেলা (many) which claims no root having the ই initial. This will give us a clue to see that এমন, কেমন, খেলা, etc., are not the direct descendants of ইমন্, কিম্, ক্রীড়, etc., but are derived from the Prākṛta forms এমন্, কেমন্ and খেল respectively. It is to be noted that when 'ই' as a particle of emphasis, comes after the এ sound (এক-ই), the normal pronunciation is not changed; in এ, কি? however, এ is

an independent word and so it retains the Sanskrit sound. Those who resorting to an unscientific method do not keep ই and ও, indicating emphasis, distinct and separate from the words to which they are joined, must see on looking to the two foregoing forms, what a confusion may be created by their wrong spelling; if ই of emphasis is joined to ইস্ত-ক—final of the word এক in the shape of ই-কার, the two forms illustrated above will be identical. It becomes physically impossible to make ই and ও indicating emphasis, an inseparable part of such following words as তুমি, সে, আলো, etc., and one is bound to write তুমি-ই, তুমি-ও, সে-ই, সে-ও, আলো-ই, আলো-ও, etc.; why then such an exception should be made as to spell কোনো for কোনও when the emphasis itself is drowned in the new spelling, is difficult to understand. It must be pointed out in this connection that though য় is not pronounced as ই+অ, the sound ই is in our tongue and ears unconsciously, as it were, since the general rule governs our pronunciation of such following words as কেয়া, খেয়া, চেয়া (chair), ভেয়াগ, দেয়া, ধেয়া, পেয়া, শেয়া, হেয়া, etc.

*Visarjaniya*.—Neither the sign nor the sound of it was in use either in Pāli or in later Prākṛta speech; properly speaking, we do not use it in Bengali, and only three or four Sanskrit words as are spelt with visarjaniya, have been adopted in Bengali; these Sanskrit words again, are pronounced in the very fashion in which they were pronounced by the speakers of the ancient Prākṛta tongues; दृश् is pronounced as दृक् and निश्वा as निश्-वास. Some of our Pandits in their zeal and eagerness to give the Bengali language the sort of dignity which Æsop's jackdaw sought in the land of fables in dim backward of time, persuade us in vain to believe that it is not यन् but यन्म् which is the original word with us. They forget

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that we have borrowed বনোহর; বনভাঁপ, etc., in their entirety from what is called the Sanskrit language, and not that we have made euphonic combinations of বন + হর, etc., in our current speech, following the stringent Sandhi rule. The Sanskritists of the olden days borrowed বন্য ungrudgingly from a Prākṛta speech, and বনচোর is not found fault with, though চোর is a Sanskrit word; why should then our Pandits shy at বন-কষ্ট or similar other forms in Bengali? Our natural sound has a history, and it cannot be obliterated. I may notice by the way (even though it is a digression) that in the Vedic speech we can notice a 'simple বন by' the side of বনম্, as disclosed by such a term as <sup>১১</sup>বানবনঃ signifying—having the mind or disposition to be friendly.

*The nasal sound.*—The sound of the full-bodied final nasal is what may be represented by অম্বার; it is something like 'Ong' in Bengali while it is 'Am' in Sanskrit. In Telegu and Tamil there is an indigenous 'Am' which is articulated as a final nasal at the end of all words which are nouns. The Andhras and the Tamil people have not got the half-nasal in their script, and they do not also utter the sound involved by it; they have an abundance of 'am' and 'un' as terminal endings, but the half-nasal is altogether wanting. As the Mongolians are notorious for their excess of nasal sound, we cannot attribute the inability of the people of Eastern Bengal to utter the half-nasal sound to Mongolian influence. I may note that the half-nasal or ̃ is freely used by the people of Assam. The absence of the half-nasal must therefore be due to excessive Dravidian influence in Eastern Bengal.

ঙ and ঞ.—which are not strictly speaking independent letters; but indicate only the sort of nasal sound which must be generated; when occurring in conjunction with the letters of ক-বর্গ and চ-বর্গ respectively, have now lost

their original sounds. ग and व are pronounced almost as ग-अ and व-अ; the full sound of ग is always subdued in गङ्गा, वज्र, गङ्ग, etc. When अ sound comes first and the letters of ट-वर्ग are pronounced next, अ is pronounced as न; अङ्गल, बाङ्गा, अङ्गन, बाङ्गा are pronounced as अन्गल, बान्गल, कन्गन and बान्ग। When अ comes after ज, the sound becomes peculiar; ज which is no doubt a variant of ग, is replaced by ग, and the final nasal is uttered as half-nasal; आज्-अ आङ्गा and अज्-अ अङ्गा are pronounced as आङ्-गै and अङ्-गै in Bengal and Orissa. In Marathi ज+अ is pronounced as 'dn,' and nowhere in India the old-time pronunciation is maintained.

ग.२.ग is never sounded correctly in Bengal, and it is useless as a letter to spell the indigenous Bengali words. The use of ग is limited within the sphere of spelling the Sanskrit words. It is worth noting that though in the sea-board districts of Orissa, and in the eastern Garjat states, ग is pronounced with considerable distinctness, the Oriyas in the Sambalpur tract do not pronounce this letter, unless they are forced to produce the sound in schools, by abandoning their natural न sound. Though we get enough of ग in the script, representing Māgadhi speech of old, we notice the rule in the Prākṛta Grammar by Hem Chandra that न takes the place of ग in the Māgadhi Prākṛta. This is a very good evidence of the fact that we have been pronouncing the cerebral ग as न since long. चोङ्गा (to dig) comes from the Prākṛta word चणन, and hence a half-nasal and the cerebral ङ have evolved out of ग sound. In कङ्क and विङ्क or विङ्क, for कङ्क and विङ्क the cerebral ङ has been substituted to represent the cerebral sound. The initial ए of कङ्क comes from the tendency to pronounce एङ् for ङ; it is no doubt a rare tendency, but it is noticable in the pronunciation of वेङ्क for वङ्क, by some villagers who attempt at Sanskrit pronunciation.



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I may notice that the Iranian pronunciation of *ṣ* was *ṣr-ṣ* in near approach of the old Vedic pronunciation of the vowel *ṣ*.

*V.*—As we do not pronounce *V* and identify it with *B* we do not keep the *অব্ধার* separate from it, and compound it with *ṣ* which is the nasal sound of the letters of *প-বর্ণ*; we write and pronounce *বশষ*, *কিষা* and *এবষিষ*; this practice has been in vogue since long, as we meet with the above sort of spelling in ancient epigraphic records; I think this wrong use is difficult to avoid, since the nasal sound is bound to be represented that way if *V* is not pronounced for *B*; when conjoined with *V* the nasal will naturally be pronounced separately while with labial it is bound to be uttered as ‘m.’ We meet with such wrong spelling of words as *তাষ* and *আষ* in the old epigraphic records of East Bihār, Bengal and Orissa. The people of Orissa pronounce *আষ* and not *আম*, and even now write *তাষ* for *তাম্* in rural districts; it is noteworthy that in some parts of Bengal *আম* is pronounced as *আঁব* and *তাম্* as *তাবা*.

*M. as a conjoined consonant.*—It is significant that when *ṣ* becomes a *ফলা* or nasal adjunct of a consonant, it is not at all pronounced in Bengal, and the consonant with which it is compounded, is pronounced as if it is duplicated; *পদ্ম* and *লক্ষ্মী* are pronounced as *পদ্ম* and *লক্ষি*, while our silent *ṣ* is distinctly pronounced in all other parts of India including Orissa. In some cases it is noticed that the consonant to which *ṣ* is conjoined, is dropped altogether, and *ṣ* is alone articulated; as from *শ্ৰীমান* the word *শ্ৰমান* has been derived. It is worth noting here that this particular word “*শ্ৰমান*” as the *অপভ্রংশ* of *শ্ৰীমান*, is in use in some parts of Western India as well; the Pali *apabhramsa* form was “*সুমান*,” from which our “*শ্ৰমান*” has originated. I may notice one *অপভ্রংশ* of this

class which is in common use all throughout Northern India;  $\text{यक्ष}$  was first reduced to  $\text{यक्ष}$  and then to  $\text{यक्ष}$  in old Prākṛta and from this  $\text{यक्ष}$  the forms  $\text{योच्}$  and  $\text{येह}$  came into use, and are still in use in some modern Vernaculars. I have shown in a previous lecture that the peculiarity here noticed, is fully in accordance with the rule of grammar as obtains in the Dravidian speech; according to this rule, the initial letter of a word can never be a compound letter, and that double or triple consonants of different vargas cannot occur anywhere in a word. The word  $\text{जान}$  ( $\text{ज-ज्ञान}$ ) has the pronunciation of 'gān'; but when the compound letter is a medial as in  $\text{यक्षजान}$ , the pronunciation will be 'Dhamma-ggān' without any nasal sound.

*Y, R, L and V.*—Though these letters are regarded as consonants, their real character as compound vowels, has always been admitted by the old Sanskrit Grammarians. That  $\text{य}$  is a compound sound of  $\text{इ} + \text{अ}$  has been pointed out. As  $\text{य}$  is pronounced as  $\text{ज}$  in Bengali and Oriya, special before mark has been added to the letter  $\text{य}$  to signify the 'y' sound. It is worth noting that in old Prākṛta speech, we get  $\text{ज}$  for  $\text{य}$  and  $\text{योवन}$  for instance was pronounced as  $\text{जोवन}$ .

In Bengali as well as in Oriya,  $\text{य}$  as an initial or taking another  $\text{य}$  as a  $\text{कल}$  is uttered as  $\text{ज}$  and in any other situation, it is  $\text{य}$  as a rule. In Oriya, I could notice a single exception to the rule in the pronunciation of  $\text{यक्ष}$  which is pronounced as  $\text{यक्ष}$ . That this general rule I have stated, obtained in old Prākṛta, is pretty well known. It is noticeable in later Māgadhī speech, that the name  $\text{जानि}$  for example has been spelt with the usual  $\text{ज}$  initial, while this word occurring after  $\text{उप}$  or rather compounded with  $\text{उप}$ ,  $\text{उपजानि}$  has been the form adopted.

*The Liquids R and L.*—The reason why I take up to discuss the sounds of the vowel  $\text{अ}$  and  $\text{अ}$  along with the

discussion of the value of র and ল will be clear from the remarks I offer hereunder.

*R.*—I should explain that র originated from the compounding of ঋ+অ. It may be gathered from the *Prātisākhya*s (Rk. *Prā.*, 8, 14; *Atharvan. Prā.* I, 37, 71) that the sound of a liquid was the final sound which ঋ produced. Again we get in the *Vājasaneyi-Prātisakhya* (IV, 145), that the initial half of ঋ had almost an অ sound. The Punjab frontier tribes pronounce ঋ as অর-অ; the old Iranian pronunciation of ঋ, as may be detected in *Āvesta* literature, was অর-এ and এ-অ at times. We may notice that in ancient *Prākṛta*, বিকট became a variant of বিকৃত, কৃত became কত and মৃত became মত; this shows that ঋ had once the initial অ sound. The vulgar tendency to reduce মৃত to ঘেরূত and the pronunciation of কৃষ্ণ as কেট্টো, and of বুধ as বেরুধো (as in বেবুধো-ছুগু) remind us of the old Iranian pronunciation of ঋ. In the Raugpur District the letters অ and র are interchangeable when they are initials; this tendency is not wholly unknown among the populace in Central Bengal as well. That the *Prākṛta* forms with অ and উ finals were reduced to forms with র and রূ finals, may also be noticed, though in this case the flat and boneless *Prākṛta* forms were really given stronger or more easily-pronounceable forms; thus we get মূনির, from মূনিঅ (gen.) and গরু, from গউ (গৌ). We may further notice that when র is the adjunct to an initial letter of a তৎসম word, the sound এ is induced in pronunciation: প্রণাম, প্রসন্ন, প্রহ্লাদ, ব্রজ, etc., are reduced to পের্নাম (পরণাম in H.), পের্সন্ন (পরসন্ন in H.), পের্নাদ (পহ্লাদ in H.), বের্জ (বরজ in H.); contrast the forms মিত্তির, সূর্য্যকূর, বস্তুর, etc., from মিত্র, সূর্য্য, বজ্র, etc., where the letters with র-adjunct are not initials.

*The vowels R and L.*—It becomes perfectly clear from the *Prātisākhya*s that the Aryans in India were settled in their pronunciation of ঋ as 'ri.' Adverting however to

such apabhramśa forms as বৃষ্টি from বৃষ্টি, উতু from ঋতু, etc., some scholars have wrongly asserted that the Dravidian pronunciation 'Ru' for ঋ was in vogue in Northern India, when Pāli prevailed as a Northern Prākṛta speech. They have failed to see that only when the sound of ঋ had to be harmonised with the dominating উ sound in a word, that this vowel sound উ took the place of ঋ; we get বিন্ন or বিন from বৃত্ত where neither ই nor উ sound has to be assimilated; from ঋষি however, we get ইষি, while from ঋতু we get উতু because of the final উ sound. ব (v) is compounded of উ and অ; so the vowel ঋ conjoined to the accented ব (v) changes into উ; thus we get বৃক্খ, বৃড্ or বৃড়া, উষ্ঠ, etc., from বৃক্ষ, বৃদ্ধ, বৃষ্ঠ, etc. When however the final উ is not accented, and the letter joined with ঋ is accented, ঋ is not reduced to উ; for example, মৃত্যু has been reduced to মচ্চু, because of the accent on ঋ of মৃ preceding a compound letter.

ল—Grammatically considering a generated ল, but this vowel never got any prominence. We should not forget to notice that there was a field of a very free interchangeability of র and ল in the Vedic as well as in the post-Vedic speech of the Aryans; this being an essential feature of the Dravidian speech, the Dravidian influence in this matter as well is generally formulated. An additional 'ল' as a mixed sound of 'ল'+ 'ড' occurs in all the Dravidian speech; this 'ল' producing a cerebral sound, is in full use in Oriya and Marathi. Though this letter did not get admittance into the Vedic alphabet, the transformation of ল into 'ড' is recognised in the Vedic Grammar; we meet with the Vedic phonetic rule that when 'ল' occurs between two vowel sounds, the letter may be optionally pronounced as 'ল' or 'ড' and so 'ঐলে' may be uttered as 'ঐডে.' We have not got this cerebral in Bengali, but there are a few words in Bengali, which disclose the

transformation of 'ল' into 'ড'; তাড়ি (toddy) the juice of Tāl (palm) or rather the palm wine, may be an imported word, but কুঁড়ি from কলি (bud), মুড়া (extremity) from মূল, পাড়া from পরী (village), শিকড় (on account of the chainlike ramifications of the roots) from শিকল (—Sk. शृङ्खल, Pr. শিঙ্খাড় and শিঙ্খাটক), etc., are pure Bengali words. These forms, however, should not be confounded with those in which 'ড' or 'ড়' has originated from 'দ' or 'ত.'

*V.*—Though *v* has lost its position in the Bengali alphabet, its উ-অ sound is retained in many words of *v* origin; গুয়া from 'Guvāka' (by metathesis from পুগ), দেৱা from Devara, দুৱার from Dvāra, ধাওয়া from Dhāva, য়োৱান from Yuvan, and সোৱাদ from svāda, are some instances. It must be familiar to the students of Prākṛita that at times no distinction is made between 'b' and 'v' and that in the later Māgadhī 'v' as an adjunct to a consonant, drops out altogether; such as, Dvi is reduced to simple দি. The reduction of 'v' to 'b' cannot be said to be due to Dravidian influence, as distinction between 'b' and 'v' is strictly maintained in Telegu, Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese; but the dropping out of 'v,' when it is an adjunct to a consonant, can be explained by the rule of the Dravidian Grammar, which does not allow consonants of different classes to form a compound. According to this rule, Dvi and Svā of স্বাদ have to be reduced to দি or হ and to সো or সা, if they are initial letters; but if they occur as medials, they have to become দি and স্মা respectively; compare the forms হুই and সোৱাদ or সাদ on the one hand, and the pronunciation of the words অদ্বিতীয় (Advitiya) and বিস্বাদ (Visvāda) on the other.

*Dravidian consonants.*—As the question of Dravidian influence is being considered all along, I should add here a few remarks regarding the Dravidian alphabet system. In the Tamil script we get only ক to represent all the

consonants of ক-বর্গ and this ক is uttered with slight variations to pronounce খ, গ and ঘ. The usual Tamil sound of ক is almost ৰ to our ears. Similarly there are only ট, ড and প for all the letters of their বর্গ or class. There is only one letter to represent চ and শ and the sound of চ is peculiarly sibilant (and not purely palatal) in all the Dravidian tongues. In connection with the phonetic value of the Tamil consonants, a few remarks relating to the consonants of the Aryan speech may be fittingly introduced.

*Aryan consonants.*—From the admirable scientific analysis of the sounds of our letters in old grammatical works, we get considerable information regarding the genesis of the consonants. Professor Sayce, after considering the value of the grammatical works of the Greeks and other peoples, has rightly made this remark regarding the Sanskrit grammar and phonology: “Far more thorough-going and scientific were the phonological labours and classification of the Hindu Prātisākhya.....The Hindus had carefully analysed the organs of speech, some centuries before the Christian era, and composed phonological treatises which may favourably be compared with those of our own day.”

That ক changes into গ by slightly raising the accent (বাক্ + অর্থ = বাগর্থ) and that খ and ঘ are but aspirated sounds of ক and গ, need not be demonstrated; that চ is a variant of ক, ছ is an aspirated sound of চ, that জ and ঞ are always interchangeable, may be detected even by referring to the Sandhi rules. To serve the purpose I have in view, let me adduce here some examples from the Vedic or Chhāndasa speech. From শুচ্ (glow of light) we get শুক্ and শুক্, both of which are identical in form and meaning, as র and ল are one and the same; we get also চিত্ (to perceive), কেষত্ (desire) and চেষত্ (= চিত্ত) lined

together in one series. We may also notice that from রোচ্ (bright with light) রোক্ (light) was derived; the later word আলোক owes its origin to রোক্ or শোক্ with an addition of আ as a prefix to the word. I draw the attention of the readers to the words ভোজ (ভোগ), রজ (রোগ), বিজ (বেগ) and ওজ (উগ্র). Thus we see that the ক of Tamil may fitly represent the whole series of letters of the ক-বর্গ; similarly ট, ড and ঞ may be made as the sole legitimate fathers of the letters of their class. That শ is the same as চ may also be shown by phonetic analysis; in the old Iranian ছ, শ and স were interchangeable.

*Palatal Sound.*—The pronunciation of the consonants of চ class is nearly as sibilant in Eastern Bengal, as it is in the Dravidian speech; to represent this sound in letters I write here চ, ছ, জ and ঞ as—scha, ssa, dza, zha.

That the letters ছ, জ and ঞ were imported into the Tamil script some time after the introduction of what is called the 'Vatteluttu alphabet,' can be detected on comparing the modern Tamil alphabet with the 'Grantha character' (prevailing now in Malabar) as well as with the Telugu script. The Telugu script which agrees in the main with the Canarese, came into existence at least as early as the 7th century A. D., since Hiuen Tsang speaks of the script in the accounts of his travels in India. The epigraphic records show that in the 6th century A.D., northern script was in use in the Tamilakam country, and that the modern Vatteluttu cannot be traced to a time earlier than the 8th century A.D. The Grantha character was introduced in the 10th century A.D., to represent the North Indian Alphabet completely. At this day, the speech of Malabar was identical with the Tamil speech, and some letters from the Grantha script were adapted in the Vatteluttu. These remarks will be sufficient to show, that when the Dravidian people first

adopted the Northern script, they could, if they liked, introduce all the letters of the North Indian script. They elected to adopt a limited number of letters, so as to represent their natural sounds ; they did not require all the letters for their use.

What I have stated in the previous lecture, of the origin and character of the cerebral letters, may just serve the purpose we have in view. I proceed now therefore, to consider the sound value of the sibilants and of the letter ह.

S.—It appears that ण was derived from ह which is intimately connected with ष in the matter of origin ; लक्ष्मी is pronounced लह्मी in the U. P. and in Orissa, and ष represents ण in many speech in western India ; in the Canarese script ण is written by giving one additional stroke to क्क. Since क्क which is identical with क्क in the Vedic speech, became क्क in early Sanskrit, to signify small (as in क्क=कुड़ा), we may safely assert that क्क was pronounced as even ष in very early times, and this peculiarity is not due to corrupt pronunciation in Bengal. We must not forget that in Pāli and in the later Prākṛtas, क्क ष was written to represent क्क as well as ष occurring after a विसर्जनীয়. ण is clearly pronounced as ś in Bengal and is never reduced to the sound of ण. The sound of ś prevails in our speech, and this ś is pronounced as ण, only in some cases where compounded with त्र and ल, as in त्री, अल्लী, etc. S is pronounced as a dental only when compounded with त and ष. For purely Bengali words ś is the only sibilant that can be used.

*Ś and ष in some onomatopoeic words.*—Let me notice here some words of onomatopoeic origin, in which besides other sounds, ण and ष played a good part. Ś indicated a heavy and solemn sound, while ष signified a roaring sound ; त्र and क also conveyed or were made to convey a sonorous sound. त्र, त्र, त्र, त्र signified the sound of a



horse or an elephant ; ঘোষ comes from ঘঃ (a heavy dull sound)+ষ ; ঘণ্টা is composed of ঘৎ+টা (টা being the sound produced by striking something which is hard). Compare also the words মেঘ ('মে'+ঘ indicating sound), মেঘ, বুঘ, হেঘা, হর্ঘ, ভাঘ, মহিঘ, রোঘ (রু+ঘ), কাংস্ত (কং or কণ্ sound+ঘ), and শুক (from the sound শুষ্ occasioned at the drying-up of water on fire).

In the Sanskrit language of a comparatively later time as well as in the Prākṛtas, ড may be pointed out as the letter which has been used to indicate an awe-inspiring sound ; ষৎ+ড=ষণ্ড of the later Vedic speech, may also be noted. Our ঝড়, তোড়, দৌড়, কড় কড়, হড় হড়, মড়, মড়, etc., are examples in point.

*The aspirate H.*—The aspirate sound of হ which has created the extra consonants ষ, ষ, ছ, ঝ, etc., is not as is very distinctly marked fully pronounced in Eastern Bengal ; the subdued sound of it is something like অ—অ which cannot be properly pictured ; হ as an initial letter is very clearly pronounced in other parts of Bengal, but that there is a tendency to soften its sound when it occurs as a medial or a final, is to be duly noted. It is a peculiarity all over Bengal, that মহাশয় is pronounced almost like মশাই by dropping হ and by retaining a portion of the sound of the final য় or ই+অ ; মহিষ is pronounced as ঘোষ by introducing the long ও sound compensating the loss of হ, and কহা appears in our speech and script as কওয়া. Even when we omit to write হ in such a word for example as তাহার, our tongue glides a little over the হ sound, and thus we can distinguish this word in our pronunciation from তারি to signify either 'wire' or 'taste.' When হ takes a য-ফলা, it is pronounced as জ-ব in Bengali as well as in Oriya.

The pronunciation of ঘর or ভাত is not exactly গর or বাত in Eastern Bengal, but is something like গঅ-র্ or বাআ-ত,

while in Dravidian pronunciation they are uttered as গ্ৰ and বাত্. The non-aspirated pronunciation of ব, ধ, ঢ, etc., in E. B. seems therefore due to Dravidian influence. I remind you, what I have noticed previously, that non-aspirated pronunciation prevails in Ceylon. In the Chittagong Division of Eastern Bengal, however, the Mongolian influence has been so very much predominant, that in some points regarding the articulation of sounds, the Dravidian peculiarities (though not obliterated) have been drowned; unlike their neighbours of the Dacca Division the people of the Chittagong Division breathe the 'h' sound into ক, ঢ, ট, ত and প, and pronounce ফাক্ (পাঁক্), থলম (কলম), ছুপ কর, (চুপ কর), etc.; not having done away with the original Dravidian influence, they do not pronounce ব্র and ভাত, but they pronounce them as গ্গব্র and ব্যাত by doubling the initial letters as it were.

The reduction of শ to হ in Eastern Bengal (or more properly to a half হ with a wavy swing) cannot wholly be attributed to Mongolian influence, since such a change of sound may be noticed in other parts of Bengal as well; the word গোশাল has been changed into গো-হাল or গোরাল all throughout Bengal. In the Sambalpur tract we hear হেইটি (there) for সেইটি of standard Oriya; this substitution of হ for শ is noticeable in Marathi as well. I have already stated that the sound of 'শ' predominates in Bengali; I should mention also, that Hem Chandra has noted in his Prākṛta Grammar that 'শ' takes the place of 'স' all throughout in the Māgadhī speech, though the representation in script of the Māgadhī Prākṛta, shows the use of dental স for the palatal শ.

*Non-হসন্ত final.*—We cannot conclude without noticing a peculiarity in the pronunciation of a simple consonant occurring as a terminal in a word. With reference to the list of words arranged in pairs below, it will be observed

that final letters of the first words of the pairs are pronounced as distinct syllables, while those of the second words of the pairs are *হসন্ত* or silent *ভাল* and *কাল*, *বৃত* and *যত* (*opinion*), *কাল* (*black*) and *লাল*, *বৃত* and *শীত*, *ঐশ্বর্য* and *শপথ*, *নিহিত* and *মোহিত*, constitute the short list in question, to illustrate roughly the peculiarity. Let us frame tentative rules regarding the pronunciation of the simple consonants, when they are final. We must first note that as a rule, the final simple consonants are *হসন্ত* in Bengali, unlike what the case is in Oriya; the following are the rules for what form exceptions:

(1) When the penultimate is *হসন্ত*, no matter whether the penultimate and the final are made into one compound letter or not in spelling, the final is bound to be pronounced as a distinct syllable, unlike what is the case in Hindi; *শক্*, *জব্দ*, *কষ্ট*, etc., are examples. (2) The final simple consonants of the verbs in the Imperative mood, second person, are distinct syllables as in *কর*, *বল*, *চল*, etc., where the imperative-indicating final *হ* has now been dropped; when the expression is either non-honorific or highly honorific, *হসন্ত* sound prevails,—as *কব্*, *বল্*, *চল্*, etc., and *করন্*, *বলন্*, *চলন্*, etc. (3) (a) When the final letter is the representative of a compound letter of the original word, or (b) where the final letter of our vernacular word has become final by the decay of a syllable or of some syllables, *স্বরাস্ত* pronunciation prevails. It is not asserted that in all cases of such origin of words, the final simple consonant must, as a rule, be pronounced as non-*হসন্ত*; what is pointed out is that where the normal *হসন্ত* pronunciation is deviated from, the words disclose the history of their origin as formulated above. *ভাল* (from *ভদ্র*=*ভদ*), *এত* (from *এতাবৎ*), *বার* (from *বাঁদশ*=*বাড়শ*), etc., are some examples. Contrast *খাল*, *কাল*, *এক*, *তিন*, *সাত*, *দশ*, etc.

Notice also বড় (like), decayed form of our vernacular বড়ল and বড় (opinion). It has also to be noticed in the history of such words as ছোট, বড়, ভাল, etc., that their earlier forms were ছোটী, বড়ী, ভালী, etc. কাল=black is pronounced as কাল in Eastern Bengal, and this form কাল obtains in Upper India. It is further noticeable that আ, like ই-আ and উ-আ is found conjoined to many noun stems to indicate the adjective forms of the nouns; we are not, however, concerned with that phenomenon here.

(4) The participle-forming ত (but not ইত) is pronounced as a distinct syllable, as কৃত, জীত, প্রীত, আগত, etc.; contrast with them রহিত, মোহিত, সহিত, etc., where the finals are without vowel sound. (5) The past-indicating ল suffix which owes its origin to participle-forming ত, is pronounced non-হসন্ত, as করিল, গেল, হইল, etc.; the হ-ending of the suffix আছ (occurring in second person only), is also similarly pronounced, as আছ, করিয়াছ, গিয়াছ, etc. (6) When the initial letter is compounded with র or ল, and (a) vowels other than অ do not come between the initial and the final, and (b) the consonant H or V does not intervene, the final letter is pronounced as a distinct syllable, e.g., ব্রহ্ম, ব্রত, প্রমথ (contrast with শপথ of হসন্ত ending), ব্রথ, etc.; but notice the হসন্ত finals of (a) গ্রাম, গ্রাম, ভ্রাণ, প্রাণ, প্রসাদ, প্রদীপ, প্রোক, ক্রেশ, সু-প্রীত, etc., where vowels other than অ intervene; mark again, (b) প্রহর and প্রবল, where H and V intervene. As an exception to the general rule, we get first, the word প্রব, the final of which is uttered as a syllable; we notice the general exception, where য is final, as ক্রয়, ভয়, প্রয়, etc. (7) The simple finals of the words of two letters are ব্রহ্মত, when the initial letter has ব for its adjunct, e.g., ক্রম, দ্রুত, ব্রুণ, ব্রূপ, etc.; contrast with them the হসন্ত sounds of the final of ক্রমক, ক্রপণ, পৃথক, etc. (8) The finals of only a few reduplicated words develop into

স্বরাস্ত sounds, when emphasis is put upon the words, as খচ-মচ in “কি খচমচই করছ” and পড় পড় in “বরাখানি পড় পড় হইয়াছে.”

In the name of framing rules, the cases where স্বরাস্ত pronunciation prevails, have been set out in a classified order; to frame regular rules, we have to find out the essential underlying cause or causes governing the phenomenon. In rule No. 1, we observe convenience in the matter of pronunciation. In rule No. 3, we notice that to compensate the loss of letters at the end, a স্বরাস্ত sound is drawn long; this is virtually the guiding cause in rule No. 2, since কর, চল, বল, etc., are the reduced forms of করহ, চলহ, বলহ, etc. As to other cases, I fail to enunciate any natural law, which causes the occurrence of the স্বরাস্ত sound.

Some of our misguided spelling reformers propose to write ‘Mato’ for ‘Mata’ to indicate that the final is to be pronounced non-হসন্ত, forgetting that the final ‘a’ sound is not purely ‘o.’ If simply a sign for হসন্ত is put upon the final when it is sounded হসন্ত the purpose may be fully served, for the final ‘a’ is bound to be pronounced with a slight ‘o’ sound by the Bengali speaking people. As to foreigners they have to learn our pronunciation if they care to pronounce Bengali words exactly as we do. That phonetic spelling is impossible to be introduced for common use, should be duly appreciated.

The scope of my subject did not allow me to notice the allied and cognate sound peculiarities as occur in other Aryan languages; I refer you however to a few Iranian peculiarities, just to suggest how wide our field of research is. In the first place we may notice, in connection with the sound of the vowel ঞ, that in Irānian the radical ‘ar’ (ء) is reduplicated by ই; that the Indian

sound of 𑀓 has always been 'ri' and not 'ru' is clearly demonstrated by it. In the second place, we may observe without any reference to the ethnic composition in Iran, that 's,' is generally reduced to 'h' which has been noticed as a special peculiarity in Eastern Bengal. In the third place, we may refer to the phenomena of Epenthesis and Prothesis, as occur in the old Iranian speech for comparison with similar phenomena noticed before. As an example of Iranian Epenthesis, we may notice that the Vedic भवति stands as Bava-i-ti in Iranian; by Epenthesis I mean the introduction of anticipatory इ or उ in the middle of a syllable. As to Prothesis, *i.e.*, introduction of an anticipatory इ or उ, initially before a consonant, we may cite the example of इ 𑀓 हति which corresponds to Vedic 𑀓 𑀓 𑀓. Many other Iranian peculiarities as agree with some provincial peculiarities in India, may be studied very profitably by the Indian students of Comparative Philology.

## LECTURE VII

### A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOME ACCENT SYSTEMS

The term *akṣara* (literally "undying," i.e., the ever-living and essential factor in human speech) signifies a letter as well as a syllable in the Vedic and so also in the later Sanskrit language. Different sound of letters coalescing themselves in euphonic combination, and consonants unvitalized by vowel sounds being joined to other consonants, generate compound letters; these compound letters as well as the simple letters being so many independent syllables in a word, must be separately pronounced. No doubt, in this method of pronunciation we find the Vedic in agreement with the Sanskrit speech, but we have to notice that in the matter of accent Vedic language differs very widely and radically from Sanskrit. In the Vedic language the vowel sounds were not so very rigidly and unalterably fixed as long or short, as they are in Sanskrit; though, no doubt, a definite value is found assigned to each and every vowel, we can clearly see, with reference to the *pada-pāṭhā* system, that the accentual stress of *उदात्त*, *अनिच्*, and *अनुदात्त* change what may be called the normal sounds of the vowels.

We have to first notice that the final vowel of many flexional endings and of several adverbs is given by the text, sometimes as short, sometimes as long. We have to notice next in the Vedic accent system that not only the syllables, the word, and the phrases, but even many sentences are found accented. This fact which discloses

the living character of the speech, may be studied in the excellent analysis and discussion of the matter in Prof. Macdonnell's Vedic Grammar. It may no doubt be said of the Vedic verses that the general rhythm of versification is not affected by accents; but that because of musical stress and accents the verses are not lifeless quantitative ones (as in Sanskrit), should be duly appreciated. Since it is a fact that natural gestures and modulations of voice, which contribute to the growth of the human speech, do survive as living factors in some proportion in each and every developed speech,—since it is undeniable that every *real and living speech* must have an accent system of its own, a few examples of the Vedic accent should be adduced here to form some notions regarding the Vedic as well as the post-Vedic classical languages. Before citing the examples I should note that উগাত (as the meaning of it indicates) is the high accent in the Sāma Veda, while as a later innovation স্বরিত্ব of the next grade is the high accent in the Rig Veda; it will therefore be convenient to name the grades of accent by high, middle and low pitch or accent.

The first example I cite, is to show how by change of accent a Vedic word changes its meaning. If the high accent be put upon दा of राजपुत्र, the word will mean (being constructed as बह्व्रीहि) 'a person who is the father of sons who are or became kings,' but if the last letter द is accented, the meaning will be, in the उत्पुत्र compound, 'the son of a king.' For a similar change of meaning in Bengali, let me cite a few examples: if the Bengali word কলস is accented on the first syllable ক, the meaning will be 'a graft,' but with accent on the last syllable লস, it will mean 'a pen.' How because of change in pronunciation occasioned by difference in stress, a word varies in



meaning, should be studied to realize the importance of accent in Bengali. Cf. আটা (flour) and আটা (gum), কড়ি (beam) and কড়ি (shell), কান্না (blind) and কান্না (edge), খোলা (open) and খোলা (tile), ছোঁড়া (boy) and ছোঁড়া (to throw), গেরো (a knot) and গেরো (as derived from গ্রহ signifying ill luck), চান (a bath, derived from আন) and চান (he wants), ঘাট (bathing place) and ঘাট (dereliction of duty), etc. Notice again a case of accent where gesture becomes partly prominent. If a smell be pleasing, the word for our agreeable sensation will be normally accented, and the word গন্ধ will be accented on the first syllable, but our feeling of disgust about bad smell will be expressed by putting a long accent upon the last letter, without any qualifying adjective being added; the utterance গন্ধ-অ-অ is sufficiently expressive. To express agreeableness the particles of interjection in Bengali are accented closely on the letter when the particle is of one letter, and on the first syllable, when the word is of more than one syllable; while on the other hand, in expressing our painful feeling or feeling of disgust the accent is on the last syllable, and when the interjection is of one letter, the accent is put in such a manner on the letter, as to generate an additional syllable with a drawl sound upon it. For example, in expressing the feeling of admiration the first syllables of বাহবা and বাগ্ম্রে will be accented, and a close accent will be put upon the letter বা; on the other hand বাগ্ম্রে (not as exclamation of admiration), is accented on the last syllable to express the feeling of pain. Similarly আ! gets a broad accent, generating a drawl, to express pain or disgust. It may again be noted that বাহবা! will be something like বা-হা<sup>৩</sup>-বা, with accent on the second syllable, when there is a banter in the tone; to signify

such a sentiment the interjection বা will be so modulated, as to make it a word of three syllables with two বা sounds. This is difficult to express in script. We may consider also that the emphasis-indicating 'very much' tends to duplicate the final consonant of a word; অত from অত and এতত (so much !), এটু (very small), কোত্থাও, গোচ্ছা from গোছা, ছোট্ট, ঝকি from ঝুঁকি or ঝোঁক, ধাক্কা and ধকল, ফকা from ফাঁকা, বড্ড, বকেবর from বকা, রগুগা from রোগা, রত্তি, as in একরত্তি, from রতি, and সৰুকাল বেলা (very early in the morning) are examples. We may compare similar forms in Oriya of Sambalpur, as খড্ডা (to fry) to indicate বেশি খড় খড় করে ভাজা (to make crisp by overdoing), and মেচ্ছা (for মেছা = moustache), ঘুরছি (twirling) to express one's defiant attitude.

For my second example regarding Vedic accent in metrical composition, I quote a Vedic verse which is full of emotional sentiments. In this verse the mixed feeling of eager solicitude and despondency has been expressed. The first portion of the first verse of the 95th Sukta of the 10th Mandal, which is addressed by Pururavā to his fugitive wife Urvaśī, on meeting her accidentally, stands with accents as follows :—

“ হযে জায়ে মনসা তিত্ত ঘোরে

বচাংশি মিত্রা কৃণবাবহৈহু”

We cannot fail to notice that many long vowels have been made either short or semi-short with accents of lower grade upon them, and the short syllable ন in মনসা has a high accent on it. How on account of the subdued utterance of 'হয়ে,' and a high accent on the final syllable of 'জায়ে,' the feeling of coaxing

with fervour has been expressed, may be explained and appreciated, if in the first place, the verse is correctly recited, and in the second place, we carefully consider, how to express this very sentiment we accentuate our words and modulate our voice to-day. If we translate *হয়ে কারে* by *ওগো উকলী* or by *ওগো*, we can see that to express anxious solicitude or cajoling we have only to half accentuate *ওগো*, but have to fully accentuate *লী* of *উকলী*, or the last *ও* of *ওগোও*, with a peculiar modulation of voice. This thorough agreement of Bengali accent with the Vedic, in this particular instance, may be merely a chance agreement, but all the same, it is interesting to note that in Hindi as well as in Oriya, the method of accent is different. In the corresponding Hindi form of the expression, as *ये उकली* or *हये पिरारे*, the interjection *हये* will be pronounced with high accent or great emphasis; similarly 'ए' of *ए उकली* or *ए धन* of Oriya idiom will require the high accent to be placed on *ए*. Even though *ও* comes before a name in the vocative case in Bengali, the name itself is modulated peculiarly to signify address, and the interjection portion is not so vigorously pronounced, as it is done in Hindi; the forms, *राय हो* (Hindi) and *दे हो राय* (Sambalpur Oriya) may be compared with our corresponding Bengali form. In the Nepalese, *এ* must invariably come before a word in the vocative case. When thus noticing different accentual peculiarities in the vocative case, I should note that in the Dravidian speech interjections do not occur before the words in the vocative case.

The third example I cite for Vedic accent, relates to the pronunciation of the word *Agni* as occurs in the *Śāma Veda*, the *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, and the

*Kāphaka Samhitā*; we find the high accent placed upon the compound letter *नि* (i. e., to say upon the final *नि*) and not upon the initial *अ* which alone should be pronounced long in the Sanskrit language. That with this very accent on the second syllable the word *अग्नि* was pronounced in our oldest-known *Prākṛta* (misnamed *Pali*), may be gathered from some facts which I should notice here. We get *गिनि* and *अग्नि*, as two different decayed forms of *अग्नि* in the aforesaid *Prākṛta*; they represent presumably two different provincial forms of the old time. We can clearly see in the history of the word *गिनि* that on account of accent on the last syllable, the unaccented first syllable dropped out following the natural rule of phonetic decay. In our consideration of the form *अग्नि* we first notice that according to our previously formulated rule (stated in illustrating the Dravidian influence), *ग* of the second syllable has been doubled, as letters of different *वर्ग* cannot form a compound; the word is, therefore, more in a changed form than in a decayed state. As to the pronunciation of it, I refer to a line of a verse composed in *इन्द्रवज्रा*, as occurs in the *Thera Gāthā*:—*अग्निं यथा पञ्चलितो निमीथे* (like the fire blazing in the midnight). The metre here is only seemingly faulty, as the second syllable of *अग्नि* is not long; but if we accept the proposition that the short syllable in question has a high accent on it, it will be admitted that the accent makes up for the shortness in question.

We notice, both in the so-called *Pali* and the later *Prākṛta* dialects, that their speakers changed the spelling of the words according to accent and pronunciation, but did not introduce like the Dravidians such additional vowels as short *ए* and short *उ*. The fact, however, that long and short vowels were articulated short or long, following the natural accent, can be easily determined by referring to the

prose composition with which the Prākṛta literature abounds. Professor Pischell has rightly asserted in his work on the Prākṛta Grammar that the Vedic accent or tone did not die out, but existed in the so-called Pali Prākṛta. The learned scholar came to this conclusion by looking deep into the causes that led both to the phonetic decay and the accretion of new letters in the Pali words. Professor Jacobi, misled by the modern artificial method of reading Pali has criticized this view and has asserted that the Vedic tone did not survive in the Pali speech, but only it was a sort of *stress* that was in use in the utterance of words. We must remember that accent is a thing of hard growth and cannot die out easily. By the introduction of new racial elements, the old accent system of a speech may undergo some change, but the system itself is not wholly effaced.

We have seen that a very regular and thorough-going accent system prevailed in the Vedic speech; we have also seen from an example of a Vedic verse that emotions were freely expressed in the Chhāṇḍasa speech, and in consequence thereof, the vowels could not be kept rigidly fixed in their long or short pronunciation. It is on the other hand perfectly clear that the Vedic text for illustration (beginning with हरे नमो, etc.) will be a lifeless quantitative verse in Sanskrit, requiring artificial and meaningless raising and lowering of vowel sounds in the following form :

— —, etc.

We should not however overlook that inspite of rigidity of rules we have to put different stress upon different words occurring in a Sanskrit verse, when there is a feelingly recitation in contradistinction with what

may be called metrical articulation. No doubt, we can see that this sort of putting emphasis upon phrases is not due to the living character of the language in which the poems are composed; there are many good Sanskrit verses wherein we find that their poets by virtue of their skill have arranged the words of long vowels in such a manner as the feelingly expressions may be appropriately brought out by putting emphasis upon the long vowels only. The example of the verse in the नौतिशतक, beginning with निम्नं नौति निम्नं यदिवा सुवत्, is in point. This is rather infusing life in dead bones.

I have judged here the Sanskrit language by taking the question of accent only into consideration; other facts as are necessary to be discussed in determining the character of a language, will certainly be discussed relevantly in a subsequent lecture, but we should not forget that accent is the life-breath which vitalizes the words, and a speech without accent is a contradiction in terms. We have seen from the accent point of view only, how unnaturally rigid the Sanskrit language is; we will see by referring to other facts that this artificial rigidity is due to the fact that Sanskrit had to accommodate itself within a frame-work of generalized rules which some mighty grammarians constructed in their zeal to perpetuate linguistic purity, when in consequence of a natural change, the speech of the holy Vedas was transformed into a new popular speech.

I should mention in this connection that some persons are very wrong in their opinion that such a living speech as Oriya is without an accent system. The misconception is due to the fact that in Oriya, as in Sanskrit, all the letters are pronounced as distinct independent syllables. That inspite of it, the letters and words are accented by the Oriyas without any reference to the long or short

sound of a vowel, is instructive. I cannot deal with the Oriya accent system here; I adduce only one example to serve my purpose. গলা (gone) as an exclamation of surprise will be articulated with accent on the first syllable which is short, and the word will sound like গ-অ-অলা (Oh! it is gone), while the accent on the second syllable in similar feeling of surprise will bring in another গলা as অচর or accumulated unaccented letters, like a tag to the word, and the sound will be like গলা-অাগলা. I should inform you in this connection that in Oriya the final syllable of a word is generally accented and this is why, (a) the final simple consonants are not pronounced হস্ত, (b) ব্রজা has been reduced to ব্রজা and the Apabhrāṃśa form of কাশ্ত is কৈনা and (c) the half nassal ̃ is placed on the final letters of such words as কাহি̃, বহি̃, etc.; it is noticeable that when the Bengalees write the Oriya words কাহি̃, বহি̃, etc., they represent them as কাহি, বহি, etc.

In my general criticism relating to the question of accent I have noticed many peculiarities of ours; I proceed now to consider some other marked peculiarities as should engage the attention of all scholars. As a general rule, in our standard Bengali speech the first syllables are accented, while curiously enough the last syllables are accented in Eastern Bengal. Mr. J. D. Anderson, late of the Bengal Civil Service, has written of late some very suggestive and learned notes in the J. R. A. S. on the character of Bengali syllable and accent. To the students of philology these original notes are of very high value. Misled by the wrong idea or information that the people of the districts of Mymensingh and Dacca have the tendency to make the first syllable accented, Mr. Anderson has compared the Assamese mode of pronunciation with that of Eastern Bengal, and has subjected the Eastern Bengal

accent system to Assamese influence. As the case is quite the contrary, we must look to some other influence for this phenomenon. Let me just give a few examples as to how the words are accented differently in Eastern Bengal and Central Bengal. In Central Bengal মাথা having the accent on the first syllable, the unaccented syllable is pronounced soft, and থ sounds like ত; in Eastern Bengal, however, মাথা, কর্ণা, করে, etc., are the accented forms. With accent on the first syllable the final য় of কোথায় is wholly or partially dropped in Central Bengal, while the accent on the last syllable in Eastern Bengal brings out থা and য় distinctly. As a result of accent being placed on the first syllables, the unaccented second syllables of many words have undergone a natural phonetic decay in the common speech of the people of Central Bengal, and thus the unaccented ই sound in the second syllables of করিব, করিয়া and করিলাম have become extinct, and the forms করব, করে and করলাম have prevailed. As in Eastern Bengal the last syllables of আইল, আইস, etc., are accented, and the first portions must be uttered to come to the last syllables, almost no change takes place in those words; but when the first portions are accented, the two vowels আ and ই, coalesce, and long এ which is the combination of আ and ই takes the place of the first two letters; thus এল and এস take the place of আইল and আইস. In Manbhum and in some parts of Bankura which are contiguous to the lands of the Dravidians, the last syllables are mostly accented; in the sentence তোমার বেটা বটেক্ ? (Is he your son ?) the last syllables of all the three words are accented. Because of change of accents বেটা is pronounced বেটা in Central Bengal. কুণ্, the old Prākṛta or proto-Bengali form of কোথা still survives in Manbhum, partly because of the hilly accent, and partly because the accent is placed on the last syllables. It is notorious that



the last syllables of words are generally very much accented by the Dravidians. The final অ of foreign nouns are for this reason made into ঈ, as for example বণিমেষলা becomes বণিমেষলৈ. This is why the vulgar people in the South pronounce the English words 'government,' 'and,' etc., as governmen-ta, an-da, etc. I have spoken before of the Dravidian element in Bengal; it is the excess of this element which I suppose to be the cause of Eastern Bengal peculiarity. In the Chittagong Division however, where the Mongolian influence is considerable, the first syllables are mostly accented vigorously by almost duplicating the accented syllables, and thus পাক, তোমার, etc., are reduced to ফাক, ধোমার, etc.; but in other respects the widespread Dravidian influence of basic character peeps through the thin Mongolian veil.

I have spoken before of the general disinclination in Bengal, of not fully articulating হ, when it is not an initial letter, and thus we have got such forms as গাইতে, নইতে, রইতে, etc., for গাহিতে, নহিতে, রহিতে, etc. When the tendency to put the stress of accent upon the first syllable is coupled with this phenomenon, we see how তাহার and তালিতে are reduced to তার and তাতে. That in spite of the decay of হ the sound of the letter is partially retained in our tongue, can be detected in the mode of our pronunciation of those words, in contrast with the pronunciation of তার meaning taste or wire and তাতে, a verb which signifies "becomes hot." Really speaking therefore, হ is not dropped, but its sound fades into indistinctness, after the accented তার; as such, it is improper and useless to leave out হ in our spelling in these cases. Those who elect to pronounce তার for তাহার will do so in spite of the letter হ, for accent on the first syllable will soften the sound of the letter হ. The so-called reformers should see that if হ is retained, it will not be sounded much, because of the accent

on the preceding syllable ; again, presence of  $\text{ॠ}$  will maintain the right pronunciation of the words concerned.

## LECTURE VIII

### ACCENT TRACED IN THE BENGALI METRICAL SYSTEM

We should do well to proceed now to ascertain the character of the Bengali accent of olden days by examining the metrical system preserved in the poetical works of old Bengal. Adverting to the fact that the early Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal treated each and every letter as a syllable, and made the final consonantal sound non-hasanta, by imitating the old fashionable poet Vidyāpati of Mithilā, many people have formed two wrong notions ; one is that Bengali was derived from Maithili, and the other is that our mode of pronunciation and of counting syllables was of the type presented by those poets. Mithilā became no doubt, at one time a portion of old Gauḍ which extended to the foot of Nepal if not into Nepal itself, but the Maithili speech of the days of the Vaiṣṇava poets had nothing to do with our Bengali language. As to elements common to Bengali and Maithili, we have to look to the older Māgadhī speech of which notice will be taken later on. From the earliest known time our Bengali poets (excepting those who followed the Maithili fashion) have uniformly composed their poems, not by counting letters but by counting syllables. Looking to the fact that the fourteen letters of the *পরা* verse for example, are the same as fourteen mātrās of fourteen syllables, the *পরা* may be seemingly regarded as composed of fourteen letters ; but that it is a *syllable* (which may consist of more than one letter) and not a *letter* which is the *unit* in a Bengali word, should never be lost sight of. How is it that consistently with or rather in harmony with the phenomenon that our metrical system is grounded on a syllabic

and accentual basis, a fixed number of letters come in a *chhanda*, will be explained presently after considering some facts leading to the point.

To explain the character of Bengali syllables, let me set forth some words with their syllable divisions by marking the syllables off, by the sign hyphen : মা-দুঃখ, আ-শা-মেয়, বন্-ধু (বন্ধু), অ-হং-কার, etc., will show that there may be less number of syllables than the number of letters in a word. J. D. Anderson has rightly remarked with reference to our phrase accents as well as in respect to the syllables in a word that this special aspect of phrase accent in a word "is sufficiently dominant to be the basis of accentual verse in Bengali." Mr. Anderson has very successfully demonstrated what I once feebly pointed out in a Bengali essay that the assertion of our Pandits that the পরার metre is not composed of syllables but of fourteen letters, is wrong. The two lines quoted by Mr. Anderson from Kṛttivāsa in J. R. A. S., 1913, 861, may be cited to show that the lines of fourteen letters consist of twelve and thirteen syllables respectively, and that the verse moves on with syllables and not with letters. The lines as accented by Mr. Anderson, stand as :

এ'ক-দিন শু'-ক্র গে-ল ত-প'-শ্রা ক-রি-তে  
হে-ন কা-লে' দ'ণ্-ড রা-জা গে-লেন প'-ড়ি-তে ।

It will be noticed that it is the accent on লেন of গেলেন in the second line, which has given the easy motion required by the rhythm, and by virtue of accents, lines of seemingly unequal syllables have agreed in the metre. I adduce now another example to illustrate our metrical system. Take first a line of a verse which accommodates fifteen letters which coincide with fifteen syllables :

তুমি অতি নিশু ছেলে কোথা যাবে একাকী ?

Let us then notice that maintaining this very metre, lines of fifteen syllables may be introduced in a verse, though counting by letters, the lines may contain twenty or twenty-two letters :

আ-খিন মা-সের ভো-রের বে-লায়  
বা-গান ত-খন ফুল-পরা,  
স-তেজ স্ত্রা-যল ত-রুর ত-লার  
গ-জা ছি-ল কুল-ভ-রা ।

To indicate cæsura, I have divided the lines above keeping eight syllables in the first foot. The first line of the verse contains twenty-two and the second twenty letters. Refer to whichever poet of the past time you please, excepting the Vaiṣṇava poets who imitated non-Bengali forms, you will find that our verses are all based on accentual basis. I quote here only some lines from Dāsarathi Ray and Īṣvar Gupta, who preceded our immortal poet Madhusudan.

খেয়ে কিনা মোচার ঝাল      ঝাল লেগে বানরের পাল  
আপ্নার গাল আপ্নি চড়া চড়ি ।

If read according to the natural accents of the words, it will be seen that the syllables being taken as units, there are eight distinct sounds of eight letters in each of the first two feet, and sounds of ten letters occur in the third, fulfilling the requirements of number of letters for such a ত্রিশদী metre. Next to this verse of Dāsarathi, a verse of Īṣvar Gupta in our indigenous রেকাছন্দ may be noticed.

নানারকি নানাকলে  
নানারকি নানাকলে      রাজ্য পেলে  
তাতেই এত জারি ।

Before proceeding to show, how from our indigenous songs which unmistakably disclose our accent system of old

times, not only the literary Bengali verses but the Sanskrit verses as well originated, let me notice here the wrong opinions of some eminent Bengali writers regarding the character of our versification. It has been wrongly held by some that in the old poetry of Bengal হস্ক words practically do not exist. It has been wrongly asserted that in our old poetry natural accent was not cared for and the "unnaturalness of recitation was made up for by chanting the verses to a tune." This is only true of those writers who imitate the old Vaiṣṇava poets in the matter of their versification and diction, that an adventitious artificial jingle has been introduced.

\*In addition to what I have quoted from the old poets I quote below another verse from Kṛttivāsa to substantiate my statement and to show the incorrectness of the opinion just referred to.

অতিকায় পড়ে রণে রাবণ চিহ্নিত

ষোড় হাতে বাপের আগে কহে ইন্দ্রজিৎ ।

The word চিহ্নিত rhyming with ইন্দ্রজিৎ leaves no room for even a careless reciter to articulate its final ত with a vowel sound; that ষোড় and বাপের carry normal pronunciation, is absolutely clear. The supporters of the contrary opinion are found even to name অন্নদামঙ্গল of Bhāratchandra in the list of the delinquents, without noticing that if we leave a few artificial Sanskritic verses out of consideration, Bhāratchandra must be given the credit of having composed verses with words of common use with their natural accent. অন্নদামঙ্গল as well as his other works, abounds with verses like

ঝাঁকড় মাকড় চুল, নাহি আঁদি সাঁদি,

হাত্ দিলে ধূলা ওড়ে যেন কেশা-কাঁদি ।

When, more than fifty years ago, we read Madan-mohan's poem পাখী সব, etc., we were not asked by our

village teachers to deviate from the usual pronunciation, and did never read সব, রব, কুম্ভ, রাখাল, গরুর পাল, শিশুগণ দেয় যন, etc., with final অ sound.

Despite the fact that Madhusudan has drawn largely upon the Sanskrit vocabulary for some effect in the blank verse, his verses have to be read by putting proper accents upon the words. Is it not true that far from imposing an adventitious artificial jingle upon our verse, and far from throttling our natural accented words to death, Hemchandra has made the Bengali verse to move with natural accent, with uncommon vigour and rapidity? I think I have made it clear that Bengali words with their accent have always been used in our Bengali verse, and the exception to the rule has only been occasional, where there has been an imitation of the forms of some Vaisnava poets. The imported metrical system of some Vaisnava poets could never take root in Bengal.

I proceed now to show from the history of evolution of our metrical system that the accent system which now prevails, has been the accent system of the Bengali-speaking people from the time about which faint suggestions can only be made, by taking a stand at the shadowy threshold of dim past. The history of the evolution of human institutions has made us familiar with this phenomenon that our verse with our metrical system owes its origin to tribal festive songs which in their turn originated from primitive expressions of emotions. In its normal conditions, therefore, no metrical system of any race can have any other basis than an accentual one.

To ensure convenience, I refer first of all to such Sanskrit metres as are of undoubted late origin. যানবকী-জীড় is a ছন্দ of late origin and its origin in Magadha-Gauḍa cannot be seriously doubted. The hemistiches of

one line of this verse are divided below by partition lines :

আদি গতং । তুর্ঘ গতং । পঞ্চমকং । চান্ত্য গতং ।

Each hemistich is really a complete foot, and the characteristics of it are repeated in subsequent hemistiches. A portion of our nursery rhyme will be seen to be exactly in accord with it. It is as follows :

হাত ঘুরলে । নাড় দেব । নৈলে নাড়ু । কোথা পাব ।

The apparent inaccuracy in the second hemistich of the first foot disappears if the সুর or tune underlying the Sanskrit as well as the Bengali verse is rightly caught. Uniformity in Sanskrit metre is maintained by the fixity of long and short sounds, while without following the Sanskrit rule mere tune may maintain the purity of the metre with natural accent in the Bengali verse. Compare the same ছন্দ in another nursery rhyme :

ডালিম গাছে, ফিলপু নাচে ; তাক্ ধিনাধিন্ বাজি বাজে ।

It will be seen how the four *akṣaras* required in each hemistich in Sanskrit, correspond exactly to the four syllable-unit of Bengali. No one will venture to say that our village girls or matrons imitated the মানবকাক্রীড় ; that the Pandits utilised the indigenous *chhanda* for a Sanskrit metre verging upon মাত্রাবৃত্ত, cannot be doubted. The name মানবকাক্রীড় unmistakably points to its origin from the ক্রীড় or play of the মানবক or child. When songs were composed with mātrās, numerous *chhandas* cropped up in Sanskrit, and the verses were set in indigenous tunes. To illustrate this properly I take a verse of a very familiar song from the গীতগোবিন্দ. I divide the lines for the purpose of my analysis, and put the tag portions in brackets.



হসসি যদি। কিকিহসি। দন্তকচি। (কৌয়দী)  
 হরতি দর। তিমিরমতি। (ষোরং)।  
 ফুরদধর সীধবে। তব বদন। (চক্রমা)।  
 রোচয়তি। লোচন। (চকোরং) ॥  
 জিয়ে চারুশীলে, etc., as ধূয়া or refrain.

It is first to be noticed that each portion divided by partition lines consists of either five letters or five mātṛas. The beginning of the refrain portion if divided similarly, a great artificiality will be noticed, since the first division will take in only the first three letters জিয়েচা; but if sung according to the tune, this unnaturalness will disappear, and the whole refrain will be found to be set in music with all regularities. Compare with it the line composed in Bengali রেক্তাহন্দ, already quoted above, and is quoted again, for facility of reference:

নানারকি নানাকলে—

নানারকি নানাকলে। রাজ্য পেলে।

তাতেই এত। জারি।

If we exclude the introductory নানারকি নানাকলে which is pronounced as অহুদাত্ত, and if we set apart the word জারি as a tag, the essential agreement between the Bengali metre and the Sanskrit metre will be obvious; the word জারি if pronounced with lengthening sound as is done in reciting a verse of the রেক্তাহন্দ, its agreement with ষোরং, will also become clear. In রেক্তাহন্দ there is an introductory portion which is of peculiar nature; the first portion of the first line becomes the independent introductory portion of the verse. The introductory line সে বে গো পুষ্টি এঁড়ে, must first be articulated as অহুদাত্ত, and then it is to be repeated

as উদাত্ত with the other portions of the verse. The verse then will stand thus—

সে যে গো পুষ্টি এঁড়ে—  
সে যে গো পুষ্টি এঁড়ে দত্তি ভেড়ে  
নস্তি কর তাকে ।

That the refrain portion, therefore of the Sanskrit song,, originates from the introductory tag, becomes rather clear. No doubt, there has been some lengthening of the tune in Sanskrit in the refrain portion, but this is because a uniformity of the metre has been maintained. To explain the matter more clearly, let me notice here a verse which has been composed by exactly adopting the metre of Jayadeva's song হসসি যদি, etc. ; it will be observed in this verse that the essential character of the *chhanda* has not been affected, even though there has been either a little lengthening or a little shortening of some mātrās in conformity with the genius of the Bengali metre. The Bengalised Sanskrit verse runs as :—

তেমন-ইকি আসে উষা সে সোণালি সুধমার,  
সাজারে শ্রামল দেহ শরতের ?  
শুনি হবে পাখীদের আনন্দের ঘোষণায়  
ভেঙ্গে যায় নীরবতা জগতের ?

If the portions হরতি, etc., and রোচয়তি, etc., of Jayadeva's song, and the corresponding lines of the Bengali verse be put aside, the following Bengali verse composed after an indigenous Bengali metre, will be found to be in perfect agreement with the *chhanda* in question :

ঠাকুরমা, দেই ছেলে বেলায়, ঘুম পাড়াবার কক্ষিতে,  
এক যে রাজার মজার গল্পের হুঁ হুঁ জোড়া সন্ধিতে  
এমনি ক'রে চলে দিতেন নিজালাসের আবলি,  
সেতিয়ে পড়তে হ'তই ঘুমে, রাজারাগী বা বয়েই ।

For an example of a Sanskrit metre corresponding to or agreeing with the Bengali লবুত্রিপদী which may easily be conceived to have evolved the longer or দীর্ঘত্রিপদী, I lay again the poet Jayadeva under contribution. In his

চল সখি কুঞ্জং সতিমির পুঞ্জং

শীলয় নীল নিচোলং ।

if নিচোল be separated from the third foot, the three feet will be found to be of equal length in quantity. We can therefore see that the final নিচোলং comes in as a tag to break the monotony. Consequently, to trace the origin of the *chhanda* we may safely take into consideration the three feet of the verse leaving the tag portion out. Corresponding exactly to these three feet in form and tune, we get the lines of a country song which is sung in a game that may be fitly described as choral dance. In this game a boy usually stands in the centre of a ring formed by a number of little boys and girls standing hand in hand; the boy in the centre seeking slyly the opportunity to break through the circle to run away, goes on singing an action song—এতু টুকু পানি, and the boys and the girls who encircle him sing half dancing the chorus—বো বো রাগি, বো বো রাগি. It is significant to note that this very game of Bengal, prevails in the far off Sambalpur tract, and it is this very বো বো রাগি, conveying no meaning to us to-day is sung as chorus in the country places of that tract; that the game and the song originated in remote past, is forcibly indicated by this very circumstance. Again, when বো বো রাগি is sung twice as chorus, the whole portion becomes a লবুত্রিপদী minus the tag which may be an improvement upon the song, in the line set forth above.

The Pandits who look for our পরায় a respectable origin, make the Sanskrit অহুত্ৰ the forbear of our

humble পরার, though the tune and the form of the one do not agree with those of the other. That our nursery rhyme *বিষ্টি পড়ে টাপুর টুপুর*, etc., is wholly in accord with our পরার, cannot even for a moment be doubted. Though the lines move on keeping time with the note of a tune imbedded in syllabic accent, they contain fourteen letters, and at the end of the first foot of a line consisting of eight letters we get the requisite cæsura. It will be noticed in the last line of the verse quoted below that রা of রাগ being lengthened by the stress of an accent, the loss of one letter has been made up for. The verse is :

বিষ্টি পড়ে টাপুর টুপুর নদী এল বান,  
শিব ঠাকুরের বিয়ে হবে তিনটি কতাদান ;  
একটি কত্যা রাঁধেন বাড়েন একটি কত্যা খান,  
আর একটি রাগ ক'রে বাপের বাড়ি যান ।

The purpose I have in view, does not allow me to write elaborately on the genesis of our metrical system ; a separate treatise should be devoted to the execution of the work. The nature of our accent, the accentual basis of our metrical system, and the fact that our accent has been retaining its peculiar character since long, are factors which should principally engage our attention. That in respect of our accent a long continuous current may be observed to have flown through ages, will be clearer when we consider other facts, and the readers will have to form their opinion by considering the effects of what may be called cumulative evidence.

As to the origin of many Sanskrit metres from popular rhymes, such non-Sanskritic names as *তোটক* (indicating special emphasis on the third letter—*তিয়ট + ক*), *দোষক* (of equal length with *তোটক*, leaving out the initial and the final accented syllables ; the accent falls regularly after two intermediate unaccented syllables—i.e., *ধক্* or

ধাক্কা or 'push' comes after 'দো' or two), নীলা বেল (the word বেল indicates the origin), etc., may be referred to.

I cannot certainly deal with our metrical system at a greater length here, but I cannot at the same time conclude this section of my lecture without referring you to the Hindi and the Oriya modes of reciting poetry, in contrast with our mode. I speak of the mode of recitation only, as it is not possible to analyse here the metrical systems of Oriya and Hindi. I doubt not that you have heard in this city the Oriyas and the up-country men to read aloud their verses. It must be a familiar experience that from the sound alone from a good distance a Bengali can know whether an Oriya poem or some Hindi দোহাঁs are being recited. Even where there is no musical chanting, the character of the metres will indicate the characteristic difference. All this is due wholly to different accent systems. As the style of a language is the expression of the thought of the speakers, so is the metrical system in a language, due to the special accent system of the people. The Oriya verse of lines of 9 *akṣaras* if read in Bengali fashion, the composition will sound like a disjointed prose piece; so also it will be with such ত্রিপদী lines of Upendra Bhanja, as :

বাধি বস্ত্র বাহিত উপচার

বৈত বিহিনার পরিষে।

Similarly if the lines of a Hindi দোহাঁ be not read in the Hindi fashion, the music of the lines will fade away. Without pronouncing any definite opinion as to whether the lines quoted below were composed in old Bengali or Hindi, I may bring to your notice the basic Hindi character of the metre of the lines; the non-hasanta sound of the final syllable and the

long sound of the penultimate, as have to be maintained in rightly reciting the lines, are to be duly noted. The lines are :

•           কাঁসা তরুর পঞ্চবিড়াল  
চঞ্চল চীৎ পইচৌ কাল ॥

I do not mean to be exhaustive here ; I want however to impress upon you, that we can solve many linguistic problems at least partly, if we take the factor of accent deeply into our consideration.

## LECTURE IX

### ACCENT TRACED IN SANDHI AND COMPOUND FORMATIONS

*Sandhi.*—The phenomenon of euphonic combination or Sandhi should engage our attention next, as by a study of it we can partly ascertain many phonetic and accentual peculiarities. How some stiff Sanskrit rules of Sandhi can be simplified with reference to the original Vedic sound-value of some letters, has been discussed separately, and this discussion has been relegated to an appendix to this lecture. It is true that unlike what is noticeable in Greek, Chhāṇḍasa does not allow any hiatus to exist in a word, but the rigid Sanskrit Sandhi rules by virtue of which two or more independent words are linked together in an agglutinated unit, do not appear to have obtained in Chhāṇḍasa. I need hardly assert that in a living speech in which ease and fluency in the matter of articulation of sentences can never be disregarded, and in which words must be uttered in an intelligible manner, Sanskrit rules of Sandhi cannot be strictly enforced. The component parts of Purohita, for example, may not be allowed to stand separate, since the newly-formed word has a distinct signification of its own; but the force of the word *adya* (अद्य), for example, disappears, if *adyendrasya* अद्येन्द्रस्य be substituted for अद्य ईन्द्रस्य. We get such a line as वयम् अद्य ईन्द्रस्य अ इष्टे in the Vedic Padapāṭha, while the Sanskrit form of the text gives us वयमेन्द्रस्य ऐष्टे, which involves the loss of three syllables required

by the metre. I cannot speak here anything regarding what is called স্বরভক্তি as noticed in the Vedic pronunciation of ईक्ष for ईक्ष, but the example will fully show how the rigid Sandhi rules of Sanskrit Grammar make a simple speech unintelligible. We find in the Vedic verses, as is natural in a living speech, that each foot, nay each hemistich, stands apart without being united in Sandhi with a succeeding foot or hemistich. We observe only in some rare cases in Sanskrit that one hemistich is not united with another in a verse, where Sandhi combination is possible ; the following is a couplet which illustrates this sort of deviation from the usual rule :

যো ধ্রুবাণি পরিত্যজ্য অধ্রুবাণি নিষেবতে  
 ধ্রুবাণি তন্তু নশন্তি অধ্রুবম্ নষ্টমেবহি ।

It becomes perfectly clear that once when the Vedic language became obsolete, various cases of euphonic combination occurring in that language were studied very carefully, and a good number of generalized artificial Sandhi rules were framed for their rigid application in what is called Sanskrit language. This is why the processes noticeable in Chhāṇḍasa in such euphonic combinations as are due to the influence of accent (which is a living factor in a living speech), are not at work in Sanskrit ; instances of lengthening the accented vowel, as in বিশ্বামিত্র ( বিশ্ব + মিত্র ) or অনূপ ( অহু + আপ ) or of dropping the unaccented vowel as in চার্বাক ( চারু + বাক ), are not obtainable in Sanskrit.

It is a fact that the rules of Sandhi as are noticeable in Pali are not wholly in agreement with the Vedic rules ; that this very deviation shows the living character of that earliest-known Māgadhī



Prākṛta, is what we should duly appreciate. How because of the natural accent of the speakers, and owing to the changed value of the sound of some letters, such euphonic combinations occurred in Pali, as দেবাতি ( দেব + ইতি ), পন্নসেবি ( পন্নসে + ইব ), পান্নতি ( পান্ন + ইতি ), etc., should be a subject of special study. That the Sanskrit Sandhi-system does not support this claim of Sanskrit that it was naturally evolved out of Chhāṇḍasa, should be duly noted ; we can very clearly see that the natural Vedic rules of euphonic combination have only been artificially extended in Sanskrit to cases where combination brings about stiffening of the speech and unintelligibility of meaning.

It is certainly very true that our Bengali Sandhi system is not worked by the rules of the old time speech, but we proceed to show that the very principle which governed the phenomenon of euphonic combination in the speech of ancient times, governs to-day the Sandhi system of ours. Before I cite examples to substantiate my proposition, I should notice an objection which is raised by some in this direction. On the basis of superficial and unscientific observation of the fact that the rules which govern the formation of such combinations as ইত্যাদি, মনোহর, etc., do not prevail in Bengali, some scholars have gone the length of asserting that the natural phenomenon of euphonic combination does not at all exist in Bengali. We have certainly borrowed the words ইত্যাদি and মনোহর in their entirety and cannot disjoin them in our language ; no doubt, our ইতি means finish, আদি means original, and ইত্যাদি means etcetera ; again, there is no such word as মনস্ in Bengali, nor the word হর, if not a name of a man, can have any

meaning independently. It is also true that ই and আ do not combine according to Sanskrit rule to form ঞ, but we have noticed previously that they coalesce in Bengali quite in another fashion. Non-observance of Sanskrit rules does not however justify us to formulate that euphonic combination is unknown in Bengali.

In Bengali we do not and cannot combine different words into one agglutinated whole, for we utter our words one after the other to convey distinct meaning of them to other ears; but different vowel sounds and allied consonants do combine to form one word. With the अपভ্রংশ word মশা, the Sanskrit word অগ্নি (enemy) being joined in sandhi, we have got one word to mean the distinct article মশাগ্নি (mosquito curtain); to signify a special sort of আলু (bulb) the adjective গোল and আলু have been joined to form the word গোলআলু; the word কাঁচা as an adjective of কলা does not and cannot change its form, but when the words are combined together to signify the sort of কলা which is used as vegetable food, the final আ of the adjective being dropped, the word কাঁচকলা has been formed; we may also get the examples বোড়া + গাড়ি = বোড়গাড়ি, বোড়া + বাঁধা = বোড়বাঁধা, বোকা + চন্দ্র = বোকচন্দ্র (fool), etc. In such examples as কাঁচকলা, বোড়বাঁধা, etc., we notice the loss of unaccented আ finals of the first component parts of the words; similarly we find the loss of ই of ইচ্ছা in the phrase বাচ্ছেতাই, where the accented বাহা in the form of বা occurs as the first component. We have seen that in the Vedic language there were elision of the final vowel sounds of the unaccented syllable in their euphonic combination with unaccented syllables, and that is why the final উ of চাক্ dropped in euphonic combination with accented বাक् to form the word চাবাক্ to signify a man of persuasive speech,

That the lengthening of vowel sound as noticeable in the Vedic words विश्वामित्र, वृषा-कपि, etc., is also noticeable in the old Prākṛtas as well as in modern Vernaculars, requires to be pointed out. We may notice, for example, the Pali idiomatic expression फलफल (various sorts of fruits) in such a sentence as फलफलस्स अस्सो न अस्सि, to see unmistakably that the word has not been formed by the combination of फल+अफल. This sort of duplication to indicate either variety or etcetera is very much current in Bengali; it is also the rule in Bengali that in the process of duplication an আ comes in as a joining link. We must clearly see that the Bengali words ফলাফল, ধবলাধবল, মতামত, চলাচল, etc., do not combine good and bad ideas together; চলাচলের রাস্তা does not signify the path for going and not going. The 'আ' that comes in here as joining link, in the formation of compound words; indicates emphasis only, compare the emphasized forms কপাকপ, চটাপট, টপাটপ্, etc., with the ordinary forms কপকপ, চটপট, টপটপ, etc. I feel tempted to notice that in common parlance it is difficult to keep the purity of the Sanskrit word द्रवस्था; because of accent on अवस्था the word is pronounced usually as द्रवस्था.

The natural rule by which one consonant is changed into another because of the genetic affinity between the consonants, is also at work in Bengali; এক+গজা=এগ্গজা পাঁচ+জন=পাঁজন, ছোট্ (ছোট=younger)+দাদা=ছোড়দা, যত+দিন=যতদিন are examples. The Sandhi rules of Prākṛta Grammar as are still at work, should be carefully studied by the students in this connection; I point out here a few cases only, where Bengali is in agreement with the old Prākṛtas in the matter of euphonic combination. From চড়্+চড়্ we get চচড় and from জগৎ+বন্ধু we get জগবন্ধু; final ৎ is very often dropped in Pali even though there is no euphonic combination with the initial letter

of a succeeding word, for example, *কিঞ্চি* is the form for *কিঞ্চিৎ*, and *আসী* is the representative of the fuller form *আসীৎ*. I may remark in conclusion that the Dravidian method of Sandhi combination is noticeable in some rare cases only; in Tamil ‘ম + কাই’ and ‘তেন্ + কাই’, for example, will be *মাক্কাই* (mango) and *তেন্কাই* (cocoanut) respectively; this growth of nasal sound in Sandhi has only been noticed by me in *খোলা + কুচি = খোলান্ কুচি*.

*Samāsa*.—সমাস.—I have spoken above that change of vowel as well as of consonant takes place in the formation of compounds called *samāsa* (সমাস); but as many noted Bengali scholars are of opinion that barring a few stray examples we cannot get *samāsa* compounds of genuine Bengali words, I must show that compounds or *samāsa* of all sorts exist in Bengali. I consider this question important, for it is to be seen whether the old mode of thinking which brought about *samāsas* in particular forms, is still our inheritance or not; it must be borne in mind that the racial peculiarity in the matter of thinking governs the style and structure of a language. I cite below the Bengali *samāsa* forms exactly in that classified order which is maintained in authoritative Sanskrit grammars.

1. অব্যয়ীভাব—Adverbial Compounds.—In the following examples, অব্যয় words do not occur as in Sanskrit, but the compound forms indicate the sense of the অব্যয়ীভাব সমাস—(a) indicating বীজা—গলি গলি, বাড়ি বাড়ি, রাতার রাতার, রোজ রোজ, etc.; (b) ক্রম—পরপর, পিছুপিছু, etc.; (c) অনতিক্রম—রাতারাত, যত পারি, যা পারি, etc. The following examples may be contrasted which are *not compound forms*, viz.—দেখতে দেখতে (quickly), চলতে চলতে (by excessive walking), গাছটি বাড়তে বাড়তে (in the course of growth) শুকিয়ে গেল, কল পড়তে পড়তে (just on falling) কুড়িয়ে নিল, etc.; in these cases infinitives being doubled, the sense of repetition

has been expressed, but the words do not form *samāsa* compounds. (d) The following examples indicating "the whole of" are closer in relation with অব্যয়ীভাব forms than with any other: মাঠকে মাঠ, বাজারকে বাজার, ঘরকে ঘর, etc. (e) Where to indicate পর্য্যন্ত (up to) 'আ' occurs in Sanskrit, as in আকর্ষ, আকর্ষণ, etc., only the doubling of the word takes place in Bengali; e.g., 'গলায় গলায়' খাওয়া, 'কানায় কানায়' ভরা, etc. একনোকা লোক, ভরপেট, কুঁচকিকণ্ঠী may be compared with these forms, as indicating the sense of অব্যয়ীভাব.

2. তৎপুরুষ—Determinative.—If the examples grouped under the following sub-heading (1) be regarded, as I suggest, as of তৎপুরুষ class (being Determinative, or rather Dependent) wherein the nominative case predominates, we may hold that we have তৎপুরুষ with vengeance in Bengali. I may then classify the তৎপুরুষ forms as কর্ত্তাশ্রয়ান, কৰ্ম্ম-শ্রয়ান and so forth, looking to the sense which the forms convey.

(1) *The তৎপুরুষ of nominative prominence or কর্ত্তা-শ্রয়ান তৎপুরুষ.*—For this entirely new class of Bengali compounds my examples are—দাগলাগা, বাজপড়া, etc. We have to note that such Sanskrit forms as তৈললিপ্ত, বজ্রাহত, etc., are construed as তৃতীয়া তৎপুরুষ; the form কাদামাখা may be construed as করণশ্রয়ান তৎপুরুষ, but কাদালাগা cannot be so construed; we have also to notice that the forms of my example cannot be classed under বহুব্রীহি, for in বহুব্রীহি forms a person or thing must be indicated irrespective of the meaning of the component parts. This is why I have suggested this new nomenclature for a class of compound words. Mine is a suggestion merely and not an authoritative statement. Compare all the compound forms occurring in the sentence আমার লাল-পেড়ে তেল-খুঁতি খানার এই খানটা বাক্‌টী-বাড়ীর বাহর-চোবা গাছ-পাকা জামের রসের দাগ-লাগা; the 1st is বহুব্রীহি, the 2nd is তৎপুরুষ of 4th class, the 3rd is বগী-তৎপুরুষ, the 4th is তৃতীয়া-তৎপুরুষ, the 5th is

সপ্তমী-তৎপুরুষ; and so now the character of দাগ-লাগা may be appreciated.

(2) কৰ্মপ্রদান তৎপুরুষ (*object-indicating*).—মাহুঘ-থেকে (as a tiger), মন-ভুলান, ইচ্ছা-ধরা (as a কল or machine), বৈ-পড়া (as in বৈ-পড়া বিজ্ঞা), etc., are examples.

(3) করণ-প্রদান or *agency-indicating*.—হাত-গড়া, কাপড়-ঘেঁষা, এক-কম-কুড়ি (signifying ঊণ or less by one); when not in compound form instrumental denoting 'এ' is added to the final letter of the first word as আরম্ভণ-চাটী (আরম্ভণা-চাটী is the Com. form); compare মেঘে-ভরা, মেঘ-ভরা, etc.

(4) *Purpose-indicating* or উদ্দেশ্য বাচক.—তেল-ধুতি (cloth worn for besmearing the person with oil), পা-জামা (for পা, i.e., trousers), মরা-কান্না (wailing befitting the occasion of death in the family), বসৎ-বাড়ী (house intended for dwelling), etc.

(5) অপাদান-বাচক, to signify 'away form.'—পাল-ছাড়া (straying away from the flock or herd), স্বষ্টি-ছাড়া (different from what is usual), ঘর-পালান ছেলে (a runaway boy), পাহাড়-ঝরা (পাহাড় থেকে) জল, etc.

(6) *Relation-indicating* or সম্বন্ধ বাচক.—ধর্ম-ভয় (the word ভয় does not affect the character of the compound in Bengali), বিয়ে-বাড়ী, মাস-কাবার, বন-বেড়াল, etc.

(7) *Locative* or স্থান-কাল বাচক.—গাছ-পাকা (ripened on the tree), নৌকা-ভরা লোক (i.e., নৌকায়—full up in the boat), ঘর-পোষা, etc.

3. কৰ্মধারয়—Descriptive.—(1) আধফোটা, কালপেঁচা (an inauspicious owl); (2) কাঁচা-পাকা (ripe and unripe), তাজা-মরা; (3) মিশ্-কাল (black like মিশি or black tooth powder, here the final ই of মিশি has been dropped), ছেলেবুড়ি, কাঁচ-পোকা (looking like glass), সোনা-বুগ (a lentil, like gold in colour), etc.

4. দ্বিগু—Numeral compounds.—পাঁচ-গজি (as a cloth), তে-হাতি, দু-পিঠে (*lit.* having two sides), এক-চোখো (as a judgment, disclosing partiality).

5. বহুব্রীহি—Possessive compounds.—মা-মরা, হাঁড়িমুখো (long-faced), পাড়া-বেড়ানী, বাইশ-কৰ্ম্মা (one who does nothing), etc.

6. দ্বন্দ্ব—Copulative.—মাহুশ-গরু, লেপ-কাঁধা, আম-কাঁঠাল, ভাল-মন্দ, উনিশ-বিশ, etc.

*Duplicated Words.*—The words which are duplicated on account of emphasis to indicate repetition, or to express the idea of excessiveness, should be noticed and classified here to distinguish them from the samāsa compounds. I need hardly remind you that according to the বহুব্রীহি rule and by the rule of the গমূল প্রত্যয়, words are duplicated in Sanskrit to indicate repetition or excess. I refer you to the whole section of the Siddhanta Kaumudi entitled Dvirukta Prakaranam which begins with the rule সৰ্ব্বত্র, wherein reduplication of various sorts has been illustrated.

1. (a) The adverbs সোজাহুজি (quite direct), পাশাপাশি (close by the side), মাঝামাঝি (right through the middle), etc. (indicating 'very much'), and হাঁটাহাটি, ছুটাহুটি, টানাটানি, etc. (indicating 'repetition'), may be classed under one head. Such adverbs as মোটামুটি from মোট (total; taking the whole roughly into consideration) and গোড়াগুড়ি from গোড়া (beginning from the very beginning) come also under this head, as the idea involved in the words is that মোট or গোড়া is taken repeatedly or much into consideration. The vowel changes in this class of duplication must be noted.

(b) কাটাকাটি, মারামারি, চুলাচুলি, হাতাহাতি, etc., fall also under this head as a sub-class, as a slightly-differing sense of reciprocity in fight is indicated by them. মুখামুখি (tête-à-tête), চোখাচোখি (each seeing the other), কোলাকোলি (the act of embracing), etc., are also of this class.

2. Though the idea "very much" is in the following words, they differ from the first class in meaning as well as in form: the words are duplicated without undergoing

any change. Thinking too much of, or having anxious solicitude for, or making too much of, will be found to be the idea involved in বাড়ি-বাড়ি, দাদা-দাদা, and কলিকাতা-কলিকাতা, in the following sentences,—আমার মনটা বাড়ি-বাড়ি করিতেছে, সে দাদা-দাদা করিয়া মরিল, তুমি বড়ই কলিকাতা-কলিকাতা কর।

3. When duplication takes place to indicate 'almost like,' or 'similar to,' no change of vowel takes place. The forms কাদা-কাদা, অর-অর, ঠাঙা-ঠাঙা, মানুষ-মানুষ, etc., are examples.

4. In the class of duplication noticed below, there is this special peculiarity that in the process of duplication the original word without being repeated, is conjoined to a synonym of it. Agglutination of two seemingly different words should not mislead us to consider the word as a samāsa compound. The adverbs করেকরে, ভেবেচিন্তে, ছেলেছড়ে, বলেকরে, মেগেযেচে, etc., are fitting examples. The noun forms ঘরবাড়ি, লোকজন, সোরগোল, মাথামুণ্ড, গাগতর, etc., are also similarly duplicated. Some duplicated words of this class may elude detection of their character, as in either the first or the last augmented portion some obsolete or unfamiliar words appear. I give a few examples. In the word আশেপাশে, the first portion is the Vedic word আশা which has the same meaning as পাশ of Bengali; the adverb চলেবুলে and the noun form ছেলেপিলে may also be considered; the word পিলা is a Dravidian word for child, and the word বুলা meant walking in old Bengali, and in that sense the word is still in use in Oriya; in the word খুঁজেপেতে, the last portion পেতে or পাতা comes very likely from Hindi পাতা (*cf.* পাতা নেহি মিলা, no trace is obtained); the word পাতি in পাতি পাতি করিয়া খোঁজ, seems to be also of the same origin. Let me adduce a few examples to show that a word of foreign origin or of classical origin, though really a synonym of a word,



is used either as an adjective or an adverb to its synonym, because the real import of the foreign or classical word is lost sight of, or is imperfectly understood; the word গন্ is a corruption or অপভ্রংশ of Pali গিনি (Sanskrit अग्नि); this অপভ্রংশ form is found retained in the phrase গঙ্গনে আশুন. The word or stem হন্ is of Kolarian origin, and it signifies walking; it is this হন্ which we meet with in our হন্থন করিয়া ছোট। These words should not be confused with the words of onomatopoeitic origin. In গালি-গোষ্ঠান, the second Persian word is a synonym of the first. I have heard school boys saying আকাশ খুব পরিষ্কার হয়েছে; as a translation of police investigation we at times meet with তদারকের অনুসন্ধান in our Bengali newspapers. Whatever that may be, let me add a few more examples as may fall under this class. They are: ঘুরে-ফিরে, ঠেকিয়ে-পিটিয়ে, ডেকে-হেঁকে, তেতে-পুড়ে, বন-জঙ্গল, বন-বাদাড়, বেচে-বর্তে, ভিক্রে-ভিত্তে, ভেঙ্গে-চুরে, হাট-বাজার, etc.

5. Almost connected with the fourth class is the class I now describe. To give special emphasis to an idea, two words are so joined together, as the second portions may indicate the consequence or completion of the action indicated by the first portions of the compounds. A few examples are: আশা-বাচ্ছা, উলটু-পালটু, কৈদে-কোকিয়ে, বলে-মেজ্জে, জলে-পুড়ে, টেনে-হেঁচড়ে, দেখে-শুনে, ঘুসে-ঘুছে, নেয়ে-ধুয়ে, নেচে-কুঁড়ে, বুকে-হুকে (হুকে=to see), মেরে-কেটে, রেঁধে-বেড়ে, লড়ে-ভিড়ে.

6. Such duplications as মানে-মানে, প্রাণে-প্রাণে should perhaps be classed separately, as they indicate—anyhow saving or protecting মান (honour) and প্রাণ (life).

7. It is difficult to say whether the second portions of the following compounds are meaningless additions, or that they once had some significance, and as such should be grouped under the fifth class. The words are : কুড়িয়ে-বাড়িয়ে

জুড়ে-তেড়ে, কাপড়-চোপড়. If the last-named example is the representative of the প্রাকৃত idiom বত্ধ-তিবর, চোপড় may be easily explained.

8. To indicate etcetera or 'the like,' the words are generally duplicated with the loss of the initial letters and by the substitution of ট for the initial letters. কাজ-টাজ, ভাত-টাত, মাছ-টাহ are very familiar examples. When disgust is sought to be expressed, the initial letter of the duplicated portion is usually changed into ফ as—এ গরমে কাজ-কাজ করা চলে না, রাত্রে ভাত-কাত খাওয়া দায়, মাছ-কাছে কাজ কি? etc. It is to be noticed that in some cases duplication is made not with the ট initial but with some other letters. চাকর-বাকর, রকম-সকম, etc., are examples; it is rather difficult to enunciate any general rule for these irregular forms. In বাসন-কোশন we find the word বাসন (derived from ভাজন) joined to কোশ which indicates a cup in Sanskrit. It may be that in the cases of these exceptions, the augmented portions are but representatives of some obsolete words, and if so, must be grouped under class 4. As in পূজা-আর্চা the augmented portion is a contracted form of অর্চনা, so there may be many augmented forms, the meaning of which may be traced.

9. Such onomatopoeic words as কচ, থঙ, পট্ট, মড় are generally duplicated in their use. It is worth noting here that many words simulate onomatopoeic origin, though they are really but অপভ্রংশ forms; ধব্ধবে is from ধবল (white) or from ধোয়া (washed clean), যিশ্মিশে is from যিশি (black tooth powder), ফুটফুটে is from Sanskrit ফুট্, ফুরুরে is from Sanskrit ফুর, ভুরভুর is from ভুরি (much). A special class of onomatopoeic words as ঠঙ-ঠঙ, বন-বন, থট্-থট্, etc., is of special interest in the Prakrita dialects; in olden times the use of such words as well as of Deśī words of all sorts was prohibited by the Sanskrit Grammarians because of their vulgar origin. This is

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exactly why they are of importance in a history of language. I reproduce in Appendix I, my paper on onomatopoeic words which was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1905.

## APPENDICES TO LECTURES VI TO IX

### APPENDIX I

#### A STUDY OF SOME ONOMATOPOETIC DESI WORDS

*(Reprinted from J.R.A.S. 1905)*

There can be no doubt that onomatopœia and interjectional cries played a great part in the formation of our languages. It is true that the 'Bow-wow' theory alone is insufficient to trace the origin of all words; and it is not true what Professor Noire would have us believe that all roots can be traced to some interjectional cries of primitive men. But it is true that a carefully instituted philological analysis can disclose the influence of onomatopœia and interjectional cries in the formation of a very large number of Vedic and Laukika roots.

When by strict, rigid, and thorough-going rules of grammar, an artificial check was placed upon the growth of the Sanskrit language, new words could not be coined except by the fixed rules of grammar from the definitely established list of roots. How jealously the purity of the literary language was being guarded in the second century B.C., can be known from the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali. It has been declared sinful in that book to use words other than what are strictly Vedic and Laukika.

In the Sanskrit works which have been, with considerable certainty, fixed to a time previous to the second century B.C., no other words than Vedic and Laukika (in the strictest Pāṇini sense) can be met with. the Mahābhārata abounds in words not strictly Laukika, may we not venture to say that this is evidence, so far

as it goes, that the building up of the poem did not commence till at least a century later than the time of the Mahābhāṣya? Such an orthodox work as the Mahābhārata came eventually to be, could not have departed from the much respected orthodox rules, if time had not then made the rules almost obsolete. What is true of the Mahābhārata, is true also in respect of the Rāmāyana as we now have it. To my humble thinking, the latter shows signs of lateness to a great extent.

Of words formed by imitating natural sounds and un-derivable from the fixed stock of Sanskrit roots, kolāhala, kilikilā and the like are only found in the eighteen lengthy Parvas of the Mahābhārata. Halahālā, gadgada and humbhā (lowing of the cow) are found used in the Rāmāyana; in the 23rd chapter of the Aranyakānda, we find exact sounds of birds used as Sanskrit words. "Chīchīkuehīti vāsyanto babhūbustatra sārīkā," would have defiled the purity of language in the second century B.C. This very "chīchīku" we find also in the Hari-vamśa. These words, as well as the words khaṭ-khaṭ, ṭhan-ṭhan, jhan-jhan, and raṇaraṇaka of still later literature, have been called Deśi words (words of provincial origin) by Hemchandra. It is known to all that Hemchandra's Deśi Nāmamāla contains such words as were considered not to have been derived from Sanskrit roots. It is true that Hemchandra has declared a few such words to be Deśi as are really apabhraṁśa words, but I must also note that some ingenious attempts have been made at a forced affiliation of many real Deśi words to some recognised roots; I do not however consider worth while to offer any criticism on this point.

When literature grew, the writers felt the want of words, and were forced to borrow many words from the Prakṛtas. To commence with, it was only sparingly done

but when once it was tolerated and approved, the writers introduced Prakṛta words very largely. This inference receives full corroboration from the languages of the old inscriptions which have now been chronologically arranged in many books.

The Deśī words of onomatopoeic origin, such as Jhankāra, maḍmada, Paṭ-paṭ, and the like, are nowhere found in the works of Kālidāsa and Bhāṛavi.<sup>1</sup> It might be plausibly argued that the use of such words in dignified Kāvya was studiously avoided by the poets. But it is worthy of note that Kālidāsa has not used these words even in the Prakṛta dialogues in his drama, while Mṛcchakatika and Ratnāvalī abound with such expressions. It is also not true, that the use of 'Gharghara' for Nirghosa and 'Jhankāra' for Alhuta lessen the dignity of the language. These words have been profitably used to heighten the effect of grand descriptions by Bhavabhūti in his Uttara-carita and Mālatīmādhava.

The poet Subandhu flourished towards the end of the sixth century, say, about a century after the death of Kālidāsa. We find the use of a small number of onomatopoeic words in his Vāsavadattā as nouns only. Three or four such words of this class as are found in Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are also found used as nouns as I have already shown. This is the sort of use made of them (though very sparsely) in the Panchatantra. Kolāhala is the only word I have met with in the existing Panchatantra, even though this is not exactly the book which was written in the fifth century.

In the writings of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, and Sūdraka, these words have been very freely and largely

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the word Marmara (and not Maḍmada) is derived from the root *Mr*, and as such cannot be treated as a word of onomatopoeic origin.

used. Verbs also were made of them, and expressions like *Khaṭ-khaṭāyate*, *Phurphurāyati*, and *Maḍmaḍāśma* are found frequently. The use of these words as verbs commenced only in the seventh century, so far I have been able to ascertain. From the seventh century onward, there is scarcely any Sanskrit composition, wherein these Deśi words of onomatopoeic origin are not found.

I should like what I have asserted to be tested by reference to the books, the dates of which have been fairly established. If the use of this particular class of Deśi words grew in the manner indicated in this paper, the words will have a special value in determining the chronology of some old books.

## APPENDIX II

### ব্যাকরণের সন্ধি

( ১৩১৮ বঙ্গাব্দের সাহিত্য-পরিষৎ পত্রিকা হইতে পুনর্মুদ্রিত )

একজন লোক নিজের রচনায়, কেমন করিয়া শব্দগুলিকে সন্ধির বন্ধনে বাঁধিয়া লইবে, ইহার শিক্ষার জন্য ব্যাকরণ নয়। যে সকল রচনার সন্ধি-বন্ধন আছে, সেখানে কি উপায়ে পদবিচ্ছেদ করিয়া মূল শব্দগুলিকে চিনিয়া লইয়া অর্থ করিতে হইবে, তাহার শিক্ষার জন্যই ব্যাকরণের সূত্র। ব্যাকরণ শব্দের অর্থ হইতেই তাহা সূচিত হয়। ব্যাকরণে ব্যুৎপত্তির জ্ঞান হয়,—বিশ্লেষণপ্রণালীর শিক্ষা হয়। পদে পদে সন্ধি যোগ না করিয়া যদি কেহ সংস্কৃত গদ্য রচনা করেন, তবে তাঁহার রচনাকে কেহ দোষযুক্ত বলিতে পারেন না। ব্যাকরণে এমন সূত্র নাই যে, সন্ধিযোগ না রাখিলে রচনা অশুদ্ধ হইবে। শব্দের রূপ বা ধাতুর রূপ, স্বতন্ত্র কথা। যে রূপ ধারণ করিলে শব্দের যে অর্থ হয়, কিংবা ক্রিয়াপদে যে কাল বুঝায়, তাহা হইল তাহার মূল কথা; তাহা না মানিলে কোন পদের বা কোন শব্দের অর্থ হয় না। সন্ধি যোগ করা বা না করা, লেখকের সুবিধার কথা; উহা যে ‘পুরুষোচ্ছয়া,’ তাহার প্রাচীন উল্লেখ আছে। যেখানে সন্ধি যোগ হয়, সেখানে যে তাহা করিতেই হইবে, এটা হইল অক্ষাটীন যুগের সংস্কৃত রচনার একটা অস্বাভাবিক পদ্ধতি।

মাছুষের প্রতিদিনের কথা কহিবার ভাষায় সন্ধিবন্ধনের কড়া নিয়ম থাকিতে পারে না; স্বাভাবিক উচ্চারণের সুবিধায় যতটুকু সন্ধির বাঁধন পড়িয়া যায়, ততটুকুই থাকে। বাঙ্গালায় আমরা গোলালু, মশারি প্রভৃতি যেমন বলি, বৈদিক ভাষা বা ছান্দসেও তাহাই দেখিতে পাই। যখন সন্ধিবান্ধনের কড়া নিয়মের যুগে বৈদিক ঋকগুলির পদে পদে সন্ধি ছুড়িয়া পুঁথি লেখা চলিতেছিল, তখন ‘পদপাঠের’ সূত্র। সন্ধি ছুড়িলে বৈদিক



ছন্দঃ এবং সুর নষ্ট হইয়া যায় বলিয়া, ‘পদপাঠে’ যেখানে সন্ধি নাই, গোড়ায় সেখানে সন্ধি ছিল না বলিয়া বুঝিতে হইবে। অনেক স্থলে যে সন্ধি করিতে গেলে অক্ষর কমিয়া গিয়া ছন্দঃ নষ্ট হয়, তাহার অনেক দৃষ্টান্ত আছে। বৈদিক ঋক্‌গুলির কেবল পদপাঠ দেখিলেই সকলে উহা বুঝিতে পারিবেন।

ছান্দস হইতেই সংস্কৃত ভাষার উৎপত্তি ; কিন্তু হ্রস্বত এই ভাষা খৃষ্টাব্দের প্রথম শতাব্দীর পূর্বে ‘সংস্কৃত’ নাম পায় নাই ; পালি-সাহিত্যে অপ্রচলিত Classical ভাষাকে ছান্দস-ই বলা হইয়াছে ; বিনয় পিটকের চুল্লবগ্গের একটি উল্লেখে উহা সুস্পষ্ট। ১৪০ খৃঃ পূর্বের মহাভাষ্যেও সংস্কৃত শব্দ ভাষা অর্থে পাওয়া যায় যখন না। হইতে ভাষার নাম “সংস্কৃত” পাওয়া যায়, তখন হইতেই উহাতে জটিল রচনার পরিচয় পাই। সন্ধির ঘটা, সমাসের বাহুল্য প্রভৃতি-ত আছেই, তাহা ছাড়া অনেক স্থলেই এমন ভয়ঙ্কর হ্রস্বয় যে, অনেক টানিয়া হেঁচড়াইয়া পদে পদে যোগ করিয়া অর্থ করিতে হয়। ইহাতেই বুঝিতে পারা যায় যে সংস্কৃত কেবল একটা সাহিত্যের ভাষা হইয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছিল ; উহা কথাবার্তার ভাষা ছিল না। যে সময়ে ঐ ভাষাটির নাম হইয়াছিল ‘সংস্কৃত,’ তাহার বহু পূর্বে হইতেই এদেশে অনেকগুলি ‘প্রাকৃত’ বা লোকব্যবহারের স্বাভাবিক ভাষা ছিল। সেই সকল স্বাভাবিক ভাষা বা প্রাকৃত ভাষাও ছান্দস হইতে উৎপন্ন হইয়াছিল। লোকব্যবহারের ভাষা যখন পণ্ডিতগণের ঘষিয়া মাজিয়া লওয়া হইয়াছিল, এবং ছান্দস বা বৈদিকে অব্যবহৃত অনেক নূতন জিনিষ আমদানি করা হইয়াছিল, তখনই ঐ ভাষার নাম হইয়াছিল সংস্কৃত বা সংস্কার-পূত। যে ভাষা সাধারণ লোক-ব্যবহারে অপ্রচলিত ছিল, তাহা যে ব্যাকরণের নির্দিষ্ট সংখ্যক কড়া নিয়মের মধ্যে আবদ্ধ হইবে, তাহা আর বিচিত্র কি ? সাহিত্য, দর্শন, বিজ্ঞান প্রভৃতি সমস্তই সংস্কৃতে রচিত হইত ; কিন্তু লোকে কথাবার্তা কহিত আপনাদের দেশপ্রচলিত প্রাকৃত ভাষায়।

সংস্কৃতির সন্ধির হ্রস্বগুলি হইতে ঐ ভাষার অর্ধাচীনতা এবং প্রাচীনতর ভাষাগুলির প্রকৃতি, কিছু কিছু বুঝিতে চেষ্টা করিব।

বর্ণমালায় মধ্যে স্বরবর্ণ বলিয়া যে শ্রেণীবিভাগ, ওটা হইল ভাষার একটা বিজ্ঞান হইবার সময়কার সৃষ্টি। স্বতন্ত্র ও স্বাধীন অ, আ প্রভৃতির উচ্চারণ-ত ছিলই, তাহার পর আবার বর্ণগুলির স্থায়ী উচ্চারণ, আওয়াজ বা স্বরের সহিত ঐ অক্ষরগুলির আওয়াজের সমতা ধরিয়া লইয়া বর্ণগুলির নাম হইল স্বরবর্ণ। ‘আ’ অকারের দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণ হইলেও, অত্র দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণের সহিত উহার একটু পার্থক্য আছে। কিন্তু দ্রাবিড়ী উচ্চারণ ধরিলে ই, ঈ-র মতই অ এবং আ বর্ণের উচ্চারণে দীর্ঘতার ভেদই পাওয়া যায়। দক্ষিণ প্রদেশের উচ্চারণের হিসাবে ‘আ’কারকে যথার্থই ‘অ’কারের একটু দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণ মাত্র পাই। প্রাচীনকালে সেইরূপই ছিল; তবে বৈদিকে কোন কোন স্থলে ‘আ’কারের প্রায় ত্রয় উচ্চারণ আছে। আর ‘অ’ বর্ণটিও স্থলে স্থলে সংযুক্ত উচ্চারণে প্রায় বাঙ্গালা উচ্চারণের মত ছিল।

ঋ এবং ৯ কিরূপে উচ্চারিত হইত যে উহার স্বরসংজ্ঞা পাইয়াছিল, তাহা অল্পে বুঝাইয়া লেখা শক্ত। এখনও উত্তর পশ্চিম সীমান্তে ঋ-র উচ্চারণ প্রায় ‘এর’ ও প্রাচীন Iranিতে অর্-এ উচ্চারণই ধরা যায়। ঋকারান্ত শব্দের বিকৃতিতে, প্রাচীন কালের প্রাকৃত ভাষায় উ এবং ই উভয়বিধ আওয়াজই ধরিতে পারা যায়; কি কারণে উহা ঘটে, তাহা স্বতন্ত্র প্রবন্ধে লিখিব; বিকৃতির ‘উ’ দেখিয়া ঋকারের দ্রাবিড়ী উচ্চারণকে ঠিক মনে করা ভুল।

স্বরবর্ণের উচ্চারণভেদে প্লুতসংজ্ঞা নির্দেশ দেখিয়া, মাত্রাজ প্রদেশের “এ” “ও” প্রভৃতির দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণের একটা প্রাচীন মূল ছিল বলিয়া স্বীকার করিতে হইবে। পাণিনির ৮২।১০৬ এবং ৮২।১০৭ সূত্র হইতে ইহা সুস্পষ্ট হইবে। বৈদিক ছন্দের পাঠে এই প্লুত উচ্চারণ যথেষ্ট আছে, ঐ সকল উচ্চারণ ধরিয়া বিচার করিলে “এ” এবং “ও”কে যুক্তস্বর বলিতে হয়। বৈদিক ব্যাকরণে ঐ, ও, চারিমাাত্রাবিশিষ্ট (সিদ্ধান্তকোঃ, বৈঃ প্রঃ ৩৬২৫ হৃ)।

“এ” যেন অ + ই অথবা আ + ই মিলিত হইয়া উচ্চারিত; উচ্চারণ একটু তাড়াতাড়ি করিতে হয়, নহিলে “ঐ”কারের মত ধ্বনি হয়। ঐরূপ

আবার “ঙ” কারটি যেন “অ” বা “আ” পরস্থিত “উ”র মিলিত স্বনি অকার কিংবা আকারের সহিত “এ” যুক্ত হইলে যে উচ্চারণ হয়, তাহা হইল “ঐ”; এবং “ও” যুক্ত হইলে হইল “ঔ”। এই উচ্চারণ যে সন্ধির নিয়মের সঙ্গে মিলিয়া যায়, তাহা পাঠকেরা বেশ দেখিতে পাইতেছেন।

এই উচ্চারণ বা স্বরবর্ণের স্বাভাবিক আওয়াজ হইতেই দেখিতে পাইতেছি যে, পদগুলি উচ্চারণ করিতে গেলে স্বভাবতঃ যাহা ঘটিল, অনেকগুলি স্বরসন্ধির হুত্রে তাহাই বিধিবদ্ধ। যথা—“অকারের পর আকার থাকিলে উভয়ে মিলিয়া আকার হয়; অকারের পর ইকার থাকিলে একার হয়, উকার থাকিলে ওকার হয়; অকার কিংবা আকারের পর এ কিংবা ও থাকিলে যথাক্রমে ঐ কিংবা ঔ হয়; ইত্যাদি।” উচ্চারণ যদি প্রাচীনকালের মত থাকিত, তবে এই সন্ধির হুত্ৰগুলি কাহাকেও মুখস্থ করিতে হইত না। বলিয়া দিলেই হইত যে, ভিন্ন ভিন্ন উচ্চারণ মিলিত হইলে যুক্ত উচ্চারণকেই স্বাতন্ত্র্য বা প্রাপ্য দিতে হইবে।

দুইটি আওয়াজ এক সঙ্গে মিলিলে একটা মিশ্র আওয়াজ হইবেই; সাধারণতঃ শেষের আওয়াজটি প্রথমটিকে ঢাকিয়া কেলে, অথবা একটু হ্রস্ব বা মন্দীভূত করিয়া দেয়। সন্ধির নিয়মে সর্বত্র তাহাই। এই নিয়মটি সৰ্ব্বদে হু’ একটু কথা পরে বলিতেছি। এখন ঋ-কারের সন্ধির বিচার করি। প্রথমেই বলিয়াছি যে, “ঋ” ও “ৠ” প্রথমে কিরূপে উচ্চারিত হইত, তাহা এখন কোন প্রদেশের উচ্চারণ হইতেই ধরা যায় না। আকারের পর ঋ থাকিলে আকারটি একটু ধৰ্ব্ব হইয়া “অ” হইয়া গেল, তাহা না হয় বুঝিলাম। কিন্তু মিলিত উচ্চারণটি “অর্” হইল কেন? ইহাতে মনে হয় ঈরাণীর মত ঋ-কারের উচ্চারণ “অর্” ছিল। যদি সহজ “রি” কিম্বা “রু” উচ্চারণ থাকিত, তাহা হইলে শেষের স্থায়ী আওয়াজটি “ই” বা “উ” হইত। স্বতন্ত্র স্বরবর্ণ হইত না। ঋ-কারের স্থানে অনেক স্থলে যেমন “অর্” হয়, তেমনি আবার “ইর্” ও হইয়া থাকে; কিন্তু রুদ্ধির নিয়মের হুত্ৰটি বিশ্লেষণ করিলে দেখিতে পাই যে, সন্ধির নিয়মে স্বরগুলির যেরূপ বিকৃতি ঘটে, স্বরের বুদ্ধিতেও ঠিক তাহাই ঘটে; তখন “ঋ” স্থানে “অর্” দেখিয়া সন্ধির উচ্চারণের

“অৰ্”ই ঋকারের আদিম উচ্চারণ বলিয়া মনে হয়। একে “অর” ঠিক ‘র’ নয়, তাহার পরে আবার অন্তঃস্থ বর্ণগুলি যে ব্যাকরণের বৈজ্ঞানিক নিয়মের প্রভাবে সৃষ্ট নূতন বর্ণ মাত্র, তাহাও দেখাইতেছি।

এই প্রসঙ্গে একথাও বলিয়া রাখি, ঋ-কারের অৰ্ উচ্চারণ ছিল মনে করিয়া লইলে বৈদিক ব্যাকরণের দুই একটি স্থলের ঋ-কারের বিরুদ্ধি স্বাভাবিক নিয়মে ধরিতে পারা যায়; তাহার জন্ত সূত্র গড়িতে হয় না। পাণিনির “বিভাষজ্যোত্বন্দসি” সূত্রের ব্যাখ্যায় পাই যে, বৈদিক ভাষায় যদি ইঠ, ইমন, ঈয়স্ প্রত্যয় পরে থাকে, তাহা হইলে “ঋজু”র ঋকার র হইয়া যায় (সিঃ কোঃ, বৈদিক প্রকরণ ৩৫৫৫ হৃ।)।

অন্তঃস্থ বর্ণগুলি (অর্থাৎ য, র, ল, ব) যে মৌলিক বর্ণ নয়, স্বরমিশ্রণে উৎপন্ন, তাহা দেখাইতেছি। “য” এর উচ্চারণ হইল “ইঅ”; বাঙ্গালা এবং ওড়িয়া ছাড়া এখনও সর্বত্রই ঐ প্রকার উচ্চারণ হইয়া থাকে। আমরা ‘য’ এর ‘জ’ উচ্চারণ করি বলিয়া, “ইঅ” উচ্চারণের জন্ত ‘য’ এর নীচে ফোঁটা দিয়া থাকি। “উহ” শব্দটিকে আমরা উচ্চারণ করি. “উজ্জ্ব,” আর অন্য প্রদেশে উহার উচ্চারণ “উ-ই-হ”। ই+অ উচ্চারণ সংযোগে যেমন ‘য,’ উ+অ উচ্চারণ সংযোগে ঠিক তেমনি অন্তঃস্থ ব। সন্ধির সূত্রগুলিতেও, য এবং ব কেবল উক্ত স্বর সংযোগ, আর কিছু নহে।

যে নিয়ম ব এবং ব সম্বন্ধে খাটিতেছে, ঐ নিয়মেই র, ল শাসিত। ‘ঋ’র পরে স্বরবর্ণ থাকিলে যখন ‘ব্’ হয়, তখন ‘র’কারের উৎপত্তি ‘ঘ’ এবং ‘ব’এর মত বলিয়া মনে করা সম্ভব। একপ অবস্থায় ঋ এবং ঋ-কারের প্রাচীন কালেব যেকপ উচ্চারণ ছিল বলিয়া মনে করিয়াছি, তাহা সম্ভব হইবার সম্ভাবনাই খুব অধিক।

যখন দুইটি স্বর বা আওয়াজ মিলিলে একটা স্বাভাবিক মিশ্র আওয়াজ হয়, তখন শেষের আওয়াজটি বেশি তীব্র না হইলে প্রথম আওয়াজটিকে একেবারে ঢাকিয়া ফেলিবে, আর বেশি তীব্র না হইলে প্রথম স্বরটিকে একটুখানি হ্রস্ব বা মল্লীভূত করিয়া দিবে। কারণ দুটি স্বর সমান প্রাধান্য রাখিয়া উচ্চারিত হইতে পারে না। একারের উচ্চারণ অ+ই জাত,

কাজেই শে (শ্ + অট) + অন হইতে শয়ন হইবে ; শেষের ই + অ যোগে 'য়' হইয়াছে । আবার ঐরূপ ঐ অক্ষরটি আ + ই বলিয়া, বিনৈ + অক : হইল বিনায়ক : । অ মাঝে পড়িলে 'য়' উচ্চারিত হইত, দৃষ্টান্তস্বরূপ 'সখ আগচ্ছ' "সখ্যাগচ্ছ" এই বিকল্পের রূপ দুইটি লক্ষ্য করিলেই চলিবে । প্রাকৃত ভাষায় কিন্তু এসকল স্থলে 'য়' হয় না, 'অ'ই থাকে । কিন্তু প্রথমের আওয়াজে যদি বেশি জোর দেওয়া যায় (অর্থাৎ যদি তাহাতে Accent থাকে) অর্থাৎ উদাত্ত হয়, তাহা হইলে পরবর্ত্তী স্বরকে তেমনি আবার প্রায় লুপ্ত হইয়া যাওয়া চাই, শেষের স্বর বেশি দুর্বল হইলে প্রথমের Accent-যুক্ত স্বরকে লোপ করিতে পারে না, বরং নিজে অর্দ্ধলুপ্ত হইয়া থাকে । যখন সম্বোধনের পদে, কবে, সখে, গুরো প্রভৃতি উচ্চারণ করা যায়, তখন ঐ শব্দগুলির স্বরে যে Accent থাকে তাহা বৃদ্ধিহীতে হইবে না । কাজেই সখে-অর্পয়, প্রভো-অনুগৃহাণ, প্রভৃতিতে স্বার্থ সন্ধি না হইয়া কেবল 'অ'কারের অল্প উচ্চারণ রাখা হয় মাত্র । কিন্তু 'আ' 'ই' প্রভৃতি স্পষ্ট অথচ তীব্র স্বর পরে থাকিলে প্রথম নির্দিষ্ট নিয়মই ঘটে । শে + অনম্ এবং সখে + ইহ প্রভৃতিতে হ্রস্ব-পার্থক্য করিবার প্রয়োজন নাই ; এই নিয়মের মধ্যে ধরিয়া লইলেই চলে । উ + উত্তিষ্ঠ, প্র + ঋজ্যতে, অপ + ঋচ্ছতি, প্র + এজতে প্রভৃতি স্থলে বৈদিক ব্যাকরণে সন্ধি হয় না । পদপাঠে সর্বত্রই ওগুলি স্বতন্ত্র থাকে ; নহিলে ছন্দঃ পর্য্যন্ত বিগড়াইয়া যায় । কেবল একটা সাধারণ সন্ধির সৃষ্টি করিয়া সকল শব্দকে এক নিয়মে বাধিবার অভিপ্রায়েই পরবর্ত্তী যুগে সন্ধির নিয়মের সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে । তবে এক-স্বর-অব্যায়ে সন্ধি করিলে শব্দ বড় জটিল হইয়া পড়ে বলিয়া বৈদিক বিধিই রক্ষা করিয়া বিশেষ সূত্রে উ + উত্তিষ্ঠ প্রভৃতিকে অযুক্তই রাখা হইয়াছে । এখানে বিশেষ সূত্রট মৌলিক সাধারণ সূত্র ।

সন্ধি করিলে যেখানে একবচন দ্বিবচন বৃদ্ধিবার গোল হয়, কিংবা একটা Accent নষ্ট হইয়া যায়, সেখানেও বৈদিক নিয়ম রক্ষা করিয়া সন্ধি যোগের সূত্র রচনা হয় নাই । তাই এখনো কবী + ইমৌ, অমী + অশ্বাঃ প্রভৃতি গোটাকতক পূর্বকালের মত আছে ।

ইহার পর বিসর্গের সন্ধির কথা বলিব। অতঃ ব্যঞ্জন-সন্ধি অপেক্ষা সংস্কৃত ভাষাতত্ত্বে ঐটির বেশি প্রয়োজন আছে। কিন্তু বিসর্গের সন্ধির কথা বলিবার পূর্বে কয়েকটি ব্যঞ্জনবর্ণের উচ্চারণের কথা বলিব। যে ভাষা ‘সংস্কৃত’ নামে আখ্যা পাইয়াছে, উহাতেই বিসর্গের একটা স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন উচ্চারণ পাওয়া যায় এবং সে উচ্চারণটি একালে অধিক পরিমাণে ‘হ’ বর্ণটির উচ্চারণের কাছাকাছি। এই স্বতন্ত্রতা থেকে উহা একটা বর্ণ বলিয়া গণিত হইয়াছে; নহিলে ষ, র, ল, ব প্রভৃতির মত উহা বর্ণ সংযোগে জাত ‘আওয়াজ’ মাত্র। পাণিনি ব্যাকরণে ২ ও : (অথবা বিসর্জনীয়) বর্ণমালার মধ্যে স্থান পায় নাই, পরে পাইয়াছে। ২ এবং চন্দ্রবিন্দু অমুনাসিকের উচ্চারণভেদ মাত্র। যেখানে মিশ্র আওয়াজে অমুনাসিকের ধ্বনি উচ্চারণ, সেইখানেই সন্ধির সূত্রে ২ এবং :। সাধারণ নিয়মে বলিতে গেলে স অক্ষরের স্থানবিশেষের উচ্চারণই বিসর্গ, ‘ব্রজাত বিসর্গের কথা পরে বলিব। হয় ত প্রাচীনকালে উচ্চারণ-পদ্ধতি আমাদের বাগ্‌বন্ধে অলক্ষ্য লাগিয়াছে বলিয়া, সাধারণ শ্রেণীর লোক কোথাও কোথাও ‘দুঃখ’ কথাটিকে ‘দুস্খ’ উচ্চারণ করিয়া থাকে। বিসর্গের সাধারণ মূর্ত উচ্চারণ ‘স্’; শ, ষ, স তিনটির মধ্যে একটা সাধারণ আওয়াজ আছে, যাহার জন্ত তিনটিই একনামে পরিচিত হইয়াছে; সেই সাধারণ আওয়াজটুকু ভাবিয়া লইতে হয়, লিখিয়া বুঝান যায় না। তালু হইতে উচ্চারণ করিলে ‘শ’ যেরূপ উচ্চারিত হয়, তাহার ধ্বনিটি তেলেগু তামিলের ‘চ’ উচ্চারণের কাছাকাছি যায়, তবে ‘শ’ উচ্চারণটি আর একটু কঠোর রকমের ফিস্-ফিস্ আওয়াজের সহিত যুক্ত। তামিলে ‘শ’ একটু কোমল করিয়া উচ্চারণ করে বলিয়া ‘চ’ এবং ‘শ’এ কোন প্রভেদ নাই; একই অক্ষর উভয়ের প্রয়োজন নিম্পন্ন করে। পূর্ববঙ্গের কোন কোন স্থানেও চ ও ছ বর্ণের উচ্চারণ প্রায় দ্রাবিড়-উচ্চারণের কাছাকাছি। মহারাষ্ট্রের চ ও ছ প্রায় তেলেগু তামিলের মত উচ্চারিত। সন্ধির নিয়ম দেখিয়া মনে হয়, পূর্বকালে চ ছ প্রায় দ্রাবিড়-ধরণে উচ্চারিত হইত, উভয়েরই উচ্চারণ স্থান তালু। ষ টি উত্তর পশ্চিম প্রদেশে খ হইয়া গিয়াছে, আমরা ও ক+ব ‘ক্খ’ উচ্চারণ করি; আমাদের

ভাষার জননী পালিতেও ঐ উচ্চারণ। প্রাচীনতর উচ্চারণে একটা গভীর ধ্বনি স্থচিত হইত। তাহার প্রমাণ দিতেছি। অতি প্রাচীন কালে, ‘বু,’ ‘কং’ ‘ব’ প্রভৃতি দিয়া, যাহাকে ‘অনমেটোপইটিক্’ শব্দ বলে, তাহা গড়া হইত। যথা :—বৃহ, বৃংহ, বৃংহতি ; ঘোষ। ঘঃ ঘণ্টা অর্থে + ঘ ; ঘণ্টাতে আরও শব্দ যোগ আছে), মেঘ (‘মে’ + ঘ বা ধ্বনি) বৃষ, হ্রেষা, হৃষ, ভাষ, মহিষ, রোষ। (রু + ঘ) ; কং। (বা কণ্) + ঘ হইতে কাংস্ত, কল শুকাইবার সম্বন্ধকার শুষ্ ধ্বনি হইতে শুষ্ক ইত্যাদি। সিদ্ধান্ত-কৌমুদীর সঙ্গে মিলিতেছে না দেখিয়া হয় ত কেহ কেহ এ নূতন ব্যাখ্যায় বিরক্ত হইতেছেন। অভিনিবেশ করিলে বিরক্তির কারণ থাকিবে না। তবে আমার এ ব্যাখ্যা লইয়া যদি ললিতকুমার বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় একটুখানি রক্তরণের সৃষ্টি করিতে পারেন, তাহাতে আমি রাজি আছি। অর্ধাচীন সংস্কৃতে এবং একালের ভাষায় ভীম শব্দ বুঝাইবার অক্ষর হইল ড। ললিত বাবুর মত লোকেরা বলিতে পারেন যে, সেই জন্তই ভীমের স্ত্রী তিডিখ। বৈদিক প্রয়োগেও ‘ড’ দ্বারাও ষও প্রভৃতি কয়েকটি শব্দ পাওয়া যায়। বলিয়া রাখি যে, ঐ শব্দগুলি অতি প্রাচীন বৈদিক শব্দ নয়। আমরা যেমন কথা ডবল করিয়া কড়্, কড়্, হড়্, হড়্, ব্যবহার করি, সেকপে ভাবপ্রকাশের প্রয়োজন হইলে বৈদিক সময়ে কেবল ষ একটু ঘন উচ্চারিত হইত। বলিয়া রাখি যে, ডবল না করিয়াও আমরা ড দিয়া তীব্রতাব্যঞ্জক শব্দ বুঝাই ; যথা—ঝড়, তোড় (বেগ অর্থে) দৌড় (‘ধা’ + ড্, মেঢ়, ভেড়। শেষ দুটি অর্ধাচীন সংস্কৃতেও ব্যবহার আছে। ইত্যাদি। প্রাসঙ্গিককপে অপ্ৰাসঙ্গিক কথা বলি নাই। “শব্দ” বুঝাইতে হইলে, আমবা মূর্ছা হইতে উচ্চারিত বর্ণ দিয়া বেশি বুঝাইয়া থাকি। ‘ষ’ অক্ষরটির উচ্চারণ মূর্ছা হইতে করলে অনেক পরিমাণে প্রাচীন আওয়াজ পাওয়া যাইবে।

‘স’টি মহারাষ্ট্রে সর্কদাই বিশুদ্ধরূপে উচ্চারিত হয়, ওড়িয়া উচ্চারণও প্রায় ঠিক। “আন্তে” প্রভৃতি শব্দে আমরাও মন্ত্য উচ্চারণ কৰাধিক ঠিক রাখিয়াছি।

এখন বিসর্গের সন্ধির নিয়মগুলি কয়েকটি শ্রেণীতে বিভাগ করিয়া ফেলিয়া দেখাইতেছি যে, উচ্চারণের রীতি ধরিয়া লইলে বিনা স্বেদেই বিসর্গ-সন্ধির স্বত্র অধীত হইতে পারে। স্বত্রের সুবিধার জন্ত প্রথমতঃ বর্ণমালা হইতে কং থ এবং প ক দ্বয়ে রাখিয়া দিব। বিসর্গের সাধারণ মূর্ত্ত উচ্চারণ ‘স’। প্রথমতঃ ঐ বিসর্গের পর চ, ছ ; ট, ঠ ; ও ত, থ থাকিতে পারে। তিনটি ‘স’ এর generalised একটা কিছু উচ্চারণ নাই বলিয়া কথটা লিখিয়া বুঝাইতে কষ্ট হইতেছে। সেই তিন ‘স’ এর এক অভেদ মৌলিক আত্মাটি, চ, ছ-যুক্ত হইলেই ‘শ’ হইয়া ফুটিয়া উঠিবে ট, ঠ যোগে ষ এবং ত, থ যোগে ‘স’ হইবে। উপরের বর্ণিত উচ্চারণ থেকেই ইহা সুস্পষ্ট হইবে। স্বত্রের প্রয়োজন নাই।

(২) বিসর্গের পর শ, ষ, স থাকিতে পারে। এস্থলে সমান শ্রেণীর আওয়াজে মিলিয়া অল্প সন্ধির মত আওয়াজ ডবল হইবে মাত্র, উহার বিকৃতি হইবে না। বিকল্পে বিসর্গ বজায় থাকার নিয়ম, আওয়াজের হিসাবে অর্থশূন্য। এখন বাকি রহিল ব্যঞ্জনের মধ্যে তৃতীয়, চতুর্থ ও পঞ্চম বর্ণগুলি এবং য র ল ব হ। উহাদিগকে গ-হ নাম দিয়া অল্পবিধ শ্রেণী বিভাগে ফেলিতেছি। বিসর্গ ‘অ’কারের পর, ‘আ’কারের পর, অথবা অন্তান্ত স্বরের পর থাকিতে পারে ; এবং বিসর্গের পর ‘অ’ অথবা ‘আ’ অথবা অন্তস্বর, অথবা ব্যঞ্জনের তৃতীয় চতুর্থ পঞ্চম বর্ণ ও য র ল ব হ (গ-হ) থাকিতে পারে।

(৩) অক্ষাচীন সংস্কৃতের পূর্ববর্ত্তী প্রাকৃতে (অর্থাৎ পালিভাষায়) দেখিতে পাই যে, সকল অকারান্ত শব্দই কর্তৃকারকে বা প্রথমার এক বচনে ওকারান্ত হইয়া উচ্চারিত হয় ; যেখানে সংস্কৃতের হিসাবে বিসর্গ থাকিবার কথা এবং না থাকিবার কথা, এ উভয় স্থলেই ঐরূপ উচ্চারণ হয়। নরো, নিষুন্তো, ধম্মো, কম্মো, ইত্যাদি। একালের প্রাকৃতগুলির মধ্যে কেবল বাঙ্গালায় প্রাচীন প্রাকৃতির ও-বোঁধা উচ্চারণ রক্ষিত আছে। পালি উচ্চারণ বৈদিক সময়ের উচ্চারণের অনুরূপ ছিল বলিয়া মনে করিবার অনেক কারণ আছে। সংস্কৃতের ব্যাকরণের নিয়ম অপেক্ষা, পালির ব্যাকরণের অনেক নিয়ম বা রীতি, বৈদিক ভাষার বেশি



নিকটবর্তী। বৈদিক ভাষার পরবর্তী ব্রাহ্মণযুগের ভাষার সহিত পালির ব্যাকরণেব মিল অতিশয় অধিক। সন্ধির নিয়ম হইতে প্রথমে দৃষ্টান্ত দিতেছি। অথ ঋতু; বৈ ঋচঃ (বৃহদেবতা ২।১৩ ও ১।১৮) প্রভৃতি স্থলে যেমন সন্ধি নাই, পালিতেও তেমনি। দৃগুতে+অন্নাঃ=দৃগুতেহন্নাঃ (বৃঃ ১।৮), ষে+অনুমতেঃ=ষেহনুমতেঃ বৃ, ৪।৮৮) প্রভৃতিতে পালির মত নিয়ম রহিয়াছে। তাহার পর শব্দরূপে সূদাঃ শব্দ, পালির মত “সূদান” রূপেই লেখা পাই (বৃ, ৬।৩৪)। আবার ওই পালির মত বৃহদেবতা গ্রন্থে চতসৃভিঃ স্থলে চতুর্ভিঃ, প্রথম পুরুষের তৃতীয়ার একবচনে অনুশাসতি, অসমাপিকা ক্রিয়া বুঝাইতে ‘ব’ স্থানে ‘জ্ব’ এবং ‘জ্বা’ স্থলে ‘য’ ইত্যাদি পাইয়া থাকি।

এখন যদি উচ্চারণ ধরিয়া বিচার করা যায়, তাহা হইলে এইমাত্র বলা চলে যে, পালির মত যদি অকারান্ত শব্দের ও-ষেঁষা উচ্চারণ হইবেই (বিসর্গ পরে থাকিতেই হয় ত সেই প্রকার উচ্চারণের সৃষ্টি) তাহা হইলে সর্বত্রই বিসর্গের উচ্চারণ লোপ, এবং ও-কারের উচ্চারণের প্রাধান্ত থাকিবে। ‘অ’ পরে থাকিলে লুপ্তচিহ্ন রাখিবার ব্যবস্থা আছে, তাহাতে স্পষ্ট বুঝিতে পারা যায় যে, কোন অক্ষরই লোপ পায় না; কেবল প্রথম পদে যুক্ত উচ্চারণটুকুরই তীব্রতার প্রাধান্ত থাকে। বিসর্গের পর অকার ভিন্ন স্বরবর্ণ থাকিলে প্রথম শব্দটিতে ‘ও’ আওয়াজ বাধা অসম্ভব; পূর্বে তাহা অল্প সূত্রের বিচারে বলিয়াছি। তাই সূত্রে কেবল বিসর্গ লোপের ব্যবস্থা আছে। গ-ত ব্যঞ্জন পরে থাকিলেও কেবল ওকার রহিয়া যায়। অর্থাৎ বিশেষ কিছুই হইল না। যেমন ছিল, তেমনি রহিল। ঠিক ঠিকরূপে আবার আকারের পরে বিসর্গ থাকিলে এবং বিসর্গের পর স্বরবর্ণ এবং গ-ত ব্যঞ্জন থাকিলে কোন সন্ধিই হয় না। বিসর্গের উচ্চারণ ই স্থলে বিশেষত্ব পাইয়া ফুটিয়া উঠিতে পথ পায় না; এই পর্য্যন্ত। তাহা হইলে বিসর্গের একটা সন্ধিই রহিল না, অথচ ই সন্ধি মুখস্থ করিতেই যত গোল ঘটে।

ক, খ, প, ফ প্রভৃতি পরে থাকিলেও বৈদিকে কোন সন্ধি হইত না; তবে যে সময়ে বিসর্গের প্রাধান্ত দেওয়া হইয়াছিল, তখন বিসর্গের মূর্ত

উচ্চারণ ‘স্’ রাখিতে হইয়াছে মাত্র। সাধারণ সন্ধির নিয়মে উহাই পাই। কাজেই এখানেও কোন সূত্রের প্রয়োজন হইল না। কয়েকটি বিশেষ দৃষ্টান্ত ছাড়া সর্বত্রই ঐ ষ মুন্ধণ্য। ক, খ, প, ফ পরে থাকিলে কঠোর উচ্চারণই স্বাভাবিক; কিন্তু বিসর্গটি অকারের পরে থাকিলে আওয়াজটি অপেক্ষাকৃত নরম হয় বলিয়া নমস্কার প্রভৃতি শব্দে ‘স্’ উচ্চারিত হয়; অন্ত স্থলে মুন্ধণ্য ষ হয়।

কিন্তু একটা কথা বুলিতে পারিতেছি না। কোন একটা বিশেষ রীতিসিদ্ধি (idiomatic use) অনুসারে, অ আ ভিন্ন স্বরবর্ণের পরের বিসর্গের স্থানে প্রাচীন কালে ‘র’ হইত, দেখিতে পাই। এই নিয়মটি বেদের পদপাঠের প্রতি লক্ষ্য করিলে বৈদিক যুগে ছিল না বলিয়াই মনে হয়। কিন্তু প্রাচীন ব্রাহ্মণ-সাহিত্যের সংস্কৃতে এ সন্ধি আছে। পালিতে আবার এমন অনেক স্থলে সন্ধিতে ‘ব’ আসিয়া উপস্থিত হয়, যেখানে না আছে ‘র’ না আছে ‘র’এর সঙ্গে দূরসম্পর্কযুক্ত অণু কিছু। তবুও কেন হয়? র পরে থাকিলে বিসর্গবিকৃতির যে সূত্র আছে, সেইরূপ কার্য হইবে বলিয়া আশা করা যাইত; অর্থাৎ বিসর্গের পর একটা কেবল দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণ হইতে পারিত। কেননা এস্থলে স্ ও র-এর একটা সংযুক্ত কঠোর উচ্চারণ পরিহার করিবার কথা মাত্র। যেমন নীরস, পিতারক্ষ প্রভৃতি হয়, তেমনি যদি নীভয়, নীধন প্রভৃতি হইত, তবে আমাকে মাথা ঘামাইতে হইত না। এখানে রামমাণিক্যের সি, সিঙ্, সিম মনে পড়িতেছে। যেমনটি চাই, ঠিক তাই ঘটে কৈ? বিসর্গের সন্ধি আদর্শে নাই বলিয়া খালাসের চেষ্টায় ছিলাম এবং “ভো যতপতে” এবং “স হসতি” বলিয়া আরো দুটি সূত্র ধ্বংস করিতে পারিতাম; কিন্তু দায়ে ঠেকিয়াছি। একটা অনুমানের কথা বলিব অনুমান অনুমানমাত্র—সিদ্ধান্ত নহে। নিঃ+ভয় প্রভৃতিতে পালি ভাষায়, আমার আশার অনুরূপ ডবল উচ্চারণ (দীর্ঘের প্রকারভেদ মাত্র) হইত। যথা—নিব্ভয়, নিদ্ধন ইত্যাদি। পালিতে অর্থাৎ সেকালের সাধারণ কথোপকথনের ভাষায় রেফ্ লোপ করিলেও দীর্ঘ উচ্চারণ হইত; এখনো বাঙ্গালায় উহা প্রচলিত আছে। যথা—ধর্ম্ স্থলে ধম্ম, কর্ম্ স্থলে

কল্প ইত্যাদি। হইতে পারে যে, যখন প্রাকৃতকে ঘষিয়া মাজিয়া সাধু বা সংস্কৃত করা হইয়াছিল, তখন সাধারণ একটা নিয়ম বা সূত্রের মধ্যে একচেহারার সকলকে ফেলিবার উদ্দেশ্যে, “ধর্ম” প্রভৃতির Analogyতে ‘নিব্ভয়’ প্রভৃতিতে ‘নির্ভয়’ করিয়া নূতন সূত্র গড়া হইয়াছিল। আমার অনুমানটি পণ্ডিতসমাজে যদি দৈবাৎ গ্রাহ্য হয়, তাহা হইলেও একটা খটকা রহিয়া যাইতেছে।

যদি এমন হইত যে, যেগুলি র-জাত বিসর্গ সেইগুলির স্থলেই র হয়, তাহা হইলে সহজ সিদ্ধান্ত হইত। কেন না, বৈদিক যুগে র-জাত একটা বিসর্গ নয়; সহজ রকমে র-অক্ষবে হসন্ত উচ্চারণ মাত্র। বৈদিক যুগের বহুপরবর্তী সময়েও পুনর্, প্রাতর্, অন্তর্, প্রভৃতি খাঁজা খাঁজা ব্যবহার হইত; কাজেই সন্ধিতে র জুড়িয়া দিবার সময় বিসর্গের সূত্র ভাবিবার দরকার ছিল না। কিন্তু ব্রাহ্মণযুগের সাহিত্যেই যখন প্রাতর্ প্রভৃতি ছাড়া স-জাত বিসর্গের স্থলে ‘র’ আগমের কথা পাই, স্বয়ং পাণিনিরই যখন বিশেষ সূত্র রচনা করিয়া—অল্পস্, উধস্, অবস্, স্থলে রেক্ শুদ্ধ হয় বলিয়া একটা বিশেষ সূত্র লিখিতে হইয়াছে, তখন আর প্রাকৃত নিয়মের তুড়িতে একটা সূত্রে উড়াইয়া দিতে পারিলাম না। বিজ্ঞানের মুখস্থের জন্য টুটি জীবিত থাকুক। অজ্ঞগুলির মত একট উচ্চারণ নিয়মের বশবর্তী করিয়া উহাকে প্রাকৃত আওয়াজ বা শব্দব্রহ্মে বিভাজন করিতে পারিলাম না।

LECTURE X  
HOW CHHĀNDASA IS RELATED TO LATER  
ARYAN SPEECH

Chhāndasa, *i.e.*, the Vedic language of old has been spoken of in these lectures by implication generally, as the source-head from which the Indian Aryan speech of all times and of all provinces have evolved. I am aware, some noted names are associated with theories which run counter to this proposition or assumption ; but as those theories rest wholly upon the authority of noted names and not on facts which can be handled and discussed, no one can possibly combat them. facts, I have adduced before, I adduce presently in this lecture, and I shall have to adduce in subsequent lectures, should all be considered together to test the correctness of my proposition. I have stated in some detail of the influence of the speakers of non-Aryan tongues to explain various deviations from the norm ; I shall try to show in this, as well as in another subsequent lecture, how in a *prākṛta* or natural way, many *Prākṛtas* or provincial vernaculars arose from Chhāndasa, and how the ever-progressing *Prākṛita* speech went on modifying and being in turn modified by the literary language of curious genesis which has come to be designated as Sanskrit. It will be seen how failing to notice the influence of a mixed people in the matter of formation of the *Prākṛta* speech, and how failing to observe the influence which could not but be exercised by the living vernaculars upon an artificially set-up literary language, some philologists (Dr. C. C. Ullenstein, whose words I presently quote, is one of them)

have asserted that "the Sanskrit dialect of middle country descends from some other old Indian dialects than the dialect met with in the Vedas." As to this part of our proposition, that the growth of various Prākṛtas has been partly due to divers ethnic influences, a good deal has already been said and something more will have to be said later on; I may however notice here what Mr. A. H. Keane has observed, regarding the cause of wide diversity existing among the speech of various groups of Aryan origin (both Asiatic and European), after considering all the groups on a comparative table at p. 412 of his *Ethnology*. His words are: "The profound disintegration which is shown in this table and which is immeasurably greater than in the Semitic family, is mainly due to the spread of Aryan speech amongst non-Aryan peoples by whom its phonetic system and grammatical structure were diversely modified." That for the very reason the Chhāṇḍasa speech in its turn has transformed itself into various dialects in different provinces of Northern India, is what has all along been emphasized.

As in all sober and serious investigations into the causes of phenomena we have to determine the natural causes and not their supernatural seemings, we have to push on in the matter of our enquiry an intensive study of actual facts, and should not seek to explain things by what might have dropped from the skies—by importing some imaginary patois-speaking hordes from elsewhere. If even the explanation we offer, prove inadequate, there will not be any justification in setting up the figments of our imagination in the name of theories to solve our difficulties.

We have to first direct our attention to the character of the language of the Vedas, called Chhāṇḍasa. I use the word Veda in a very restricted sense here; in this

restricted sense the word Veda indicates the *Mantra* literature preserved in the four *Samhitās*, viz., the Sāman, the R̥k, the Atharvan and the Yajur. The very term *Samhitā* clearly signifies that the *Mantras* or hymns and prayers as were extant (no matter whether in writing or in the memory of some priestly families) at the date of the compilation, were compiled either exhaustively or by making a selection of them in the books named above. We can very unmistakably see from the arrangement of the contents of the *Samhitās*, and from what has been said of the Vedas in the old time works relating to them that different ritual purposes led to the compilation of different *Samhitās*.

It is to be noted however, on the one hand, that the old orthodox works from which the purpose of compiling the Vedic *mantras* can be gathered, show by their suggestions and discussion regarding the Vedic vocabulary and the Vedic Grammar that at the date of the compilation of the *Samhitās*, the *mantras* of varying times (i.e., both old and new) were old and archaic enough to the compilers ; on the other hand, we have to notice that though many *mantras* are much removed in time from one another, the language of the Vedic *Samhitās* may be declared to be one and the same. What Whitney has said by comparing the oldest and the latest linguistic forms occurring in the Vedas, may be profitably quoted here in support of the latter statement ; the scholar writes in his well-known Sanskrit Grammar that "the language of the Atharva Veda though distinctly less antique than that of the R̥gveda, is nevertheless truly Vedic." The students should do well to study Professor Macdonell's excellent work on the Vedic Grammar to learn aright the character of the Chhāndasa speech, and to see clearly how the language even of the oldest Brāhmaṇa literature differs from

the Vedic. I can therefore say that since the compilers of the Vedas got together the then extant hymns and prayers, no matter whether they had been composed at a very early date or at a comparatively recent time, it cannot be asserted with any degree of propriety that any portion of the contents of a Saṁhitā is necessarily a later addition or interpolation in that Saṁhitā. The language of the *mantras*, new or old, was old to the compilers, and lateness in the matter of composition did not or rather could not detract from the religious merit of any *mantra*. The western scholars have set forth distinctly, what elements are old and what are new in the Vedic language. The contents of the Vedic Saṁhitās may now be arranged in a rough chronological order on the basis of linguistic evidence. / The light furnished by this research enables us to make this important discovery that even in the earliest known times the Aryans of India spoke various dialects of one common speech, and that the *mantras* were composed in a standard central language which as a *literary language* dominated all the provincial dialects, and at times helped the fusion of those dialects. / I use the word 'literary' very advisedly, and propose to explain the significance of it later on. The facts which warrant us in arriving at this conclusion that even the earliest Vedic *mantras* point to the currency of many dialects in ancient India, cannot be very fully and fitly discussed here, but as we have to build a good deal on the basis of this proposition, some examples should be adduced to prove its soundness. As of the essential factors which determine a language the pronouns have a high value, let me put forward here very briefly the evidence which the personal pronouns tender in this direction.

Prof. A. A. Macdonell has observed with his usual scholarly acuteness in his monumental work on the Vedic

Grammar that the personal pronouns *seem* to be derived from several roots or combinations of roots, as they are specially anomalous in inflexion. An analysis of the pronouns will perhaps justify us in striking a less uncertain sound.<sup>1</sup>

अस् (अस्मद्) and वृस् (वृश्मद्) are accepted by all the old grammarians as the basic words for the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person respectively. I need hardly point out that the very अस् and वृस् occur in many formations in the declension of pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person respectively. It has to be noted that the personal pronouns in the nominative case take अस् like a suffix (*cf.* तू + अस् = त्वम् and also the अस् endings in dual and plural), and this अस् in like manner occurs in the Nominative Singular of the Demonstrative अयम् and the Reflexive स्वयम्. I do not feel inclined to accept the suggestion that this case-differentiating अस् came from the Dravidians who affix अस् to nouns of all classes, though the close proximity of the Dravidians to the Aryans of the earliest time cannot be very reasonably denied. That अस् and वृस् are reducible to अः and वृः in Sanskrit, need not be stated. That the Visarjaniya of अः develops the simple aspirate of ह in pronunciation, is also very clear. We can see that denuded of the appendage अस्, अहम् stands as अह्. We may note in passing that this अह् corresponds with Ich of German, I of English, Io of Italian, or rather Ego of Latin and Egon of Greek. अह् however does not appear to have

<sup>1</sup> I have nothing to do with the theory of Aryan migration, nor with the hypothetical parent tongue of the so-called Indo-Germans, as I have to study the speech as actually developed on Indian soil. The theory of the philologists who may be said to be represented by Brugmann, regarding the imaginary old pronouns of a supposed old language, may be left out of consideration, as we are concerned here with the forms of which actual evidence may be collected.



been the only form in the Nom. Singular ; a pronoun either of simple *ম* basis or in the form of a *মি* is strongly supposed to have been a form in use in a dialect when *অহ্* was current in another dialect, for in the first place *অমি* is found agglutinated with the Parasmaipadi verbs in the first person singular, and in the second place the singular forms *মা*, *মাম্* ( *মা + অম্* ) *ময়া*, *মদ*, *মে*, and *ময়ি* point to a simple *ম* base with which etymologically they must be connected. That no *ম* can be traced either to *অহ্* or *অম্* is pretty clear. Moreover such a Vedic form as *মাবন্তু* (like me ; cf. *ত্বাবন্তু*, like you) shows that *মা* was treated as a stem, i.e., a word unchanged in form in the process of declension. While considering the early fossils of the pronouns of the 1st person, we have to notice that besides *তু*, *যুস্* is a form of the pronoun of the 2nd person, though the latter form occurs only in dual and plural.

For further fossils let us analyze the interesting dual forms of the personal pronouns. In the language of the early *Saṁhitās* we get *বাম্* as the dual form of *অস্* and this very *বাম্* is the accusative dual of *তু* or *যুস্*. The form *আবাম্* is a comparatively late form, occurring not earlier than the time of the *ঐতরেয় ব্রাহ্মণ*, while the *শতপথ ব্রাহ্মণ* gives perhaps the earlier form *আবম্*. We know that *বস্* occurs as a plural form of the personal pronoun of the 2nd person and *নস্* as a plural form of the personal pronoun of the 1st person. The dual *বাম্* appears pretty distinctly as the combination of *ব + অ + অম্* to signify 'you and I' together. Perhaps to avoid confusion, *আ* of *অস্* was further prefixed to *বাম্* to signify the 1st person, while additional *যু* was prefixed to signify the second person in creating the forms *আবাম্* and *যুবাম্*. In the plural form *বয়ম্* we only notice the lengthening of the penultimate vowel sound with a stress to denote plurality as if by the primitive case-denoting gesture or modulation of voice. This *ব্* or rather *বস্*

and नम् no doubt occur as plural forms in India as well as in other Aryan speech elsewhere ; but we find in India नौ as a dual and व in conjunction with अ of अम् in some dual formations. As नौ can be detected as a comparatively later-time formation, I am strongly inclined to suppose by looking to the use of नम् and वम् in the Vedic language that नम् of the 1st person and वम् of the 2nd were such very early forms in an Aryan dialect as denoted all numbers and cases alike, and their various significations could only be gathered from such accents of the speakers as are allied to primitive case and number-denoting gestures. In this connection I just refer to the personal pro-noun of the 1st person in use in Dravidian tongues which has only seemingly the 'न' stem. I refer to this fact to show that there is no connection or affinity of Aryan न with the Dravidian न ; I should point out that नौ of Tamil and ने of Telegu (as in नेह् or नेव्) which signify 'I,' are based not on न, but on अ, as the early Dravidian forms disclose.

We thus see that अम्, नम् and a pronoun of म stem for the pronouns of the 1st person, and तू, वम् and वृम् for the pronouns of the 2nd person were once in use in pre-Vedic days. The remarks of Joseph Wright as recorded in his Comparative Grammar of the Greek language, are no doubt correct that many forms of *one single pronoun* may come into existence in one and the same dialect, and that by virtue of different sort of accent on different forms of a pronoun, one form may represent one case, and another, the another ; but when altogether different forms occur, it is reasonable to hold that they come from different dialects, since looking to the history of different languages and to human psychology, we have to admit that to express a common or familiar or oft-occurring idea, more than one word does not become current in a dialect. Ethnology

discovered to us that the Aryans were not a homogeneous people, but as forming a culture group, they were composed of various ethnic elements ; I think what we have discussed confirms the proposition of Ethnology.

Just another fact regarding the lost forms of pronouns. I have spoken of the verbal suffix *মি* as a fossil of a personal pronoun of the 1st person ; let us now inquire into the origin of *সি* of the second person as in *করোমি* and of *তি* of the 3rd person as in *করোতি*. As for *তি* we can trace the origin to *তদ্* stem which is virtually but a simple *ত*, for excepting in the Nominative Singular the stem *ত* does not lose its identity. Adverting to the cases of *মি* and *তি*, it may be naturally supposed that *সি* of the 2nd Person Sing. was not an arbitrary symbol at starting, but that *সি* must have been originally connected with a stem of the personal pronoun of the second person. I am not competent to say if the German form “*sich*” lends some support to this view. Referring to the history of some Greek suffixes, Joseph Wright has rightly remarked that though little is known of the origin of numerous suffixes, it may be reasonably supposed that those suffixes had originally an independent meaning and that in some cases they were independent words. A word of caution, however, is needed here : some symbols or endings to denote case, or number, or person, as simple *অ* or *ই* or *এ*, for instance, may be reasonably supposed to have originated from primitive gestures and modulations of voice, and not from words conveying independent meaning. I may add that the Dravidian pronouns *অ*, *ই*, *এ* and *উ* as well as the Aryan *অ* of *অন্* and *যু* of *যুন্* might have originated from mere gestures accompanying sounds in primitive days. I should also note that *অন্* and *যুন্* might have originated from taking in and throwing out of breath respectively as suggested by an Italian physiologist.

We have not discussed words and forms of various classes, but all the same our brief discussion leads us to hold that long before the dissemination or dispersion of Aryan language or languages in Europe, the Aryans developed a central dominating language amid a good number of dialects of theirs. This dominating language seems to have attained such a perfection in dim past, as characterizes a *literary* language,—even though letters or art of writing did not come into existence. I cite, however, one example, as to how a generalized form could come into existence without conscious grammatical effort : such natural lisplings or utterances of children, as have been the roots of words for father and mother in many languages of the world, as Bā, Ābbā, Pā, Āmmā, Mā, etc., are found as পিতৃ and মাতৃ in all Aryan speech, and the adventitious ত্ব is found extended to ভ্রাতৃ, হৃদিতৃ, etc. Regarding the origin of ত্ব of পিতৃ, etc., it should be noted that in primitive societies the word for father, for example, stands for all persons of the age of becoming fathers of children, and to indicate one's own father such a word as ত্ব had to be affixed as we notice distinctly in some American languages analysed by Dr. Payne. For an example of the highly developed character of the Aryan speech before dispersion, I refer to the tense system ; on the evidence of tense system of old Greek as agreeing with those of Vedic, we may hold that the pre-Vedic language attained a high literary character.

// I have thrown out suggestions as to what was in all probability the position and character of the Aryan language in pre-Vedic days. It goes, however, without saying that the Chhāṇḍasa language as disclosed by the early Vedic Saṁhitās, is a very rich and well-developed literary speech. It has to be borne in mind in this connection that in spite of the unifying influence of a central literary language,

the provincial dialects do not all necessarily die out, and they may at times continue to live with full vigour getting fresh lease of life under some changed conditions. That the Vedic language became in course of time purely hieratic, because of the sacredness of the *mantras*, and was not, or rather could not therefore be allowed to be changed with the changing conditions of time, can be well established by the evidence of the Vedic Grammarians. Every language is bound to be transformed into a new and a newer form with the progress of time, but if for any reason any particular class of a people seek to keep the obsolescent speech intact, the old speech becomes the special property of the particular class, and ceases to be the language of the people. Moreover, when a people loses its homogeneity, or when class differences occur because of cultural difference, and as a compensating measure a wide mass education through the standard literary language is not adopted, provincial dialects grow with great vigour, and no class, howsoever influential, can keep the literary speech alive. We notice a gap between the language of the Vedas and that of the Brāhmanas, and a wider gap between the language of the Brāhmanas and the language which may very fitly be designated as *Saṁskṛta*, to signify its character as dressed-up, polished or perfected. That these gaps have to be explained by circumstances broadly indicated above, will be discussed presently.

Our discussion will no doubt be extremely brief for the subject; but all the same we have to take all the salient points into consideration step by step. First of all we have to notice that Chhāṇḍasa discloses the characteristics of a living language. ) That the artificial rigid rules of Sandhi or euphonic combination were not in force in Chhāṇḍasa, and that a regular and throughgoing accent

system existed in the speech, have been shown in some previous lectures. That we are required to read Sanskrit verses (which are wholly quantitative) by raising or lowering our voice according to the unalterably fixed vowel sounds as long or short, and not according to word accent or phrasal accent, has also been noticed before to show the artificiality of Sanskrit, from accent point of view. As it is impossible for a real human speech to be without an accent system of its own, so is it that a living speech must undergo to some extent, what is called phonetic decay. I proceed to show that the phenomenon of phonetic decay, which can be fitly translated in our Vernacular by the term *Apabhraṁśa*,<sup>1</sup> is distinctly noticeable in *Chhāṇḍasa*. Shades of *Prākṛta* grammarians ! What a heterodoxy it is to notice *apabhraṁśa* in the holy speech of the *Riṣis* !

Before giving some examples of loss of letters in the Vedic words, we may remark that during the Vedic days (specially the later Vedic days) the speakers did not very much tolerate initial conjunct mutes : that in the Dravidian language Tamil, such a thing is not tolerated as a rule, has been distinctly stated in a previous lecture. The examples of loss of vowels and of change of sounds cannot be taken up for discussion, as that task involves detailed exposition of the Vedic morphology. I have

<sup>1</sup> *Apabhraṁśa*, in its proposed use requires an explanation. Very arbitrarily this term which literally means decay or rather phonetic decay, has been made to denote a class of *Prākṛta* speech of no definitely distinctive character. As all the *Prākṛta* dialects grew by varying from the norm (no matter what that norm is), and as no standard *Prākṛta* can really be set up without resorting to an artificial and unscientific method, the term *Apabhraṁśa* cannot be misused to designate a particular class of *Prākṛta* speech. We cannot forget that all our provincial vernaculars have always been called *Prākṛta* by the Hindu scholars. Consequently the word *Apabhraṁśa* may be fitly used in its literal sense to indicate phonetic decay.

already spoken of the reduction of many dentals into cerebrals and of the growth of such forms as বিকটে from বিকৃত and একটে from প্রকৃত. I give here below first some examples of loss of consonants, and then some examples relating to general phonetic decay, as the history of the forms for numerals indicates. (1) We get Kambhana for Skambhana in many passages in the R̥gveda, though Skambhana is not extinct; (2) Ścandra (brilliant) occurs no doubt in many passages, but chandra (brilliant) is generally met with; the word *chandra-mas* derived from it (or rather from চন্দ্রমাস = bright moon) is the form to signify moon; (3) and (4) along with স্তনয়িত্বু (from স্তন thunder) and স্তায় (thief, from stena) we get tanayitnu and tāyu; (5) we get the earlier form str as well as the later form tr for star; the feminine form স্ত্রী (wife, one who shines in the house) retains the original stem; (6) we notice the loss of initial consonant in তৃতীয় (fourth) derived from the word চতুর. Such examples of decay as have been rightly inferred by Prof. Macdonell from the words of cognate languages, are purposely left unnoticed in this lecture. \*

*Numerals.*—In the history of the growth of many numeral forms as discussed hereunder, all such losses will be noticed as are characteristic of downright apabhraṃśa words of the Prākṛta grammarians. In the compound cardinals of genuine early formations, we should notice that দ্ব which develops into দ্বা in euphonic combination, indicates two, while দ্বি signifies ‘twice’ and ত্ৰয় and চতুর signify ‘three’ and ‘four’ respectively, and while ত্রি and চত্বার signify ‘three times’ and ‘four times’ respectively; দ্বাদশ (two + ten), ত্ৰয়োদশ (three + ten) and চতুর্দশ (four + ten) may be contrasted with the forms analysed below. (1) In the formation of the word বিংশ we get দ্বি + দশ; there

has first been the loss of initial द, and then we notice that to compensate for the loss of द of दश, a long sound comes in, which is represented by अह्वार; that a nasal naturally develops at times in making a sound long, has been fully discussed in the 6th Lecture. As to the decade-indicating ति which occurs unchanged as final in विंशति, वृत्ति, सप्तति, etc., and in a changed form in त्रिंशत्, चत्वारिंशत्, and पञ्चाशत्, some remarks will presently follow. I may remark by the way that in the formation of वीसति in Pali, the loss of अह्वार has been made up for by the दीर्घ द्वे. (2) In the formation of अशीति (अष्टे or अष्टौ + दश + ति) we notice the loss of the second and the 3rd syllables, and the penultimate is conjoined to the long vowel द्वे. (3) In the formation of योद्धश (यष्ट् + दश) the compensating long उ and the development of cerebral sound ढ may be explained by सङ्घि rules partly. (4) The history of decade-indicating 'ति' is shrouded in mystery. When we compare, for example, विंशति with Venti of Italian, we may say that the latter form is merely a reduced form of the former, but when we take the history of 'ty'-ending of twenty, for example, our difficulty increases; the word twenty is derived from twain (old masculine form of two) shortened form of twegen + tig; the last component tig is from Gothic tigjus = ten. Here we see that 'ty' represents the number ten; if we suppose that our ति had such a history to become naturally a decade-indicating suffix, we must admit that in the formation of Vedic Compound-Cardinals an additional or unnecessary suffix was added. In Vedic Compound Cardinals Sastī (यष्ट् + ति), Saptati and Navati, 'multiplication by ten' is indicated by 'ति' alone; if these three be really the earliest forms, 'ति' may be regarded as a fossil of a word for ten as might have been current in one dialect of the Aryan language beside दश of another.



Though our illustrative examples have been a few only, we think we cannot fail to see from the examples of some pronominal forms and from the history of some words, that Chhāndasa was subject to the processes of dialectic regeneration and phonetic decay, processes to which all *living languages* have always been and ever will be subject. I mention over again, that by its regular and thoroughgoing accent system, Chhāndasa discloses the character of a living speech.

I have said that we do not know when the Vedic Mantras were compiled as Samhitās. We do not also know what became *the form of the language of the people*, when the Mantras having been an object of special preserving care of the priestly class, a hieratic speech had to be necessarily maintained, as Latin was once maintained in Italy, to express religious thoughts with such purity of speech as the gods were supposed to demand. That a long time intervened between the time when the Vedic language was current and the time when a scholastic revival took place, can be inferred from lots of statements occurring in the Brāhmaṇas. The fanciful history we get of the Vedic Mantras, the manner in which the Mantras have been explained and grammatical and accentual peculiarities of the Vedic language have been discussed, warrant us in holding that the earliest Brāhmaṇa must be much removed in time from the latest Vedic Mantra. The propositions in the Brāhmaṇic literature, that the Vedic forms should never be deviated from, and the proper accent of the Vedic words should be carefully studied and learnt, very distinctly show that for religious purposes a hieratic speech was artificially maintained on the Vedic lines. I am going to adduce many facts in support of my position in the course of this lecture, but the facts noted above justify us in holding tentatively that when the Samhitās

were compiled with the Mantras of varying times, the grammarians of the priestly class studied the language of the holy works with an astonishing scientific accuracy and framed artificial generalized rules to make some heterogeneous elements look like one homogeneous whole. This is why various shades of meaning of many forms merged into a dead unity in the artificial language adopted by the priests in writing on the subject of the Vedas.

As to the true nature of successive changes (I purposely use the word *successive* and not *progressive*) noticeable in the polished literary speech from the post-Vedic days onward, as differing essentially in character from what may be noticed in a living language in its course through ages, a deal will have to be stated presently ; as a preliminary step, I offer my observations as to why it could be possible for the Brāhmaṇa and the cognate literature produced at different times to present essentially one and the same language. It is a familiar phenomenon that even to-day our high class Pandits imitate very closely and wonderfully not only the ancient language, but also the style of some ancient works when dealing with them, or when writing something new after those ancient works. For a disquisition, or dissertation on the subject of নীতি or polity for example, scholars of a very late time have been noticed to have adopted the form and style of the old time Sūtras : such a work of a very late time (not earlier than the 6th century A.D.) as the গুণেশ্বৰনীতি will be found executed in the style of and partly in the language of the ancient Brāhmaṇas.

I cannot say when the term *laukika* as occurs in Pāṇini's grammar came into use to designate the hieratic language of post-Vedic days ; in all likelihood it was long after the time of Gotama Buddha, since that sage who was undoubtedly a great *śiṣṭa* person, did not know the

term as my reference to the Vinaya Piṭaka (Cullavagga V. 33. 1) will clearly prove. Two Brahmin disciples of the veritable Śiṣṭa class who avoided speaking the vulgar speech of the time and spoke the speech which was then associated with culture and prosperity' in life requested their master that his words or teachings might be allowed to be recorded in the language used by the cultured Brahmins, *viz.*, the Chhāṇḍasa (ছন্দসো আরোপেম are the words in the text) and should not be allowed to be vulgarized by being recorded in the current speech of the people (সকায় নিকৃতিয়া are the words in the text). The celebrated orthodox commentator of the Vinaya text rightly interprets the polite language by the *Saṁskṛta language of the Vedas*, and explains সকায়নিকৃতি as মগধবোহারো *i.e.*, the language then current in the Magadha Country. The whole of this important text is given in the foot-note below for reference.<sup>1</sup>

We have to first notice that if the polished respectable literary language of the time were known by the name

<sup>1</sup> তেন থো পন সময়েন যমেলুতেকুলা নাম ভিকখু দে ভাতিকা হোত্তি, ব্রাহ্মণ-জাতিকা কল্যানবাচা কল্যাণ বাদকরণ। তে যেন ভগবা, তেন উপসংকমিংহু, উপসংকমিহা ভগবন্তম্ অভিবাদেহ। একমন্তম্ নিদীদিংহু, একমন্তম্ নিসিন্না, থো তে ভিকখু ভগবন্তম্ এতদ অবোচুম্ : এতরহি ভাণ্ড ভিকখু নানা নামা, নানা গোত্তা নানাজাতা নানাকুলা পবজিতা, তে সকায় নিকতিয়া বুদ্ধবচনম্ দসেত্তি; হন্দ ময়ং ভন্তে বুদ্ধবচনম্ ছন্দসো আবোপেমাতি। [ Then Buddha says, ন ভিকথবে বুদ্ধবচনম্ ছন্দসো আবোপেতকম্ ] The commentary has—ছন্দসো, etc., = বেদম্ বিয় সককত ভাসায় etc, সকায় নিকতিয়া = [ In the ] মগধবোহারো।

N. B.—It should be noted that though there is mention of ordinary ভিকখু to have been recruited from various sections it has not been said that the teachings were being put in *various tongues*, for, in the first place we get the instrumental singular of নিকতি and in the second place we do not get 'সকায় সকায়' to indicate as usual 'everybody's own'; as the commentator gives only মগধবোহারো for the নিকতি or dialect in question, the word সকায় should be carefully judged for its proper significance. Is the dialect of the Sākya people indicated here?

*laukika* as distinguished from the obsolete Chhāndasa, Buddha and his learned Brāhmin disciples were sure to use the term *laukika*, for it was the Classical *Laukika* of the Brāhmaṇa literature as distinguished from the real Vedic language, which came into vogue in those days as the fit vehicle for all serious thought.

We have to consider, in the second place, that if the hieratic language in which holy thoughts relating to the Vedas were being expressed, were regarded as altogether different from Chhāndasa, the literature relating to the Vedas, would have much suffered in the estimation of the people. The language in question, we must therefore hold, was worked out on the Chhāndasa lines, when Chhāndasa became altogether an obsolete speech; this is why, in spite of very close imitation, this language differs from Chhāndasa in many essential particulars. I proceed presently to take note of some of the important characteristics of this hieratic language. (What I specially emphasize upon here is that in the days of Gotama Buddha there was at least in the Magadha country a *living vulgar speech*, called মগধ বোহার by Buddha Ghosha and there was by the side of the dialect (or many other dialects) one literary language which still then claimed the name ছান্দস.)

It is now agreed, on all hands, with reference to the rules for লৌকিক in পাণিনি's Grammar that generally speaking the language of the Brāhmaṇas can be designated as *laukika*. We do not exactly know when the term *laukika* came into use, but we may infer with reference to the import of the term that when *secular* literature composed in the hieratic language, forced itself to the recognition of the orthodox class, the term *laukika*, as distinguished from Chhāndasa became the name of the fashionable literary language. We do not also know when the term সংস্কৃত was brought into use as a substitute

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for লৌকিক, but it is an undoubted fact that the grammatical rules for লৌকিক as occur in পাণিনি as well as in the মহাভাষ্য of the 2nd century B. C., are essentially the rules of standard Sanskrit Grammar of, later days. We find that what is called লৌকিক at one time and সংস্কৃত at another, is closely related etymologically to the Chhāndasa language ; at the same time it must be observed that even in early times the Classical Sanskrit or the Laukika language of Pānini so very materially differed from the Vedic or Chhāndasa speech that a fresh set of rules had to be framed to give the Classical Sanskrit a well-defined individuality. We should not here fail to notice that those orthodox grammarians who gave to লৌকিক the name সংস্কৃত, were perfectly aware of the character of the language as a polished, dressed-up and perfected speech. The Vedic has all along been, from Pānini downwards, the object of veneration as an ideal language, and consequently the polish or perfection referred to above could not be given to the Vedic for the formation of a Laukika in the sinful days ; that a polish was given to the vulgar speech or dialects of natural growth will be abundantly clear from the remarks of the grammarians themselves. //

In the grammatical work of Pānini (which will never fail to extort a high tribute of wonder and respect) and in its learned commentaries, we meet with this definite statement that the forgotten things of the Chhāndasa speech should be diligently resuscitated while things occurring in the popular speech should be studiously eschewed to save one's soul from being contaminated by sin. It has been stated under a *sutra* that the enemies of the cultured Aryas met with defeat and discomfiture for having uttered their barbarous *apabhraṃsa* word হেলয় ; we get also one statement of

emphatic expression that to know the Vedic words is to acquire religious merit, while to know the popular or vulgar speech is to commit sin. Writes the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*—যথৈবাহ শব্দ জ্ঞানে (meaning Vedic words) ধর্মঃ এবম্ অপশব্দ জ্ঞানেহ প্যধর্মঃ, অথবা ভূতানধর্মঃ প্রাপ্নোতি, etc., etc.

In his tirades against the popular speech, Patanjali gives us materials to find out that many provincial dialects were current during his time. That the pure Vedic words were very limited in number while the vile words were very many, has been thus expressed : ভূয়াংসোহপশব্দা অগ্নীয়াংসঃ শব্দাঃ একৈকশ্চহি শব্দস্ত বহুবোপভ্রংশাঃ ; তদ্যথা গৌরিত্যস্ত শব্দস্ত গাবী গোনী গোতা গোপোতলিকেতোবমাদয়ো বহুবোহপভ্রংশাঃ.

We meet with গৌণী and its plural গোণা in the standard Prākṛta called পালি, and meet also sparingly with the form গাবী in a প্রাকৃত dialect which though despised by the sages, assumed the form গাভী in the Classical Sanskrit itself at a later time. We can very well see that in the second century {B.C., many Prākṛta dialects flourished in N. India. No doubt for the evidence of this fact we have other definite records but I make the sage পতঞ্জলি to give evidence on the point, to serve a special purpose I have in view. I have to show that the sages and শিষ্টে made an infructuous attempt to rule the dialects which were rolling on all around like the waves of the sea by taking a boat of literary language on the waves, not seeing that the boat itself was bound to be tossed about and the waves were not to be dominated. It is interesting that the sage Patanjali knew other forms of Prākṛta than what we learn not only in the Buddhistic works but also in the Asokan inscriptions. It has been mentioned that for the usual standard word of গম্ origin হমতি was in use in

সৌরাষ্ট্র and রংহতি in the North-Western India. We may note that রকুছি (is crawling) is the Oriya form which has come on somehow or other, as a further অপভ্রংশ of রংহতি, and 'রংহ' by itself came into use in later Sanskrit in a secondary or tertiary sense; again though 'হম্' of হমতি is not now in use either in Surat or in any part of Western or Northern India, the direct descendant হম (to crawl on all fours) may be unmistakably identified with our Bengali হামা as in হামা দেওয়া, couchant situation is called হামু in the Oriya dialect of Sambalpur.

// The existence of various provincial Prākṛta dialects alongside the old *laukika* or Classical Sanskrit is not denied by the scholars; but some want us to accept the proposition that the Classical Sanskrit evolved naturally from the Vedic speech, and the Prākṛta dialects were formed by corrupting the Sanskrit language. The facts which are principally adduced in support of the proposition are: (1) All the past-indicating forms, *viz.*, लिट् लङ् and लृङ्, are in use in Sanskrit while there is principally but one generalised past form of finite verbs in the Prākṛtas old and new. (2) The dual form unknown in the Prākṛtas is fully maintained in Sanskrit. (3) The Prākṛtas of a very late date are more Sanskritic than the earlier ones and as such these late-time Prākṛtas cannot be said to have descended from the older Prākṛtas. I proceed to examine all these points which stand against my proposition.

*The variety of Past Forms.*—It is true that all the systems of past tense are set forth in Sanskrit grammars, old and new, but is it true that in their use in literature the time systems represent their value correctly? Can it be denied, as was pointed out long ago by Whitney, that in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the distinction of tense value between perfect and imperfect is almost

altogether lost, as in the later Sanskrit language? It is given, no doubt in the grammatical works, that the perfect is to be used in the narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator, but Whitney has rightly remarked that there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed in literature. That in the Vedas the case is quite different, may be seen by referring to Macdonell's Vedic Grammar. It is to be noted that all the varieties of the aorist, as occur in the Vedas, have been bound together in the post-Vedic times, and have been made into one system. In the Classical Sanskrit the aorist forms are only preterites and are freely exchangeable with imperfects and perfects. Whitney remarks, after collecting examples, that the aorist of the Classical Sanskrit is simply a preterite, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently co-ordinated with them. It is a significant thing to note that adverting to a particular use of the aorist in the Vedas (though that use is not exclusive in the Vedas) a definite generalized rule was framed for the use of the aorist as is disclosed by the Brāhmaṇa literature; the use of aorist as a tense of narration is very closely observed in the language of the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads and the Sūtras of early time. I have already remarked that to create a hieratic language on the Vedic lines, generalized rules were framed and thereby the naturally developed heterogeneous elements were reduced to a state of homogeneity. Indiscriminate use of the past systems distinctly shows that the past systems in their variety were only maintained in grammar to make the hieratic language look respectable, when in reality the classical language had no natural link to bind itself with the Vedic language. It has to be specially and particularly noted that लिट्, लङ्, and लृट् forms do not only



exist in the early Pali forms but their use, unlike what we have noted just now in the Brāhmaṇa literature, is much after the Vedic use : the supposed irregularities in the Vedic speech have been artificially avoided in the Brāhmaṇa literature by framing some generalized rules. Again the simplified past system of the later Prākṛtas shows what naturally came into use in the country in the প্রাকৃত speech, in contrast with the unmeaning retention of various obsolete systems in Classical Sanskrit, in its unnatural attempt to get away from the natural state of things. It is notorious that the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata in all its parts, abound with examples of indiscriminate use of various past forms in one and the same sense ; it is not in the late-time literature alone that we get বৈবস্বত মন্বন্ময়.....অসীৎ, etc., along with বভূব রাজা কিলকার্তবীৰ্য্যঃ but we get অসীৎ রাজা নলোনাম, etc., by the side of পূৰ্বা বভূব, etc.,.....in the মহাভারত.

We notice that for the mode of expression "I have done" or "It has been done," participle forms came into use in the Prākṛta and even long before the time of পতঞ্জলি, the form was being freely used to indicate that sense in the Classical language ; it could not but be so, as the writers of the Classical language possessed the very mind and thought of the speakers of the vulgar tongue. To assert that the use of finite verbs in their special past form, where participle form was in current use, should not be regarded obsolete, the author of the মহাভাষ্য has cited some examples which are very often quoted. The examples show that for তের, চক্র, পেচ, the forms তীর্ণাঃ, কৃতবন্তঃ and পক্ববন্তঃ were in use. However much the শিষ্ট people kept themselves aloof, they could not possibly create a narrow little world of theirs but had to hold conversation at least with their wives who

could not but speak the vulgar tongue, being always in close touch with the neighbours; howsoever easy it might be for the sons of the ऋषिs to learn ऋषि speech, they could not lisp in Classical Sanskrit, when in the arms of their nurses. The influence of the real language of the people could never be kept off by setting up a barrier-wall of culture.

*Pronunciation.*—Not only in the matter of the use of tense, but in other matters as well, the ऋषिs imported the peculiarities of the vulgar speech in their holy literature; being men of the society, the ऋषिs imbibed the altered pronunciation of the common people, and thus unawares deviated from the Vedic norm: we notice in the very ब्राह्मणs how in some cases the विसर्जनोच्चारण has been disregarded, न has been reduced to ण, and ज्ञ has been reduced to ज्ञे. That in the matter of general accent, the ऋषिs do not disclose a regular accent system but only uphold the Vedic accent for the words of the Vedic mantras alone, by a study of the Vedic accents, cannot be illustrated in this brief review.

*Dual.*—A dual in addition to a plural was no doubt a commonly accepted form in the pre-Vedic days, for the classical Aryan languages of Europe disclose some almost effete dual forms. To express two together as a pair, is a familiar mode of thought exhibited by all peoples all over the world, but to retain a regular dual system does not appear to have been a normal inclination in the speakers of Aryan languages in a later time. I am inclined to think that the formation of dual was, in the case of some people, the first step towards expressing a general plural number; but when a regular plural was reached, the earlier form in this grade of evolution either died out or was retained only for very occasional use. It is not unlikely that dual was a regular plural form in the

dialect of one section of the culture group of the Aryans, and at the fusion of dialects in the growth of one generalized common speech the non-regular plural (*i.e.*, the dual) forms stuck to the language as dual, but for practical purposes, the dual was only restricted in use in expressing the special thought relating to a pair. That in the Vedic language the dual has this sort of restricted use, cannot be very much doubted. What has been observed by the Vedic scholars in this matter, has been fitly expressed by Whitney in the following words: "The dual is (with only very rare and sporadic exceptions) and strictly in all cases, where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals." Dr. Bloomfield has very rightly observed that while the employment of the dual is generally strict in the truly post-Vedic language, the plural is often used instead of the dual of natural pairs in the archaic parts of the *R̥gveda*. It is because of natural disinclination that the dual system was not maintained in the European languages of Aryan origin, and it was owing to this naturalness of thought that a regular dual system was falling into disuse in the living Vedic speech; the dual system could not survive into the *Prākṛtas* because the Aryan people of India ceased to have the sort of thought in their mind, which either generates or cherishes such a system in addition to plural system. We may consequently assert that the co-existence of the dual forms with the plural forms, and the maintenance of the dual forms, not as worn-out unnecessary survivals, but as forms having meaning and use, point to a fixed literary character or rather to an unnatural artificial character of the post-Vedic language as well as of the classical Sanskrit. In their zeal to perpetuate the purity of the Vedic speech, the *śiṣya* out-Heroded Herod in maintaining a rigid dual system.

Why the Prākṛtas of rather a very late date are more Sanskritic than their early predecessors, should now be explained. Had it not been for the religious activities of the Buddhists and the Jains, what we can know of some old Prākṛtas, would have been out of our reach. For reasons I shall state in a subsequent lecture, these Prākṛtas were standardized, and became the sacred language of some religious sects; even though new Prākṛta speech came actually into being, the sectarian religious works were composed during those later times in the earlier obsolete Prākṛtas. Consequently, a general continuity of the Prākṛta speech in their transformation through ages cannot very easily be traced in literature. Properly speaking, no general secular literature existed in the provincial dialects to give models of language to the Prākṛta-speaking people of successive generations. The people continued to speak in their Prākṛta speech, but serious literature was always being composed by the learned in Sanskrit. When, therefore, any good or elevated thought had to be expressed in a public document for universal use in any Prākṛta dialect, a great want was felt in getting adequate terms in the current speech of the people. Sanskrit words were therefore laid under contribution from the current literary works. This is why during the early literary activities in all our Vernaculars, we notice the influence of Sanskrit upon the Vernaculars. We should not, at the same time, fail to notice that the Prākṛta or vernacular-speaking people of all times have maintained the non-Sanskritic structure of their speech. It is by grammar principally, and not by vocabulary, that the character of a speech is to be judged; if we do so, we will find that the genetic affinities between the Prākṛtas of early and late times, will be clearly noticeable. As the subject will be specially

delineated in another lecture, no further remarks need be added here.

That the classical Sanskrit has been through all times greatly influenced by the Prākṛtas, has been shown by a few examples only ; a further consideration of the subject is necessary. The *śiṣṭas* who could not but belong to the dialect-speaking people, could not but use the Prākṛta forms (though unawares) in their Sanskrit composition. I adduce below some examples to show how this was done. I cannot however resist the temptation of quoting here the words of Dr. Skeat, which are applicable to the *śiṣṭas* of all countries and times : "The speaker of the 'standard' language is frequently tempted to consider himself as the dialect-speaker's superior, unless he has already acquired some elementary knowledge of the value of the science of language, or has sufficient common sense to be desirous of learning to understand that which for the moment lies beyond him."

First of all I notice that as after framing some artificial general rules, the *śiṣṭas* were forced to explain away some naturally developed Vedic words by setting them down as cases of *अत्र* license, so in respect of some Prākṛta or Deśi words assimilated by them unawares in the Sanskrit language, the *śiṣṭas* invented the *nipātana* rule, considering perhaps what was but a natural growth, to be due to vagaries or freaks of nature.

That there was a scholastic revival in building up Sanskrit, and that the popular dialects (which could not but have been the property of the *śiṣṭas*) had to be polished from time to time, to make *saṁskṛita* of them, will be partly demonstrated by the following examples. The examples are given in an alphabetical order and not in what may be called chronological order ; the remarks against them will however show in some cases, when

they were introduced from the Prākṛtas into the holy speech.

(1) অধঃ means no doubt the lower part as adjective or adverb. It is interesting to note that in the popular speech অধঃ the first component of the compound word অধরোষ্ঠ came to designate the lower lip; this অধঃ was taken into the classical Sanskrit without any question.

(2) উপর—In Vedic denotes lower; but by false analogy of other words connected with the উপসর্গ 'উ' it was made by the শিষ্টে themselves to convey exactly the opposite meaning.

(3) একাৎ-ন—How in the early Brāhmaṇa language this roundabout and clumsy expression took the place of Vedic নব (nine, pronounced as ন-উ-অ) of the cardinal compounds নবদশ (nineteen), নববিংশতি (twenty-nine) and so forth to নবনবতি (ninety-nine) is not clear. The earliest Prākṛta has উন which may be formed by metathesis from ন-উ-অ; it is not likely that একাৎ-ন was reduced to উন. I think উন being un-orthodox, the new expression was coined, when নব fell into disuse, and উন was wrongly supposed to be something like একাৎ-ন because of its final ন.

(4) কৰ্ম্মার—In Vedic it means the smith; কৰ্ম্মার is the natural Prākṛta form of it, from which the vernacular কামার has come out. The purists in ignorance of Vedic form polished the Prākṛta form in analogy of other words by adding কার indicating doing to কৰ্ম্ম, to form কৰ্ম্মকার.

(5) The word ঙ্গা signified a married lady and a goddess in the early speech, and so who was not a ঙ্গা, i.e., who was not lady-like was ন-ঙা; thus মহানঙী came to signify a বিজয়া (viśya) or courtesan. The shamelessness of a courtesan gave the significance, naked, to the word. So by its derivation neither ঙ্গা nor নঙা was a feminine form of any masculine word; but not knowing the character of the

word the word नव was created as the original masculine form, even in the Brāhmaṇa literature. I must also note that from the original meaning of the word नव, a married woman, the word नव also came into use to signify an unmarried girl; in this meaning of the word the age of the girl could not be and cannot be read. The Vedic rule having come down by tradition, it is prescribed in the ideal form of marriage, that one who was not married to another, was to be taken as wife. The commentators in the teeth of the fact that the ceremonials recorded in the Grhyasūtras, relate to the marriage of girls of mature age, interpret the word नव as a girl walking about without covering her shame. The philologists should take care not to equate नव with नव because of the lateness of its formation.

(6) दम्पति—In Vedic means master of the house (दम (house) + पति). Exactly when दम (i.e., गृह) to signify गृहनी, the meaning of the word was changed in a popular dialect, is not known; दम्पति with its Prākṛta variant जम्पति (cf., जमपुर for दमपुर, वैजनाथ for वैजनाथ, etc.), came no doubt into use in Sanskrit, as the false Sanskrit derivation shows. In ignorance of Vedic form the Prākṛta forms were explained and reconciled in grammar by a false rule, which gives us जाया + पति = जम्पति and दम्पति. That the phonetic change of द into ज is noticeable in the Vedic itself, may be illustrated by one example: we get ज्योति as a changed form of द्योति in the Vedic; ज्योतिस् however became in the Vedic a new stem to signify a meaning different from but allied to द्योति.

(7) नहपित—The word is unknown in the Vedic speech; the word for it was वप (vaptā). The barber on some ceremonial occasions had the duty of cleansing the body of a man and so he was called in the Māgadhi Prākṛta or Pāli a नहपित; this नहपित is the causative

form of *नाहा* derived from the root *ना*. The purists in the analogy of other words, made *नहापित* a *नापित*, and thought they were not using a vulgar word in the place of the orthodox Vedic word. The word occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* language.

(8) *ভগবান*—When a generalised rule relating to *বৎ*-*ঐত্য* was framed in Sanskrit, and Pāli words with *বা* final were thought by a false analogy to be the words of *বৎ* origin, the word *ভগবা* was reduced to *ভগবান্*; then again to meet a difficulty the Vedic vocative form *ভগব* had to be declared as an *ārṣa* license.

(9) *মাতুল*—No word for maternal uncle is traceable in the Vedic; Macdonell has very rightly pointed this out. *Māturbhrātā* was certainly reduced to *Mātura Bhrātā* as met with in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*. The first portion *Mātura* of the above compound became *Mātula* as an independent relation-indicating word. The word *Māma* of later Sanskrit came directly from the Dravidians.

(10) *মন্থ*—I have shown in a previous lecture that this purely *Prākṛta* word was adopted in classical Sanskrit on account of its long and wide use by the common people, but failing to derive it properly from *মন্* of Sanskrit (which was only *মন* in *Prākṛta*), a rule of exception was invented for its justification.

(11) *বিধবা*—In the Vedic speech *বিধু* means ‘alone’ and *বিধু* with the feminine suffix *আ* became *বিধবা* (a widow); there was no *ধব* in the Vedic speech to dominate this *বিধবা* and we get *Vidova* in Italian and *widow* in English corresponding to it. As *বি* (*vi*) was wrongly thought to be the initial *উপসর্গ*, *বিধবা* was derived as a woman who lost her never existent *ধব*; *ধব* is a pseudo-Sanskrit word.

(12) *বিজ্ঞা*, a courtesan, signified in derivation a woman who was accessible to the *Vis* or the Aryan people in



general. When the corrupt Prākṛta form Vissā was purified, an imaginary origin of the word was sought in the dress, etc., of the displayer of beauty and hence Veśyā (from Veśa), was used as the correct form.

(13) শুভ্রদ্রী of Vedic use was made a শতদ্রু by imagining a hundred streamlets for the river.

(14) সরল—signifies ‘a species of pine tree’ as well as ‘straight.’ The original Vedic for the class of the pine tree is শরল (the tree which is straight like a শর); the word সরল occurs in the Brāhmaṇa literature after the pronunciation of the common people.

It is notorious that the Classical Sanskrit has swelled with words of Prākṛta and Desi origin; as these words are interesting for many reasons, I give a small number of them in an appendix to help the students to study the matter separately.

I cannot possibly dilate upon the subject any further. We may very well hold that the non-existence of dual and the currency of a simplified past system in the Prākṛtas, argue in favour of the natural growth of the Prākṛtas. That the early Prākṛta or Pāli retains many archaic Vedic forms as are unknown in Sanskrit, is admitted by all scholars; this point of structural unity of early Pāli with the Vedic, will be very briefly noticed in the subsequent lecture. I now proceed to notice a fact which will show (though perhaps faintly) that a continuity of the Vedic was maintained through many Prākṛta dialects which have now died out without leaving any literary evidence of their existence.

*Vedic words in Bengali.*—It is a striking phenomenon that we have stored up many words in our vernacular which are met with in the oldest known Vedic speech only, and which were not in use in Sanskrit which is wrongly regarded as a direct and pure offspring of

the Vedic language. I do not claim to be exhaustive, but I should think that the list I append here, is not a very short one. (1) অক্ষী and অক্ষুণী correspond in meaning exactly with অঁকুণী;—in ignorance of the origin the wrong derivation আ+কর্ষ has been imagined now by some. The word অক্ষুণ is a separate word altogether. (2) The Vedic word অমলা is used by us in the form আমলা; আমলক became a pedant word even in the days of the early উপনিষদs and the word আমলকী derived from it is used in our high-flown language. (3) আণ্ডা is an egg as well as a foetus in the womb. The Sanskrit form অণ্ড is a later form derived from আণ্ডা. Considering it a Prākṛta word, the শিষ্টs dropped the final আ, as non-feminine forms with আ final could not be much tolerated. (4) আদার—The pungent juice of it became once the substitute for সোমরস. Our আদা is closer to the early word in form; the Sanskrit word আদ্রক is only a pedantic form. (5) আশা—means side in the Vedic speech; in that sense we use the word in the phrase আশে পাশে. The word is in use in Sanskrit in a secondary meaning indicating direction (6) এনা—means like this; from this comes our now poetic word হেন. (7) ওদতী—to be wet with dew; ওদা signifying wet was in general use in old Bengali, and is still in use in the district of Bankura and in Orissa in that sense. (8) কুদী and কুড়ী, jujube; the Bengali form is কুল and the Oriya form is কুলী. (9) কুশর, a sort of reed; this word is in use in Eastern as well as in Northern Bengal to mean sugarcane; in this very sense the word is in use in Eastern Māgadhī and in Oriya of the district of Sambalpur, while in the intervening tracts of Bengal the word আখ from ইক্ষু is in use; the form is আখু in Orissa proper. The word কশার as in কশার বন to indicate cluster of reeds, is however in use in Central Bengal. (10) We get in the R̥gveda the interjection বট্ (truly) and বত্ (alas); our বটে (truly)

comes from the earlier Bengali form বট as in “কে বট হে.” It is not correct that this word comes from বর্ত to stay or exist; the Western Bhojpuri বট from বর্ত is not in use in Eastern Māgadhī, nor there is any verb in Bengali or Oriya which is even remotely connected with that বট. (11) ভৰ্ভরা, a Vedic interjection, which signifies confusion of thought; ভেবড়ে বাওয়া conveys exactly the same meaning. (12) বয়া, the aerial root of a tree; the aerial root of the Peepul tree (বট) is called বয়া in many parts of Bengal. (13) বশা, a calf almost mature enough to become a cow; in this very sense the word is in use in the district of Sambalpur where it is pronounced as বহা. The word is in use in the Bengali-speaking district of Purulia. (14) বাশী occurs also in Pāli and our বাশ is exactly the instrument which is used by the carpenters. (15) শিখল—its synonym শাল্মলী is in use in Sanskrit, while our শিমুল comes directly from শিখল through the medium of Pāli. (16) দ্বস্ত (not স্তস্ত which is a separate word, and from which we have got খাম, a pillar) has its অপভ্রংশ form খাছা or খাম in Bengali; it signifies a prop and so is closely related to স্তস্ত in meaning. (17-19) Vedic অবর which is not a variant of अपर and which signifies lower and nearer is the progenitor of Being. আবার (not a contracted form of আরবার), Hindi āwar (virtually avar), and Oriya āhur and āhuri. From Vedic रिष्—injury, comes old Bengali and modern Oriya রিষা = anger; in Eastern Bengal the মুচিস who take out skins of dead animals are known by the caste-name রিষি. গোমায়ু in Vedic signifies lowing of the cow and not cow-dung as in Sanskrit; one who cannot articulate words properly and produces a lowing sort of sound is called গোঙ্গা.

I speak of a few other words in this connection, though to illustrate a different phenomenon. The words

পাৎ (limb), দাও (knife), etc., of the Vedic were formed with the suffix ত্ত, and as such the words পা and দা, as original words, may be supposed to have existed in an once-existing old-time dialect. Coming through Sanskrit, 'পাৎ' has been reduced to পত্ in some vernaculars, but পা and দা seem to have come to us like the words just set forth in the above list through some provincial dialects, of which no trace can now be obtained. As not altogether irrelevant, I cite the history of another word here. The word 'কপাল' indicating skull or skull-bone, though of pure Vedic origin, was regarded as unfit to be uttered by the holy people (at least in Patanjali's time) on account of its gruesome association; the euphemistic term ভগাল was recommended for substitution. We know, however, that the fate of কপাল was not doomed in Sanskrit, but it is curious that this euphemistic word ভগাল had the ill-luck of earning for itself the very unpleasant idea, which it was intended to dispel; the slightly-changed form of ভগাল as ভাগাড় denotes in Bengali the place where dead animals are allowed to rot and the bones of the animals bleach in the sun.

From the cumulative evidence it is rather clear that the literary Vedic speech stood in a close relationship with many provincial dialects, some of which at least continued, through all ages, to live to be transformed into later vernaculars, and that the Classical Sanskrit, on the other hand, came into existence as an artificial language.

We have shown to a certain extent that Laukika or Sanskrit was sought at first to be kept in close unity with the Vedic, but as a matter of fact this language could not maintain any continuity with the Vedic, and with the progress of time, it went on drawing largely upon the Prākṛta dialects. Facts have also been adduced to show or rather to suggest, why most of the important links in

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the chain of evolution of the Prākṛta dialects leading up to our modern vernaculars, are missing or rather irrevocably perished.

## APPENDIX III

Only a few Sanskrit or rather pseudo-Sanskrit words are listed below just to show the influence of Prākṛtas of all times upon the language which is said to have kept itself aloof from the Prākṛtas.

- (1) କୌଶିନ—from କୁ + ପରିଧାନ or ପିଧାନ. The vernacular word କାପଡ଼ and the provincial Oriya word କପ୍ଟା are not derived from it. In the Sanskrit of a very late time, we meet କର୍ପଟି which may be connected with କାର୍ପାଶ = କାପାଶ.
- (2) କେଳି—from କ୍ରୀଡ଼ came out two Prākṛta words, କିଲ and খেল ; କେଳି is from କିଲ and খেল, as in খেলন, খেলৎ, etc., remains unchanged.
- (3) ଝର୍ମର—from କପାଳ (skull) we get କପ୍ପଡ଼ି and its variant ଝପ୍ପଡ଼ି ; from ଝପ୍ପଡ଼ି we get ଝୁଲି as মাথার ଝୁଲି, as well as ଝাপ୍ରା ; either ଝପ୍ପଡ଼ି or ଝাপ୍ରା has been Sanskritized into ଝର୍ମର.

*N.B.*—ଝୁଲି as of মাথার ଝୁଲି, should not be confounded with খোলা which is a synonym of ଝাপ୍ରା ; from কোষ we have got both খୋসা as well as খোলা ; from কোষ we have got খোল besides খোলা. This খোল again is not identical either with খোল derived from খণ to excavate, or with খোল to loosen, derived from খল.

- (4) গেହ—from গৃহ ; requires no comment.
- (5) ଚଢ଼ୁଳ—from ଚତୁର. Very likely from ଚତୁର (clever) we also got ଚଢ଼ୁର and this word came to signify a clever thief, and thus the Sanskrit words ଚୋର and ଚୌର were formed. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that the Sanskrit word ଚୋର comes from the tribal name ଚୋଳ or ଚୋଡ଼.

- (6) ছুপ—this প্রাকৃত অপভ্রংশ word has been given by Panini as a genuine Sans. word though it has no Vedic root ; its meaning has been given by Panini “ to touch.”
- (7) ছুরিত—from ক্ষুরিত.
- (8) জটা—from যুক্ত ; a matted lock of hair not being easily separable into component parts.
- (9) ঝটিকা—from ঝড় ; so also other words of ঝ initial.
- (10) All words with ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ initials.
- (11) তড়িৎ—from ত্বর indicating quickness. From the very word ত্বর, তাড় was formed as an independent root (*cf.* তাড়ন, তাড়য়াস, etc.).
- (12) ছৰ্কা—Sanskritic form of ছব or ছবো which is an অপভ্রংশ of দৰ্ভ.
- (13) নাটক—from নৃত্ to dance), occurs in Panini.
- (14) পটহ—from প্রহত comes পহত or পহট and then by metathesis.
- (15) পীড়, পীড়ন—comes from পিষ্ট of the root পিষ্.
- (16) প্রতুল—treated as Sanskrit in Bengal. পৃথু or rather পৃথুল gave us পিরতুল and this পিরতুল has been Sanskritized into প্রতুল.
- (17) ভট্ট—from ভর্তা.
- (18) মড়ক—from মৃ ; used in the sense of plague.
- (19) মিথ্যা—unknown in pure Vedic ; M. Williams points out that it is a contracted form of মিথুরা (meaning incorrectly, invertedly, etc., in শতপথ ব্রাহ্মণ). Hence it is likely that Vedic যুবা became মিচ্ছা in some old প্রাকৃত and then was Sanskritized into মিথ্যা on such analogy as from যথ্যা came out রচ্ছা in পালি.
- (20) রঙা—a pure দেশী word.
- (21) লুণ্ঠন—from লুট, originally that which is lost by theft, *i.e.*, which becomes লুণ্ঠ.

- (22) বন্ধিম—from বন্ধ we get first বন্ধ in Pāli.
- (23) বল্মাক—from বস্ত্র; বস্ত্র and বস্ত being one and the same the word was formed by metathesis.
- (24) বাটু—from বাক্য.
- (25) শপ্—a new root to indicate curse; original form  
 অভিশম্পাত=অভি+শং+পাত—that which  
 befalls by destroying শং signifying  
 কল্যাণ; this shows that শপ is a corrupt  
 form of অভিশম্পাত.
- (26) শেল—from শিলা; stone implement originally.
- (27) অটু—(walking or wandering about) from the  
 Vedic root অত (compare অতিথি).
- (28) উড্ড or উড্ডীন from উৎ.



## LECTURE XI

### PĀLI AND OTHER OLD PRĀKRĀS

*Prākṛta defined.*—Sanskrit as a hieratic language occupies naturally a position of very high honour. It is no wonder therefore, that our old Prākṛta grammarians regarded it in their fancy, to be the very speech, in its original purity, which the gods and holy men spoke at the very [dawn of human creation. Some Prākṛta grammarians have formulated (no doubt very wrongly) that Sanskrit is in the state of প্রকৃতি or natural purity, while the provincial dialects alone disclosed বিকৃতি or corruption of the original প্রকৃতি by deviating from the norm of Sanskrit. This is how these grammarians have sought to explain the term Prākṛta, though the word প্রকৃতি cannot be shown to have been in use at any time to signify a speech, holy or unholy. প্রকৃতি no doubt signifies nature, but in its secondary signification as ‘subjects’ or ‘common people’ or ‘people in general,’ the word is in very common use in our literature of all times. Prākṛta in its signification as a speech, seems therefore to be associated with প্রকৃতি or the common people. No matter what the derivation may be, it is undoubted that the term Prākṛta has always denoted the current speech of the people in general, in contradistinction with the cultivated literary speech of the learned. It is significant that our provincial vernaculars of to-day are called by the orthodox Pandits as so many Prākṛta speech. No one can fail to notice, that the early poets of Bengal as well as of Orissa have designated the language of their effusions as Prākṛta. It is therefore admitted in a manner on all hands that Prākṛta is the speech, in which the babies commence to

lisp and which the people very naturally learn untaught. The oriental scholars of Europe however, make a sharp distinction now between the modern vernaculars and the obsolete Prākṛtas, to secure some definiteness in the matter of classification. In this classification, the scholars have followed those Prākṛta grammarians, who have appropriated the name *prākṛta* for an artificial standard literary speech, and have given the term অপভ্রংশ, to the vernacular speech of their time; I should notice in this connection, that Apabhraṇśa as reported by the grammarians cannot also be regarded to have been exactly the real speech of a people of a particular time. That the term apabhraṇśa should now only be used to denote phonetic decay, has been my suggestion in the foregoing lecture. We have to again notice with reference to the use of the term *prākṛta* by the modern scholars, that where a *prākṛta* ends and a vernacular begins, is not easy to determine; it will not help us in the matter of classification, nay it will create anomaly and confusion, if the obsolete forms of our present-day vernaculars be all designated as *prākṛtas*. If the term *prākṛta* be applied to signify those remote forbears of the modern vernaculars of Northern India, as may not be quite directly traced to be such forbears, a workable definition may be obtained. Practically speaking, this definition does not militate against the current definition of the scholars. I need hardly point out, that by the phrase 'remote forbear' in this definition, I do not refer either to Chhāṇḍasa, which is the source-head of all our Aryan speech, or to Classical Sanskrit, which has made from time to time some contributions to the Aryan Vernaculars.

*Pāli defined.*—Pāli, I have all along designated as an early Māgadhi *prākṛta*, on the authority of Buddha Ghosa, who has called it 'Magadha Bohāra.' The capital town

of the Magadha country, we know from the phonetic representation of it in Greek as Palibothra, was once called পালিপুত্রো or পালিপুত্রো ; the name Pāli, as a place name, is still in existence in Behar. I think that the people of Ceylon gave the name Pāli to the Prākṛta speech in question, as the Buddhist canonical works were obtained by them in the Pāliputto country. Now that we see, that the word Pāṭaliputra could be, or rather was in reality reduced to the form Pāliputto, the objection that the term Pāli cannot come out of Pāṭali, wholly vanishes. It will certainly be admitted, that the meanings given to the word Pāli by the Sinhalese, are wholly unknown in the literature of India ; once the Sinhalese gave the name Pāli to the language of the canonical works, the secondary or tertiary meaning of the term could easily come into use in Ceylon.

Since Pāli has never been in use in India, as a term to denote either Prākṛta in general or any special Prākṛta in particular, Prākṛta should be the legitimate name for the language in question ; if the Prākṛta of the Tripiṭakas be given a special name, the students of the Prākṛta speech will be led into the wrong notion, that in the matter of origin and general character, Pāli differs widely and essentially from the other Prākṛtas. To use the word Pāli to signify "Buddhistic Prākṛta," is equally misleading ; for the Prākṛta in question was not during its currency, the speech of the Buddhists alone. In their canonical works the Buddhists have preserved a class of Prākṛta and the Jainas another ; we are not on that account justified to designate those Prākṛtas by the name of those religious sects. I should also notice here another suggestion regarding the origin of the term Pāli : it is urged by some, on the strength of the supposition that the speech of the common people was not much

current in urban tracts, that the word Pāli may be a decayed form of the term Palli (পল্লী=village). Certainly phonology does not offer any difficulty in the matter of this etymology, but facts of history do not support this proposition. In the first place, it cannot be proved that the people of the rural tracts differed widely from the people of the urban tracts, in the matter of speech. In the second place, the word Pāli cannot be proved to have ever been in use in India, to denote a speech, and consequently it will not be correct to suppose that the people of Ceylon coined the term, by making historical investigation regarding the rural origin of the speech of their canonical works. I must however mention here a hitherto unnoticed fact, which may be urged with some force in support of the theory. To speak in praise of the speech in which the গাথাসপ্তশতী has been composed, the author has designated the language by the name 'পাড়া' in the 2nd verse of the work. The commentator has explained the term 'পাড়া' by প্রাকৃত very correctly, but he has not given us the derivation of the word. The word looks like an apabhrāṣa of the word পল্লী, since পাড়া of modern vernaculars can easily be derived from পল্লী. But as this solitary use of a comparatively later time cannot be connected with a cognate word of idiomatic use of earlier times, Pāli, as an Indian name for a প্রাকৃত, cannot be accepted. Again, it is difficult to say, how far the word পাড়া for প্রাকৃত is a genuine অপভ্রংশ form of a particular time; that we meet with fanciful corruptions of Sanskrit terms in the literary prākṛtas, will be specially discussed afterwards. পাউর, and পাউদ are two terms for প্রাকৃত which occur in the কপ্পরমঞ্জরী; in this case it is rather certain that the terms were coined to maintain the character of the prākṛtas as given in some Prākṛta Grammars. I do not propose to do away with the term

Pāli, which denotes a particular class of Prākṛta of the olden time, but I discuss the question to remove the wrong notions which this term, as well as the term prākṛta may generate, regarding the origin, position, and value of the obsolete speech of India.

*The Character of Pāli*—I have tried to show in the previous lecture, that if we look into the evidence furnished by a comparative study of the early and later forms of Vedic speech, and again if compare the Vedic speech as a whole, with Classical Sanskrit, we are led to the conclusion, that the old Grammarians seized on the salient features of the Vedic speech, and moulded them into one harmonious whole, to create a hieratic language. I have moreover set forth some facts, which make it probable, that even when Chhāṇḍasa continued to be a living literary language, some provincial vernaculars (though derived originally from Chhāṇḍasa) co-existed with Chhāṇḍasa as closely related dialects. One fact indeed can never be doubted, that when the priestly class was busy in reviving, or in maintaining the purity of the Chhāṇḍasa speech, the Aryan people in general spoke one form or another of the Aryan speech, which must be designated as Prākṛta speech, which co-existed with, or succeeded immediately to the latest phase of the Chhāṇḍasa speech, is perhaps impossible to determine now, but that the early Pāli may be regarded to be closely allied to Chhāṇḍasa, is admitted by all capable European scholars.

I have pointed out in the previous lecture, that by unmeaning retention of the dual forms and of the tense system of Chhāṇḍasa, Classical Sanskrit reveals its own artificial character, while the structure of the Pāli language discloses a natural modification or change of the early-time Aryan language. To show that how in some other

points, Pāli retains to some extent the morphological structure of the Vedic speech, I refer here to some scholarly remarks of V. Fausboll, as appear in his preface to "Sutta Nipāta" (S. B. E., Vol. IX). He has shown with reference to the oldest portions of the Sutta Nipāta, that those richer forms of Vedic language which we find wanting in the Classical Sanskrit, are in use in the oldest Pāli. The great scholar has pointed out, that we meet with in Pāli, "the fuller Vedic forms of nouns and verbs in the plural, the shorter Vedic plurals, and the instrumental singular of nouns, Vedic infinitives, and many other Vedic forms and words."

The position of Sanskrit as a literary language, in its relations with Chhāṇḍasa on the one side, and with the Prākṛta speech on the other, has been discussed in several lectures from various viewpoints. The relation of Pāli however, with several provincial Prākṛtas of the post-Mauriyan times, is not easy to determine. I discuss some facts which show how this investigation is involved in difficulties : (1) Pāli was retained and used as a literary language by the Buddhists when it actually became an obsolete speech ; (2) Sanskrit, though an artificial literary language ceased, at one time, to be a purely hieratic speech, and having become the vehicle of thought of all men, dealing with different branches of knowledge, it exercised such an influence in the country, that the living speech which succeeded Pāli, could not become respectable enough to leave literary monuments for us ; (3) To ensure intelligibility in all provinces of India, the Prākṛta books (very limited in number), were composed in such an unreal generalized form, as does not help us to reconstruct the living speech of old days. I notice the significance of all the points briefly below.

*Pāli, a literary speech.*—We clearly see, why Gotāma

Buddha insisted upon getting his teachings recorded in the vernacular of his time. What he aimed at however, was not secured, when without following the spirit of his words, his disciples stuck to the speech of his time in their literary composition, when the speech in question became obsolete, and as such uninteresting and repulsive to the non-Buddhistic people. Even to the ordinary Buddhistic people of mundane thoughts and worldly aspirations, this literature which was severely religious, could not be attractive; despite their deep veneration for their *Śāstra*, the people in general, who as a matter of course wanted to enjoy life, left the dull works of holy character to the care and custody of a small number of religious teachers. The language of the Asoka inscriptions and references to (अपभ्रंश) *apaśabdas* by Patanjali, distinctly show that the Pāli speech of Buddha's time was being changed with the progress of time, and various provincial dialects came into existence in the 2nd Century B.C.; yet it is a fact, that the author of the *Milinda Panha* tried his best to write in the language of the Buddhistic canonical works. Changes effected by time are distinctly noticeable in the Pāli canonical works themselves, even though a general standard was set up for the language. No doubt the old Pāli of Buddha's days was being transformed into new and newer dialects, but the old-time Pāli failed to become a living heritage with the speakers of the newly-transformed speech. In that the literary Sanskrit in its broader and more catholic character was being enriched every day by the composition of interesting and entertaining secular literature of various genre, the influence of Sanskrit became more potent and abiding, upon the laymen of letters all throughout the country. True it is that the authors of Sanskrit works, who lived, moved and had their being in the living atmosphere of the Prākṛta speech of their

days, introduced various Prākṛta forms in Sanskrit, but the speakers of the Prākṛta tongues, could not but draw upon Sanskrit for want of a living literary tradition of the Prākṛtas, when they sought from time to time to enrich their dialects.

*The Gāthā Language.*—It became impossible in those days to write in any particular vernacular of the province which might be intelligible to the people of all the provinces. The Buddhistic writers, who wanted to adhere to the Prākṛta speech, but found Pāli could not be made intelligible even in the Magadha country, mixed up Sanskrit forms with some अपभ्रंश forms common to many provinces, and thereby created a curious hybrid language, which has acquired the designation, the Gāthā language. It was to ensure universal intelligibility that an artificial literary Prākṛta was set up, and it is the artificial Prākṛta, which is generally met with, in the old Prākṛta works. These Prākṛta works do not give us the real vernaculars of the past time, and so we cannot directly trace the evolution of our modern vernaculars through the speech preserved in those works.

*Inscription Language.*—It is perfectly certain that the language of the Aśoka inscriptions is not artificial ; but one thing strikes us very much, that there are many words in these inscriptions, which are more Sanskritic in form than the words occurring in Buddhistic canonical works. I am strongly inclined to think, that some words in the inscriptions were made purposely Sanskritic to make the edicts thoroughly intelligible at places far away from Magadha. If we compare the Pāli language of Buddha's days, as preserved in the canonical works, with the contemporary classical Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇa literature, we may notice, that the latter artificial language cannot be said to be only the literary form of the former ; but



the classical Sanskrit of the 3rd Century B.C., can be easily set down as the literary form of the language of the inscriptions. Mr. F. W. Thomas very rightly observes in his paper published in the J. R. A. S., 1904 (p. 461), that "It is not too much to say that in modern English both spoken and written, we find greater deviations from the norm, than what may be observed between classical Sanskrit and the language of the edicts of Aśoka." The learned orientalist has further asserted, that if the text of the Pāli inscriptions of Aśoka's time and the literal translation of those texts in Sanskrit were placed side by side, one would find only such differences in pronunciation, etc., as always exist between the literary and spoken forms of the same dialect. I need not halt to explain this phenomenon, for I have already stated, how with the progress of time, Sanskrit was being modified by Prākṛta, and how Prākṛta was being influenced by Sanskrit.

*Pali and Bengali.*—How, stage by stage the Māgadhi language underwent successive changes for one thousand years after the time of Aśoka, cannot be very easily determined, for reasons already suggested; I may however add this observation that it will be very unsafe to judge the Māgadhi language by the language of the inscriptions of later times, since it appears, that at one time it became a fashion, even in far-off Southern India, to use the Māgadhi language in inscriptions. I am not concerned with the question of introduction of Māgadhi language into Peninsular India, nor have I to trace the influence of it on the languages of Western India. How the Māgadhi language was shaped in the province of Magadha itself, and how and in what form it got into Bengal, are questions which should be relevantly discussed. How the old Māgadhi Prākṛta or Pāli is related to what is called the Jaina Prākṛta,

is a subject of very high importance for inquiry ; it is also necessary to discuss the character of the speech which has been called Māgadhi by the Prākṛta Grammarians ; but before I take up these questions for discussion, I proceed to examine if we can trace the blood of old Pāli itself (unstrained through the transformed Prākṛtas of subsequent times) in the veins of our Bengali language. It may be repeated here, what has been shown before, that the province of Magadha-cum-Gauḍa always overflowed itself into Bengal, till the end of the 10th Century A.D.

I have noted in previous lectures, that in the matter of accent, there is much agreement between Pāli and Bengali. I doubt not this will be admitted to be a factor of much importance in a language. We should also remember in this connection, Mr. Pischell's weighty observation, that Vedic accent and stress survived in Pāli. The importance of the matter urges me to repeat one or two facts in this connection over again.

That because of the old time accent on the first syllables, the words অংথি (অন্তি), গ্লসন্, (প্রসন্), বক্খ (বক্ষ), etc., have been reduced to আছি (not অছি as in Oriya and Maithili), পের্সন্ (not পর্সন্ of other provinces), বুক্ pronounced as বুক্ (not বুকু as in Oriya), etc., in Bengali, can be clearly seen ; that the pronunciation of ধম্মো, কম্মো, etc., of the old days has only been retained in Bengali, and that the forms ধরন্, করন্, etc., have only been recently borrowed in a class of artificial poetry, cannot be denied. However, I give below a list of words which have come to Bengali perhaps direct from Pāli, for they are not met with in the Prākṛtas of later days.

(1) অট্ঠি = আঁটি, stone of a fruit,—we do not get either আঁটি or any word derived from অট্ঠি in use in other dialects to indicate this meaning. (2) অথচ and

অপিচ,—these words signify ‘and’ or ‘still more’ in Sanskrit; the meaning ‘nevertheless’ as they signify in Pāli, is only found in Bengali in the use of অথচ. In Oriya, this word, with its Pāli or Bengali meaning, has only very recently been borrowed. (3) অ-ফাঙ্ক (seems to be a *Desi* word and not an Apabhraṃśa) means indisposition or illness; Bengali অস্থক বিষক or simple অস্থক does not seem to be derived from স্থখ, happiness, for the idea of illness is not expressed with reference to the feeling of happiness; I think ফাঙ্ক is the originator of the Bengali word. (4) ইতি—stands at the end of a speech, or section to denote “this is what it is”; this use of ইতি at the end of a composition, became once a mere form in Bengali, and subsequently from its position in a sentence, it acquired the meaning “the end”—in which sense, it is now in use. This ইতি does not occur in other dialects; in Oriya for example, the word indicating “finis” or “the end,” as occurs at the end of an epistle is শুভ or এতিক্ষি. (5) উনহ (‘hot,’ উষ্ণ); উনহন (the act of heating), [উম্ or rather ওম্ signifies warmth in Bengali] Bengali উনন্ (oven) comes from it though উদ্দহন is the word we get in Pāli for oven. (6) উপাহন (by metathesis from উপানহ shoe; the নহ ending again represents earlier নহ); the Oriya form is পন্থাই, which was in use in old Bengali. (7) ওর signifies ‘this side,’ but ওরপার signifies both the banks of a river and also the far-off bank of a river; only in Bengali, we get this word in such a phrase as ওরনাই indicating কুল নাই, i.e., the other bank cannot be reached, i.e., endless. (This word however is Dravidian in origin.) (8) কুৎথ= old Bengali কুথ, modern কোথ where. The word is still in use in the district of Bankura. (9) কবল (as in Sanskrit) a mouthful to be swallowed; only in Bengali, there is the apabhraṃśa form of it in use which is খাবল. (10) কসট (from সকট=bad, vile, by metathesis) indicates a thing of

bad or insipid taste; Bengali কসাতে, of insipid taste is from this word; the word कषाय of Sanskrit is of comparatively later date, and so it is a Sanskritization of a Pāli word; the readers should not confound this with Sanskrit कष् which exists in the word कषण signifying unripe (distinguish this also from कष्, to touch or to injure); from कष्, unripe, we get the Oriya word कसि, unripe, and this old form कसि, unripe, is in use in Bengali, in the shape of কচি. (11) গোণ (cows in plural)—in this form, the word travelled to Ceylon from old Bengal; our গরু is from গ-উ, where উ has been changed to রু. (12) ঘত or ব্রত (ghee). It is curious that following the traditional spelling, the rude villagers of Bengal still write ব্রত and not ঘত, when they make an attempt at dignified spelling. (13) চুল exactly signifying hair, as in Bengali; this word is found at one or two places in the Jātaka stories, bearing evidently marks of lateness. (14) চঙ্গোট, a bamboo basket = Bengali চাঙ্গাড়ি and Oriya ଚାଙ୍ଗୋড়ି. (15) চাট—a pot or a vessel, is found exactly in this sense in Oriya; that it was in use in old Bengali can be detected in the modern Bengali phrase চাট বাট as in চাট বাটি তুলে চলে যাওয়া (to leave a place by carrying away all pots and pans). (16) ছবি—(a skin disease; the Oriya form ছোই signifying the same meaning similar to Pāli, as the final ই is equivalent to the final vi (বি) of the Pāli word; the Bengali word derived from it is ছলি. (17) জাণ্ড (rice gruel—originally barley-gruel জবাণ্ড) equal to Bengali জাউ. (18) জহ excessive, is in use in Oriya and was in use in old Bengali; its real origin is from হা to leave, which gives rise to the form জহাতি—‘something in excess that had to be thrown away’ was the idea at the root. (19) দহ, a pool, is from দই, which is formed by metathesis from হুদ; we use the word দহ as in Pāli but the Oriya form is দই, or দর. (20) হুম from Sanskrit क्रम; in many parts of Bengal, little

pieces of wood or say the internode portion of sugarcane is called ছ-মা. (21) নেলা (pure, innocent or inoffensive); Buddhaghosa gives the derivation of it in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya—‘এলা’ বৃচ্ছতি দোসো ন অস্মা এলন্তি নেলা; a goodnatureed innocent man is always regarded as a fool or an insane, and so we get the word in our Bengali phrase নেলা ক্ষেপা to indicate a fellow without common sense and so also the word নেলা by itself conveys the same meaning in the Oriya speech of Sambalpur. (22) পাচন-যট্ঠি Bengali পাচন বাড়ি, a stick or a goad used by cow-herds. (23) নিবেশন (from Sanskrit नि+वेश् house) the vulgar people ask of the নিবেশ of a man to inquire where he hails from or where he lives, but wrongly considering the form to be incorrect, we have substituted নিবাস now for it. (24) পলি-পথ a muddy road; the first portion of the compound, i.e., পলি indicating mud is in use in Bengali to signify sediment thrown by streams of water. (25) পেকুণ, the feather of a peacock; our word পেখম্ as in পেখম্ ধরা, blandishing the wings by a peacock, comes from the word. (26) মহল্লিক signifies old; hence the word conveyed the meaning ‘wise’ in later times; in Orissa, the state councillors were called ‘mahalikas’ and one particular State, once governed by eight ‘mahalikas,’ still bears the name আটমল্লিক; this word as surname is in use in Bengal and Orissa, and should not be confounded with its homonym derived from Persian origin. (27) লক্ছ bribe; the Oriya word লাঞ্চ still bears the same meaning, but I do not know if it was in use in Bengal; my information, that it is in use in Purulia, has not been confirmed. (28) বন্ট (from বৃন্ত), a peduncle = Bengali বোটা. (29) বিচিকিচ্ছা doubt or rather an impious doubt regarding the truths of religion; hence what is bad or undesirable; Bengali বিজিকিচ্ছি is equivalent to it in form and in secondary meaning. (30) দুষান (from अशान) = Bengali দশান,—because

of this derivation, no nasal sound is attached to the first 'শ'. '(31) হরলী is the passage that is made in the river for a boat by removing the sand; the passage was perhaps chalked out by dragging the boat itself; in this meaning the word is used in the district of Sambalpur and that very use was current in old Bengali. (32) হেঁটে under, beneath; Bengali হেঁটে, as in যথ্য হেঁটে করা, comes from it.

I refrain from showing that many special phrases of Pāli are idiomatic expressions in Bengali to-day. We have to look very carefully into the deep significance of what has been illustrated above. Even though we fail to get definite literary evidence of successive changes which Pāli underwent on the soil of its birth in the course of a thousand years or more, we cannot but admit, that change did occur, and the older forms faded imperceptibly into new and newer forms. By referring to the Jaina Prākṛta and to the Prākṛta either noticed in the Prākṛta Grammars or preserved in some works of poetry and drama, we may notice, that the old Pāli forms and Pāli pronunciation were very much changed in later times; yet it is a fact that the method of Pāli pronunciation and many Pāli words and phrases, unknown to the later Prākṛtas (with which Bengali must have been directly connected), stick to Bengali. This shows very unmistakably, that a genuine genetic bond of affinity exist between Pāli and Bengali; the people who had originally Pāli for their language, could only retain the obsolete things as so many survivals, in course of successive transformation of their speech. We are at times led to form wrong notions regarding the origin of Bengali, by looking to the non-Prākṛtic or rather the Sanskritic forms of many Bengali expressions; we forget that for reasons stated more than once before, there has been purposeful Sanskritization of Bengali as well as of other vernaculars from

time to time. Owing to intermittent Sanskrit renaissance, a very large number of Bengali words are now so dressed up, that their real pedigree cannot be easily determined : that our তৎসম words, চ্যুত, মধু, হৃদয়, স্নেহ, etc., were once চুক, মহ, হিঅঅ. নেহ, etc., may be easily seen, by referring to some common expressions as ভুলচুক, মৌচাক, নাই (indulgence), হিয়া and নাবস্তা of E. B (নেহবস্তা = showing affection). I have stated before, that it is because of this sort of Sanskritization, that the Prākṛtas are more in অপভ্রংশ form than the modern vernaculars. We should notice moreover that in the outlying tracts of Bengal, many words and grammatical forms of Pāli and of later Prākṛta are still retained ; in the district of Rungpur, for example, the word ইসি for ঋষি, দ্বিতীয় for দ্বিতীয়, প্রধান for প্রধান, etc., and such a grammatical form as the formation of nominative by 'এ' are in full use. It is also noticeable that many archaic forms which were in use in Prākṛta, and are now in use in Rungpur, are in general agreement with the Oriya words ; কোট্টে, where (Oriya কেউটি, Marathi कोठे), এট্টে, here (Oriya এইটি), মাউসি (for মাসি), পিউসি (for পিসি), ষাঙ (for ষাঙড়ি), চাঁদিয়া 'bald-headed', টেংনা (for টেংরা fish), are some examples.

In spite of the prevalence of Pāli words and Pāli forms in Bengali, some are doubtful if Bengali actually originated from Pāli and its later successors, as looking into the morphological structure of the above speech, they find পালি a highly inflexional language, and Bengali as mainly agglutinative, like the Dravidian speech. We must now all learn that reversion from inflectional to agglutinating has been observed in many European and Indian languages. How by the mere process of phonetic decay, an inflectional or agglutinating speech may be reduced to what is called monosyllabic or isolating, has also been very scientifically demonstrated in the case of the Chinese

language. The old theory of gradation from isolating to inflectional has been found utterly untenable. To account for the agglutinating character of our speech, we need not import a Dravidian influence, though in other matters such an influence upon the Bengali language cannot be denied, or rather should be fully admitted. We should bear in mind that all the modern Sanskritic speech of the Gauḍian group are mainly agglutinating. Certainly, no one can possibly deny the potent factor of non-Aryan influence in the matter of the formation of provincial dialect, but it will be too much to assert that the contact with the savage races alone had, on the Aryans, the effect of breaking down their rigid inflectional system, and of causing the Aryans to substitute, for case-endings in nouns and verbs, distinct particles and auxiliaries.

*Origin of a class of long-winded সমাস compounds.*—Let us take account of one simple case which illustrates how a tendency to agglutinate words arose, and a class of long-winded samāsa compounds came into being in Sanskrit composition. It will be observed in the Prākṛta prose, that nouns or objectives in apposition in a sentence are not usually linked together by conjunctions. This style of composition was no doubt after the general style of ordinary conversation, in which not only the copulative but the disjunctive conjunction as well is at times dispensed with. Let me illustrate by example this conversation style, as still obtains in Bengal.

Q.—বাজারে কি কি কিন্লে ?

A.—আমি কিনেছি, কাঁঠাল কিনেছি, ছুধ কিনেছি ।

Q.—তোমরা সকলে ভাল আছ ?

A.—আমি ভাল আছি, বাবার শরীর মন্দ নয়, [here তবে—but—is seldom used] মার একটু অস্থখ ।

The authors who had the Prākṛtas of their time for their real speech, did not like to put in such a conjunctive



conjunction as ष in their elegant Sanskrit composition not only because that would not make the sentence sweet-sounding or sonorous, but also because the writers were trained to regard the Prākṛta method as, sweet and agreeable ; to compensate for the loss of ष, long samāsa chains were forged which in their natural sonorousness heightened the effect of the style. It is also a fact that the Prākṛta speakers could easily avoid looking into grammatical niceties of Sanskrit when resorting to the method of making big compounds in their Sanskrit composition.

*Jaina Prākṛta*.—I have stated that the links which bind Pāli with modern vernaculars are almost missing ; the Prākṛta which we meet with in the Jaina works, is in my opinion, a real link in the chain. I should not proceed seriously to controvert such a queer opinion that the Jaina Prākṛta is Mahārāṣṭri ; I shall show presently that not only the term Mahārāṣṭri, but other terms as well as have been used by the Prākṛta grammarians to classify the Prākṛta speech are misleading. This Jaina Prākṛta discloses many characteristics of a real speech, and it is almost doubtless that it was once a vernacular in the land of Mahābīr's birth, but when did this language flourish, has not been satisfactorily determined. The very fact that many forms occurring in this speech, cannot be explained by the rules formulated by Vararuchi, urges us to believe that unlike the Prākṛtas of the grammarians and the dramatists, which were no real spoken vernaculars, but were essentially literary fictions founded on the vernaculars, the language in question was once a living speech in some parts of the province of Behar. This speech is no doubt highly important ; but it is regrettable, that in proportion to its importance, the material available at present is rather scanty. It must be mentioned however, that minds of scholars are not free from doubt,

as to the thorough correctness of the Prākṛta texts of the Jaina canonical works, hitherto published. The Jaina scriptures which have been critically edited, are only a few in number ; it has been rightly observed by Dr. Barnett that this language "is a rich mine for the seekers of philological treasures." The learned author remarks, that as long as the whole of the Jaina scriptures have not been critically edited, many dark pages of the history of the ancient and modern Indian languages and literature will not be illumined. Dr. Barnett says that "neither the political nor the literary nor the religious history of India, can ever be written until an exact study has been made" of the Jaina scriptures composed in this Māgadhi Prākṛta. What has been opined with reference to the history of India in general, is specially and particularly true regarding the history of Bengal in all its aspects. We generally speak of the Buddhistic influence in Bengal, but it will be very soon recognized that the influence of the Jainas in this country, has been of far greater importance and consequence. This is not the subject which I can deal with here, but I doubt not that our Bengali scholars will direct their serious attention to this matter of great moment.

As far as it has been ascertained, even the oldest portion of the Jaina scriptures did not come into existence, in the form in which it is now obtained, earlier than the last half of the 5th century A.D. ; consequently to be on the safe side, we may hold that the language which the Jaina canonical works present, is the Eastern Māgadhi Prākṛta of a time not later than the 6th century A.D. Be they Jaina inscriptions or not, the Khandagiri Inscriptions of Khāravel give us the Māgadhi language of the second century B.C. But as this language differs only slightly from Canonical Pāli, and as it differs on

the other hand, very greatly from the Jaina Prākṛta, this inscription language cannot be considered to be a link in the chain of evolution of this so-called Jaina Prākṛta. As the time of the Kuśana kings has not yet been satisfactorily established, it is difficult to assign dates to the Mathurā Inscriptions of the Jainas, which have been preserved by being transcribed in Sir A. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports (*vide ibid*, Vols. III and XX). It is curious that the language of the Mathurā Inscriptions does not much differ from the language of the second century B.C. ; but as the texts of the Mathurā Inscriptions contain only a small number of sentences, we should refrain from offering any remarks regarding the character of the language of the texts. This is however very clear and definite, that the language of the Jaina canonical works differs very widely from the afore-said inscription language either of the second century B.C. or of the second century A.D. Looking to all these circumstances, we are inclined to hold that the canonical works of the Jainas disclose the speech which was current in some Eastern parts of Behar, some time between the third and the sixth century A.D.

*Factors in agreement with Bengali.*—In the Mathurā Inscriptions of Kuśana time, we get, for example, the same nominative case-endings as we meet with in the Aśoka Inscriptions and Khāravela Inscriptions, but the nominative case-endings in the canonical works under review is ঐ (e) ; Mahāvīra Bardhamāna is always Mahāvire Bardhamāne. A critical consideration of this প্রকৃত should be a subject for separate study. We may notice here only those points which are in agreement with Bengali. (1) We know that ঐ and ঐ have the same sound value in Bengali ; even in Oriya 'ঐ' is pronounced as ই-ঐ ; in the Jaina Prākṛta, 'ঐ' which is the particle to signify 'and' (= and of

Bengali) and which appears exactly in the form of *অ* in the 'সেতুবন্ধ' and the 'গৌড়বহো' occurs indiscriminately as 'অ' or 'ঈ'; this shows the sound value of 'ব' in the Māgadhī. In Bengali it is a peculiarity that when *ব* is the initial letter, it is sounded as 'j' and is uttered as 'y' when it is a medial; we find, for instance in the *Aṇuttarovavāiṇya Dasāo*, that 'j' is the initial of the word জালি (a name), while 'y' occurs as medial in spelling the name উপযালি.

(2) The letter ঐ discloses the Bengali pronunciation, as ঐরাবত has been very often spelt as অইরাবত. It is no doubt true that in all Prākṛtas, ঐ occurs as অই but as ঐ is also at times met with, as for instance in the Khāravela inscriptions, as 'ঐল', this point has been noted here.

(3) The form for দ্বিতীয় is at times দ্বি and at times দ্বত; in the pronunciation of some words in Eastern Bengal, as well as in Jessore, we detect the use of the early form of দ্বত, for example, the ceremony of consummation of marriage is called দ্বত-বিয়ে; the loss of one 'ত' of the final ত of the word দ্বত is indicated by the doubling of ব of বিয়ে; as to দ্বি, the Bengali form দ্বি as in দ্বিবর may be noted.

(4) It is exactly চৌদ (and not চউদ) that occurs in this Prākṛta to denote fourteen; this form of pronunciation is wholly peculiar to Bengali.

(5) I have just noted above that the nominative case ending is এ; it may be noticed that in the provincialism of Rungpur, this case-ending is strictly maintained, and in the standard Bengali this case-denoting suffix has not been wholly done away with. স became সো in Pali and this occurs in the form of সে as is current in Bengali and Oriya.

(6) The Vedic adverb কতি (how much) is not wholly extinct in this প্রাকৃত, but we get also the additional form কয়, which is just equivalent to কত and is in use in Bengali.

(7) To denote 'which' or 'what' (though not 'who' as in Bengali), we meet with 'কে'; কি for কিম্ occurs with the

adjunct অ as কিঅ. (8) I notice here one case-forming particle which is of much interest and importance. Not knowing the origin of our instrumental case-ending দিয়া, an imaginary দ্বারা was brought in by some Pandits as its originator. We get the particle 'দে' in this speech which is exactly equivalent to our obsolete 'দি' (still in use in Rungpur) and modern 'দিয়া.' This দে also occurs in the form of ডে; the passage which stands as জালি.....বিমান পথডে (দে) উচ্চম দ্রুম বিবদ্বিজ বিজয়ে বিমানে দেবতয়ে উপবনে, means that Jāli, after *passing through* the bimānapatha went to the higher world, etc. The pandits who accuse the old Bengali poets for using the word 'বিমান,' deviating from its Sanskrit meaning, should take note of the Prākṛta use of it in this text. (9) The আছ ending of a verb, to signify past tense (or more properly present perfect) may be noted in such a form as 'কিছা' (did or has done); 'ল' as additional ending does not appear, but if this is added, the modern Bengali present perfect form is fully obtained; there is another form for the present perfect which takes 'ই' (as হোই) and not 'ছ' as the ending. 'কিছা' also became 'করিয়ছা' later on and both 'করিয়ছা' and 'হোই' stand as 'করিয়াছিল,' and 'হইল' in modern Bengali.

I just notice three words which clear up the history of those Bengali words which are regarded as Deśī. (10) 'কল' as the word for peas has been mentioned along with the name of lentils 'মুগ' and 'মাস'; our modern word is 'মটর,' but we have not lost the word as the pod of it is still called কড়াইজুড়ি; in North Bengal, in East Bengal, as well as in Jessore, the name 'কলই' for peas is still in use. (11) 'করিল্ল' signifies the sprout or shoot of a plant; 'কৌড়া' or 'কৌড়ক' (as বাঁশের কৌড়ক) is now in use; in the District of Sambalpur the bamboo sprout which is used as vegetable-food is called কর্ভি, or কড়ি or কর্ভি. (12) The origin of the word is unknown, but it is curious to note that the word

‘কড়িপত্ৰ’ signifies ‘foot’ in this Prākṛta, while ‘কর-পত্ৰ’ signifies the ‘hand’ or ‘the palm of the hand’; I am inclined to think that ‘কড়ে-আঙ্গুল’ originally signified toe in Bengali, but now only a particular toe is meant by it; the Dravidian করিকল or bad foot shows that কল which is easily transformed into কড indicates foot. It is very interesting that not only in Jaina Prākṛta but in Jaina Sanskrita works also several Prākṛta words occur which in their old meaning and almost in their old form, are in use in Bengali only. For example:—(13) Sanskrit किल कित द्वार (closed door) = খিড়কি দুয়ার (in Jaina Prākṛta form) signifies exactly “back door” as in Bengali, খিড়কি দুয়ার. (14) উজ্জ্বিকা (both in Jaina Sanskrit and Prākṛta) = house-maid and specially the kitchen maid who throws away the offal or other উজ্জ্বিত matter; the first syllable উ and the otiose ক final having been dropped, the word is in use in Bengali only as ঝি to denote maid-servant. This form should not be confounded with ঝি or ঝিউড়ি derived from ঝি (হুহিতা = ধিতা = ধি = ঝি). (15) The Bengali word হের, to see (now in poetic use only; fully in use in Assam), occurs even in Jaina Sanskrit in the form হেরয়িত্বা, on seeing. I should note that নির্দ্বারণ became নিহারণ and both নেহার and হের are in use in Bengali.

I think a short interesting article may be written on the peculiarity or rather the speciality of the names of men and women of Bengal. It is no doubt a speciality in Bengal that though the real portion of the name of a man does not require any additional word, such words as চন্দ্র, নাথ, etc., are added to the names, but it is not on account of this alone, that the Bengali names indicate the nationality of the men bearing the names to the people of other provinces. ‘নাথ’ as an addition to the names of the Jain Tirthankars and চন্দ্র as a part of the old Māgadhī names, as well as the names themselves, bear a sort of provincial

peculiarity ; and this may be illustrated in a separate paper as I have suggested. Though we cannot judge the nationality of men of old times by the form of their names alone the peculiarity should be studied to throw whatever light is possible to be thrown on the subject of our research. I note here a few old time Māgadhi names of women which are popular in Bengal ; they are ‘মুক্তা’ (মুক্তা), পুষ্টিমা (পুষ্টিমতি), সামা, সোনা, গোমা and চাঁপা ; the second name পুষ্টিমা is current in Bengal alone in the shape of ‘পুঁটি’. অভয়চন্দ্র, আদিনাথ, তারকনাথ, পরেশনাথ, (and not পারশ), etc., are some special male names of Bengal. We have got such a name as ষষ্ঠী but such তিথি names for men and women as দ্বিতীয়া (m), দশমী (f), একাদশীয়া (m) and ঔয়াসী (f.) are unknown in Bengali. Such names as বইজনাথ, বাজি (contraction of সত্যবাদী), বিষ্ণুসেন, ধর্মুজয়, চমর, চক্রধর, হুম্মন্ত, বিভীষণ, etc., are never met with in Bengal though they are popular elsewhere.

## LECTURE XII

### THE LITERARY PRĀKṚTAS

*Character of the Literary Prākṛtas*—The European Scholars very rightly hold that the Prākṛtas we meet with in the dramas of olden days, or in which the poetical works like the *মেতুবন্ধ* and the *গৌড়বহো* were composed, were not really spoken vernaculars, but were rather essentially literary fictions founded on some vernaculars. It was no doubt unavoidable in the very nature of things that the authors of the class of literature indicated above, had to use many words and grammatical forms as were really current in the living vernaculars of their time, but it is difficult now to differentiate the real from the unreal elements as occur in their works.

The Prākṛta grammarians of old did not care very much to preserve for us the provincial vernaculars of their time, but were concerned in the main to frame some rules (with reference to some actual phenomena, no doubt) by which Sanskrit could be reduced to the Prākṛtas of their classification. These rules were useful alike to the authors and the readers in dealing with not only the literary Prākṛtas, but also the so-called *অপভ্রংশ* forms of partially artificial character. Again, the rules were needed not merely to standardise the provincial Prākṛta or *অপভ্রংশ* forms by referring them to their Sanskrit originals, but also to serve a curiously queer purpose: the *তৎসম* words which were in actual use in the vernaculars and those which had to be used as loan words, to express new ideas, had to be reduced to *imaginary Prākṛta forms*, as in their queer sense of propriety in the matter of diction the authors



could not allow the তৎসম words to be mixed up very much with the অপভ্রংশ words. Even to-day the use of our highly expressive দেশী and অপভ্রংশ words in the company of popular তৎসম words, is not countenanced by some Pandits, for in their opinion a 'শব-পোড়া' or 'মড়াদাহ' speech would be created thereby. Mr. Beams has rightly shown in his work on the comparative grammar of some of our vernaculars, that though of the word রাত্রি, for example, রাস্ত্রি, রাতি and রাত have been the real অপভ্রংশ forms with the people of all provinces, the unreal form রাই occurs in the Prākṛta works. No doubt the Prākṛta literature abounds with genuine অপভ্রংশ forms, but it is difficult to determine now, when and where those forms came into use: for instance, as derived from আত্মন, first অভন and then অগ্নন appear to have come into use, but exactly when and where, we do not know.

*Artificial forms*—I take the following words from the Gauḍa Baho Kābya edited by the late renowned scholar Sankar Pandurang Pandit, which will show what an anomaly the Prākṛta authors created by reducing different words into one and the same form. The words are—'ওআর' from অবতার, অপচার and অপকার; গঅ from গজ, গদ, and গত, কঅ from কৃত and কচ, মঅ from মৃত, মৃগ, মদ, মত and ময়, বাঅ from বাত, বাদ, বাক and বাজ. We may also notice that though the word অতি (very much) has retained its pristine purity from the Vedic times to the present day, it has been reduced to অই (as in অইদীহ = অতিদীর্ঘ) in the কপূরমঞ্জরী.

I adduce here one example from the Setubandha to show how by reducing different words artificially to one and the same form, a verse in যমক has been composed almost in the form of a riddle; the verse 47 of the 9th Canto stands as :

রস্মঅন্মরাঅচ্ছঅং রস্মঅন্মরাঅচ্ছঅম্ ।

সগ্গ গ্গহণি সামগ্গঅং সগ্গগ্গহণি সামগ্গঅম্ ॥

The Sanskrit form of the verse will be :

রম্য রাগজ্জলং রম্যকন্দরাবৃক্ষকম্ ।

সর্গগ্রহণিঃ শ্রীমাগ্রকং স্বর্গগ্রহণী সামগ্র্যম্ ॥

*Some words unchanged through all times*—As many old Aryan words have been reduced to unreal forms in the প্রাকৃত, it will be interesting to notice the following words, more than 50 in number, as have not undergone any decay or অপভ্রংশ in Bengal from remotest antiquity till now ; the words here grouped together are such as are used and understood by even the uneducated people in rural areas in Bengal. Some of these words have no doubt changed their original meaning, but have not changed their form. The words are :

অতি, অলঙ্কার, অহংকার, আকাশ, আচার, আনন্দ, আশা, ইচ্ছা, উপর, কপাল, কাল, খর, গন্ধ, গুরু, গোল, ঘন, ঘাস, ঘোর, চিন্তা, ছাগল, জল, জাল, তাল, তিল, দণ্ড, দূর, দোষ, ধন, নল, নাম, পর, পণ্ড, পাপ, বল, পার, ফল, ফলি, বুধ (a day), বুদ্ধি, ভাগ, ভার, ভাব, মন্দ, মাঘ, মাহুস, মাস, মূল, মেঘ, বম, রস, লোক, বন, শীত, সার, হার.

*Old-time classification of the Prākṛtas*—It is difficult to say what linguistic value should be attached to the old time classification of the literary Prākṛtas. Looking to such names of the Prākṛtas as Māgadhi, Sauraseni and Mahārāṣṭri as occur in some works on poetics and dramaturgy, one is naturally inclined to hold that there were perhaps good grounds for classifying the Prākṛtas by their respective provincial names ; but they are really in such an artificial form that the elements of real provincial speech in them elude our grasp. Moreover, the characteristic peculiarities of Mahārāṣṭri, for instance, as have been noted in the aforesaid works, are not what can be shown to bear genetic affinities with the modern vernacular of the Mahārāṣṭra country.

If really the Mahārāṣṭri প্রাকৃত was based upon a living vernacular, we must say that either the old ethnic element

has disappeared from the Mahārāṣṭra country, or that by virtue of a serious revolution a new ethnic element of dominating nature has come into the composition of the people of the country. I am aware that one or two scholars have tried to show on the strength of a few examples of word-forms, that the modern Mārāṭhi can be affiliated to the old Prākṛta of the same name. Referring to this unscientific procedure, I can simply say that if the scholars under review choose to collect an equally good number of words from the literary Māgadhī Prākṛta, they will find that they may be equated as well with some words of the modern Mārāṭhi speech. It will be interesting to the aforesaid scholars to note this anomaly, that many so-called Mārāṭhi and Sauraseni forms of old are conspicuous by their absence alike in Mārāṭhi and W. Hindi, and by their presence in Bengali and Oriya, which are directly connected with old Māgadhī (as has been partially demonstrated before) and are not at all connected either with Mahārāṣṭri or Sauraseni. Here are a few illustrative examples :

- (1) অচ্চতুদ—অপভ্রংশ of this very so-called Sauraseni form became current in Bengal and Orissa ; Oriya still retains the early form অচ্চাভুআ and in old Bengali we get it as আচাভুআ. (2) কণ্ডাবেই (Mahārāṣṭri)=carving stone, etc., into statues. This form unknown in the literary Māgadhī of the artificial classification, is in existence in Oriya ; we get the অপভ্রংশ of it as কণ্ডেই to signify a doll.
- (3) The Mahārāṣṭri form কহম্ and not the Sauraseni form কধম্ as derived from কধম্ is traceable in Hindi and Oriya.
- (4) কোড্ড (Mahārāṣṭri)=strong desire ; its অপভ্রংশ কোট্ট, signifying strong persistent desire, is in use in Bengali.
- (5) খিড়কি দ্বার claimed as Mahārāṣṭri Prākṛta signifying back-door is in use in Bengali as খিড়কি দ্বার. Referring to Jaina Sanskrit, we get the form ‘কিলকিত দ্বার’;

this shows that the literary *Mārāṭhi* of old classification must have borrowed the term from *Māgadhī*. (6) From *তিষ্ঠতি* comes the Sauraseni form *চিঠিঠা*, and the *Mahārāṣṭri* form of it is *ঠাই*; *ছিড়া* of Oriya and *দাঁড়া* of Bengali are connected with the first form, while the second form is in use in Bengali as an undeclinable adverb in such a phrase as *হুঁ ষণ্টা ঠায়ে দাঁড়িয়ে আছে*; note also that the form *ঠি* from *স্থিত* is similar to *ঠাই*, and the current Oriya form is *ঠি* to indicate standing. (7) *থোর* (*Mahārāṣṭri*) from *স্থল*=large; in use in old Oriya only as in *থোর হস্ত*, to signify the trunk of the elephant; the stem of the banana plant is called *থোড়* in Bengali. (8) *দেউ*—as the *Mahārāṣṭri* form of *দদাতু*—is in Oriya and in old Bengali; the modern Bengali form is with an otiose *ক* as *দেউক* or *দিক*. (9) *ধাঙী* or *ধাটা* (*Mahārāṣṭri*)=assault; in this meaning the word is met with in old Oriya. (10) *ফরকিদ* (*Mahārāṣṭri*)=that which swings (*ফারীকৃত*); *ফরি* is in use in Oriya to signify the end of the *পাগড়ী* (head-dress), that swings about. The plume of a bird is still called *ফড়* or *কোড়*, in some parts of Eastern Bengal, but it is from the foreign word *পর*=plume. (11) *মেজ্* (*Mahārāṣṭri*)=to loosen, to scatter: to loosen the rope of a boat, for example, is expressed in Oriya by *নাও মেলি দেবা*; to spread or to scatter for drying a thing is *মেলে দেওয়া* in Bengali; cf. also *মেলানি* of old Bengali and modern Oriya, which signifies parting or farewell; we may note the name of the ceremonial dinner given at parting which is called *মেলানি ভাত* in Bengal. In E. B. *মেলা*=to leave a place for or journey is in use. (12) *বায়* which is the *Mahārāṣṭri* form of *বাত* is often met with in the poetic literature of Bengal; e.g., ‘তুই আয় রে মলয় বায়’ (বায়).

One or two grammatical forms of the standard literary *Prākṛta* may be noticed in this connection to further illustrate the case. (1) It is very well known that in the

Prākṛtas no distinction is made in the use of the कृ suffixes क and ग्र, and both the suffixes are found reduced to one simple form 'अ'; thus we get for example करिअ and विणिज्जअ for कृता and विणिज्जित्य respectively, and this use is noticeable in the সেতুবন্ধ as well as in the গৌড়বহো. It is in Bengali that we get the forms করিয়া, প্রকাশিয়া, etc., exactly corresponding to the standard প্রাকৃত forms, and these forms, or rather this form cannot be met with either in Marathi or in Hindi. It may be noted that the contracted Bengali form করি or প্রকাশি for করিয়া or প্রকাশিয়া, is in use in Oriya. (2) The case-denoting suffix ই of the so-called Mahārāṣṭri Prākṛta, as occurs extensively in the Setubandha for example, is in use in Bengali in its later form এ; in our modern literary Bengali this 'এ' is written as 'য়'; for example ইচ্ছাই=ইচ্ছয়া (because of the desire or by the desire) corresponds to old Bengali ইচ্ছা-এ or modern Bengali ইচ্ছায়; to express the sense conveyed by the form either সে or যে has to be added to ইচ্ছা in Hindi which is supposed to be derived from Sauraseni; how the modern Marathi form differs from this form need not be mentioned. What these seeming anomalies mean or tend to prove, will be discussed presently. I may notice however, that Oriya, the origin of which must undoubtedly be traced to an old Māgadhi speech, had developed in it some forms akin to modern Marathi, centuries before Orissa came in contact with the Marathas: for example, the Oriya forms करिण (by doing) and एतू (from here) are closely allied to the modern Marathi forms करण and एतुन् respectively.

*The name Mahārāṣṭri for a প্রাকৃত*—As to the name महाराष्ट्री for a standard প্রাকৃত, a word need be added. We do not exactly know when the noted work नाट्यशास्त्र which is fathered upon ভরতমুনি, was composed, or rather compiled; but we can confidently pronounce that the

bulk of the book including the Chapter XVII came into being long before the time of the *Prākṛta Prakāśa* of Vararuchi. In Vararuchi's work, *Mahārāṣṭri* is the প্রাকৃত par excellence, while Sauraseni occupies the second place. In the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata Muni however, the name *Mahārāṣṭri* for a *Prākṛta* is wholly unknown, and it is Sauraseni which has been accorded the rank of honour. Be the composition in prose or in poetry, the language of a drama should be শৌরসেনী according to the dictum of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* ; the direction is 'শৌরসেনং সমাপ্রিত্য ভাষা কাব্য্য হু নাটকে.'

Even the country name মহারাষ্ট্র was unknown in the days of নাট্যশাস্ত্র, since in noticing a provincial linguistic peculiarity of the *Mahārāṣṭra* country, as well as of some tracts adjoining that country, only a general geographical description occurs in the 60th verse which runs as :

সুপ্রাঙ্গণবস্তি দেশেষু বেত্রবত্মান্তরেষু চ

যে দেশান্তেষু কুবীত চকার বহলামিহ ।

If the statements and illustrations of the নাট্যশাস্ত্র be compared with those of later works on Dramaturgy, we can clearly see that the high class artificial প্রাকৃত which is closely allied to Sanskrit, has been called শৌরসেনী in the নাট্যশাস্ত্র and মহারাষ্ট্রী in the later works. It appears that the artificially got-up standard *Prākṛta* obtained the name শৌরসেনী in the নাট্যশাস্ত্র, as perhaps the seat of Northern culture was transferred in the days of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, from Magadha to the country watered by the Jumna ; it seems that for similar reasons the standard *Prākṛta* acquired the name *Mahārāṣṭri* in the days of Vararuchi. It is highly probable that the name of the standard *Prākṛta* indicates culture-centre, and does not signify any

provincial language or dialect. That the standard প্রাকৃত was the Prākṛta of no particular province, but was in reality a language fabricated by reducing Sanskrit to Prākṛta forms, can be detected very easily by examining the language of the poetic composition in the standard Prākṛta language. For example, the Prākṛta verses are found composed in such works as শকুন্তলা, রত্নাবলী, etc., in such an artistic manner, that if for the প্রাকৃত words their Sanskrit equivalents are substituted, the verses correctly maintain their meters.

The rules laid down in the first part of Chapter XVII of the Nāṭya Śāstra relating to the use of provincial peculiarities in the speech of the actors of different rank and position, very distinctly mention that the standard Prākṛta of the drama has only to be nominally modified to suggest provincial peculiarities to the audience. The peculiarities or rather the points of deviation from the standard Sauraseni have been noted as follows : (1) The speech of all people of the Eastern Gangetic valley is to be made full of ঐ-sound :<sup>1</sup> গঙ্গা সাগর মধ্যে তু যে দেশাঃ সংপ্রকীৰ্ত্তিতা ; একার বহুলাং তেষু ভাষাং তন্মাঃ প্রযোজয়েৎ. (2) ন is said to be the characteristic peculiarity of all people of the tract extending through the Vindhyas to the sea-coast ;<sup>2</sup> (3) 'উ' is said to be the peculiarity in North-West India<sup>3</sup> and (4) 'ঐ' is noted to be the characteristic of the

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps because of the nominative-denoting ঐ.

<sup>2</sup> The tract seems to be of the Hinduized Dravidians using ন or ন at the end of nouns ; the বিভাষা speaking tribes including Oḍras were certainly excluded.

<sup>3</sup> In later times the apabhraṣṭa-speaking Ābhīras are given this characteristic ; but the Ābhīras are বিভাষা speaking in the নাট্যশাস্ত্র. উ is rather the Maithili characteristic in later প্রাকৃত. To reduce some vowels to উ sound in names to form diminutive, as in কালু, নরু, বীরু, হরু, etc., has been usual in Bengal since long.

speech of the people of Surāṣṭra and its neighbourhood as has been mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

*The Bibhāṣā Speech*—Regarding the aboriginal tribes (Barbaras), it has been said that they have not to speak their own speech but that a few tribal peculiarities have to be introduced by them in their utterance. The speech thus formed, has been called বিভাষা, and for the characteristics of this বিভাষা the excellent article on the subject by Grierson (J. R. A. S., 1921) should be referred to. It is highly interesting to note by the way, that in the list of non-Aryan people or hordes, we get the অতীর্ষ in the company of ওড়স, শবরস, চণ্ডালস and so forth; these অতীর্ষ have been mentioned by Hem Chandra of the 12th century as wholly অপভ্রংশ speaking people.

*Various speech on the stage*—The directions in the works on dramaturgy that the domestic servants and artisans should speak the Māgadhi speech, may be interpreted perhaps by the fact, that from the 6th century onward the people of various industrial occupations flowed from Magadha into other parts of the country. It will not be correct to hold, with reference to the statements in the works which are later in date than the Nāṭya Sāstra, that actual Māgadhi speech had to be spoken by dramatic characters representing the industrial or labouring classes. That the dramas had not really to be made polyglot in character, but only some suggestions had to be offered to the audience regarding the various provincialities of the *Dramatis Personae*, can be clearly gathered from the rules occurring in the নাট্যশাস্ত্র; however, to make the matter convincing an analogous phenomenon which occurs in our widely popular and very familiar Jātrā-Gān,

<sup>1</sup> In modern Marathi, genitive-indicating suffix is ॆ; but could this be at so early a date?



may be noticed here. In this Jātrā-Gān, a person enacting the part of a door-keeper or a porter speaks Bengali slightly incorrectly, in the manner in which the Behāris at times speak Bengali, merely for this reason that the Behāris usually come to Bengal to do the work indicated above ; the clown usually imitates Eastern Bengal provincialism by only substituting ক for কাল throughout. Here the door-keeper does not speak Behāri, and the clown does not care to imitate correctly the provincialism of our Eastern districts ; the actors, by their linguistic suggestions, only work up the imagination of the audience regarding the special situation in the plot. That this is exactly what took place in ancient times in the matter of representation of provincial speech on the stage, can be very clearly inferred not only from the rules given in the works on dramaturgy but also by the analysis of the language of the plays.

It may very reasonably be urged that the early time  
 গাথাসমুদ্রা  
 Prākṛta works which contain many  
 দেশী words and no portion of the text  
 of which can be easily rendered into Sanskrit, by only  
 substituting corresponding Sanskrit words for the Prākṛta  
 words, should be considered to represent some ancient  
 living vernaculars. গাথাসমুদ্রা which is regarded by some  
 as the earliest known Prākṛta work, is the only book I  
 know, which answers to some extent the description  
 given above, but questions relating to its time, authorship  
 and place of origin, are not free from doubt. From  
 the reference to it by বাণভট্ট, it appears that the book  
 once bore the title জাতিবোধ and according to general  
 tradition, it was composed under the auspices of some  
 Andhra rulers at Paithān or প্রতিষ্ঠানপুর. The present book  
 does not appear to be that old work, for in the first place, it  
 is an anthology containing the poems composed by various

poets, as admitted in the colophon portions of the work at the end of each section ; in the second place the verses occurring even in one and the same section are very loosely connected together without there being any unity of thought or purpose ; in the third place, many verses bear evident marks of lateness, all of which cannot be fully discussed here. I note here however, one point which will show that this book of anthology cannot be said to have been composed in the 2nd century A.D. We know that রাধা as the principal heroine among the গৌপীস, around whom all other গৌপীস are but satellites, does not appear in any secular literature or পুরাণ which is of a date earlier than the 7th century A.D., but this রাধা is met with in the 89th verse of the first section of this book ; moreover the relationship that রাধা is a যামি of her lover, is also found in the 93rd verse. It must be admitted however in respect of many words used in this book, that they are not artificial reductions of Sanskrit words : a few of these words are noted here : (1) রেহই (akin to vernacular রহ) = রাজতে, (2) লডহ (read in one manuscript as পডহ akin to পোড়া of Bengali and Oriya) = বিদগ্ধ, (3) ছিত্ত (to touch as well as to sprinkle ; in the first sense it is equal to ছিষ = স্পৃষ্ট, but in the second sense it is akin to ছিটা of Bengali), (4) পাব = প্রাপ্ত হি (the final ব (v) being pronounced as 'ও' ; as usual it becomes wholly akin to vernacular পাও of the Imp. Mood), (5) বুডা (বুড়া or বোড়া and its variant ডুবা or ডোবা current in many vernaculars) = মজ্জ, (6) ধো-অ (or ধোক) = তোক (compare our adverb ধোকে in such a phrase as সবস্তলি জিনিষ ধোকে কিনিলাম).

As it is uncertain when and where all the poems of the book were composed, nothing definitely can be said of the language of it. I must notice that at the time of the collection of the manuscripts one copy of this গাথাশতক with a Bengali commentary was obtained at শান্তিপুর in the

Nadia District ; how old that manuscript was is not on record.

*Mixed language of the Prākṛtas*—As it appears that the authors of the প্রাকৃত books used the অপভ্রংশ forms of various provinces in one and the same work, in order to make their composition universally intelligible, we fail to localize the literary প্রাকৃতস; under the circumstances we can refer to all the প্রাকৃত works to trace the history of our অপভ্রংশ forms, no matter in which vernacular those অপভ্রংশ words now occur. I shall have occasion presently to adduce some undeniable evidence of the fact that the authors of many প্রাকৃত works used indiscriminately the অপভ্রংশ forms of various provinces in the one and the same composition.

*Some fragments of Eastern Māgadhi*—We see that the class of literary Prākṛta we have reviewed in this lecture, does not give us such definite material as may enable us to determine the character of the Māgadhi speech with which we are mainly concerned in tracing the history of the Bengali language. We may note however, that in enumerating various styles (রীতি) of composition রাজশেখর substitutes the term মাগধী for the usual term Gauḍī in the introductory portion of his কপূরমঞ্জরী; this indicates, what has been asserted previously, that Bengal did not get the name Gauḍa at least before the 9th century. How the early Māgadhi speech Pali and the Jaina Prākṛta are related to Bengali, has been discussed in the previous lecture; that these old Prākṛtas in their later transformation have not been properly represented in the dramatic literature of old, need not be any further discussed. We may now take up for consideration some Prākṛta effusions of a comparatively recent date, which now survive only in fragments, and are found embodied in the Prākṛta Paingala. This work on the Prākṛta

metrical system has been very ably edited by Dr. Chandra-mohan Ghose, B.A., M.B., and I take all my examples from that edition of the work. The learned editor has very rightly held that this work did not come into its present form earlier than the latter half of the 14th century A.D., and that it cannot be later than the early decades of the 16th century. I need hardly point out that all the Aryan Vernaculars of India which are literary languages to-day, became well-developed literary languages previous to the 14th century. Many effusions appearing as illustrations in the *Prākṛta Paingala*, which can be easily detected on account of historical allusions to have been composed in the 12th or in the 13th century, must be admitted to have been artificially composed in *Prākṛta*, at a time when full-fledged vernaculars could be employed by the authors their vehicles of thought. That even Oriya acquired its distinctive characteristics in the 12th century A.D., by being fully differentiated from Bengali and Behari, can be proved by the text of the Rock inscription which has been preserved in the Khameśwari temple at Sonapur ; a portion of this inscription runs as :  
 যে হরই তাহার মুণ্ডরে ব্রহ্মতাল রুদ্র তাল পড়ই.

As the literary fragments which will be quoted presently very liberally, came into existence when the maintenance of artificial long and short sounds of vowels became very difficult with the authors on account of their settled pronunciation and the prevalence of provincial pronunciation in the vernacular composition, many metrical irregularities may be noticed in them ; the author of the *Prākṛta Paingala* has been forced to formulate a rule as to where the long vowel is to be treated short. The rule reads :  
 জই (যদি) দীহো (দীর্ঘ) বিঅ ( অপি or ও ) বধ্ব (বর্ণ) লহ (লঘু) জীহা (জিহ্বা) পটই (পড়িতে হয়), হোই (হয়) সোবি (সেও) লহ। বধ্ব বি তুরিঅ (স্বরিত) পটিও (পঠিত), দো তিনি বি এক জাগেহ. The rule

purports to indicate that if a varna is দীর্ঘ or long in form, but is usual to read it লঘু or short, it is to be read as লঘু; again, if the usage of the language requires it, two or three letters should be read together in quick succession to form one syllable, for a word of two or three letters may be required to be treated as one syllable. The verse illustrative of the rule is :

অরে, বাহি কাহু ! নাব ছোটী ; ডগমগ কুগতি ন দেহি ।

তই ইংগি নইহি সস্তার দেই, জো চাহি সো লেহি ।

The directions in respect of the verse are that the first রে of অরে, and বা of বাহি are to be treated short, while হি of বাহি is to be read (no doubt on account of emphasis) long; again, ডগমগ is to be read as ডগ্‌মগ্‌, and though the first two syllables of সস্তার are long, only the first syllable স has to be treated long; then it is stated that জো of the 2nd line is to be read জু for the evident reason that a stress or emphasis on চাহি renders the initial syllable short in the metre. That the irregularities have been due to the usual vernacular pronunciation of the words, can be well illustrated by the example of a Bengali তোটক, in which only unawares the Bengali author has made the last two syllables of সাতারে, i.e., (তা and রে) short; the lines are :

কত কাল পরে,

বল ভারতরে

দুখ সাগর সাতারে পার হবে ।

In respect of the language of the above-quoted প্রাকৃত verse, a few remarks may be offered. The metre is no doubt Hindi; but there are many forms which are foreign to Western Hindi, and which prevailed only in a comparatively recent time in Eastern Māgadhi, which is undeniably very closely allied to Bengali. তই for thou is Eastern Māgadhi; this very form was in use in old Bengali and it is now current in Assamese. The Māgadhi

form হেথি became a special property of Bengali amid the speech of the Eastern Gaudī group; the ablative case-denoting suffix থি as occurs here, has transformed itself in modern Bengali into 'থে' which appears as 'থেকে' with an otiose ক. The form দেই is wholly equivalent to our old Bengali form, and this very form is still current in Oriya; the modern Bengali form দিয়া only slightly varies from it. The locative denoting হি as in নইহি is also peculiar to Eastern Māgadhi. We can therefore very easily say that the language of the verse represents the Māgadhi speech which was current at a time not far removed from the date of birth of the Eastern modern vernaculars.

I proceed now to give some examples to show that the authors of several verses wrote in Prākṛta, at a time when modern vernaculars became respectable literary languages. I shall quote generally those verses which have been composed in that Māgadhi which is very much allied to Bengali, or which may be reasonably supposed to be proto-Bengali. I use this word of caution here that some examples will disclose the fact that some authors in collecting obsolete প্রাকৃত words could not discriminate between different provincial forms, and as such mixed up the forms of different languages in one and the same poem. The first example given below is of a poem which was composed to describe the expedition of হমীর of admittedly recent time.

বর লগ্গই অগ্গি,                      জলই ধহ ধহ ;  
 দিগ-মগ গহ-পহ অগল ভরে ।  
 সব দিস পসরি,                      পাইক লুলই ধনি,  
 থণ হর জষণ দিআব করে ।  
 ভঅ লুক্কিঅ থক্কিঅ              বইরি তরুণি জন  
 ভইরব ভেরিঅ শদ পলে ।

মহি লোটুই পিটুই,      রিউসির টুটুই,  
জক্খণ বীর হমীর চলে ।<sup>1</sup>

It should first be noted that this metre of প্রাকৃত which was taken up by the author is more allied to Bengali metre than to any other. The dropping of the locative sign এ in ঘব (= ঘরে), দিগ-মগ (= দিক-মার্গে), গহ-পহ (= নভ-পথে), etc., is due to the metre in which long sound with এ cannot be tolerated. ভরে (ভরিল or ভরিয়াছিল), করে (করিয়াছিল), পলে (পলাইয়াছিল), and চলে (চলিয়াছিল) are interesting past forms; the older past forms আনী, করী, ধরী, etc., should be compared with these forms, and it is to be noted that in the 3rd person 'এ' came into use for 'ঐ.' It is significant that the past form here illustrated is in use in modern Bengali, as we may note the use in such a sentence as সে আমাকে আগে মারে, তাই আমি মারি; again, when negative sense is indicated, this past form is specially idiomatic in Bengali, for example, সে করে নাই, আমি মারি নাই are more idiomatic than সে করিয়াছিল না, or আমি মারিয়াছিলাম না, as at times noticed in Eastern Bengal speech. It is highly interesting that the commentators of the ver-e have failed to understand the meaning of the word ধনি which means woman in the text; that the soldiers were seeking for women is clear from what subsequent

<sup>1</sup> A few remarks as to the correct reading are needed.

L. 1, লগ্নিঅ of MS. B, for লগ্নই seems better

L. 2, কই as the initial word in the published text requires that for the sake of metre two syllables of the text should be deleted; in the second place proper construction with কই requires a negative particle in the line to signify—nothing could be visible anywhere because of the conflagration; as such, either the reading of MS. F is to be partly accepted or কই has to be omitted, I omit কই to avoid all complications.

L. 3, The reading দ্বিস of MS. A is adopted

L. 4, ভবণ of MS. B. C & E substituted for ভহণ; দুহাব of MS. to signify 'to hanker for' is evidently a better reading.

nines distinctly indicate; Hem Chandra gives the right meaning of the word in his দেশী নামমালা, but the word is in use in that sense in Bengal alone. ভয় লুক্খিঅ থক্খিঅ is equivalent to Bengali ভয়ে লুকাইয়া থাকিয়া which is exactly the meaning of the phrase. The women, it has been stated, did flee afterwards from their hiding places on hearing the fearful sound of ভেরী; so we see that ভেরিঅ is in the possessive case. Thus it is doubtless that the language of the text is not only Eastern Māgadhi, but is proto-Bengali.

The following verse shows that the Oriya form কাই has been used in the midst of that Māgadhi language which did not develop the special provincial Oriya form on the soil of Magadha. It is also noticeable that the term ছইল or ছইলি which means coquette and is in use in Oriya now, occurs in the verse; the word সৈরিণী was, we know, reduced to হৈরিণী or হৈনিলী on one side, and to হৈনিলি or ছিনারি on the other; the form ছিনার which occurs in Hem Chandra's দেশী নামমালা under a misconception, has been the form in Hindi as well as in Bengali. I have to add that the metre of the following verse was never adopted in Oriya, and the term ধনি for a woman has been the special property of Bengal.

রে ধনি, মত্ত মত্তংগঅ গামিনি,  
 থঞ্জন লোঅণি চন্দ্রমুহি,  
 চঞ্চল জোবন জাত নজানহি ?  
 ছইল, সমঞ্জসি কাই নহি ?

The next verse I quote, contains grammatical forms which were undoubtedly formed on the soil of Bengal, when Bengali was wholly differentiated alike from Māgadhi and Oriya.



নব মঞ্জরি সজ্জিঅ চুঅহগাছে ;  
 পরিকল্পিঅ কেতুলঅ বন আছে ;  
 জই এংথি দিগন্তর জাইহি কস্তা,  
 কিঅ মশহ নংথি কিনংথি বসস্তা ?

The reading লিজ্জিঅ for সজ্জিঅ (সজ্জিত) does not alter the speech, for we get the form লিজ্জ in such an old Bengali শুভঙ্করী formula as কাঠায় কুড়ু বা কাঠা লিজ্জে. চুঅহ (চ্যুতের for আমের) seems unnecessary Prākṛtization, since it is আম and not চ্যুত which has ever been in use in all the Northern Indian Vernaculars. It is true that for emphatic expression of possessive, 'হ' was generally used in Prākṛta for the possessive-denoting অ which being boneless had subsequently to be reduced to 'ব.' The forms গাছে and আছে are purely Bengali ; from উদগচ্ছ we got গাছ because of our accent on the first syllable, while on account of the accent on the last syllable গ-ছ and গছ came into use in Oriya and Maithili respectively ; for similar reasons it is not অছি but আছে (in the 3rd person) which has been the Bengali form derived from অংথি. We notice again that it is not জব্ but জই (বদি) which is the form here, as met with in Bengali, Oriya and Assamese. That এংথি is proto-Bengali, has already been remarked. The আ final of কাস্ত and বসস্ত is peculiar to many nominative (as well as objective) formations in old Bengali. The হি suffix in the subjunctive mood, indicating futurity, is a speciality in the later মাগধী প্রাকৃত.

That the following verse was composed in Bengal has partly been admitted by a commentator :

ওগ্গর ভতা রস্তঅ পস্তা,  
 গাইক দিত্তা হুধ্ধ সজ্জতা,  
 মইলী মচ্ছা নালিচ গচ্ছা,  
 দিজ্জই কস্তা থা পুন বস্তা ।

It is significant that the non-Bengali commentators have failed to explain *ঔগুগর ভাত*; *ঔগুগর ভাত* is a familiar thing with us in Bengal and it must be therefore provincial in form. We notice that to denote possessive case there is the old *অ* in *রন্তঅ* as well as the later *ক* in *গাইক*; possessive with *ক*-ending is in use in Hindi now. *মইদৌ* fish is *মৌরলা* which is a delicacy in Bengal, and *নালিতা* which signifies the leaves of jute plant may be found still in use in Bengal.

The poem I next quote reminds us of Jayadeva; there are many lines in some other poems occurring in the *প্রাকৃত পৈঙ্গল* which are almost word for word equivalent to some lines of Jayadeva's *গীতগোবিন্দ*: for example, *মুনিজন মানস হংস* is met with in a verse in the *প্রাকৃত পৈঙ্গল*.

|                          |                |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| জিনি কংস বিনাসিঅ         | কিঙ্কি পআসিঅ   |
| মুট্টি-অরিট্টি বিনাশ করে |                |
|                          | গিরি হংথ ধরে ; |
| জমলজ্জুন ভঞ্জিঅ          | পঅভর গঞ্জিঅ    |
| কালিঅ কুল সংহার করে,     |                |
|                          | জস ভুঅন ভরে ;  |
| চাগুর বিহগ্গিঅ           | নিপকুল মগ্গিঅ  |
| রাহামুহ মহ পান করে,      |                |
|                          | জিমি ভমর বরে ; |
| সে তুম্হ নরাঅণ           | বিপ্ল পরাঅণ,   |
| চিত্তহ চিত্তিঅ দেউ ববা,  |                |
|                          | ভব-ভীই হয়।    |

‘জিনি’ (who—honorific) is wholly and purely Bengali. Some foreign commentators unfamiliar with Bengali have read it *জিন* as a variant of Sanskrit *যেন* and have made *বিনাসিঅ* (*বিনাসিয়া*), *পআসিঅ* (*প্রকাশিয়া*), etc., *বিনাসিত*, *প্রকাশিত*, etc.; no doubt ‘অ’ stands equally for *ত*, for *র* (of modern vernaculars),

and for the প্রত্যয় 'হা' or 'হ', but the construction 'যেন বিনাশিত', etc., fails, because the passive voice cannot be thought of in the sentence ending with the finite verb করে ; again, it will be noticed that 'জিনি' is related to 'সো' or 'সে' which occurs in the beginning of the 10th line. I must remark by the way, that old Bengali did not inherit জেন or জিন (by whom) as is supposed by some ; in দোহাকোষ edited by the renowned scholar Haraprasad Sastri, very wrongly a 'ন' has been added to শুশে (in thirst) to indicate instrumentality (দোহাকোষ, p. 115) ; the ন in question has been wrongly taken over to the end of শুশে, while really it is the initial letter of the next following word, which has been reduced to ভজ্জল signifying rain water ; that the meaning of the decapitated word is rain water, has been admitted by the commentator, but he has not seen that it is নভজ্জল which yields the proper meaning. For the form সো we get সে, in a manuscript noted in the প্রাকৃত পৈঙ্গল. In জিমি ভমর বরে (যেমন ভ্রমর বর) the case-denoting suffix এ of the Eastern Māgadhī Prākṛta has to be noted. That the form দেউ is in use in Oriya, and was in use in Bengali, and that it does not differ from দেউক and later দিউক, need not be discussed. The অ ending of চিস্তিঅ is certainly equivalent to 'ত'.

I dare say we have got enough material to examine the various forms of মাগধী speech which transformed itself into Bengali. We do not exactly know, when the effusions quoted above adorned the Prākṛta literature, but we can see very clearly, by comparing the language of the poems with our modern language, that the forms which occur in the poems are genuine predecessors of our modern forms. I do not mean to say that the passages I have quoted from the Prākṛta Paingala, should alone be referred to in tracing the history of our modern forms, and that the other literary Prākṛtas dealt with in this lecture, should

be left altogether out of view because of their artificial character. I have no doubt tried to show that the old classification of the literary *প্রাকৃত* by some names indicating provincial origin of the dialects is highly misleading, but it must be remembered that in spite of their misleading provincial names, the artificially got-up *প্রাকৃত* contain genuine forms and idioms of dialects of some provinces ; as such we must look into the treasures of all the literary *প্রাকৃত*, to get the *মাগধী* elements of our quest.

We have noticed this significant peculiarity in our investigation that from the remotest time our literary languages have been different from the real living speech of the people. The standard literary speech is bound to differ from the vulgar speech in every country, but the sort of gap which we notice in India, between the literary and the popular, is of such width and character, as is generally unknown in Europe. I cannot take up to discuss those social and other conditions of India, by virtue of which the people of this country were never stirred up to do those adventurous deeds which all nations of Europe have always been forced to undertake. For various reasons, the Indian people of all social conditions did never combine together to attain an object of common aspiration ; the high class literary men of ample leisure and decent competence have always created a literature in India, which the common people, settled in industrial or agricultural life, could never take any interest in. There was never such a thing as mass education, for hardly the common people felt any necessity to make themselves literate. I cannot discuss this subject of great historical moment in these lectures, but this special peculiarity of Indian civilisation should always be remembered to account for the character and qualities of our literature.

It concerns more the history of literature than the history of language, to deal with the questions why the literary men of old took at all to writing in the Prākṛtas, when they were conversant with Sanskrit, and how for erotic composition the authors were principally drawn to the Prākṛtas ; but in tracing the history of a language, we cannot afford to forget facts as they stand, and must take due note of them. We should also bear in mind that the special Indian tendency I have spoken of in giving the peculiar character to literary speech, is still our heritage ; if we overlook this fact, we are sure to fail to estimate properly the value of our modern literary idioms and syntactical structure.

## LECTURE XIII

### SOME HINTS ON THE RIGHT METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

In this lecture I propose to survey briefly the whole field traversed up to now, to offer some suggestions or practical hints as to what should be the right method of investigation. To get together the broken parts scattered all about, and then to put them in order to effect a reconstruction, is a hard work. It becomes harder still when some broken parts survive in fragments only, and when again, some fragments elude recognition in having been polished off and fitted into a new structure. Hard though the task has been, I have tried with my best effort to collect, examine and classify such facts relating to the history of our vernacular, as I could lay my hands upon. I am perfectly aware that the facts I have collected and classified, cannot all be interrelated with equal success, though in the main they all point to the conclusion I have arrived at, or rather I have suggested. As facts, their value cannot be overrated, but I have to admit that they are a bit shadowy here and a little definite there, amorphous here and partly crystallized there, in broken fragments here and in their entirety there. However, I hope they will readily render themselves useful in the constructive hands of the trained scholars.

I have sketched out, though in shadowy outlines, the course of the stream of our language that stretches forth itself from the Vedic source-head to the Gauḍa-Magadha valley, by receiving numerous affluents at several points from various directions. That the main current of thi.

very stream inundates Bengal, has only been partly demonstrated in the previous lectures; for the full demonstration of it, the next lecture which will be the last, has been reserved. By keeping up the metaphor, I may say that the limpid stream of this river running parallel to the artificial channel of Classical Sanskrit from dim past to the second century B. C., is distinctly noticeable. If the Jaina inscriptions unearthed at Muttra, be of the second century A. D., we may unhesitatingly say that the Māgadhi speech of the second century B. C. did not undergo a very severe change in its course of progress for full three centuries, but the chronology of the Kushana time remains still unsettled. From this time forth to the end of the 5th century A. D., we can get no definite trace of this stream. During the 6th and the 7th centuries we find the Māgadhi speech in some Jaina scriptures considerably altered and modified; we learn from the records of Huen Tsiang that at this time the speech of Magadha prevailed over all the different provinces of Bengal, namely, over Rāḍha or Karṇa Suvarṇa, over Kie-chu-hokhilo or Berhampur-cum-Nadiyā, over Northern Bengal, consisting of Puṇḍrabardhan and Barinda, and over Samatata, consisting of a portion of 24 Parganās, of Jessore and of a considerable portion of Eastern Bengal. How this speech was subsequently modified both in Behar and Bengal till the displacement of the Pāla rule in Behar by the western invaders, can only be guessed from some literary fragments which have been noticed in the previous lecture.

I have stated in a previous lecture that when the rulers of Western and Central India conquered Magadha-cum-Gauḍa of old, the civilization of Magadha found a safe shelter in the extensive country of Bengal, while the people who were left in Behar or Gauḍa-Magadha

country, had to adopt in due course of time, not only many forms of newly imported speech but also the food and the dress of the powerful new-comers. The people who took kindly to the habits of life which the Buddhist householders had brought into vogue, did not care either for a head-dress or for a garment which was not wholly white. The Dravidians, among whom these people came to live, had not then or have not now any head-gear, but were fond however of coloured pieces of cloth for their garment. The flowing white dress of the Bengali male people is now coming into fashion in other provinces also, but the Bengalis and Oriyas are only found to use no head-dress at all. I mention these facts with the object of showing how deep and abiding, how intense and extensive, has been the influence of Magadha culture in Bengal. We may, I dare say, be fully justified to assert, what has been asserted before, that we in Bengal represent to-day the old Behar, more than the modern-Beharis do in Behar. Our language is essentially Māgadhi; and trace it as far back as we may, it cannot be found to have been originated from the Classical Sanskrit language, to which we only owe a debt of many loan words only, to express high thoughts in the vernacular.

The Behari speech of to-day contain elements foreign to the old Māgadhi; we have to be consequently very careful in taking up Behari forms in elucidating the history of our Bengali forms. What light the speech of Assam and Orissa may throw on the history of our Bengali forms, should also be duly gauged to avoid much misconception. I cannot halt to discuss fully the history relating to the origin of Assamese and of Oriya, but a few words relating to the topic need be added.

The very geographical situation of Assam clearly shows that Aryan culture could not possibly reach



that country without passing through Magadha and Northern Bengal. Huen Tsiang records in the 7th century A.D., that the then short-statured people of Assam, who had no faith in Buddha and who were worshippers of Devas, spoke a dialect which was a little different from Māgadhi. The difference that existed in those days between the speech of Bengal and Assam, was no doubt due to what the Chinese traveller has suggested in a short sentence : in the first place, the then short-statured people of Assam differed ethnically from the people of Bengal, and in the second place, because of non-adherence to the Buddhistic faith on the part of the people of Assam, the culture of Magadha could not flow freely into that country. That in later times religious differences disappeared, and for some time during the rule of the so-called Pāla Rajas, Assam came directly under the influence of Bengal, are too well known to be repeated here. We may notice that in many particulars Assamese agrees with the provincial dialect of Rangpur, which retains nothing but the old Bengali forms ; we shall also see from examples which will be adduced in the next lecture, that many grammatical forms of old Bengal which were once abbreviated on the soil of Bengal itself, are current in Assamese. Another fact need be pointed out. We shall presently see that the main stream of Oriya language flowed into Orissa through Bengal. It is a striking phenomenon that there are some linguistic peculiarities wherein Oriya agrees with Assamese, and differs from Bengali. This phenomenon can only be explained by this that Bengal as a progressive country has altered the early forms, while the archaic forms have been retained in Orissa and Assam. We can safely hold that the Māgadhi language as was once fashioned and modified on the soil of Bengal, got into Assam to take a fresh root there to develop into a new

language under the influence of a language altogether foreign to the Aryan speech. That the script of modern Bengal, which can be proved to have taken its modern shape and form on the soil of Bengal at a comparatively recent time is current in Assam, should not also be forgotten. There are instances, how many scholars by forgetting this fact have pronounced very wrongly the language of some old books to be Assamese on the ground that the language discloses many forms which are now current in Assamese.

How after the complete disintegration of the old Kalinga Empire, a province bearing the name Orissa was constituted, and how a new Aryan speech now called Oriya, came into being, cannot be detailed here. It will suffice to say, that when Huen Tsiang visited the land in the 7th century A.D., the people of Kalinga with their Dravidian speech were found confined within the confines of the Andhra country, and Orissa was struggling into a new life with new ethnic elements and a new speech; the Utkala people in the north were not fully Aryanized at that time, and the people in the district of Puri (Kongada) were only learning Northern Indian speech and script under the influence of the successors of Raja Narendra Gupta of Karna Suvarṇa in Bengal. We learn also from some old works on dramaturgy that the Oḍḍas and their congeners the Śabarās, used only some Aryan words in their non-Aryan speech in the 6th century A.D., and their speech were then called *বিভাষা* on that account. How because of the supremacy of the Kośala Guptas for about three centuries, a Māgadhi speech took deep root in Orissa, has been narrated briefly in the 4th lecture. The northern boundary-line of Orissa runs from the north-east corner of the district of Balasore to the north-west corner of the Feudatory State of Gangpur, along the

southern limits of Bengali-speaking and Hindi-speaking tracts; how therefore two different varieties of the Māgadhi speech could come together to form the Oriya speech, may be easily imagined. We should be very careful therefore in referring to the archaic forms of Oriya, to trace the history of our words. The reason why Oriya abounds with archaic forms, may be stated in the words of Mr. Beams: "Oriya is the most neglected member of the group [of the Aryan languages], and retains some very archaic forms. The repulsive and difficult character in which it is written, the rugged and mountainous nature of the greater part of Orissa, and its comparative isolation from the world at large, have combined to retard its development." It is not the place where I can show that many letters of the Oriya script owe their origin distinctly and definitely to their corresponding Bengali forms—brought into use on the soil of Bengal at a comparatively recent time; ঞ, ঙ, ঢ and ঝ are some of these letters; these letters only seemingly differ from the Bengali letters because they are written in a mode wholly peculiar to Orissa; that this mode of writing has made the Oriya letters unattractive to the foreigners, may be known from the following remark of Mr. Beams as appears in his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Vernaculars*: "The Bengali is the most elegant and easiest to write of all the Indian alphabets, Oriya, is of all Indian characters the ugliest, clumsiest and most cumbrous"—(Vol. I, p. 62).

This unsympathetic remark regarding the physical appearance of Oriya letters clearly shows why a full comparative study of Oriya and Bengali could not be made by such a finished scholar as Mr. Beams. I have spoken of the Oriya letters to be agreeing with Bengali letters in some cases. Now from the discovery of the fact that even towards the end of the 13th century A.D.,

Bengali script was current in the sea-board districts of Orissa we can very well see that even during the rule of the Tamil-speaking Ganga Rulers in Orissa, cultural connection between Orissa and Bengal did not come to an end. As to this matter I can only refer the scholars to my work "Orissa in the Making."

We can very well assert on the strength of the facts adduced in this as well as in some other lectures that the Eastern Māgadhī vernaculars were very much alike and did not much differ from one another, when they first came into being by being differentiated in different provinces; consequently we may refer to many archaic forms retained alike by Oriya and Assamese, to trace the history of our words. Written vernacular literature of this very early period has not been hitherto discovered, and old songs, proverbs, adages and saws as have come down to us, have lost their old linguistic character in the course of being transmitted orally from generation to generation. 10th century A.D. is the approximate time when Oriya was perhaps fully differentiated as a provincial vernacular, but of this time we do not get any literary fragment composed in Oriya. Some Oriya inscriptions of the 13th century A.D. written in Bengali character disclose some grammatical forms of Oriya, and these may be referred to as published in the 3rd volume of the Typical Selections from Oriya Literature.

*Buddhagān O Dohā.*—In the name of the Bengali language of the 10th century A.D., some doctrinal verses recently published in Bengal have attracted our attention; it is quite fitting that the language of this collection should engage our attention here. This book is a collection of three doctrinal works and it has been published by the Bengal 'Sāhitya Parisat' under one general title—  
বৌদ্ধ গান ও দোহা; Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad:

Shastri brought the doctrinal works from Nepal, and it is he who has edited them in the aforesaid collection. It has been prominently inscribed on the very title page that the contents of the collection preserve for us the language of Bengal as was current thousand years ago. What Pandit Shastri says, commands my respectful attention, but I fear that it is difficult to support the claim that has been preferred for the hieratic effusions in question. I have to remark here that no account will be taken of the ডাকার্ণব portion of this collection, which has not been seriously noticed by Pandit Shastri and which is interspersed with some *Prākṛta slokas*.

This work, I should mention, has been reviewed by me pretty thoroughly in the Bengali magazine বঙ্গবাহী for 1926 in the following numbers, namely, পৌষ, মাঘ, ফাল্গুন, চৈত্র and কার্তিক. What I have attempted to show in that review will only be very briefly summarised here. Despite the very sound observation of a competent European scholar that the language of the দৌহা as well as of the songs is in old প্রাকৃত, Pandit Shastri has asserted that the language is Bengali merely on the ground that in some songs some Bengali words of a very recent time occur. It is surprising that neither the character of the old মাগধী-প্রাকৃত disclosed by the দৌহা could be noticed by the editor, nor could it be noticed that the language of the দৌহা differs very much from that of the songs. That the one দৌহা differs from the other in the matter of language and that the songs as well differ from one another in respect of language can be noticed by even a superficial reader having some knowledge of the প্রাকৃত. To declare all the songs and the দৌহা to have been composed in one and the same language of one particular time has been a reckless assertion. If Pandit Shastri knew Hindi and Oriya he could see that very

recent-time Bengali forms এতকাল, আইল, করিবে, চলিল and যাইব are on the one hand in the company of distinct Hindi expressions অইসন্, কইসে, জইসা, locative with মে, etc., and on the other hand in the company of the unmistakable Oriya forms ଏଠୁ, ଏଠୁ (ablative), ଚান্দରେ, বিষয়ରେ (locative), অଛ, ফিটিলি (some tense forms), etc. What seems to have been the fact is that once rather a bit long ago the old writers belonging to the Sahajīā sect composed their songs etc., in an Eastern Māgadhi Prākṛta, and it became afterwards the fashion or rather the custom to compose doctrinal things in the old-time language when that language ceased to be a spoken language; consequently when the অবস্থাস of Bengal, Orissa, Mithila, Upper India, etc., flocked together *somewhere in Upper India* and composed their songs, etc., there, they used many provincial words of their respective provinces while attempting to compose their songs in the then half-forgotten old Prākṛta. This is why the archaic Prākṛta forms are in the company of words of various provinces and why the main structure of the songs is Prākṛta. That the songs and দৌহs were composed somewhere in Upper India can be known from this fact that the দৌহ form and the চৌপাই or চৌপদী form of the songs are distinct forms of Hindi language; neither দৌহ nor চৌপাই can be shown to have ever been in use in Bengal.

It has been shown by me in my review referred to above, that of the tunes of the songs three, namely, গবড়া (a special late variant of গোড়), পটমঞ্জরী and যন্ত্রারী did not come into being before Mahomedan times. That the term জ্ঞান in the phrase জ্ঞান যৌবন of a song, is a word of Mahomedan time and that the use of mercury as রস রসায়ন was not introduced in India previous to the 13th century A.D. should also be noted to determine the time of the effusions. These remarks will, I think, be enough to

dispose of the book and to direct the attention of the young scholars to the method which should be followed in determining the nature and character of a language. As all the songs *without any exception* speak of *very highly and unbearably indecent things*, the proof relating to time, etc., of the songs as derivable from their meaning could not even be suggested here.

*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan.*—No matter which Chāṇḍīdāsa of exactly what time is the author of the Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtan which has been very ably edited by Babu Basanta Ranjan Ray, I have no hesitation to say that the book was composed during the early years of Mahomedan influence in Bengal. There are only a very small number of words of Persian or Arabic origin, and it is noticeable that though it is a Vaisnavite work, it has not been composed in that artificial language, and non-Bengali metres which the early Vaiṣṇava poets including our popularly known চণ্ডীদাস, resorted to in the composition of their Vaiṣṇava lyrics or পদাবলীs.

The archaic grammatical forms as occur in this book, will be noticed in the subsequent lecture; I should only mention here that we get in these forms a few connecting links between the late Māgadhī and modern Bengali forms. A few examples will only do here: (1) The pronominal forms যই, তই, etc., are intermediate between the late Māgadhī and modern Bengali. (2) The final হসন্ত 'ত' was formerly pronounced almost like 'তে' and this is still the case with the Oriyas who pronounce ষাবৎ, তাবৎ, etc., as ষাবতে, তাবতে, etc. Thus it was that the ablative case-ending of वृक्षां became रुक्-कते, or रुक्ते or रुक्-हते in old Prākṛta: we get pure হৈতে in this book as ablative case-ending, and this is what has become হতে in Bengali; it has no connection with the verb হইতে='to be'; in Hindi, we get for it the ending ह and the corresponding

Oriya form is ଓ; compare तबह of Hindi and घर (from the house) of Oriya. (3) The emphasis-indicating 'हि' of Prākṛta, as in सेहि (he it is) is सि in this book, and सेहि appears as सेसि; modern से-सेन् of Eastern Bengal and से সিনা of Oriya may be compared with this form. তেঁসি in this book is equivalent to modern তাইতে or তাইত (for that reason). (4) Many idiomatic expressions now obsolete in Bengali but current even now in Oriya are met with in this book; হাট উথুড়িবে (the market will disperse) is in use in Sambalpur, and বাট বড়াইল (guided or showed the way) is idiomatic throughout Orissa. Some more examples will be cited in the subsequent lecture.

How one is liable to mistake one old language for another allied speech, may even be illustrated by an example of a sentence composed in a modern language. The line of our poet Rabindranath which reads—হে আদি জননী সিদ্ধ, বঙ্গকরা, সন্তান তোমার, can be easily pronounced as Assamese if the Bengali metre is disregarded; Aryan Vernaculars other than Assamese can also very well claim the line to be theirs, but for the grammatical form তোমার which occurs at the end of the line. How very careful therefore we should be, to avoid reckless assumptions in determining the provincial character of a speech of a time, when the provincial languages were being formed and differentiated, can be easily appreciated. To trace the history of our words, we have to look alike to those outside and inside influences which have been at work in the province of Bengal in the up-building of our speech.

*Derivation of some words.*—Just to throw out some hints as to the right procedure to be followed in such an investigation, I take up to discuss the character of some words which have come to us from various sources. There are many words which are wrongly treated as দেশী and there



are many in respect of which wrong derivation has been given in our country ; a few of such words are dealt with below.

(1) আঁটা to tighten and আটা gum. From আকর্ষণ comes আঁকড়ান as well as আটকান ; from আটকান comes আঁটা as well as its variant আটা.

(2) কাঙারি—That it is from কর্ণধার, can be detected, when the Sambalpuri Oriya form কণ্ଡার as well as কণ্‌হার (usually a helm of the boat and at times the man at the helm) is compared with it. Prākṛta কণ্‌টার or কন্‌ধার (from কঙ্ক + ধার) to signify edge or bank, is not to be confounded with the above word.

(3) কনা (a piece of cloth) having a provincial variant টেনা (pronounced as তেনা in E. B.)—seems to be from ছিন্ন—reduced to চিন্ন, টিন্ন or টেন or টেনা.

(4) কানা (edge) being wrongly supposed to be derived from কর্ণ, it is spelt usually with ণ, but the word comes really from কঙ্ক, for we see that not only in the district of Jessore, and Eastern Bengal Districts, but also in the districts of Nadia and Berhampore as well, the word কাঁধা is in use. No doubt the line, ‘যেরেছ কলসীর কানা’ has become widely popular even within the area indicated above, but in common parlance the form is always কাঁধা and not কানা.

(5) কিরে (oath).—The Hindi form as well as the form used in Sambalpuri Oriya is কিরিয়া. The history of it is highly interesting. The method of taking an oath by what is called সচ্চ কিরিয়া ( সত্য ক্রিয়া ) is certainly familiar with the Pāli scholars ; it has been illustrated by a good number of examples by E. W. Burlingame in the J. R. A. S., 1917, pp. 429-67. That কিরিয়া or কিরে comes from সচ্চ-কিরিয়া is doubtless. In this connection, I may refer the students to the method of warding off curses and also of taking oath by touching the hair, as was once universal

all over the globe and is now also in vogue among many rude tribes of India as well as of other countries of the world ; it is because of this custom that the word মাইরি (Dravidian—মাইর=hair) is still a term for assiveration ; মাইকি is the form in use in Orissa and in Nepal.

(6) ষাট—That the pseudo-Sanskrit form ষট্ should be ignored, need not be asserted. Certainly the word ষাটি (mountain pass) comes from গিরি-সঙ্কট, since সংঘাট, to signify the meaning, occurs in Prākṛta ; but the word ষাট is not associated in idea with ষাটি. Both ষাট and হাট come out of সংঘট্ (a place where many persons meet either to bathe or to hold market).

(7) চাহ—In Aśokan Inscriptions we meet with চাগ from which Bühler derives the word, but no Aryan root has been suggested for চাগ. It is certainly from চক্ষ which gives us চাখা to taste on the one side and তৃক্ষ on the other to give rise to তাকান to look and তাক করা to aim at. চক্ষ, তৃক্ষ, চাগ and চাহ are connected ; চাহ, to want, and চাহ, to look to, are connected in meaning.

(8, 9, 10) চিনি, চিকুণী, অঁচড়ান—The supposition of Carey's Pandits that the word চিনি comes from the name চিন (China) is absurd. As চীর্ণ means divided, or split, I think the term চিনি for sugar is from চীর্ণিত শুড়. From চীর্ণ or from দীর্ণ comes চিকুণী as well as perhaps অঁচড়ান. The last word may also be derived from চর্ষণ.

(11) ছেলে—The earlier Bengali form of it is ছাওয়াল or ছাবাল. Certainly the word ছা or ছাঁ or ছানা comes from শাব or শাবক ; in Eastern Bengal the word ছাও, exactly corresponding to শাব, is still in use. The Oriya word ছুআ is applied to human young ones also in the Sambalpur tract ; it is not difficult to form ছাওয়াল or ছাবাল by adding ল to either ছাও or ছুআ, since the ল suffix as diminutive-indicating (*i.e.*, indicating affection) is met with in some rare cases. Might be, the word বাল (child) was

added to ছা and the form was obtained, or that, as now suggested, the ল suffix signifying the very idea indicated above was once in general use as diminutive-indicating ; ছাও, ছুআ, and ছাওয়াল are very closely related. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's supposition that the word comes from ঢেলা (disciple) cannot but be rejected ; ঢেলা comes from ঢেট (originally ঢেড়, *cf.* ঢেড়ী a female attendant of the Rākṣasas) ; neither the idea of a disciple nor of a servant can be associated with the term for an infant darling ; moreover, there is a phonetic difficulty, since the original derivative is not ছেলে but ছাবাল. The word ছাবাল could perhaps be reduced to ছাওঝালিয়া and then to ছালিয়া and again to ছেলিয়া to become ছেলে.

(12) ছোঁড়া—comes distinctly from ছোট which is a decayed form of ক্ষুদ্র = খুন্ = খাট. The Nepalese form is ছোরো (properly ছোব ; final ও is nominative-indicating) ; the Hindi form ছোকরা with क in the middle is only a variant.

(13) ছাড়া—Pali ছড comes evidently from श्रुत. Our ছোঁড়া to throw and ছোট to run are also from this root.

(14) বুনা as in বুনা নারিকেল is generally treated as দেশী but it suggested to me once that it may be a derivative of জীর্ণ, as জুন্হা (old) is in use in some provinces, but as we get বুনী in Prākṛta as derived from ধ্বनि, it does not appear unlikely that the term বুনা was applied to that cocoanut which produces a splashing sound when shaken.

(15) ঝাল—seems to be derived from ধার or ধারা (sharp cutting edge), as pungency is indicated by the term. Oriya meaning of the word is 'perspiration,' as ধার or ধারা, a stream, is closely associated with the meaning ; our ঝোল (Oriya ঝুল) which signifies broth, seems connected with ধার ; *cf.* ঝরা, ঝরণা, etc. The word ঢাল, to pour, seems also to be derived from ধার.

(16) টল—No doubt টল is in Sanskrit, but there it is a dignified ঐকৃত word. It may be derived from চল, but very likely the original word is তল.

(17) টুকু or টুক—There cannot be any doubt that it is to be derived from তোক ; from the very word তোক we have also got থোক, as I have shown before. One Prākṛta variant of তোক is থিক or থিঅ, as we meet with in the গাথা শতশতী ; so we think the Oriya word টিকিও also comes from the word তোক (for the origin of টি see next lecture).

(18) ঠেং (slang—a leg, Hindi টাং ) is an অপভ্রংশ form of জঙ্ঘা ; the word জং indicates জঙ্ঘা as well as 'bone' in Eastern Hindi called Lariā ; the meaning *bone*, comes perhaps from Mundārī জং=bone, which is not connected with জঙ্ঘা. The word জাং for thigh is in use in the districts of Midnapur and Berhampur.

(19) ডাল (branch)—comes from Prākṛta দালু, a branch, derived from দারু.

(20) ডিঘ্ or ডিঙ্গন is not দেশী but comes from তিঘ্ to leap over in মৈত্রায়ণী সংহিতা.

(21) তোলা to pluck is not from উত্তোলন but from তুট ; টলিবা or টুলিবা is the Oriya form and তোড়না is the Hindi form ; to raise up is not the idea associated with it ; তোড়া (a nose gray) is also a cognate word.

(22) তোলো (a big earthen pot) comes from হুঙিল ; the primary অপভ্রংশ form তন্ল, a big cooking pot, is in use in Hindi.

(23) নেঙটা (affectionately attached) and নাই (indulgence) are derived from Prākṛta নেহ, S. নেহ.

(24) নেকড়া—a torn piece of cloth ; it is from লক্তক, a tattered rag, as in শুক্লত. A rag is লুগড়া in Nepalese. লুগা-cum-লুগড়া of Oriya and Marathi cannot but be connected with লক্তক. নেতা might come out of নেকড়া and তেনা or টেনা could be formed by metathesis. নেত, a silk cloth, is quite another word.

(25) পাগল (insane).—This word seems to have a curious history : পুগ্গল (a man) is a term which the Buddhists appropriated and Buddhist mendicants not caring for the world very likely won the name পাগল as derived from পুগ্গল ; hence the modern meaning. In support of this view the word ভোগল to indicate a hypocrite in religious garb in use in some parts of Jessore and Eastern Nadia, may be referred to.

(26) পাহাড় (hill).—The term পাথর for stone as derived from পাষাণ is well known ; to the Buddhists পাথর was he, who did not care for the Buddhist religion, being impervious like a stone ; the derivation given by বুদ্ধ ষোষ as পাথর ডেন্টি ইতি, has to be rejected. It is from পাথর that পাহাড় seems to have originated, being a heap of পাথর or পাথর.

(27) পুতুল (pseudo-Sans. form পুতল or পুতলি) must be traced to পুত্ৰক used to signify a doll. Cf. Kalidas' description of উমা's play by the phrase কৃত্রিম পুত্ৰকৈশ.

(28) গোড়া is from গুট-পাক (= গোড়পাক = গোড়া ).

(29) ফেল-ফেল as in ফেল ফেল করিয়া চাওয়া, to look vacantly and innocently.—From অবলোকন we get বলোকন or rather বলোক ; this বলোক, in the shape of ভুলুক (to peep in) is in use in E. Bengal, and the form ভেল to look vacantly is in use in the west of Burdwan, as we may notice in the expression টুকটুক ভেলচে (he is looking vacantly) ; ফেল ফেল most likely comes from ভেল.

(30) বেআড়া—The Persian prefix 'বে' (corresponding to Vedic বি) as in বে-আকৈল, বে-কসুর, বে-মউকা (Bengali বেমকা), etc., and which is in use with many Bengali words, such as বে-গোছাল (untidy), বেচক্সা (ill-shaped), বেদাঁড়া (irregular), etc., is wrongly supposed to be the prefix in বে-আড়া ; this word is identical with বিঅড় derived from বিকট as met with in the Gauḍa Bahō. In this connection,

I may mention that the word বেড়ুল used at times in non-urban tracts is not a hybrid formation, but is really the original form of ভুল, since the word ভুল comes from বিহ্বল.

(81) ভণ্ড—Like the word পাগল this word has a curious history: the Buddhist religious men of high order were addressed by the term ভদন্ত which was, as we know, reduced to ভজন; it is the history of a satire that ভজন in the form of ভণ্ড signifies a hypocrite.

(82) ভাঙ্গা (floating).—The word is wrongly treated by some as Sanskrit, for we can notice such a curious form as ভাসমান. The original Sanskrit word বৃষি was reduced to ভিসী (a raft) in Pali; from the idea that which floats, comes the word ভাঙ্গা to signify the meaning. The word ভেলা seems to be connected with the word. I need not perhaps point out that the original Prakṛta form of উড়ুপ is উলুপ which is derived from উৎ + প্লব্.

(83) মটুক, মকুট or মুকুট—The last word is the pseudo-Sanskritic form of মকুট which was formed from the first word by a metathesis. The word মটুক signifying a head-gear comes from মন্তক; cf. মটকা the top of a thatched house.

(84) মেকুর—This name for a cat is not current either in Western Bengal or in Central Bengal, but that it was once so current, appears from a line of nursery rhyme which runs as মেকুর মেকুর, কটা ছানা. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar gives us two অপভ্রংশ forms of মার্জার in use in different parts of Western India, which are মজার and মেজুর; that from মেজুর the form মেকুর might easily come out, need not be asserted.

(85) লাঠি—is wrongly derived from বটি; লকুট in আপভ্রংশ শ্রোত হ্রস্ব, is a club. লঙড় and লকড়ি are from it. From লকড়ি came out লউড়ি still in Oriya and our লড়ি and লাঠি.

(86) হাঁটা—as the verb হিঙ occurs mostly in Jaina Sanskrit, it has become difficult to many to derive হাঁটা from হিঙ (to trudge).

(37) হাঁড়ি—From the genuine Sanskrit word ভাজন comes the pseudo-Sanskrit form ভাঙ by the process of metathesis. Bengali বাসন is also from ভাজন; from ভাজন comes ভান্ধ and thence ভাঙ. Cf. মুর্ধণ, মূন্ড of প্রাকৃত, and মৃণ pseudo-Sanskrit. হাঁড়ি as a variant of ভাঁড় is derived from ভাঙ.

(38, 39) আউষ and আমন as names for two varieties of *Dhān* (paddy) are often given wrong derivations. আউষ is wrongly Sanskritized as আশু; this variety of ধান being grown and reaped during the rains was formerly called আবর্ষ crop, and thus from আবর্ষ we got আউষ. As to আমন it is true that it is got in হেমন্ত season, but the name is not from the season. This variety of rice has only been permissible to be offered as *naivedya* to gods as আম or uncooked অন্ন; from this word আমান্ন the word আমন has been derived.

## LECTURE XIV

### BENGALI AS DISTINGUISHED FROM ITS ALLIED VERNACULARS

*Method of Investigation stated.*—I propose to pursue in this lecture a stratigraphical study of the Bengali language with the help of the facts set forth and discussed in the previous lectures. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot make a definite pronouncement of the ethnic elements that came into the composition of our people; we are not in possession of history which deals with the evolution of our social structure. It was therefore only possible for me to state in a general manner some of the influences that have been at work in shaping our speech in its present form. I have however made it tolerably acceptable that philology can be employed as a good stratumetre, if this instrument be fitted into the handle of the history of the races speaking the language under investigation. We have seen that in their old and archaic forms, the dialects of the Gauḍian group resemble one another so closely that it becomes ordinarily difficult to distinguish them as separate speech by noticing those points of difference which determine their character as so many independent dialects. To recognise aright our early forms as differentiated Bengali forms, separate from the forms of allied languages or dialects, let us proceed first to examine the structure of our speech primarily with reference to declension in a comparative method, that is to say, by considering carefully the inflexions of nominal stems (both noun and pronoun) by means of such endings as represent the various cases. This involves the consideration of the



*nominal formations connected with the verbs as participles, infinitives, etc., and the finite verbs indicating different tenses and moods. Other important points of grammatical or structural changes or evolution will be next noticed to determine, or rather to confirm the proposition advanced before, regarding the origin and character of Bengali.*

We may set down on the evidence of old literary records the language of which must be accepted on all

Pronouns hands to be Bengali, that **মই** and **মুই** are the earliest forms of personal pro-

noun of the first person in singular number and **আম্-হে**, **আম্‌হি** and **আমি** are the plural forms of **মই** and **মুই**. The form **মি** in singular is in use in Marathi, but we do not meet with that form in old Bengali. **মই** and **মুই** occur indiscriminately in the **ত্রিষ্কণ্ণকৌর্ভন** noticed before; **মই** is still current in the provincial Bengali dialect of Rangpur and this is the form that obtains in Assamese. **মুহি** was only the accented form of **মুই** as **আম্‌হি** was the accented or emphatic form of **আমি**. In Oriya the singular form is **মুহি** (though reduced very often to **মুই** and **মু** in colloquial speech) and the plural form is **আম্‌হে**. **আমি** as a variant of **আম্‌হে** was once treated as plural when **মুই** was the singular form. It is still the plural form in Marathi and also in Assamese which is closely related to Bengali.

When the genuine singular forms were regarded non-honorific and vulgar, the plural forms were brought into use as singular and such plural-forming suffixes as **রা** (Beng.), **মানে** (Oriya), **লোকে** (Assamese), etc., were added to the plural forms to make plural of them. The plural-forming suffixes **রা** of Bengali, and **লোকে** (as well as **বোরে**, **ইতে**, **বিলোকে**) of Assamese are of provincial growth, though **লোকে** of Assamese can be in a manner traced to the old Māgadhi source. As to **মানে** or **মান** which is now only in use in Oriya as plural-forming

suffix, we get evidence of its once having been used in Assamese. Very likely then this যানে which is a variant of Behari বन् was in use in old Bengali, but no literary evidence of such use is obtainable.

The remarks regarding the pronoun of the 1st person are applicable to the pronouns of the second person which are তই, তু, তুহি, and তুই in singular and তুমহি (তুমহে), তুমি (now singular in Bengali), তোমরা, তোমালোকে (Assamese), তୁস্তে and তুস্তেখানে (Oriya) in plural. Regarding the form আমালোকে, it is to be remarked that though আমালোকে is idiomatic in Assamese, and the very form আমালোকে is freely used in Naogaon and Tejpur, the form is considered incorrect to-day in the standard Assamese language.

Hindi singular form मय् is a variant of मई; the form we meet with in proto-Bengali or rather in the Eastern Māgadhī of a late time is मई. The oldest Bengali singular forms of personal pronouns may therefore be said to have been मई and तई.

The honorific form alike of তুই and তুমি is আপনি in Bengali; the corresponding Assamese form is আপুনি and the Oriya form is आपन. It comes from आत्मन् in the possessive case; the oldest Apabhraṃśa was अत्तन and the later form was अप्पन; the original possessive sense is retained by आपन as adjective as in आपन ঘর (one's own house). আপনি as pronoun signifies literally 'your own self.' This form however is seldom met with in very old literary records to signify 'you'; its use was restricted mainly to indicate 'by one's own self' as adverb; 'I,' 'you' or 'he' did a thing, আপুনি আপুনি (Bengali) or आपे आपे (Oriya) or আপুনি (Assamese) means that the doer did not take the help of any other person in doing the act. At times it also signifies 'I myself,' 'you yourself' or 'he himself' as the case may be, as in বুনে বুনে আপনি কইব

(first person) অবতারণ—Bengali, or in আপে আসি ভগবান দেলে দরশন—Oriya.

I need hardly point out that the genuine Māgadhi form সে (the successor of the earlier form সো) is in use in Bengali and Oriya, and its slightly altered form সি is in use in Assamese. The forms যে and কে may also be noticed along with it. Oriya wholly agrees with Bengali in the use of these forms; the use of কিএ for কে is wholly irregular, being a new departure from the standard Oriya use according to the Eastern Provincial peculiarity in pronunciation. I mention this fact, so that this provincial Oriya কিএ may not be mistaken for the Eastern মগধী 'কি অ,' of which the modern representative is কিবা.

The plural form of সে is তে in Māgadhi while যে and কে are found used both in singular and plural. The plural form তে is noticeable in old Bengali but not in old Oriya; তেঁহ and তেঁই as derived from it were in use in Bengali till the other day, and তে itself is still in use (both as singular and plural) in the provincial speech of Chittagong, as a co-relative pronoun linked with যে which is introductory. That our তেঁহ and তেঁই are generally found in use in singular to indicate honour, need not be pointed out. তেঁই (the honoured he) is not to be confounded with the identical form which is an indeclinable to indicate 'for that reason': the pun on the word by Bhārat Chandra in 'অনেকের পতি তেঁই পতি মোর বাম' may be referred to; the primary meaning is—he who is the lord of many is my husband, and the other meaning suggested is—my husband is also the husband of others, and *for that reason* he is not favourably disposed towards me. They are identical in form but different in origin: তেঁই (for that reason) is derived from তহিঁ = তহিঁ and our তাই signifying the same meaning is a variant or a changed form of তেঁই; this তাই being wrongly spelt as

তাহাই is confounded with the provincial form তাহা+ই of emphasis; the latter form is derived from তহ=তৎ. In our honorific তিনি or বিনি there is the pronoun ন in an enclitic manner; in Pāli, we get this ন in the accusative case only in the form of নং (=তাহাকে); 'that respected he' is the round about expression to indicate honour: তেনার and তেন্না (his) are not unusual in the mouth of our vulgar people. The Bengalees who settled in Orissa long ago, carried with them, as a matter of course, many archaic forms, and their descendants now, not being in touch with the progress and change effected in Bengal, use তেনার (his), তান্নান (they), etc., very commonly. The forms, বিনি (occurs as জিনি in old Bengali), ইনি and উনি, as are peculiar to Bengali should also be taken note of here. I think that the ন of direct pronominal origin as has been noticed here, is not the ন which we get in কোন signifying *certain* person or *certain* object. কোন appears to me to be the decayed portion of কেনচিৎ since কোণসি almost representing কেনচিৎ obtains in Oriya as well as in Hindi. That the ন of কেন comes directly from ন of কিস need not be pointed out.

I may note here that both the earlier emphatic form of কে (who) as কেহ, and the later form কেউ, are in use in Bengali; referring to the modern Behari, we can see that both কেউ and কেহ grew in মাগধী on the very soil of Magadha, yet it is only কেহি (corresponding to our কেহ) which we get in Oriya.

*Case declension—the sign for nominative.*—The অ sound of the non-হসন্ত finals of all nouns in the nominative singular was reduced to ও sound in Pāli, to represent very likely the সংবৃত্ত pronunciation of অ, as I have suggested before. This sound of অ which is almost ও, continues with us, as an inherent Bengali speciality but

Case-denoting  
Suffixes.

we do not write *বাক্য* for *বাক্য* to paint the special shade of our *ক* sound. This form of the word in the nominative case did not become extinct in the *মাগধী* speech, when the ending *এ* for *ও* came into general use, for we get in the *Jaina Prākṛta* that though all nouns in the nominative case took generally the *এ* final, the forms with *ও* final were also in use; along with the forms *মহাবীরে*, *জালিরে*, *মেঘে*, etc., we meet with the older form with *ও* ending as occurs for instance in such a sentence as 'যহা মেঘো তহাজালি.' As it is in the provincial Bengali of Rungpur, so it is in Assamese that the nouns in the nominative case take 'এ' final invariably. ই for এ in such cases in Assamese as *গাধেই* (*ass*), *লতাই* (*creeper*), etc., is rightly explained in the Assamese grammar as the euphonic mutation of এ. This এ was once much in use both in Bengali and Oriya, but now the use is limited to some special cases only. Almost all the nouns in the nominative case have এ or ই final in the *ঐক্যকীর্তন* of a time not earlier than the 14th century A.D. The modern use of it in Bengali in such cases as *লোকে বলে* (so the people say), *মানুষে করে* (so men generally do), *হাগলে খায়* (the goats usually eat) is sufficiently expressive to denote the idea of plurality in an indefinite way. In Oriya, however, when a particular Pandit, for example, is alluded to, it will be correct to say *পণ্ডিতে কহিলে*; we cannot but notice that this Oriya idiomatic use indicates honour. As signification of honour is associated with the form of plurality, it may be noted here that when distinction between singular and plural was not being strictly observed, the nominative-forming suffix এ came to be used to signify singular and plural alike, and the older plural-forming suffix *ক্য* fell fully into disuse.

This supposition is not correct that the nominative-indicating এ originates from the sign indicating instrumentality; the reduction, for instance, of *লো* to *লে* may be

sufficient to show the wrongness of the proposition; the instances of the use of all sorts of words in the nominative case in the Jaina Prākṛta will clear up the situation. Hoernle, without referring to the facts mentioned above, indulged himself in the theory that where the nominative case bears the suffix এ, the expression is oblique in form. This view once influenced the opinion of our illustrious Rabindra Nath Tagore, but when I communicated to him the history of this suffix, he, with his usual generosity, admitted the correctness of my proposition and published the fact in the প্রবাসী (for 1326 Bengali year at page 214). In support of my proposition he adduced cases where both transitive and intransitive verbs to govern the nominative takes এ as case-denoting suffix. The nominative singular forms of pronouns are quite fixed; in other cases the pronominal stems are reduced to the forms আমি, তোমি, তাহা, etc. It will also be seen that some case-denoting suffixes though pronominal in origin, are applied equally to nouns and pronouns.

*The sign for accusative.*—It will not be less than 1400 years when the author of the Nāṭṭya Śāstra noted the predominance of এ sound in the speech of the Eastern Gangetic valley extending from Behar to the Bay of Bengal; perhaps the lines I cite below show this predominance of এ sound in modern Bengali, far in excess of what it could be in olden days. এ of different origins and of various significations may be noted in the lines:

আমে লোকে এক-মনে      পূজিয়ে দেবভাগ্যে  
খড়্গে ছাগে কাটে লোক-হিতে ।

We see in the first place that এ as a case-denoting particle signifies many cases: লোকে is in the nominative case or has the প্রথম বিভক্তি, দেবভাগ্যে and ছাগে are in the objective case, i.e., in the দ্বিতীয় বিভক্তি, খড়্গে is in the

instrumental case, *i.e.*, in তৃতীয়া বিভক্তি, লোক-হিতে (=লোক-হিতাৰ) is technically in চতুর্থী বিভক্তি and গ্রামে indicating locative is in the সপ্তমী বিভক্তি. Then again the এ final of একমনে is adverb-forming, পূজিয়ে is in infinitive and কাটে is a finite verb; the last three cases will be dealt with in their proper places later on.

We have studied the history of the nominative-indicating এ; it is this এ which signifies accusative as well as dative at times; মো-এ (me) and আম্‌হা-এ (us) were in use in old time, and the modern form আমার is but a slightly changed form of the old one. When অম্ or অন্ ceased to denote the accusative case in মাপ্‌ধী, nominative sign of nouns came to be used to signify the accusative as well as dative in a large number of cases. When again, the noun stems ceased to take any nominative-indicating suffix, it was only at times that the accusative was marked with a suffix; this rule, I should say, still holds good. The following sentence will be illustrative of the phenomenon that *in the case of nouns*, it is with reference to syntax that we have to distinguish nominative from the accusative, and not by looking to the case-ending: মা-বাপ ছেলে শাসন না করিলে, ছেলে মা-বাপ মানে না; translated into old Bengali the sentence will stand as—জই (যদি) মাএ বাপে পো-এ শাসন ন করই পো-এ মা-বাপা (or মা বাপে) ন মানই. We should note that the old-time form মোএ has become যোতে in Oriya and যোরে (now in poetic use only) and আমার in Bengali; the euphonic ত noticed in Oriya is in use in another manner as will be noticed afterwards.

The আ final of nouns to signify both nominative and accusative, as we meet with at times in the latest প্রাকৃত and in old Bengali, has not altogether fallen into disuse; this আ is more emphasis-indicating than case-denoting in such a sentence as গুগ্‌গর ভক্তা (object), ..দিজই কষ্টা, বা পুন কষ্টা (nominative). It is at times diminutive-indicating,

that is to say, indicative of affection or familiarity : in যা-এ বলেন পক্ষ পুত্র, the word পুত্র is in diminutive form ; in common conversation this আ is added to names to signify either familiarity or contempt.

As to the Dravidian origin of the suffix কে to signify dative as well as accusative, my remarks in the 5th lecture should be referred to. The Dravidian কু remains unchanged in Oriya, and in old Bengali we get it both in the shape of কে and ক ; in the provinciality of Rangpur the form 'ক' is still in use, as may be noticed in the forms মোক্ ( আমাকে ) and তাক্ ( তাহাকে ).

To convert possessive form to objective, adding এ to the possessive form, we need not import any foreign influence ; for, an idea *relating to* an object may be expressed in the objective case without drowning the sense of relation ; the line—'যাদেরে চাহিয়া তোমারে ভুলেছি, তারাত চাহেনা আমারে,' will sufficiently illustrate the case, if the thought underlying the sentence is properly analysed. This form of the objective case is met with more in poetry than in prose in our modern language. In Eastern Bengal, however, this form obtains in common conversation language ; cf. the Eastern Bengal sentences, মার-এ মারেনা = মাকে মারিতে নাই, and মোরে কণ্ড নাও ডুবাইবার ? (How dare you suggest that the boat will be sunk by me?). We can easily trace this form of expression to a প্রাকৃত idiom : কহু-এ বি পেক্ষহু (whomsoever you may meet) is equivalent to যারাই ( যাকেই ) দেখতে পাও ; কহু is in the possessive form being the অপভ্রংশ form of কন্ত and এ is clearly object-indicating here. It is not also impossible that the final vowel sound of মোএ was merely strengthened by র as it has been done in other cases.

*Instrumental Case.*—To signify the instrumental case, we have in Bengali the suffixes এ, দিয়া, and হতে ; their history may be briefly narrated here.



এ—The Pali instrumental plural suffix **হি** comes no doubt from **ভিস্** or **ভিঃ**. It is well known that distinction between singular and plural was not much observed in the later *Prākṛtas*, and one well-formed suffix, no matter whether it was originally singular or plural-indicating, became the general case-denoting suffix. There are lots of instances of **হি** being used as suffix to denote instrumental singular ; take, for instance, the line **মানিনি, মানহি কাইফল** (what does it avail, Oh Mānini, by becoming cross ?). No doubt at first **হি** was reduced to **ই** as we meet with in the old literary *Prākṛta* works, but its reduction to **এই** is not also very recent. The instrumental **ই** ending in such cases as **ইচ্ছাই** (**ইচ্ছয়া**), **বিদ্ধাই** (**বিদ্ধয়া**), etc., as we meet with in the **সেতুবন্ধ** may be considered with some reason to be derived from **য়্য**, but the early history starting with **হি** is not in favour of this supposition. Be that as it may, we get the suffix **ই** as well as **এই** in old *প্রাকৃত* works of uncertain dates ; **ভমরেহি** or **লতাহি** being reduced to **ভমরেই** or **লতাই**, the path for further reduction to **ভমরে** or **লতা-এ** (or **লতায়**) was paved. The history of the idiomatic use of the instrumental case forms if studied in chronological order, it will not be easy to hold that **এন** (say of **দেবেন**) generated the **এ** in question by dropping the final **ন**. I have discussed in the previous lecture that in our proto-Bengali, **এন** does not occur and that its occurrence in one passage in a **বৌদ্ধ দোহা** has been wrongly formulated because of incorrect reading of the text. The cases where **এন** seems to occur in Oriya as instrumental suffix have not been in my opinion properly studied ; it will be observed that the words with seeming **এন** suffix in Oriya have been used to denote locative case as well ; I am inclined to hold with reference to the use of **ন** as a particle of emphasis in Oriya that the words with a suffix (denoting either instrumental or locative case) stand with additional **ন** to indicate

emphasis. The half-nasal occurring in ইচ্ছে (by the desire) or নেহাঞ (by the affection) does not seem to represent the loss of ন, for the instrumental form with এন is not met with in the Prākṛtas which are later than Pāli in date; corresponding to এ we get এরে in Assamese and রে in Oriya; the growth of র here is but euphonic growth. In Bengali the noun-stems having ই or উ final take an additional ত which is but an euphonic growth to facilitate easy pronunciation; compare the forms হাতে ধর and ছুরিতে কাট. This euphonic transmutation is noticeable alike in nominative and locative, where এ is the case-denoting suffix. Where however difficulty does not occur in pronunciation, the euphonic ত does not occur; for instance, ঘি়ে ভাজ is commoner than ঘিতে ভাজ. Besides the ordinary examples of instrumental with এ final, I notice the instance where a peculiar Sanskrit idiom is expressed in Bengali: in আমার তোমার বোঝা পড়া আছে, আমার and তোমার correspond to স্বরা-যরা as in অস্ত যুক্তম্ স্বরা-যরা.

দিয়া—We have noticed the instrumental case-ending তে and its variant দে in the Māgadhī Prākṛta which is usually designated as Jaina Prākṛta. It is surmised by some that this দে is but the changed form of earlier হি.

This দে can be clearly recognised in the instrumental case-ending দি in use in the district of Rangpur and দেই in use in Oriya. This archaic দি of Rangpur is now used as দিয়া in standard Bengali language; as such it has no connection with দা to give, nor the upstart দারা set up by the Pandits, can have any relationship with it.

হতে—I have traced the genesis of হতে in the previous lecture and have shown there that in its origin as well as in its general use in our vernacular, হতে is purely the sign of the ablative case. In such a use as আমা হতে হেন কার্য না হবে সাধন, the word হতে signifies certainly instrumentality,

but its ablative sense is also noticeable in the use ; the action 'flowing out' of me' can be construed to be the underlying idea.

*Dative.*—In Assamese we get লৈ as a special dative case-ending, while in Bengali and Oriya we have the same কু or ক or কে suffix both for accusative and dative. This লৈ noticeable also in Nepalese and in a Behari dialect, is the reduced form of লাগি in use in Bengali as well as in Oriya ; তোমার লাগি (for you) is rather a poetic use in Bengali now.

*Ablative.*—হতে (not to be confounded with হইতে=to be) and থেকে are the two ablative suffixes in Bengali. How the ablative denoting অং generated the suffix হতে, has been discussed in Lecture XIII ; both the প্রাকৃত forms হিত and হৈং are met with in old Hindi. হৈং has been reduced to হতে in Bengali, and to হ in Hindi. It is the further reduced form of হ in the shape of উ that we meet with in Oriya as well as in Marathi. The Oriya form ବର, from house, is not the contracted form of ବରହ. Oriya ହୁ or corresponding Marathi धुन् is quite another suffix as we shall presently notice. It has been stated that from অং we have got হতে (cf. वृक्षां = वृक्षधते = वृक्षध हते) as a general ablative-forming suffix ; then again we have to notice that this very অং being joined to the demonstrative pronouns ই or ইহ and এ or এত (contraction of এতদ্) gave rise to the particular forms ইংখি and এংখি (from here) and this newly formed খি of এংখি and ইংখি is the progenitor of the suffix খি or থে. We have to further note that it is থে and not থেকে which is in use in the speech of the Bengali people all throughout the northern and the eastern districts and in the districts of Jessore and Khulna. সেখান থে and not সেখান থেকে is what we hear in the tracts mentioned above. We can thus clearly see that থেকে of the standard language has acquired an otiose or euphonic ক.

In the district of Chittagong we get the form **बुन्** for **बे** which by chance agrees with the Marathi form **बुन्**; corresponding Oriya form is **बू** or **बूं** which is reducible to **ब** or **बु** or **बुन्**. I have already suggested that the Marathi **ऊन्** and Oriya **ऊ** are not contracted forms of **बुन्** and **बूं** respectively, but that they are derived from **ह** which comes out of **हँ** (the progenitor of **हत्त**). **बुन्** of Marathi and **बूं** of Oriya are additional suffixes; cf. the double Marathi forms **ए बुन्** and **आपल्या पातुन्** and the double Oriya forms **ए बूं** and **बकूं**. In **ठाकू** (Oriya), the suffix **ऊ** is added to **ठा**.

*Genitive.*—There have been various suggestions regarding the genesis of **र**, of which one or two will be noticed here. As such Sanskrit genitive forms as **हरेः**, **भुरोः**, etc., evolve **र** in their conjunction with vowels, semi-vowels, and consonants which are not surds, some suppose that the vernacular **र** suffix has to be traced to this special phenomenon; in this supposition it is lost sight of that **विशङ्कनीर** was never in use in the *Prākṛtas*, and the Sanskrit form in question was never idiomatic in the *Prākṛta* speech. What we have to really notice is the *Prākṛta* idiomatic form to trace the history of **र**. We first notice that **न-स** took the place of **ञ** and then **अ** as the representative of **न** came into use. We have also noticed in earlier Lectures that the suffix **अ** (indicating genitive) was not only liable to be mistaken for other suffixes but was incapable of expressing the idea of possession with some emphasis on account of its fluid pronunciation or boneless character; that very often **ह** had to be substituted for the sake of forcible pronunciation, has been noticed in the course of examination of some *Prākṛta* forms. That the final boneless vowels have been at times either liable to be reduced to **र**, or require to be otherwise strengthened, may be noted over again: **न-ऊ** has been reduced to **नर**, and

করিষ has assumed the form করিয়া in Bengali. Compare pseudo-Sanskrit কের from কেউ. The tendency to put in র to ensure distinct pronunciation is observable in such a Sandhi conjunction in Pāli, as পররসে + ইব = পররসেবিব, where according to Sanskrit Sandhi rule a র is not justified.

Most convincing proof of র coming out of স (or from a vowel sound representing স) is to be sought in the *phonetic peculiarity* which is almost *universal*: change of 's' into 'r' as a Dravidian peculiarity, has been elaborately noticed by Bishop Caldwell and others and this very peculiarity in all the Aryan languages of Europe has been well studied by the philologists. How the 's' of the genitive-indicating স of the Aryan speech has been reduced to 'r' in a very large number of cases in Italian, French, German and English, is too well known to scholars to require an illustrative statement. Thus in accordance with the universally prevalent phonetic law, and quite consistently with the actual idiomatic use of the old times, we get the history of the growth of our genitive-signifying suffix র. What is to be noted is that in tracing this history one is not forced to *create an imaginary condition of things*, disregarding the actual idiomatic use which has always been in force.

Having given the real history of র, I just refer to an untenable theory regarding it upheld by some learned scholars. On the flimsy basis of a form which cannot be shown to have been idiomatic in the Prākṛtas, কের has been set up by some as the progenitor of র; only one solitary instance of very doubtful import is cited from the *বুদ্ধকটিকা* in support of the existence of the form কের by wholly overlooking the clear cases of the use of genitive in the Prākṛtas. It is clear that the form কের has been specially favoured by the scholars under review, as an explanation regarding the form এর occurring in Bengali;

it should be seen, in the first place, that in Western Hindi and in Oriya, it is *र* and not *एर* which is the suffix; in Oriya *एर* is wholly unknown and the Hindi forms *हामारा*, *তোমারা*, etc., point simply to a simple *र* suffix. I proceed to show in the second place that *एर* is merely an euphonic mutation of '*र*' in Bengali, and *কেर* as a suffix *has never been known* in our language.

That *এর* is but an euphonic mutation of *র* will be clearly seen by referring to the rules of idiomatic use of *র* and *এর* in Bengali : (1) *এগার-র* (where final is non-*হসন্ত*), *আমার*, *দাদা-র*, *দিদি-র*, *রাগি-র*, *সাদু-র*, *বধু-র*, *ছেলে-র*, *আলো-র* are examples of words of various final sounds taking '*র*' as the genitive-signifying suffix. (2) When the final is *হসন্ত*, which is never the case in Oriya, the simple suffix *র* cannot be assimilated with the word, and so *এর* is to be suffixed; e.g., *রাখাল-র* makes '*র*' a separate or non-*হসন্ত* syllable unsuited to the genius of Bengali pronunciation, and so we have *রাখাল-এর*, *এক-এর*, *দশ-এর*, etc. (3) Non-*হসন্ত* words of one letter, i.e., non-*হসন্ত* single consonants treated as words must take '*এর*' to maintain their distinctness as words; e.g., *ক-এর আঁকড়ি*, *শ* (contracted form of *শব*)-*এর কড়ি*, etc.; contrast with them *কবিতায়*, *যত-র সঙ্গে এত-র ভাল মিল হয় না*. (4) Words ending with compound letters always generate non-*হসন্ত* sounds (unlike what it is in Hindi) in Bengali and yet they take *এর* and not *র* as we may notice in *কঠোর*, *গন্ধের*, *চন্দ্রের*, etc. In Eastern Bengal, however, simple *র* is affixed in such cases in spoken language following perhaps the general rule which is in the air. (5) When the final sound is *ঐ* (*অই*) or *ঔ* (*অউ*), the final *ই* or *উ* becomes separate syllable and as such the euphony requires the affixing of *এর*; e.g., *দই-এর*, *বউ-এর*, etc.

I have heard this example adduced by some to illustrate the use of *কের* as a suffix in Bengali, viz., *কতকের* as

in কতকের পর্যায় but it is overlooked that here ক is an otiose ক to which according to the previously illustrated rule এর has been suffixed ; if we refer to কতকে in such an expression as 'এ মাছটা কতকে কিন্লে' the situation will be clear. It will be invariably found that where কের occurs, it does not occur as a suffix but only এর is added to a word which has an otiose ক as final. With genitive suffix ক having honour-indicating nasal sound, আপনক, তাহাক, etc., are in use in Oriya ; র is optionally further attached to signify genitive case. To imagine that this form discloses কের is an absurdity.

ক and দিগের—In Eastern Māgadhī and in proto-Bengali we meet with ক as a sign for genitive ; the history of it, as well as of দিগের is interesting. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has rightly remarked that ক of, say, অম্বাহক (অম্বাকম্) once came to be used as a genitive-indicating suffix. Since difference between singular and plural has not been maintained in the Vernaculars, such forms as আমা-ক and গাইক বিত্তা (noticed previously) may easily be explained ; I need not state that this ক is now in use in Hindi. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has also very rightly shown in his Wilson Lectures that when মর or তব was not considered to be either very forcible or honorific, মদীর, বদীর, etc., became highly fashionable in Sanskrit as well as in Prākṛta ; that the history of our plural দিগের is to be traced to this phenomenon is what I assert here. That the case-denoting suffixes for our nouns are generally pronominal in origin, and that a portion of an expression used as a post-position becomes a suffix, have also been ably illustrated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar ; দীর or rather দির of মদীর, বদীর, etc., being joined to the general suffix র to indicate honour, the plural-denoting দিগের has originated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the plural-forming রা and তলি vide Lecture V, pp. 87-88.

The locative sign এ is as old as the hills, and so no remark regarding it is necessary. I have to notice that in old Bengali ত (from তন্) was once in use, and this use is now noticeable in the provincial speech of Rangpur. It is on this account that the unusual particle ত comes now in such euphonic combinations as হাতিতে, গরুতে; this euphonic ত though grown in locative formations appears in other case formations also where এ is the suffix and ই, উ, etc., are the finals. The sign এ is reduced to য় after আ final as in বাসায়.

*Verbs.*—The history of the forms which verbs assume in different tenses and moods, should next engage our attention. How the Vedic tense systems were gradually simplified in the Prākṛta speech has been discussed at some length in Lectures X and XI; here our discussion will be directed more to the history of our current forms than to the history of the reduction of old systems into their present condition.

*The Present system.*—করোতি in the 3rd person singular gave rise to the form করই and from করই comes the modern form করে which is common to Bengali, Oriya and Assamese. সে করে of Bengali as well as of Oriya has the corresponding Assamese form সি (as well as তেওঁ and আনে) করে. The older form করই—current in the Prākṛta speech—is often met with in the old-time literature of Bengal and Orissa. It is to be first noted that unlike in Oriya, the Bengali verbs are alike in form in singular and plural. By referring to the archaic Bengali forms করতি, বাতি, কহতি, etc., one may be led to suppose that once our verbs had plural forms; but it is not so. It should be first observed that the plural forms referred to here, were in use in the 3rd person only, and that use again was limited to present tense; in the second place it is to be noted that a verb



took the অস্তি ending when honour of the person agreeing with the verb was sought to be denoted. Of the অস্তি ending, now only ন remains and in the case of honorific mention, we say তিনি করেন, as well as আপনি করেন ; it need be mentioned that though আপনি is treated as 2nd person, it is not strictly so from a grammatical point of view. In this use of অস্তি suffix now reduced to ন only, Oriya agrees with Bengali ; in the Sambalpur Tract সে করন্ for সে করন্তি is very common. The সি of করোসি in the 2nd person is not wholly obsolete ; স of করিস্, as in তুই করিস্, is the representative of it. Again, we may notice that the old সি has assumed the form সে and is treated as an indeclinable particle ; when we say করসে, মরসে, etc., an emphasis is put upon the verb by the addition of সে ; pure সি to signify second person, occurs very much in the Śrīkṛṣṇa Kīrtan.

It is wrongly urged by some that the মি ending of the verb in the 1st person indefinite, so common in the প্রাকৃত, is not met with in Bengali ; the mistake is due to the fact that some provincial future-indicating forms which take the suffix য় or মি, are not recognized as forms of present indefinite. That in the following instances the present indefinite has been reduced to future (as is done in all languages), may be easily noticed : (1) করিম্ as the contracted form of করিমি (cf. Oriya করিবি as well as করিমি where ব and য় are interchangeable) is in use as 1st person, future tense in the provincial dialect of Rangpur ; (2) the forms করিম্, থাম্, যাম্, etc., as well as করম্, থাম্, যাম্, etc., are current in the speech of the common people of Mymensing ; (3) the য় ending of the verb in the 1st person, present tense, as is traceable in the Singhalese speech, must be owing to the influence which the প্রাকৃত of old Bengal exerted there.

*The Present Progressive*—presents a very interesting form. In করিতেছে, we get the infinitive form of the principal verb linked with the present indefinite form আছে (derived from অংখি = অস্ + তি), in such a manner that the latter appears not as an auxiliary but as a suffix. The formation of corresponding Oriya form କରୁଅଛି has been exactly in the above manner. It is noteworthy that a contracted form of Bengali করিতেছে is in use in Assamese; it is therefore doubtless that Assamese করিছে had its origin in Bengal; করিছে from করিতেছে is in use in Bengal and its further contracted form করছে is also in use in our common speech. As করিতে (formed originally by the শত্ suffix) is close to the Prākṛta form कर॑, it is earlier in date than Oriya କରୁ. Though the form করিতে is now unknown in the standard Oriya, it is in use in the provincial dialect of Sambalpur, and was in use in old Oriya as noticeable in the writings of Balaram Das. As an example of its use in Sambalpur, I may cite the sentence, ମୁଁ ଦେଖିତେ ଆଇଲି (I was observing when I was coming). The Hindi form originates also from कर॑ and the portion हय, like our আছে has been added to it. This করিতে formed by শত্ suffix should not be confounded with করিতে (for doing) formed by the suffix ত্বন্. How words in English formed originally by the suffixes 'ing' and 'ung,' look now wholly alike, may be noticed as a parallel case.

*Present Perfect and Past.*—The Bengali present perfect has two forms such as ধরিল and ধরিয়াছে corresponding to Oriya ধରିଲା and ধରିଅଛି in the 3rd person; to the archaic past forms of the verbs either the particle ল signifying past participle or the verbal stem আছ of the present system noticed above, is added or suffixed or agglutinated. That the introduction of past participle to denote present perfect is of great antiquity, has been shown in Lectures

X and XI, but it is interesting to inquire how distinct forms, to denote present perfect has been brought into use.

I have noticed before that the past form of অতি (অতি) is আসী (আসীৎ) in old Māgadhī; আসী as the past form assumed the shape আহী and became identical in sound with আহি derived from অতি indicating present time. Again, we notice that following the form আসী, the past forms করী, ধরী, হোদী, etc., became the past forms in the Prākṛtas, as has been shown before; it has also been shown that in the 3rd person singular those past forms assumed the shape করে, ধরে, etc., in proto-Bengali, and করি, ধরি, etc., commenced to signify 1st person in the past tense; though the matter has been discussed before, I cite over again an example, to show that these archaic past forms are still in use in Bengali: সে আমার নিবেধ করে [i.e., করিয়াছিল], তাই আমি 'করি' নাই [here করিয়াছিলাম না will be unidiomatic bad Bengali]. Now, we notice on examining the above archaic paradigms that when করি, ধরি, etc., became identical with the present-indicating forms as well as in form with the infinitive forms and আহি of আসীৎ origin could not unmistakably signify the past tense, ল was given an extended use to clearly signify the past; and thus the form আহিল (modern Bengali ছিল) was made to denote the past tense; to distinguish then between the present perfect and the past, say of the verb কর, করিল আছে (contracted into করিলছে) became the present-perfect and করি-আছিল (করিয়াছিল) became the past form. *ঐক্যকীর্তন* which of all hitherto known old books abounds with archaic forms, furnishes us with the present perfect forms ফুটিলছে (ফুটিল + আছে), রহিলছে (রহিল + আছে), etc.; since করিল, ফুটিল, রহিল, etc., were in existence previous to the formation of করিলছে, etc., we can clearly see how the forms with only ল-suffix could not be lost to the language.

*Past Progressive.*—Progressive form with শত্ব suffix is at the base of the past progressive as it is also at the base of the present progressive. করিৎ being joined to Sanskrit suffixes অ and আ, the past progressive forms করিত and করিতাম came into use. The 2nd person form was originally করিতা (from করিৎ + থা of থাস্) and is করিতে now.

*Some special Participle forms.*—Though regarding the origin of ল no doubt exists now, I refer briefly to the history of it to notice some important grammatical forms. Professor Lassen has rightly suggested that কৃত underwent the changes কিদ and কিড, and ল took the place of ড and became finally a sign for the past tense. Pointing out along with it the fact that the Slavonic preterites are formed by 'l,' Prof. Lassen has remarked that the characteristic 'l' of the Slavonic preterite arises out of 'd' which in its original form again is 'l.' The analogy being complete, we have been rightly asked to compare in this connection such forms of our language as খাত, খাল, দেখিলাম, দেখিছ, etc. It is very clear that ল of our past tense came out of either ত or ন of the past participle. The Prākṛta from which Bengali is directly derived, gives us অ as the অপভ্রংশ form of ত of the past participle; the অ of প্রাকৃত became আ in Bengali to give rise to special forms as করা কাড, কওয়া কথা, গণা টাকা, ছাড়া কাগড়, হেঁড়া কাগজ, মরা মানুষ, etc. The corresponding Oriya forms are however like these: কলা কায়, গলা কথা, মলা লোক, etc. As to the ন forms of ত as we get in ভিন্ন (Sans.) and দিন্ন (প্রাকৃত), we may notice the Bengali past participle forms, such as আঁচড়ান চুল, কৌচান কাগড়, সাজান বাগান, etc.

Not possessing now any knowledge of the old প্রাকৃত from which Bengali has come out, some past participle forms formed by ক্ত suffix are not properly recognised by our people. For example, তেজ্জ which has been thrown out or discarded is wrongly spelt now as তাজ্জ though this

word signifies what must be thrown out or discarded. A son who has been disowned by the father is *তৎকপ্ত* and not *ত্যাগ*, for the idea is not that the son will be or is required to be disowned. Similarly when we say that a *প্রস্তাব* (proposal) *ধাঙ্ক হইল* (becomes settled) the Prākṛta spelling cannot be and should not be changed into *ধাং*. When a petition is not sanctioned or is thrown away it becomes *অগ্রাহ* and not that the Sanskrit word *অগ্রাহ* should be used for it, for this word signifies what should not be accepted. The form *লিঙ্ক* in the arithmetical rule of village schools, namely, *কাঠায় কুড়ু বা কাঠা লিঙ্ক* is now only learnt by rote without understanding the meaning.

*Special Past form.*—A special form in the past tense may be noted here. The particle *ন* indicating negation coalesced with *অসি* gave rise to the form *নসি* (does not exist) as a single word; *নাই* in our vernacular being the decayed form of *নসি* is not a simple particle to signify negation but carries with it the verb 'to be' in enclitic form. *নাই* is alone sufficient to express 'does not exist' and such a Hindi form as *নেহি হায়* has no place in Bengali. I have already stated that if to indicate negation this word *নাই* be joined to the archaic past form, the full-bodied modern past form will be dispensed with; *করি নাই* fully signifies 'I did not do.'

In connection with the past tense and present perfect some special forms indicating 1st person as agree with Oriya should be noticed here. Taking up only one example we see that *দেখিলু* and *দেখিলোঁ* are two plural forms in Oriya of verb 'to see'; that these forms are virtually identical with *দেখিলুম্* and *দেখিলাম্* need not be discussed; moreover, actually *ম্* occurs for half-nasal in a copper-plate inscription of Orissa of the 15th century A.D. The second form *দেখিলোঁ* is more in use in the Sambalpur tract than elsewhere and agreement with it in

Bengali is universal. The first form দেখিঁ (দেখিঁ) became prevalent in Bengal in that part of it which is contiguous with Orissa. I think this form prevailed almost all over the রাঢ় country because of the influence of a particular trading class of Bengal which originally resided by the sea-coast close to Orissa for the convenience of conducting sea-trade. Among the people of this trading community দেখ্‌লুঁ, দেখ্‌লুঁ, দেখ্‌লু, etc., are very constantly used in conversation while their neighbours belonging to other castes, say, in the district of Hughly, use the forms so very sparingly that it is difficult to notice the use of them. In the city of Calcutta this trading people first made their extensive settlement and thereby created a linguistic atmosphere of their peculiarities; this is why, later settlers in Calcutta use these forms very freely unlike their neighbours in the districts of Hughly and 24 Parganas. I consider another point along with it. We have noticed in the 6th Lecture that the initial sound of the vowel এ remains Sanskritic if the sound is followed by the sound of ই or ঐ; but the people of the trading class I have spoken of pronounce the initial এ of গেছে with the sound of 'a' as in 'mat'; this is the very sort of pronunciation which obtains in some parts of Midnapur and this is the sound we get for the word in the mouth of those of Calcutta who have changed their pronunciation under the influence of the trading class in question.

The past form with ত suffix, as in সে করিত or আমি করিতাম (he or I used to do), is not distinctly met with in the Prākṛtas, though it occurs in a manner in all the modern Aryan Vernaculars. In Hindi मर करता is not unidiomatic, but in the standard form था is added to give completely the past sense. If in Bengali থাক be used to denote the sense the verb itself is to be reduced to

the form of an infinitive, as সে করিয়া থাকিত or আমি করিয়া থাকিতাম. In standard Oriya finite verb with ত suffix is not in use to indicate this sort of past sense; the form in use corresponding to the Bengali form করিয়া থাকিত or করিয়া থাকিতাম, is সে আগে করু থায় where করু is in the form of an infinitive. From some forms current in the provincial dialect of Sambalpur it may be inferred that once a form exactly corresponding to সে করিত of Bengali was in use in Oriya; this will be pretty clear from the use of the form in conditional mood. যদি সে করিত, আমি করিতাম (if he had done, I would have done) corresponds to Eastern Hindi बच्-ऊँ-करता तो मच्-करता; in Hindi idiom था may also be used and is used after the verb. In standard Oriya the form will be সে যেবে করিথাক্তা (করত্ता as well) মু করিথাক্তি; in the dialect of Sambalpur, besides the standard form, the following forms are idiomatic: (1) সে যেবে করত্ता, মু করিথাইতি, (2) সে যেবে কর্ত্তা, মু কবতি; this last form shows its agreement with the current Bengali form. It should be noted that in the district of Tipperah as well as in some neighbouring tracts of that district আমি করিতাম signifies 'may I do' or 'should I do'; this use indicating asking permission to do points faintly to the origin of the suffix ত form শত্ suffix; that in one form in expressing the idea with additional থ or থাক্, present infinitive is to be used in Bengali and Oriya, and that in Oriya the infinitive is in present progressive form, may lend some support to the suggested origin. But in its subjunctive mood however, the form suggests that the suffix ত is related in spirit with the ত final of the লৃঙ্ suffix শুৎ; it may be pointed out that লৃঙ্ শুৎ owed its origin to pure future-indicating ত্তি as the future time contemplated in past time is expressed in লৃঙ্: for example, জানৎ চেৎ অভবিষৎ সুখম্ অভবিষৎ.

In the form in the conditional mood—এরূপ হইলে (হেলে in Oriya) আমি যাইতাম we notice that the past participle হইল takes the suffix এ to indicate conditional mood ; is this এ a changed form of প্রাকৃত future-indicating ই ?

*The Imperative mood.*—Before dealing with the future system, an examination of the Bengali imperative mood is necessary. I had occasion to show in a previous Lecture that such প্রাকৃত forms to denote the imperative mood in the 3rd person, as কর-উ, জা-উ, খা-উ, etc., are in use in Oriya, and the Bengali forms করক্, যাক্, খাক্, etc., are very old forms with the addition of an otiose ক ; that the forms in the 2nd person কর, যাও, খাও, etc., are almost universal in the vernaculars, and that they come from the Prākṛta করহ, জাহ (as well as জাঅ), খাহ (খাঅ), etc., need hardly be pointed out. As in the Prākṛtas, so it is in the modern vernaculars that the forms of the 1st person present indicative signify the imperative mood in the 1st person. One special characteristic in Bengali is that to indicate stress or emphasis the particle গে (which is the same in origin as গে or গা of Hindi, used almost as an auxiliary with the Hindi verbs to indicate *futurity*) is used as a post-position after the forms in the imperative mood as illustrated above.

There is one special form of the imperative mood in the second person which is formed by the suffix ইও ; করিও, যাইও, খাইও, etc., signify অমুজ্ঞা or command in such a manner that the action indicated by the verbs is asked to be done *not immediately* ; consequently the form with ইও in the imperative mood is akin to *future tense*. It is of much importance to note (though it is a very common fact of phonology) that ব and ও are very much interchangeable alike in Prākṛta and vernacular ; it is certainly well known that করিও (contracted in ordinary speech into কোয়ো) is found at times in old Bengali in the shape of



করিব (earlier করিহ). We shall presently see that it has been quite organic with us since dim past to develop the sound of ই at the end of the verb stem, when even in a little degree the idea of futurity is sought to be conveyed. If adverting to the arguments to be adduced presently, this phonetic peculiarity be considered to be a genuine phenomenon, *the ই suffix of the imperative mood may be held to tender a good explanation of the origin of the future-indicating ইব*. However, I proceed to consider the whole question in connection with the origin of our future system ; I may only note here that in the imperative form discussed here, the idea conveyed by the Sanskrit suffix 'तव्य' is not present.

As the particle না which is added to the words in the imperative form to give a stress, will be dealt with separately, I do not discuss here such a form as কর না= rather do.

*The Future system.*—Some general remarks regarding the evolution of tenses seem called for, to explain some phenomena connected with the formation of future tense. I do not state a new proposition, when I say that it is the *doing* of an act, or the *happening* of an event, that is to say, the present tense of a verb that arises first in the primitive grammar ; it is also but a repetition of the recognised truth that an action in the past and an expectation of a thing to happen in the future were at first expressed differently, only, by the change of accent, and not by changing the form of the verb in the present tense. I have discussed in a previous lecture what the probable origin of ভি, সি and যি might have been ; it may be observed that the past-forming suffixes ঞ, ণ and ঞ্চ are formed by clipping the final ই sound of the present-indicating suffixes and thereby shortening the accent to indicate, as it were, the faded away past ; this

is also how তে, সে and এ were reduced to ত, 'শাস্ and ই. The present-creating অস্মি (derived from অস্+মি) and the past-creating ঐ also disclose the same history. This analysis will help us to ascertain the character of the future-indicating suffixes.

The fact that the present indefinite which is the real present to start with, indicates futurity in all languages, proves that a special gesture or accent was only added to the present form to signify futurity. Some remnants of old forms justify us in supposing that the final vowel sound of the present-indicating suffixes was prominently intonated to indicate futurity ; I bring up for comparison the Prakṛta present form হোই which is changed into হোহি to indicate future tense merely by the putting of an accent on the final ই sound. As the ই sound to denote futurity, was prominently intonated, the sound became a special characteristic of the future tense, and as such, stuck to the root or stem of the verb, even when a special time-differentiating suffix (ভতি, ভসি, etc.) was introduced.

It thus appears on examining the morphology of the future-forming suffixes that the characteristic ই to denote partly the future tense, became in a manner an inseparable part of the verbal stem as করি, গমি, ভবি, etc., and the present indefinite form of অস্ as ভতি, ভসি, ভামি, etc., were made suffixes in the place of articulated gestures for signifying futurity. That for euphonic reasons a few verbs only do not take ই in assuming future-denoting form need not be pointed out, since that is an exceptional case. These newly formed suffixes assumed rather the character of auxiliary verb like আছি, আছে, etc., of Bengali which are joined to Bengali verbal stems to amplify the tenses. We notice this fact in the Māgadhī speech that when the auxiliary portion was dropped, the simple ই

remained with a special accent attached to it, to indicate futurity ; at times *হি* was introduced to fully represent the future indicating stress, as may be noticed in such a form for example as *জাই হি* ; in the subjunctive mood as well, we meet with *জই (যদি) করিহি, জই বা এ হি*, etc., for *জই করই, জই বাএ* (present forms indicating future sense), etc. Thus we clearly see that in some *Prākṛtas* (specially in the *মাগধী* we are concerned with) *ই* or *হি* became sufficient to express the idea of futurity. As it is not simply *ই* but *ইব* which is the future-forming suffix in Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, some scholars give us *ইব* from a source which is not connected with the future-denoting form which obtained in the *Prākṛtas*.

It has been formulated by some European scholars that *ভব্য* which forms the participle of the future passive, generated the complete form *ইব* as the future-forming suffix. I must fully admit that this theory explains the matter completely, but as it implies *a break of continuity with the past*, I proceed to examine the claim which has been set up for *ভব্য*.

The words formed by *ভব্য* were adopted in the early *Māgadhī* speech in such forms as, *কতকো, জাতকো, পতকো, সোতকো, হোতকো* or *হোদকো*,<sup>1</sup> etc. We see that there was no *ই* in these forms to begin with. I think that when the idea of futurity involved in those words had to be prominently brought out in the new infinitives with a shade of some difference in meaning, *ই* was inserted or rather grew up in the new forms *করিক, জানিক, পাইক, শুনিক, হোইক*, etc. The forms *ভবিতব্য, হোদকো, হোইক*, and *হোইবার* are arranged in a regular series or chronological order to show that *হোইবার* which comes directly out of *হোইক*, does not fully express the meaning indicated by

<sup>1</sup> Though 'ই' is attached to the verbal stem in 'ভবিতব্য,' its original *Prākṛta* form is without it.

ভবিতব্য; পতকঃ ঠানং may be nicely translated by পাইবার স্থান, but the full meaning of প্রাপ্তব্য is not obtained in the Bengali form and as such in addition to পাইবার we have borrowed প্রাপ্তব্য from Sanskrit in our modern Bengali.<sup>1</sup> ভবিতব্য has to be translated into Bengali by যাহা হইবার আছে তাহা. This তব্য which has given rise to such infinitive forms as দেখিবা, করিবা, etc., in Oriya and দেখিবার, করিবার, etc., in Bengali, may very likely give us ইব in question, but whether such an extraction was made out of তব্য to form future tense anew by *breaking with the past*, is a matter for much consideration. Purposeful coining of a new suffix to indicate a tense is not a natural phenomenon; that the old idiomatic forms are transmuted imperceptibly is what should be accepted to be the natural procedure.

It is difficult to imagine that the suffix which was not extracted from তব্য in the shape of ইব, even in the latest known প্রাকৃত to signify futurity, was given currency in that lost language which gave rise to the dialects (now languages) in which ইব is now used. How in a far-fetched way ইব has to be extracted from তব্য to make it a future-denoting suffix, and how in accepting the theory to be correct we have to accept the situation that the idiomatic use of the past time to use merely one ই or হি was wholly ignored in some modern vernaculars, have been sufficiently discussed. We have seen, on the other hand, in our analysis of the forms of verbs in the imperative mood that such a form as করহ (do immediately now) was naturally reduced to করিহ and then to করিঅ or করিও to denote a command relating to doing in future; that this naturally evolved suffix ইও easily transmutable to ইব,

<sup>1</sup> পাইবার আছে, করিবার আছে, etc., do not imply the idea of উচিতা and যোগ্যতা.

could be taken up for use as a future-forming suffix, without violating the idiomatic use of the past time, is, in my opinion, sufficiently clear.

It is not true, what is generally supposed to be the case, that most of the Bengali verbs require the help

Auxiliary verbs of the verbs of হু and ক origin to express their action. We can easily notice that the verbs in the old Māgadhī speech did not stand in need of any additional support from other verbs as auxiliaries; it is equally clear that our genuine Bengali verbs খাওয়া, চলা, শোওয়া, etc., do not require the verbs of হু or ক origin to come to their help in expressing their own action. When in consequence of Sanskrit renaissance, our Bengali verbs were looked down upon as inelegant and vulgar, the Sanskrit verbal nouns were formed according to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, and a new method of expression being devised, the verbal nouns were made to be governed by the verbs of হু or ক origin. খাইতেছি, চলিবে, শুইল are the natural and genuine Bengali forms, while ভোজন করিতেছি, গমন করিবে, শয়ন করিল are unnatural Sanskritic forms. The influence of the Pandits became so very much dominating that some verbs (denoting mental acts generally) were reduced wholly to noun forms; ইচ্ছা to wish, চিন্তা to think, পূজা to worship, etc., are not allowed now to be declined as verbs and such forms as ইচ্ছিল, চিন্তিবে and পূজিহ are regarded archaic or obsolete.

The peculiarity of the forms মেরে কেল (kill outright), ফেলে দাও (throw away), জুটে পড় or বোগ দাও (join up), সরে পড় (get away), সেরে দাও (finish up), etc., need be explained. কেল, দাও পড়, etc., are mere stress-giving adjuncts and are not verbs in reality; they cannot be easily noticed as such on account of the fact that these mere emphasis-indicating adjuncts take the tense-forming as

well as other suffixes. It may be seen that when emphasis is not put upon the verbal phrases of this class, the adjuncts naturally fall off; compare the sentences কাপড় ছেড়েছি and কাজ সেয়েছি in contrast with কাপড় ছেড়ে ফেলেছি and কাজ সেয়ে নিয়েছি. It is amusing to note that the Pandits, considering the emphasis-indicating adjuncts to be the real verbs, Sanskritise some of these verbal phrases in a highly ridiculous manner; not seeing that দেওয়া in বোগ দেওয়া, does not mean 'giving,' they use the hideous phrase বোগদান করা for বোগ দেওয়া; in their mania to Sanskritise Bengali phrases and idioms, they forget also that the word দান does not signify simple 'giving' in Bengali, but that it signifies 'giving away' or 'making a gift in charity.' The full absurdity of the situation will be realised, if in the analogy of বোগদান করা, the phrases ছেড়ে ফেল and সরে পড় be Sanskritised into ছেড়ে নিক্ষেপ কর and সরে পতিত হও.

Some verbs do not usually take suffixes in declension and exist as decayed forms of old verbs; when these verbs are used, additional verbs as auxiliaries are joined to them; as usual the added adjuncts are only changed in conjugation. The verb কাড়ি 'to snatch away' is in use, but independently it cannot take verbal suffixes; সে কাড়িল, আমি কাড়িলাম, etc., are not in use; the forms in use are সে কেড়ে নিল, আমি কেড়ে নিলাম, etc.

*Voice*—Our Bengali idiom does not admit such an expression as ইল আমা-বারা (or তোমা-, or তাঁহা-) কৃত; only our Pandits at times write such horrid things in close imitation of মরা (or মরা or তেন) কৃতমিদম্. It is a peculiarity with our Māgadhī vernaculars that even when the voice is not active, the finite verbs retain their usual form, e.g., গাছ কাটা হইয়াছে, মন্দির গড়া হইবে, ভাত রান্না হয় নাই, etc. In those cases where there is a distinct reference to the person doing an act, the অকৃত nominative takes the form

of genitive case, *e.g.*, আমার ভাত খাওয়া হইবে না, তাঁহার নাওয়া হইয়াছে, etc. It is noticeable in all the above illustrations that কাটা, গড়া, রাঁধা, খাওয়া, and নাওয়া have been treated as verbal nouns though they are participle in origin. In the following examples, আমার যাইতে হইবে, তোমায় করিতে হইয়াছিল, etc., আমার and তোমায় are certainly in the instrumental case, but the verbs are unchanged in their form, and the infinitive forms যাইতে, করিতে, etc., have been used with the finite verbs. It is also noticeable that আমার and তোমায় of the above sentences may be optionally reduced to আমাকে and তোমাকে, indicating perhaps thereby that the ক final of আমা and তোমা is wholly otiose, and is not a sign of the accusative case. The following impersonal form এটা ভাল দেখায় (or শোনায) না = it does not look (or hear) well, shows that the causative forms of the verbs to see and to hear, have been idiomatic in such cases in Bengali; in Oriya in such cases we get শুব্ and দিশ্ for ordinary শুনা and দেখা respectively; in some cases দিশ্ and শুব্ occur optionally in Oriya, *e.g.*, গোটাএ শব্দ শুব্ছি or শুনা যাউঅছি (একটা শব্দ শুনা যাচ্ছে) and, খণ্ডিএ নৌকা দিশ্ছি or দেখা যাউঅছি (এক খানা নৌকা দেখা যাচ্ছে). According to special Bengali idiom, such honorific expressions as আপনার আসা হলো and তাঁহার খাওয়া হবে are very common. As for special peculiarities of Bengali voice, the above examples will quite do as various distinct forms of voice have not been much in use since long.

The infinitives called অসমাপিকা verbs formed by অ (=Pr. অ=S. য and ডা), as করিয়া, ধরিয়া, ছাড়িয়া, etc., are identical with Prākṛta করিঅ, ধরিঅ, ছড়িঅ, etc.; as their later contracted forms করি, ধরি, ছাড়ি, etc., are only met with in Oriya literature, and the fuller early forms cannot be proved to have existed at any time in Oriya, we may presume that the forms as contracted on the soil of

<sup>1</sup>Some infinitive forms

Bengal flowed into Orissa. In addition to the forms करि, धरि, etc., we meet with करिण, धरिण, etc., in use in the literature of Orissa and not in the common speech of the people ; this exclusively literary ण suffix of Oriya, is in existence in Marathi, but it is not from Marathi that Oriya borrowed it, since from the earliest known time the use of this suffix is noticeable in Oriya literature. We do not exactly know who those Marhaṭṭas are, who have been named in the Purāṇas along with other wild hordes of the frontier of Bengal.

*Adverbs*—The adverbial use of the असमापिका verbs in eastern vernaculars, including Bengali, is interesting. হেঁটে (i.e., हाँटिया) is असमापिका verb in such a sentence as আমি হেঁটে যাচ্ছি, but it is adverb, having the meaning 'quickly' in the sentence বেলা যাচ্ছি হেঁটে চল ; in some cases, करिया being compounded with some adjectives or nouns, adverbs are formed, such as ভাল করে পড়, বড় করে রাখ, বুদ্ধি করে কাজ কর, etc. ; करिया or করে referred to here is identical with करिया which indicates instrumental case, as in হাতে করে ধর. A class of compounds similar in form is in use in the Burdwan Division, but the compounds of this class are adjectives and their final component করে conveys the meaning মত or like, as may be noticed in such phrases as রোগী করে লোকটি. কাল করে মেয়েটি, etc. It may also be noted here that in the idiom of some eastern districts, for such a phrase as राम नामे (as in राम নামে এক লোক ছিল), राम করে is used.

It is necessary to point out that the adverb-forming এ suffix as noticeable in জোরে, ধীরে, etc., is identical with the এ which signifies the instrumental case as shown below ; as such the forms ধীরে, জোরে, etc., should not be confounded



with the contracted forms of হাঁটিয়া, করিয়া, etc., which are used as adverbs.

Besides adjectives used as adverbs, there are other adverbial forms, namely, (1) those formed from infinitives called অসমাপিকা ক্রিয়া, as noticed just now; (2) words formed by reduplication as সোজাহুজি, মাঝামাঝি, etc., noticed in Lecture IX; (3) words with the prefix স indicating intensity which is not to be confounded with Sans. স of সহ, as সঠিক, সটাত, সকাতির; (4) words with the suffix এ which is instrumental denoting, to indicate with, in, etc., জোরে (with force), মোটে (in total, or at all), ধীরে (slowly), একপে (in this manner), etc.; (5) formation of adverb with শত্ suffix was once in use, but now obsolete; সুপং (modern সুপ করিয়া) is noticed in a rural song of East Bengal—শিকা নড়ে,—সুপ-সুপতি টাকা পড়ে.

Though used almost like a suffix and though the words with পারা suffix are adverbs in limited cases only this particle পারা (like) may be noticed here. The Oriya form পরি (like) is closer to the original from which পারা and পরি have been derived. প্রতিম (like) was reduced to পরিম in Prākṛta and this পরিম has been reduced to পরি as well as to পারা. This পারা or পরি should not be confounded with Oriya পরা which has a peculiar signification. তুমি যাব পরা (= is it not that you will go?) and যু যিবি পরা (= Bengali আমিও যাব যে) will show the peculiar use differing from the sense of পরি (like); compare the Sanskrit idiomatic form ইতঃ পরম্ (now then), বহুনি কিম্? It may be noticed also that সাহরে of Oriya (সঙ্গে of Bengali—in the company of) is confounded with Bengali সাজ to signify finis. The history of this word is interesting: স (with) অঙ্গ (branches—six in number) the study of the Vedas has to be finished; from this idea সাজ purely as a Bengali word has come to denote the end.

*Article as a part of speech*—Such a part of speech as article is wanting not only in the Vedic but also in Classical Sanskrit. It is, however, curious that a slight change of thought occurred at one time and the writers in Sanskrit could not name many objects merely by adding a numeral as one or two before the objects without introducing such a word as 'Jana' or 'khaṇḍa' or the like. Very likely this sort of idiomatic expression came into use owing to some change of thought in the people speaking Prākṛta dialects; 'ekō narah' or 'ekah' 'kāṣṭhah' was quite a full expression once but subsequently 'janeka narah' or 'khaṇḍekah kāṣṭhah' became necessary to be written at a later time. In our vernacular we must say and write একগাছা লাঠি, একখানা খালা, একজন মানুষ, একটি পাতা, etc., and এক লাঠি, এক খালা, এক মানুষ, এক পাতা etc., will be wholly odd and unidiomatic. Leaving aside জন, খণ্ড etc., let us take special notice of the particle টি which has in many cases the force of definite article.

The fact that the derivation of the particle has been a puzzle to many scholars, is partly in support of its origin from the Dravidian source. A very definite and distinct root of this particle is found deeply planted in the Dravidian speech; all the branches of the Dravidian languages possess it in one form or another, and the very form টি is in the speech of the Andhras who once established intimate relation with all parts of Northern India; e.g. টি agglutinated with vā = face, is vāṭi from which comes Oriya पाँटी. This टि of Telugu which corresponds to other forms in other Dravidian languages, is a characteristic inflexional increment at the end of neuter nouns. That in our use of टि as definite article in Bengali and Oriya, we agree with Telugu will be convincing by referring to the history of this particle as given in Caldwell's Comparative

Grammar of the Dravidian Languages (p. 264). It seems that to begin with, টি used to be affixed to neuter nouns only, and its variant ডি was being used with other nouns, for in old-time idiom we meet with গাহটি, পাহাড়টি, লাহিটি, etc., on one side and বহুড়ি, ঝিউড়ি, শাতড়ি, etc., on the other side ; we may notice that in East Bengal such forms as ভাইডি, বোনডি, etc., are still in use. We may compare with the above forms, the Hindi particle ठो used with adjectives and neuter nouns as in Telugu and so also the Hindi use of डि as agreeing with বহুড়ি, ঝিউড়ি, etc. I may further remark that the pseudo-Sanskrit form बहुटि of a very late time Sanskrit, points to the extensive use of the particle in question in past time.

The supposition that the definite article comes from গোটা (entire in Bengali), is doubly faulty. We have no doubt seen that টি in its form and function as agreeing with our usage, is in its natural position in the Dravidian languages, but we have to further notice that গোটা has never been in use in Hindi, and yet we meet with ठো and डि in that language ; I should note that I exclude purposely Nepalese from the list, as owing to a special Dravidian influence the word গোটা has gone over to that country to signify exactly 'one' as in Oriya. In the next place we have to take note of the fact that গোটা signifying either 'entire' or 'one,' comes from the Telugu cardinal number *Okaṭi* ; that *okaṭi* is not an adaptation of Sanskrit এক, but is connected radically with the original Dravidian term for 'one' cannot be discussed here and the students may refer for it to Caldwell's work as named above. I only notice that গোটা in the form of গোটান্ is a suffix in the speech of our Dravidian neighbours, the Oraons.

*Some particles and indeclinables*—The scope of these lectures does not allow me to deal with all the parts of

speech and with all primary and secondary suffixes ; it is not to write a regular grammar, but to trace the history of our language, that these lectures are intended. I proceed now to deal with those particles and indeclinables which being peculiar to the Bengali language, differentiate Bengali from the allied Vernaculars, and which have to disclose to us the interesting history of their origin.

*Some Interjections*—Besides *Haye* the form *Ho* must have been in use to call out a man during Vedic days, for the priest having the function of asking the gods to come is *Hotā* in the Vedas. *Ho* survives in some provinces and its reduced form *O* to signify calling out and to answer in response to a call is in use in Bengali. *Haye* was reduced to *Aye* as well as to *Are* long ago, and *Are* was also reduced in those days to *Re* merely ; all these forms are in use in Sanskrit. The Bengali forms have been *Ore* and *Re* principally ; again, by the change of *R* into *L* such forms as *Ālo*, *Olo*, *Lo*, and *Lā* have been current in Bengali. In this respect Oriya agrees with Bengali. The forms *Ogo*, *Go* and *Gā* seem to be etymologically connected with the above forms. It should also be noted here that like *O* to denote a response to a call, *Ho* was reduced to *Hu* as is now current ; *Hu* has another form *Hā*. The particle *U* (softened form of *Hu*) if joined to *Hu*, the form *Uhu* denotes denial at inquiry.

आह (from अह=be it so) is in universal use in Northern India and does not require a special notice. The Vedic interjection वट (certainly in the form of वटे) is in use in Bengali only ; that this particle (as in वटे ? = is it so ?) has no etymological connection with the verb वृत् (reduced to वट in Bhojpuri Hindi only) need not be discussed.

আই—This peculiarly Bengali interjection is no longer in use ; we get it, for example, in the অন্নদায়কল, “ আই, আই,

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আই ! আই ক্বা কি এই গৌরীর বর লো !” ; in some eastern districts, however, it survives in the form of আউ as an interjection coupled with ছি (from দিক ) as আউছি !

আজ্ঞা in respectful reponse to a call is not much in use in the sea-board districts of Orissa, where the Hindi word कि is much in vogue, but this Bengali form is fully in use in the Sambalpur Tract.

বিগ্নেন্ is in use in East Bengal (from বি+বৃণ, abomination) while বেগ্না is in general use.

ধুতোরি which indicates disgust in anger comes from Hindi ; धुत् (corresponding to द्र ह of Bengali) when used in Hindi to abuse a man by insulting a female relation of his, तेरि (your) occurs in the feminine form ; this whole portion minus the noun to which तेरि relates has been abbreviated in Bengali in an inoffensive form.

*Conjunctions*.—Some Sanskrit and pseudo-Sanskrit particles have only recently been brought into use as conjunctions but they are mostly limited to literary use while genuine forms of conjunction are in popular use.

(1) এবং to signify ‘and’ is wholly literary ; ও from Prākṛta अ (Sans. ५ ) and আর from অ+উ (Oriya আউ ) are the Bengali forms.

(2) To signify ‘also’, ও, আরও and আরু (from আউ as a variant) are in use.

(3) আবার=again, is not from আর বার, but from অবর which has given আগর (really আবর ) to Hindi.

(4) ত or তো from তু and তবে signify ‘but’ ; কিন্তু has now come into general use.

\* (5) But then=তবে কিনা.

(6) Or=বা and কি.

(7) Either—Or=কি—না, and হয়—নয়.

(8) If=জই (obsolete), now Sanskrit যদি ; to note that adverb বাই (=just when) is from বদ।.

(9) Till and Till then=তক.

(10) Because=কেননা and কারণ; যেহেতু comes from modern court use of it to signify whereas; অতএব is new in use; তাই and এইজন্য=for this reason. বলিয়া as in এই বলিয়া is another genuine form.

(11) For=তরে (from তর্হি) and জন্যে.

(12) Lest is signified by যদি, যদিশ্যৎ and চাই কি (from চৈৎ).

(13) Though and Although=বদিও.

(14) Nevertheless=অথচ (Pali) and তবুও.

(15) Perhaps=হয়ত.

(16) Therefore=কাজেই; হুতরাং of modern literary use is a hideous form.

(17) Notwithstanding=হলেও, তবুও and the pseudo-Sanskrit তথাচ, at times.

(18) Since=থেকে.

(19) As if=যেন.

(20) As for=জহা (obsolete), বধা (Sanskrit).

(21) No less than—is expressed by the Hindi phrase कमसेकम, and also by নিদান and নিদানপক্ষে.

(22) At least=বড় জোর.

(23) Rather=Sanskrit বরং.

(24) That is to say=অর্থাৎ and হইতেছে কি or হতেছে কি or হচ্ছে এই.

না, সি, and সেন্—It is well known that the particle  
*Some other Particles* হু of Vedic times (as in কৃণবাবুই  
 হু)—has always been in use in Sanskrit, and न has been its form in the Prākṛtas. I am strongly inclined to hold by differing from the time-honoured opinion of the grammarians of old days that न as occurs, for instance, with ते and समये in such Pali sentence as तेन णे पन समयेन, has the force of हि and is the न of हু origin, and not the sign of instrumental case in special locative sense, for the regular locative forms are in plenty in पालि. This suggestion of mine, however, has

no concern with what I am going to illustrate. I have no doubt that our emphasis-indicating না as in এসনা (please do come) is identical with প্রাকৃত ন of হ origin. In Oriya we meet with the particle both in the shape of ন and নি; the latter is in literary use (as in হেলা নি—it is done) and the former is in the mouth of all people, along with নি in the Sambalpur Tract; দশ বাজিলা-ন and দশ বাজিলা-নি are used alike in common parlance. In some parts of the district of Jessore, in the eastern parts of the district of Nadiya, and in Northern Bengal, নে and নি are of general use as articles of emphasis; আমি যাবনে (eastern parts of Jessore and Nadiya) and সে যাবি নি (Eastern Nadiya and Northern Bengal) are examples. I think these examples from various quarters show that না, নে, নি and ন itself are identical with প্রাকৃত ন of ancient হ origin.

We have noticed in the 13th Lecture that হি performing the function of ন or হু, was reduced to সি (as in সে-সি of প্রাকৃতকীর্তন=modern সে-ত); it is pretty clear that this সি with the appendage of aforesaid ন or না, appears in Oriya, as সিনা (e.g., সে সিনা কহিখিলা=সে ত কয়েছিল) and in the eastern districts of Bengal, as সেন্ (e.g., সে সেন্ বলেছিল=সেত বলেছিল). It may be supposed that সিনা or সেন্ comes from Sanskrit शिन्, but as शिन् in no form occurs in the প্রাকৃতস, the derivation I have suggested, seems to be the right one.

বই, as in তোমা বই আর জানিনি is certainly the decayed form of ব্যতীত; it will be very wrong to identify it with Sanskrit particle বৈ of the series, ষ, বৈ, তু, হি. I need hardly point out that ত comes from তু of the above series.

*Some Secondary Suffices*—I proceed now to notice a few secondary suffixes of Bengali, as disclose some special characteristics of our language.

*Feminine-forming suffixes*—It has to be noted that the হান্স rules for reducing masculine to feminine were not always strictly followed in Pali; the feminine form of চোর is চোরী in Pali, and it will be seen that our modern rules are fully in harmony and accordance with the spirit of the Magadhi usages. The suffix অ of the Sanskrit grammar, did not come into use in the Prākṛta from which Bengali originates. অ has been retained to form diminutives and it must be noted that diminutives are formed almost exactly like the feminine forms.

In the প্রাকৃত ঙ্গ and নী were the two suffixes which have been inherited by Bengali; our Pandits only at times violate our idiomatic use by importing the Sanskrit suffix অ.

It is rather a simple rule in Bengali that all masculine nouns having অ or আ final, take ঙ্গ (occasionally ই in feminine), and all other words (i.e., having ই, উ, এ and ও finals) take ইনী (at times reduced to অনী in euphonic mutation) to indicate feminine forms; the only important proviso is that the words having অ or আ final do also take ইনী, when they signify a class or a trade-guild. The examples are :

Rules for the use of feminine-forming suffixes

(1) *From words having অ final*—নির্ভরী (ত্রিভুজকৌর্ভন), রাবী (চণ্ডীদাস), বাদরী, শরতানী, etc. Here we notice that being indicative of class সাপিনী from সাপ (ভারতচন্দ্র) and বাঘিনী from বাঘ, which is usual in our speech, are correct in Bengali. In বোনাই from বোন, and নন্দাই from নন্দ perhaps we get the ই to denote masculine from the ending of জামাই by false analogy. It may also be supposed that the words were compounded with পতি which was reduced first to পই and then to অই.

(2) *From words having আ final*—কাকী, খুকী, ছুঁড়ী, বেঙ্গমী (from বেঙ্গমা), বুড়ী, চন্দ্রমুখী or -মুখী (from Prākṛta চন্দ্রমুখা),



আহরী (really from আহরিজা, which is only reduced to আহরে; আহরিণী is a pseudo-Bengali form coined by *Jatra-walas* to make the word dignified). Like আহরিণী, পাগলিনী is a pseudo-Bengali term, for in our speech the word পাগলী (be it from পাগল or পাগলা) is in universal use.

*N.B.*—As the feminine forms of words of আ final have the suffix ঈ, the masculine words, formed grammatically from feminine words, with ঈ final, have been made words with আ final; for example, from মাসি and পিসি (orig. মাউসি, and পিউসি), we have got মাউসিআ (মেসো) and পিউসিআ (পিসে). Similarly when from ব্যক্তি the অপভ্রংশ form বেটি was formed, a new regular masculine word was coined as বেটা.

(3) The words signifying class or trade-guild must take ইনী (or its variant আনী or নী), no matter whether the final is হসন্ত or has অ or আ or any other vowel. The examples are: বৈজ্ঞ—বৈজ্ঞানী, নাপিত—নাপিতিনী or নাপিতানী, কামারনী, গোয়াল—গোয়ালনী, ময়রানী, ধোবানী, বাগ্দি—বাগ্দিনী, তেলিনী, কলু—কলুনী, মালো—মালুনী, etc. We have also to notice, when new words are formed by our villagers they follow the unwritten law of our grammar and coin such feminines from words denoting occupation as মাষ্টারনী, ডাক্তারনী and পণ্ডিতানী.

*N.B.*—When the feminine forms themselves have come to us having already been formed in Sanskrit, as a matter of course, we do not Bengalicize them even when we make অপভ্রংশ of them; thus it is that though the word ব্রাহ্ম signifies a class, the অপভ্রংশ of ব্রাহ্মণী as বাম্ণী remains unchanged in Bengali. It may also be said in respect of this particular example that as ন happens to be the final of the word in question, ন of the suffix ইনী is bound to be dropped for euphonic reasons.

I notice also here the words having ঙরাণা suffix which seemingly appear as exceptions; the words having been

borrowed from Hindi, the Hindi forms are used in feminine, and the suffix *ইনী* appropriate to trade-signifying class, is not used.

I make this general statement that all masculine forms as do not come under (1) and (2) above take *ইনী* for feminine-forming suffix. What I have stated in commenting on *আদরিনী* and *পাগলিনী* may be said in respect of the following words : some words which are never used in Bengali as *যাতক*, *কুরক*, etc., present the forms *যাতকিনী*, *কুরকিনী*, etc. ; we clearly see that these forms could never be coined in a natural way in Bengali, and certainly our *Jatrawalas* coined them to make a show of pedantry. Our genuine Bengali words conform to the rules I have enunciated.

*Suffix আ of various significations*—The diminutive-forming *আ* is rather universal in Northern India, and as such special examples need not be cited in using such a form as *হরিয়া* (*হরে*) for *হরি* to signify non-honorific address ; so far we agree with other Indian Vernaculars, but we may note that to signify affection, we use the suffix *উ* where euphonic combination becomes possible ; *কাহু*, *হকু*, *থকু*, etc., are examples. It is supposed that the *উ* suffix mentioned above is virtually the contracted form of *উ-আ* which is a variant of *ই-আ* or rather the euphonic mutation of *আ*. For examples of *আ* as signifying diminutive, and as not connected with or derived from the final *ক* which is diminutive-indicating in Sanskrit, I may just mention two words namely *বাসা* (temporary lodging or nest) from *বাস*, and *ঘরা* (a little hole, say, a button-hole) from *ঘর*. That *পুতা* for *পুত্র* (e.g. *মায়ে বলেন পড় পুতা*) from *পুত্রক* is entirely different from either *ঘরা* or *বাসা*, is clear, and so we may hold that there is a pure and independent *আ* which signifies diminutive.

Regarding the formation of diminutives it may be stated as a general rule that the diminutives are formed generally in the manner in which feminine is formed. হাত from হাত, হাঁড়ি (smaller jar) from হাঁড়া (a bigger one) and from মোচা (the big banana flower) the form মুচি as in কাঁটালের মুচি, will illustrate the process.

*Other Suffixes*—The adjective-forming কা is generally considered to be a combination of ক and আ; this appears doubtful adverting to the signification of the following forms, viz., (1) পলকা=liable to break easily (from পড় to fall + কা), (2) হালকা=light ( লঘু=লহ=হলু + কা ), (3) খটকা, that which causes a খট or doubt in the mind (here old agency-signifying ক in the form of কা may be the suffix), (4) বলকা as in বলকা হুধ (which is slightly বর্ধিত or rather আবর্ধিত or boiled). ক and not কা also occurs in a few cases; e.g., টনক from টান (sprightly or smart, or alert).

As to আ, derived from past participle-forming ক্ত=ত =অ as কাটা from ক্তিত, খাখা from গ্রথিত etc., illustrations have already been given.

ই, ইয়—The old time ই or ইয় reducible to the forms of ই, ইয়া, উয়া plays an important part in Bengali; as a suffix its noted use is to indicate relation, or belonging to, or pertaining to. বর্দ্ধমানিয়া=বর্দ্ধমেনে, a man of Burdwan, কটকি গয়না, ornament made at Cuttack, ঘরোয়া কথা, a private affair, রামায়ণী কথা, the story relating to the Ramayana, বেণে ভাষা, the peculiar dialect of the Benia class, ভাতুয়া=ভেতো as in ভেতো বাদালী (fond of taking rice), are some examples. If the word is with আ final the pure vowel ই generally stands as suffix: ঢাকাই কাপড় (cloth made at Dacca), খাগড়াই বাসন (utensils made at Khagra) may be noted for examples. This suffix is also used to denote the idea যুক্ত, joined to, or addicted to, or standing with; ডুরিয়া=ডুরে=ডোরযুক্ত, i.e., striped, তুল+ঈয় reduced to টয়=তুলো, one liable to forget, ঘেরো=ঘায়ুক্ত, full of sores,

may be noted for examples ; note that *নিড়বিড়ে* is adjective by itself without the suffix *এ* of *ইয়া*, for it comes from *নির্ঝা*. Again, noun-forming *ই* should not be confounded with this suffix ; *পুরোহিতি* agrees with the pure Vedic form, but it is a chance agreement ; *গোলাই* (roundness) from *গোল*, *বড়াই* = *বড় দেখাইবার ভাব* and *খোদাই* (an act of engraving) are examples of this class.

*Suffix ল*—It has been shown previously that the suffix *ল* of Sanskrit origin derived from *ल* is in much use in Bengali. Sanskrit form *वाचल* having the variant *वाचाट* shows the origin of the suffix from *ल*. Compare also the forms *कानित* and *केनिल*. As in Sanskrit form *वाचाट* for *वाचल* we get *ट*, so we get both *ट* and *ड* in Bengali for *ल* ; *খায়াল* (*খায়বুল*, sharp-edged), *ছুঁচোল* (pointed like a *ছুঁচ*, needle), *পাতলা* (thin like a *পাতা*, leaf), *পেঁচাল* (*পেঁচবুল*, roundabout), *পচাল* (an utterance which is *পচা*, rotten, *i.e.*, indecent) and *মাতাল* (addicted to wine) are some regular examples. Regarding the reduction of the suffix to *ট* and *ড* a few examples will do ; *কিপটে* (from *कृपण* = *কিণিন*), miserly, *বগড়াটে* (quarrelsome), *বোকাটে* (foolish), *বাসাড়ে* (*বাসা* + *ড* + *ইয়া*), one living in a lodge away from home, *আঁসটে* (*আঁসবুল*), smelling the scale of a fish and *চেঙ্গড়া* (frisky like a *চেঙ্গ* fish), flippant (in E.B., however, the word signifies a small boy), are examples. In Midnapore *চেঙ্গড়া* occurs also in the form *চেঙ্গলা*. In the form *বকাট* the suffix *ইয়া* has been shortened. To note that it is wrong to suppose that the suffix *টিয়া* or *ডিয়া* occurs in *আঁটকুড়ে* (*আঁটকুড়িয়া*) ; *আঁট* = dry, is the *কুড়* (a place, here a particular place—the loins), *i.e.*, the person who is cursed by the word is barren. That *কুড়* once signified place may be noted in the word *আঁতাকুড়* (kitchen midden) ; *আঁতা* is from *উজ্জ্বিত* and the place where the refuse matter of a kitchen is thrown is so named.

ঢ, চিয়া, চি—Once the ট form of ঞ was very likely reduced to ঢ (ঢে or চিয়া) to signify slightly different meaning, but now only a few words survive; বাইচিয়া or বাইচে (fond of showing womanly character) is in use in Midnapore and Orissa. There is another vulgar word with ঢে suffix which signifies a woman disposed to take lovers, the mention of which is avoided. ফচ্কে (flippant) seems to be from ফাঁকা + চিয়া. চি was also once noun-forming as we meet with in ভাকচি; কোনাচে (not regular in shape, having irregular corner), কানাচ as in কোনা কানাচ and হোয়াচে may also be referred to. The suffix সে as in পানসে (insipid) and চিমে (tough as leather) seems to be a variant of ঢে or rather চিয়া.

*Some foreign suffixes*—জানা as in সাহেবিজানা, গিরি as in বাবুগিরি and গুয়ালা as in কাপড়াগুয়ালা are newly introduced suffixes. মি as a noun-forming suffix of Dravidian origin has been noted in Lecture V. সা as in একসা is also a newly introduced suffix; ধা of Sanskrit has perhaps been so reduced. The Bengali form of ধা is met with in one formation only and there ধ has been reduced to ঘ; the form is একঘেরে = monotonous. The suffix ঘোর as in গুলিঘোর has also come to us from Hindi.

*General Remarks*—Excepting a few such suffixes as আ, ইয়া etc., our genuine Bengali secondary suffixes are dead or defunct in character; they are with words which were formed long ago, but are not freely employed to coin new words. This has been due to this foolish and ridiculous notion that to make our language respectable we should resort to unfamiliar Sanskrit suffixes in preference to genuine popular ones. For instance, to translate the English word, *elastic*, the word স্থিতিস্থাপক has been coined, which is unintelligible to the common people; the word টনুক could be used for it with a slight variation in meaning, or such a very expressive term as টানসই (সই

from *বহা* to bear) could be usefully employed, but it has not been so done.

I have omitted to take notice of many Sanskrit suffixes and forms in use in Bengali, as special remarks regarding them are not needed though it is interesting to know when and under what circumstances Sanskrit language was made to contribute to the stock of our language. I should not omit to mention, however, that a real necessity impelled our writers to import Sanskrit words and Sanskritic forms. It has already been mentioned that as our proud ancestors did not care to express their high thoughts in the vernaculars of the people, the living speech dragged on a miserable existence. We needed suitable expressions and new serviceable suffixes to express ourselves properly. Sonorous Sanskrit words were also laid under contribution, to maintain elegance in style. I may remind you that classical words and old flexions are for the very reason employed in modern European languages to give vent to æsthetic ideas in an effective manner. Some fine sentiments and associations may only be best expressed, if, as in English, classical forms are resorted to. The remarks of the English philologists that while the old forms are useful and effective in an elegant composition to express æsthetic ideas, the modern simple forms are very much necessary to make very accurate and lucid statements of facts, are wholly applicable to Bengali. I mention these facts, not so much to justify the procedure in question, as to show how changes are effected and have been effected.



## CORRIGENDA

| Page | Line | Read                                                                | For            |
|------|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 54   | 2    | Rājha                                                               | Rājhā          |
| 58   | 16   | the Assam frontier                                                  | Assam frontier |
| 67   | 19   | norm                                                                | form           |
| 68   | 28   | ṭhākura                                                             | ṭhakura        |
| 69   | 19   | Ḍh                                                                  | Dh             |
| 73   | 10   | Kakṣa                                                               | Kakṣa          |
| 77   | 4    | surround                                                            | sorround       |
| 80   | 26   | in                                                                  | In             |
| 88   | 27   | rise                                                                | risine         |
| 88   | 31   | Ḍiya                                                                | Dvīya          |
| 88   | 31   | Tvadiya                                                             | tadiya         |
| 88   | 32   | Ḍiya                                                                | Dvīya          |
| 111  | 17   | out before.                                                         | out            |
| 111  | 18   | Delete "before."                                                    |                |
| 111  | 19   | to                                                                  | o              |
| 112  | 32   | Ḍ                                                                   | L              |
| 117  | 29   | Ṣ                                                                   | Ś              |
| 313  | 19   | <i>add after "agrees with Bengal",-</i><br><i>Halā of Prākṛita.</i> |                |





## Works by the same Author

(1) **Orissa in the Making**, with an introductory Foreword by Sir Edward A. Gait, M.A., K.C.S.I., Retd. Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Crown 8vo., pp. 247 (1925). Rs. 4-8. Published by the Calcutta University.

This work, which has no rival in the field, presents a mass of new facts relating to the early history of Orissa, and sets out the hitherto-unnoticed course of events which culminated in the emergence of Orissa as a distinct national and linguistic unit. How the author has executed this work successfully after having been engaged for many years in his research work in Orissa, has been noticed by Sir Edward A. Gait in the introductory foreword spoken of above.

**Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay**, C.I.F., I.C.S. (retd.), who is the noted author of the *Gazetteer of the Orissa Feudatory States* and is a recognised authority in the matter of history of Orissa, writes in his letter to the author "I must apologise for my long delay in acknowledging receipt of your book '*Orissa in the Making*,' but I have wanted to read it carefully before writing to you and as you will understand it is a work which merits careful reading. May I be permitted to offer you my sincere admiration of the deep scholarship and research you display in your work, the result of years of laborious research and study."

**Dr L. D. Barnett** writes in reviewing the book in *J.R.A.S.*, p 156, 1926

Mr. Bijaychandra Mazumder's work to which a foreword is contributed by Sir Edward Gait, is an attempt to trace the history of Orissa from the earliest times with the aid of the materials furnished by epigraphy, literature, religion, ethnology, language and geography. After emphasizing with justice the original distinction between the ancient tribes of Utkalas and Odras in the interior, he endeavours to account for the altered conditions noted by Huen Tsang in the seventh century, and then sketches the fortunes of the chief dynasties, which have borne rule in the country. The Sulikas, who were defeated by the Maukharis Isanavarman about the middle of the sixth century, he locates on the coast not far from Midnapur, and he then surveys the facts known about the Bhujja dynasty and its offshoots. Then comes a study of the important family of Kosalas Guptas, whom he regards as the real makers of Orissa and connects with the dynasty descended from Udayana which ruled at Sripura (Sirpur) over Dakshina-Kosala, and after them come the Gangas of Mukhalingam (1076—1434) and the Solar dynasty of Kapilendra, Purusottama, and Prataparudra (1435—1540), with a final chapter on the later history of the Sambalpur tract. The work is marked by wide erudition and contains much that is instructive... We cannot withhold a tribute of admiration for the extraordinary intellectual energy with which he combats his physical disability.

**The LITERARY TIMES** of London (Sept. 16, 1926) publishes the following opinion :

In Mr. Mazumdar's scholarly treatise on the making of Orissa we are introduced to an exactly opposite tendency, the tendency, namely, of Hinduism to absorb and modify aboriginal tribes and cults without entirely obliterating them. Orissa is not known to the average reader of Indian history, though the great temple of Jagannath at Puri, on the coast, is the scene of those car festivals which gave rise to the familiar but quite inaccurate phrases now current in the English language. The geographical position of Orissa, with a chain of hills almost skirting the sea and much wild country in the hinterland, doubtless protected it from invasion; and the character of its inhabitants, coupled with their poverty, which held out little hopes of adequate plunder, offered no inducement to undergo the necessary hardships. The conquest of Kalinga by Asoka is one of the outstanding facts of early Indian history, but after that time we hear little of this tract which seems to have been left to the Hindus as a playground to fight out their quarrels and their ambitions. It was not until 1568, when the Mogul dynasty was firmly established, that Orissa fell under the sway of the Muham-madans, and even then part of it seems to have remained under Hindu princes. And since Hindus did not write history, Mr. Mazumdar has been compelled to reconstruct his story from epigraphic and similar records. He has shown commendable patience in this task and has written a useful book.

**The STATESMAN**, in its editorial notes of October 12, 1926, after speaking in praise of the good execution of the work remarks :

As Mr. Mazumdar had no predecessors, he has had to undertake an extensive original study of inscriptions and public records.

(2) **Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India.**

Published by the Calcutta University (1927).

