THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

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With a Foreword by
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In Two Parts
Part I: Introduction, Phonology

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FOREWORD

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

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

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 With the shifting of political gravity at a later epoch, it became superseded as a literary form of speech by dialects current farther to the West, but as a spoken language it has developed into the modern Bengali, Oriyā, Bihārī, and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

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

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

Rathfarnham.

Camberley (Surrey),

October, 1925.

George A. Grierson.
idām nāma ṣibhyāḥ pūrvajēbhiaḥ
pūrvēbhyaḥ pathikṛdbhiaḥ
āvīr āvīr ma ēdhi

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

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

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

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

doyen of Indo-Aryan Linguistics which it has been my very great fortune to enjoy, has been, along with my coming in similar personal touch with Professor Jules Bloch, an inspiration in my studies and my labours; and I may say the same of my coming to know Professor Meillet, the 
sarant and the teacher. To all these gentlemen I have to convey my most grateful thanks for all their kindnesses and for all that I have received from them as their pupil.

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

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

Linguistics as a modern science is still in its infancy in India, and the meagre dose of 'Comparative Philology' or 'Historical Grammar' which our college students reading advanced courses in Sanskrit or English, not supplementing it by any acquaintance with another cognate language of equal importance, most unwillingly gulp down, is hopelessly inadequate to create an intelligent interest in the subject. Added to this initial difficulty, Indo-Aryan linguistics both of the classical and modern periods has formed the favourite haunt of mere amateurs who seek to compensate for their want of knowledge of the principles of historical grammar and of the modern science of language by professing utter contempt of it; and the professed student of literature who knows the language but not its history shares in this contempt. To make confusion worse confounded, the spirit of scholasticism is not yet dead: we have elaborate grammars of Sanskrit masquerading as Bengali grammar, in which the genuine Bengali forms have been branded as vulgar (asādhu) beside the so-called 'polite' (sādhu) forms borrowed from Sanskrit. The first professedly historical grammar and etymological dictionary of Bengali (by that erudite and versatile scholar Rāi Bahādur Yogesh Chandra Rāv Vidyānīdihi, published by the Vangtiya Sāhitya Parisad, Bengali year 1319-1322), for instance, has not been able to shake off the Sanskrit idea by appreciating the true line of linguistic development. A historical grammar of Bengali in the true sense of the term there has never been in Bengali; and there has not been a work exclusively on Bengali by any European scholar, on the lines of Trumpp's Sindhi Grammar, or Kellogg's Hindi Grammar, or C. J. Lyall's Sketch of Hindustani, to guide the Bengali scholar in acquiring a true perspective which the too near presence of Sanskrit and the fact of the language being his mother-tongue generally blur for him. But there have at times been refreshing manifestations of common sense in writing grammars of Bengali. The first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother-tongue was the Father
of Modern India, the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy, whose work was published in English in 1826, and in Bengali in 1833; and he knew what we should mean by 'Bengali.' Chintamani Ganguli's book (published in the early eighties) is a great advance on the so-called Bengali grammars of the period, and in recent times we have Nakulavara Vidyabhushana's little book (first edition Bengali year 1305, fourth edition 1315), and mention may be made of Hirakishna Sastr's book (Bengali year 1307 = 1900). But the first Bengali with a scientific insight to attack the problems of the language was the poet Rabindranath Tagore; and it is flattering for the votaries of Philology to find in one who is the greatest writer in the language, and a great poet and seer for all time, a keen philologist as well, distinguished alike by an assiduous enquiry into the facts of the language and by a scholarly appreciation of the methods and findings of the modern western philologist. The work of Rabindranath is in the shape of a few essays (now collected in one volume) on Bengali phonetics, Bengali onomatopoetics, and on the Bengali noun, and on other topics, the earliest of which appeared in the early nineties, and some fresh papers appeared only several years ago. These papers may be said to have shown to the Bengali enquiring into the problems of his language the proper lines of approaching them.

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

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

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

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

While carrying the book through the press, I have received uniform kindness and encouragement from everybody concerned, and I cannot be too grateful to them. I have to express my thanks especially to the Assistant Registrar of the University, Bābu Yogesh Chandra Chakravartti, M.A., whose unfailing courtesy and prompt action have been of great help; to Bābu Atul Chandra Ghaṭak, M.A., Superintendent
PREFACE

of the University Press, who took a keen interest in my book, and granted me every facility that the University Press could offer, and allowed me many special privileges: his kindness has been constant during the three years that the book took to print—the first forme was printed early in 1923, and the last ones in 1926; to Bābu Kālīpada Dās, B.A., Chief Assistant in the University Press, whose expert proof-reading and whose most intelligent interest have saved me from many a typographical error and many a lapsus calami. I have also to record that the compositors in the University Press, Bengali young men all of them, appreciated my labours and gave their most cheerful cooperation. A number of typographical errors nevertheless will appear. For these I am to a large extent responsible, as all the proofs from first to last (there were sometimes five or six proofs to read before one forme could be printed) were corrected by me. In the Additions and Corrections at the end of the book I have pointed out such typographical and other errors as have come to my notice, but I fear some more, though I hope they are of a trivial sort, have escaped my scrutiny, and for this I crave the indulgence of the reader.

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

I have indicated the scope of my work in a detailed list of Contents, and a further index of the topics discussed, as well as of the names, would have increased the bulk of the work and delayed the publication for a still longer period. The Contents I hope will be found to be enough.
PREFACE

"Méga biblíon, méga kakón": the great evil however has been done—the text of my book, barring the Contents and the Index, runs up to nearly 1100 pages; but this could not be helped—as the subject, it must be admitted, is a very wide one. I have not stinted any labour, and I have tried to do my best: but

"ā paritōṣād viduṣāṁ na sādhu manyē prayōga-vijnānam".

The University,  
Calcutta:  
15 June, 1926.  

Suniti Kumar Chatterji.
ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

> means gives, leads to, results in, is changed to, giving, leading to, etc.:
e.g., < hasta > hattha > hātha > hātā >.

< means comes from, is derived from, coming from, being derived from, etc.:
e.g., < hātā < hātha < hattha < hasta >.

= indicates a cognate form, or a source type.

* before a word or affix indicates a hypothetical form not preserved in
literature, but reconstructed: e.g., < dīpa-rakṣa-+uka- > *dīva-rakkhu<
ua- > *dīa-rākhuā > dērhākhō >. This is found with forms in Indo-
European, Indo-Iranian and other hypothetical stages of the speech,
as well as in intermediate forms in Indo-Aryan.

? before a word or form indicates doubt as to the form proposed, or the form
being the source of the word or connected with the word under discussion.

✓ means root.

† before a word means it is dialectal, and not universally recognised.

† before a word indicates that it is obsolete.

+ joins up the component parts which are at the basis of a Modern Indo-
Aryan or other word.

-, the hyphen, has been used to analyse words into their roots and affixes.
When a word (Sanskrit or Pali or otherwise) is given with a hyphen
at the end, it indicates merely the base form, to which other additions
of suffixes or inflexions were made. Prefixes similarly have a hyphen
after them; and suffixes and inflexions before them.

: names of books are given within inverted commas.

~ have been used in all transliterated forms, except when they occur
by themselves within ordinary brackets ( ).

[ ] square brackets enclose words in phonetic transcription (and in some
cases also ordinary English words, and transliterated forms, occurring
within ordinary brackets).

( ) in a transliterated or phonetically transcribed word shows that the
letter or sound occurs optionally, and can be omitted either in writing
or in pronunciation.
TRANSLITERATION

TRANSLITERATION OF BENGALI.

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

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

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

এ এ ও এর = « e, əi, ə, ū »; « Sandhi » ə, ʃ = « e, ə ».

= « ū » or « m »; = « h »; « on the top of the vowel (e.g., ō = ō, ṛ = ō, ɨ = ɨ, ɾ = ū; ō = ə, ɾ = ɾ).

ক, খ, গ, ঘ, ঙ = « k, kh, g, gh, əj ».

চ, ছ, জ, ঝ, ঞ = « c, ch, j, jh, ū ».

ট, ঠ, ড, ঢ, ণ = « t, th, d, dh, ɳ »; ʃ, ɾ = « r, rh ».

ত, থ, দ, ধ, ন = « t, th, d, dh, n ».

প, ফ, ব, ভ, ম = « p, ph, b, bh, m ».
TRANSLITERATION

\( \tilde{y} = \text{\textless j\textgreater } \) in tadbhava mainly; and in some cases in tatsama, \( \tilde{y} = \text{\textless y\textgreater } \)

See below, under \( \tilde{r} \).

\( \tilde{r}, \tilde{s} = \text{\textless r, l\textgreater } \).

\( \tilde{v} = \text{\textless b\textgreater } \) when initial, intervocal and final, \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) when post-consonantal.

\( \tilde{u}, \tilde{s}, \tilde{t} = \) respectively \( \text{\textless s, s, s\textgreater } \).

\( \tilde{h} = \text{\textless h\textgreater } \).

\( \tilde{y} = \text{\textless y\textgreater } . \tilde{y} \) or \( \tilde{y} \), subscript or post-consonantal \( (= i) \) is transcribed \( \text{\textless y\textgreater } \).

\( \tilde{y} \) has in some cases been ignored, where it stands for the \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) glide.

Glide \( \tilde{y} \) has been occasionally transcribed as \( \text{\textless y\textgreater } \) and also as \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) (see text, pp. 338-342). The group \( \tilde{sr} \) has generally been transcribed as \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \), (or \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) to indicate its character as a glide sound).

\( \tilde{f} = \text{\textless ks\textgreater } ; \tilde{t} = \text{\textless jn\textgreater } \).

**TRANSLITERATION OF SANSKRIT.**

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

\( \tilde{e}, \tilde{i} \) have invariably been used for \( \tilde{a}, \tilde{i} \), to emphasise upon their long quantity; and the long diphthongs \( \tilde{e}, \tilde{i} \) are written \( \tilde{ai}, \tilde{au} \). Accent in Vedic has been denoted by \( \text{\textless i\textgreater } \) on the vowel bearing it: e.g., \( \tilde{a}, \tilde{i}, \tilde{r}, \tilde{a}, \tilde{u} \).

The \( \text{\textless anusvāra\textgreater } \) has been indicated by \( \text{\textless n\textgreater } \) or by \( \text{\textless m\textgreater } \) following the etymology.

\( \tilde{v} = \text{\textless i\textgreater } ; \tilde{w} = \text{\textless r\textgreater } \) (i.e., \( \text{\textless r\textgreater } \)); \( \tilde{h} = \text{\textless l\textgreater } ; \tilde{m} = \text{\textless l\textgreater } ; \tilde{r} = \text{\textless l\textgreater } . \)

\( \tilde{n} \) has been denoted by \( \text{\textless n\textgreater } \) as usual, but in some cases, \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) has been employed, to emphasise upon the bilabial pronunciation.

For \( \text{\textless e\textgreater } \), see under *Phonetic Transcription* below.

**TRANSLITERATION OF PRAKRIT.**

\( \tilde{a}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{i} \) have been used to emphasise on their short quantity before double consonants. Disyllabic groups—\( \text{\textless a\textgreater i, a\textgreater u\textgreater } \).

The \( \text{\textless anusvāra\textgreater } = \text{\textless n, m\textgreater } . \)

The \( \text{\textless ya\textgreater -sruti\textgreater } \) has been denoted by \( \text{\textless y\textgreater } \), and \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) has been used for a similar \( \text{\textless w\textgreater } \) glide.

In some cases, spirant pronunciation has been indicated by \( \text{\textless g, j, s, b\textgreater } . \)

For \( \text{\textless e\textgreater } \), see under *Phonetic Transcription* below.
OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES.

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

Oriya and Assamese ā, as in Bengali.

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

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

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

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

Generally r, rh have been used for intervocal ṣ(ṣ), ṭ(ṭ) ñ(ṅ) h where these letters are pronounced as the 'cerebral r, rh'.

For the letter ṝ, v, w have indifferently been used: generally w for Hindostani. Assamese and Oriya follow the Bengali way—

b-, b, -b- (intervocal), -w- (post-consonantal).

Tamil palatals have been indicated by the italic n, r, t, and the Tamil voiced cerebral spirant by i.

z is the voiced form of the sibilant s = v of Skt., which occurred in Indo-Irani.

ç has been used for the palatal fricative sound, unvoiced, of Indo-Irani.

PERSIAN AND ARABIC.

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

x has generally been employed to indicate the letter ĝ: the usual transcription is kh or kh.

š = ū, sh of English; ġ = j, or s as in English pleasure = French j.
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

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

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

[a]: 'front a,' as in North English man, cat, heard in dialectal West Bengali pronunciation of a word like কাফ [kaː] yesterday, tomorrow, as opposed to কাল [kaːl] time. Nasalised form = [\a̯].

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

[a]: 'back' or 'central' a—as in Standard Bengali কাকা [koka] uncle, আমি [ami] I. Nasalised form = [\a̯].

[a]: the sound of a as in Southern English man, cat = West Bengali sound as in কে [kæ] why, তাগ [tæg] abandonment. Nasalised form = [\a̯].

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

[b]: as in English = the Bengali ব.

[b']: made with simultaneous glottal closure, as in Sindhi, or in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [b'a:t] boiled rice = Standard ভাত [bfaː:t].
[bʱ] : the ब of Sanskrit and Hindi etc.: the voiced labial stop aspirated.
[b] : bilabial fricative, the same as [v] for which see below.
[c] : palatal stop, unvoiced—the old sound of Skt. ṭ—resembling in
   acoustic effect a fronted or palatalised ñk, i.e., a sort of ñky.
[čʰ] : the same aspirated = the old sound of Skt. ṭ.
[č] : palatal affricate, unvoiced = the West Bengali ṝ.
[čʰ] : unvoiced palatal affricate, aspirated = West Bengali ṡ.
[ç] : unvoiced palatal fricative, the sound of ch in German ich: the old
   value of the Skt. ṭ.
[d] : interdental stop, voiced = र of Bengali. (In OIA., this sound was
   alveolar).
[dʰ] : the same, with accompanying glottal closure, as in dialectal East
   Bengali [dʰɑ:n] paddy = Standard Bengali বান [diam].
[d] : voiced alveolar stop, as in English and Assamese.
[d] : voiced cerebral or retroflex stop made with curled-up tongue-tip = ढ
   of Sanskrit. The Bengali ḍ is of the same class, but it is pronounced
   at a lower position, approaching the alveolar region.
[dʰ] : the above, with accompanying glottal closure: found in Sindi, and
   in dialectal East Bengali, e.g., [dɑ:k] drum, tom-tom; to cover =
   Standard Bengali চাক [dɑ:k].
[dʃ] : voiced cerebral stop aspirated = Sanskrit ढ, West Bengali ṭ.
[θ] : voiced interdental spirant = th in English this [θis], then [θɪn],
   same as ظ of Arabic as in ذا [ḍa:t], نثر [naθr] etc.
[d] : voiced dental or alveolar stop, velarised, i.e. made with simultaneous
   raising of the back of the tongue: occurring in Arabic (see Text,
   pp. 567ff).
[dz] : voiced dental or alveolar affricate = dialectal East Bengali ṡ.
[dʒ] : voiced supra-alveolar or palatal affricate, as in English judge =
   [dʒʌdʒ].
[e] : high-mid front vowel, as in West Bengali লু দেশ [deʃ] land, countrp.
   Nasalised form = [e].
PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

[ə]: ‘semi-vowel e,’ the Bengali এ as in মায়া [maите] (Skt. मायाः = maia:).
[ɛ]: a sound intermediate between [e] and [ɨ] (see below).
[ə]: the ‘neutral vowel’ or ‘shēvā’—a central vowel as in English again [əgen], Hindīstāni सूरत [murret] image, रतन [ratan] gem, etc.
[ɛ]: low-mid front vowel, as in dialectal East Bengali কেবল [kəbol] only, or in English get [get]. Nasalised form = [ɨ].
[ə]: a central vowel, as in English bird, her [bə:d, hə:(ə)].
[ɨ]: unvoiced denti-labial spirant, as in English. Often heard in Bengali for ফ = [ph].
[φ]: unvoiced bilabial spirant, the puffing sound made in blowing out a candle: commonly heard in Bengali for ফ = [ph] (in dialectal East Bengali also for প = [p]).
[g]: velar stop, voiced = English g in go, Bengali ঘ. (The symbol generally used for this sound in the IPA. alphabet is [g]).
[g']: the above, with glottal closure: found in Sindhi, and in dialectal East Bengali, as in [gɔːr] = Standard Bengali ঘর [gɔːr] house.
[ĝ]: voiced velar stop, aspirated = Skt. घ, West Bengali ঘ.
[g]: voiced velar fricative = ġ of Persian: found in dialectal East Bengali in an intervocal position.
[g]: voiced uvular stop (the IPA. symbol commonly used is [ʤ]).
[ɣ]: voiced uvular fricative = Arabic ǧ.
[h]: unvoiced glottal fricative, ‘unvoiced h,’ the h sound of English, as in hat, happy. This is the Skt. and Bengali विसार्, and the ध्र प्राण or aspiration in the अघोषा महाप्राण or unvoiced aspirated sounds—[kh, ch (ɻh), th, th, ph].
[h]: voiced glottal fricative, or ‘voiced h’ = English h as in behind [bəhaind], perhaps [pəhæps]; = Sanskrit घ, Bengali ঘ, Arabic ɣ.
[ɦ]: a whispered h, = ɻ, the so-called ‘emphatic h’ of Arabic.
[i]: high front vowel, unrounded, as in Bengali দিন [di:n] poor, দিন [di:n] day, English seen [si:n, si:n]. Nasalised form = [ɨ].
[i]: high front vowel, retracted and brought down very near high-mid position = English i as in pit [pʰit].
[ɨ]: ‘semi-vowel or consonantal i’: the old value of Skt. य.
[j] : voiced palatal fricative, like English y in yes [jɛs].

[ʒ] : a stronger form of the preceding, with greater audible friction, approaching [ʒ], for which see below, after [z].

[ʃ] : voiced palatal stop = Skt. ʃ (the old pronunciation of which was like that of a fronted or palatalised न = cgy).

[ʃ] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali ʃ.

[ʃ'] : palatal affricate, voiced, with glottal closure, found in dialectal East Bengali for the next sound, [ʃ], of Standard Bengali.

[ʃ] : palatal affricate, voiced = West Bengali ʃ.

[k] : unvoiced velar stop = Bengali क, English k as in baker [beɪkə].

[kʰ] : the same, aspirated slightly = the English sound in cup [kʰæp], king [kʰɪŋ].

[kʰ] : the same, aspirated strongly = Skt.  SqlConnection, Bengali ʃ.

[l] : 'clear l,' as in South English long [lɔŋ], = Bengali ɻ.

[l] : 'dark l,' or velarised l, pronounced with simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate, as in South English well [wel], Bill [bɪl].

[l] : 'cerebral l,' made with the curled-up tip of the tongue against the dome of the palate = Vedic ळ. The same aspirated, ळ = [l].

[l] : 'vocalic l'—forming a syllable with another consonant = Skt. ɻ; like the l in English bottle [bɒtl], both.

[li] : slightly palatalised l as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).

[ʃi] : 'palatal l,' pronounced with simultaneous raising of the front of the tongue towards the hard palate: a sound found in dialectal French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.

[m] : bilabial nasal = the Bengali ন.

[np] : 'vocalic m,' as in English bottom [bɒtn].

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

[n] : alveolar nasal = the Bengali ন.

[p] : retroflex or cerebral nasal = the Sanskrit न.

[p] : 'vocalic n,' as in English button [bʌtn].
[ŋ]: velar nasal: the Skt. श, Bengali ৷, English ng as in sing [sing].
[p]: palatal nasal: the Skt. ङ, Bengali ৰ, French and Italian gn, Spanish ñ.
[o]: high-mid back vowel, rounded, = Bengali ১ in লোক [loːk] person, world. Nasalised form = [ᵢ].
[ɔ]: 'semi-vowel ə, e.g., Bengali ও in থাওন [khaːɔ].
[ə]: is a sound intermediate between [ɔ] and [a] (see below).
[œ]: low-mid front vowel, rounded, = the French sound as in cœur [kœʁ].
[æ]: low-mid back vowel, rounded: the sound as in English law [lɔː], = Bengali ঃ. Nasalised form = [ᵢ].
[œ]: high-mid front vowel, rounded, = the German ö as in schön [ʃən], French eu as in peu [pœ].
[p]: bilabial stop, unvoiced: Bengali প.
[pʰ]: the same, slightly aspirated: English p in pat, pick [pʰæt, pʰɪk].
[ph]: the same, strongly aspirated: Skt. फ, proper sound of Bengali ফ.
[q]: uvular stop, unvoiced, = Arabic ة.
[r]: alveolar trilled, voiced: Bengali র, Scots English r.
[r̥]: flapped r, or so-called 'cerebral r' = Bengali ঃ, Hindi ः.
[r]: 'vocalic r': = Skt. ऋ.
[a]: 'fricative r, alveolar, as in South English.
[ʌ]: retroflex fricative r, = the Tamil sound often transliterated <i>.
[r̥]: slightly palatalised r, as in dialectal West Bengali (see p. 539).
[r̥]: trilled 'uvular r', as in Northern French.
[s]: dental or alveolar sibilant, = Skt. झ, East Bengali ঝ, English s.
[t]: unvoiced dental or alveolar sibilant, velarised, = Arabic ﺷ.
[f]: palatal sibilant made with the blade of the tongue, with slight lip-rounding, = English sh, Arabic and Persian ﺷ (in transcriptions written <ṣ>).
[ʃ]: palatal sibilant made with the front of the tongue = Bengali শ, শ,ṣ.
[ʃ]: cerebral or retroflex sibilant made with the tip of the tongue curled-up against the dome of the palate = Sanskrit ष.
[t]: unvoiced inter-dental stop = Bengali ত. (The Skt. त was originally < danta-mūliya > or alveolar, like the English t.)
[th]: the same, aspirated strongly = Sanskrit ्, Bengali ্.
[t] : alveolar t as in English better [bɛtə].

[ṭ] : the same slightly aspirated = English t in tap, tip [tʰəp, tʰɪp].

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

[ṭh] : the same aspirated = Sanskrit ʒ, Bengali ṭ.

[ṭ] : unvoiced dental or alveolar stop, with velarisation, = Arabic ƙ.

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

[ṭʃ] : supra-alveolar and palatal affricate, unvoiced = English ch as in church = [tʃ]:

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

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

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

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

[ʌ] : a central vowel (or rather, a low-mid back vowel), considerably advanced, found in English, as in sun, enough [sʌn, ʌnʌf] = the Hindî stressed ɔ as in ɾaːn [ɾaːn], and very probably also the Sanskrit ʃaː ʃaː.

[ɔ] : bilabial semi-vowel, or ‘consonantal u’ (= [ũ]), as in English wet, win, the old value of the Skt. < antastha va > = ʋ.

[ɔ] : bilabial semi-vowel, or fricative (= [v]), nasalised, occurring in Apabhraṅga, in Hindî, in Middle Bengali.


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

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

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

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

[θ] : inter-dental fricative, unvoiced = English \( th \) in \( thin \), \( thank \) \[θ\em, \θ\emk\], Arabic \( Ϝ \).

[ʔ] : the 'glottal stop,' = Arabic 'hamzah' (\( ʾ \), \( Подробное описание \).

[ɣ] : the 'laryngal fricative' = Arabic 'ayn' (\( ِ \)).

(In transliteration, the above two are denoted respectively by \( ʾ \) and \( ِ \)).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 I accept Grierson's division of Indo-Iranian into three groups, although this is not admitted by all. (Sten Konow, 'Notes on the Classification of Bashgali,' JRAS., 1911, p. 1, ff., where Dardic is relegated to the Iranian group; Jules Bloch thinks it possible that the source-dialects of present day Dardic, together with the Indian Prakritic speeches of the north-west [and the source-forms of the Gipsy dialects of Armenia and Europe?], formed a distinct Indian dialect-group; JA., 1912, i, p. 336. Another view is that the Dardic speeches are 'ancient Aryan (Vedic) dialects which have been overlaid with Iranian as the result of later invasion' in the time of the Achaemenids, or earlier: E. J. Rapson in the Cambridge History of India, 1922, p. 52.) See below, § 25.
(ii) Dardic, or Pišāca: embracing the languages of the extreme north-western frontier of India, and falling into these subgroups: (a) Kāfir — Başgalī; Wai-alā; Wasi-veri or Prēsun; and Kalāṣa, Gavar-bati and Pašai; (b) Khō-wār, or Citrāli; and (c) Śīnā—Śīnā proper (7 dialects); Kōhistānī (3 dialects); and Kašmirī.

(iii) The Iranian group, which is represented by a number of speeches, ancient and modern, beginning with Avestic (from c. 600 B.C., the generally accepted period for Zaraθuṣtra, to whom are attributed the oldest portions of the Avesta, the Gāthās), and Old Persian of the Achemenian cuneiform inscriptions (about B.C. 520—350) and spreading from the Black Sea region to Central Asia. The relationship among the various Iranian speeches seems to be as in the Table below (A. Meillet, ‘Grammaire du Vieux Perse,’ Paris, 1914, § 5; Sten Konow in A. W. R. Hoernle’s ‘MS. Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan,’ Oxford, 1910, pp. 237-238; LSI., X).

![Diagram of Iranian languages](image)

The subgroups other than Persic are sometimes classed together as ‘Medic,’ in the sense of ‘non-Persic.’
(II) The Armenian Branch; (III) The Baltic-Slavic Branch; (IV) The Albanian Branch; (V) The Hellenic Branch; (VI) The Italic Branch; (VII) The Celtic Branch, and (VIII) The Germanic or Teutonic Branch.

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

Also see below, § 25.

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

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

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

7. Beginning from the extreme north-west, we have the Dardic languages, which, although they do not belong to the Indo-Aryan group, may be noticed in this connection. These languages are spoken in the Kashmir valley, and in the region to the north and north-west of Kashmir, namely, Dardistan (Gilgit etc.), Chitral and Kafristan, with the Hindu Kush as its north-western boundary. The Dardic languages, or, rather, ancient dialects of the same group, influenced Indo-Aryan dialects of the north-west and the west, of which Western Panjābī (Lahndi) and Sindhi are typical examples. (See §§ 11, 12, 25.) Excepting Kaśmīrī, the Dardic languages, although philologically important, have no exalted position. The number of people speaking them does not exceed 2 millions, of which Kaśmīrī alone takes up over 1 million. The Dardic speeches of the present day, barring Kaśmīrī, were never cultivated, and were written down only in the 19th century, so that no specimens of an earlier period are available. From the earliest times Kashmir was
KAŚMĪRĪ, LAHNDĪ

part of the Indo-Aryan world in culture and religion as well as in politics, whereas the other Dardic tracts, because of their inaccessibility, were never completely brought under Indian influence and organisation, so that the people retained more or less their primitive ways. Kaśmīrī consequently has always been exposed to the influence of the Indo-Aryan speeches, Sanskrit and the Prakrit vernaculars, from which the other Dardic speeches are free. There was literary cultivation of Old Kaśmīrī, and probably the lost ‘Bṛhat-kathā’ of Guṇāḍhyāya, written in the ‘Paiśāe’ language, was in Old Kaśmīrī, if it was in any Dardic speech at all. We may be quite certain that Kaśmīrī was cultivated before 1000 A.C. There is some Middle Kaśmīrī literature. The earliest specimens of Kaśmīrī that have been made accessible to us are the poems of Lallā, a mystic poetess of the Śaiva Tāntrika cult, of the 14th century (‘Lallāvākyāni,’ ed. by Grierson and Barnett, RAS., London, 1920). Kaśmīrī used to be written formerly in the Śāradā character, allied to the Dēva-nāgarī, but at the present day, since over 90% of its speakers are Moslems, the Perso-Arabic character is used, although a modified Dēva-nāgarī has been devised and employed, for philological purposes mainly. Kaśmīrī was at first regarded as a Sanskritic or Indo-Aryan language, owing to the large Indo-Aryan element in it, but its Dardic affinities have been fully established (Grierson, ‘Linguistic Classification of Kashmirī,’ IAnt., 1915, p. 270).

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

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

11. The dialects of the Rājasthānī group (Mārwāri, Jaipūri, Mēwātī, Mālavī and others) are spoken by over 14 millions, and they seem to form, with Gujarātī, a separate branch of the Indo-Aryan family, which has as its basis the early IA. dialect (or dialects) current in Malwa and Gujarat, strongly modified by the neighbouring Saurāsēṃi speech of the Midland (§ 13), and in times post 500 A.C., also to some extent influenced by the language of the Gurjara tribes (possibly Dardic in origin), who came from
Rajasthani, Gujarati

the north-west and settled in Rajputana and Gujarat and became the rulers there. The Western or Marwari form of Rajasthani is in reality the immediate sister of Gujarati, the eastern dialects agreeing more with Western Hindi. The exact affiliation of the Eastern Rajasthani dialects (Mewati, Jaipuri and Harauti etc., Malavi and Nimari), whether they are more intimately connected, in their origin, with Western Hindi or with W. Rajasthani-Gujarati, cannot be determined, in the absence of genuine ancient remains in them; but it has been found out that W. Rajasthani and Gujarati are derived from the one and same source-dialect, to which the name 'Old Western Rajasthani' has been given (L.P. Tessitori, 'Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani,' IAnt., 1914-1916: Introduction). This OWR. is represented by a respectable literature, mostly by Jain authors, and this literature dates from the 14th century and earlier to the end of the 15th century. Gujarati must have differentiated from OWR. in the 16th century into a separate language, which is now spoken by over 10 millions. The first great poet of Gujarat, Narasiinh Mehta, belongs to the 15th century, but the language of his poems, which are very popular, has been modernised in the course of centuries. The dialects of Rajasthani are not much used for literary purposes now. The language of the Midland has always been dominant in Rajputana. In the earlier days, the Sauraseni Prakrit and Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa had spread their influence over the original Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in Rajputana and Gujarat; and the literary dialect of the Old Western Hindi period, Avaḥata or 'Pingala,' was as much cultivated by the bards of Rajputana as 'Dingala' or the local Rajasthani dialects, especially Marwari; and at the present day, Hindi is almost the sole literary language. There is, however, a rich literature in Rajasthani, mostly in Marwari, and to some extent in Jaipuri, consisting mainly of bardic poems and chronicles. This literature has been explored, and its nature made known, by Tessitori, who edited, before his lamented and untimely death, some fine Marwari poems (Journal and Proceedings of the ASB., 1914, 1916-17-19-20; Bib. Ind., Rajasthani Series).

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

Khas-kurā (called also Parbatiyā, Gorkhāli or Nepāli) is the most important Pahari speech. The other Pahāri dialects are interesting philologically, but otherwise they have not much importance. Excluding Khas-kurā, for which exact figures are wanting, the Pahāri dialects are spoken by less than 2 millions. Khas-kurā seems to be ousting rapidly the Tibeto-Burman speeches of Nepal. It originally spread from Western Nepal, and its oldest remains do not go beyond the latter part of the 18th century. Maithili seems to have been current in South-eastern Nepal before the advent of Khas-kurā; in any case, Awadhī, Maithili and Bengali were used as languages of culture in the court of the (Tibeto-Burman speaking) Nāvāri kings, who ruled before the Gurkhas, as is evidenced by a number of dramas written in the above languages in Nepal, right down to the middle of the 18th century (e.g., A. Conrady, 'Hariścandra-nṛtyam,' Leipzig, 1891; Noni-Gōpāl Banerjee, 'Nepālē Bāṅgāla Nāṭak,' VSPd., 1324 San, Introduction; C. Bendall, 'Cat. of Buddhist Skt. MSS. in the Univ. Libr. of Cambridge,' 1883, pp. 83-84, 183; 'Kat. der Bib. der DMG.', referred to by Bendall and Conrady). Kumāunī and Garhwāli, and other forms of Central Pahāri, and the various dialects grouped together as Western Pahāri, have no literature worth mentioning. Hindi is the established language of literature in the Central Pahāri region,
13. The Central Indo-Aryan language, Western Hindi, is spoken by over 41½ millions. Its chief forms are (i) Braj-bhākhā, the dialect spoken round about Bareilly, Aligarh, Agra, Mathura, Dholpur and Kerauli; (ii) Kanauji, in the upper Doab, east of the Braj-bhākhā area; (iii) Bundel, in Bundelkhand and part of Central India; (iv) Bāngarū or Hariānī in South-eastern Panjab; and (v) the dialects to the north of Braj-bhākhā, from Ambala to Rampur, to which the name 'Vernacular Hindōstāni' has been given, as they approach nearest Hindōstāni as now written (Hindi or High Hindi, and Urdu). The oldest remains of W. Hindi extant are in the 'Prithirāja-Rāsa' of Canda Bardāi (12th-13th centuries). The language there is much under the influence of literary Prakrit and Apabhraṅga of the earlier periods. The 'Prākṛta-Paṅgala,' which is a treatise on Apabhraṅga versification, compiled, in its present form, towards the end of the 14th century, gives in illustration of the metrical rules, a number of poems and couplets, most of which are in a dialect which is essentially Old Western Hindi. The Apabhraṅga verses quoted in the Prakrit Grammar of Hēma-candra (1088-1172 A.C.) are in a Sauraseṇī speech which is archaic for the time of Hēma-candra, and which represents the pre-modern stage of Western Hindi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. Sinhalese is another Indo-Aryan language which was cut off from its sisters and cousins from c. 5th century B.C., when, according to tradition, Indian emigrants under Prince Vijaya went to the island and settled there. Vijaya's homeland was Lāla: it is mentioned in connection with Vañga (East Bengal) and Magadha; and Suppara and Bharukaccha (Sopara and Bharoch or Broach on the Bombay coast) are said to have been visited by Vijaya in course of his wanderings. Lāla is identified by some with Rāṭha or West Bengal, by others with Lāta or the Gujarāt (and Sind) coast country. The latter identification seems more likely: the first immigrants who carried the Indo-Aryan speech to Ceylon seem to have been from the Western India coast (W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalese,' in the Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, pp. 90, 91). Later, from the 3rd century B.C. downwards, Ceylon seems to have come in touch with Magadha, through Bengal, and traditions of intimate relations between Bengal and Ceylon are preserved in medieval Bengali literature. The Middle Indo-Aryan ('Prakrit') period is represented in Ceylon by numerous inscriptions, and there is evidence regarding the existence of a literature in what may be called a 'Sīnhalā Prakrit' going as far back as the 3rd century B.C. But this literature is entirely lost. The oldest specimens of Sinhalese extant go back to the middle of the 10th century. The older form of Sinhalese is known as Eḷu (= Heḷu, < Hiaḷu < Sīhaḷu = Sīnhalā), which is a sort of 'Apabhraṅga' for Sinhalese. Sinhalese, by virtue of its position, has developed along its own lines, unlike the Indo-Aryan speeches of the mainland, which have always influenced each other very strongly, and have not allowed entirely independent progress of any one of these. After its development as a modern Indo-Aryan speech, however, it has been influenced by Pali and Sanskrit. Closely connected with Sinhalese is the language of the Maldive Islands, which is derived from Old Sinhalese of the 9th-10th
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19. The Gipsy dialects of Western Asia (Armenia, Turkey, Syria) and of Europe fall into two classes, one European, and the other Armenian. The Gipsy speeches are derived from Prakrit dialects spoken in the north-west of India, and these dialects had some connection with the Dardie speeches. The ancestors of the Gipsies seem to have dispersed from India for the first time as early as the 5th century A.C.; and the earlier bands went to Europe by way of Persia, Armenia and the Byzantine empire, arriving in Eastern Europe in the 12th century, and thence spreading to Western and South-western Europe. A later band stopped in Armenia, where their language is more faithful to the Middle Indo-Aryan forms, but seems to be more impregnated with Armenian. (F. Miklosich, 'Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's,' I-XII, Vienna, 1872-1880; F. N. Finck, 'Lehrbuch des Dialekts der deutschen Zigeuner,' Marburg, 1903; ibid., 'Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner,' Memoires de l'Academie impériale des Sciences, VIII, Petrograd, 1907; Encyclopædia Britannica). The connection between the modern Indo-Aryan languages and the Gipsy dialects is, from point of view of origin, very close; but as these have developed entirely on their own lines, they are not usually considered in discussing the history of Modern Indo-Aryan; they throw valuable light on some points of Middle and New Indian phonology and morphology, however.

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

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

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

[1] OIA. Period: 1500 B.C.—600 B.C. (Vedic as type). Phonetic: r, l, a, s; consonants retained in full; final consonants (surd stops, visarga, some nasals); consonant groups like kr, kl, kt, gd, tr, sm, hm, rt, rk, etc. in full force; 'root-sense' fully present, at least in the early stages; variable pitch accent. Morphological: Declension—complicated systems: root-nouns, and derived nouns ending in vowels and consonants; 3 genders, 3 numbers, 8 cases; special suffixes for masculine and neuter, and feminine, and a special pronominal
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declension. Conjugation—elaborate systems of tenses (present and imperfect, aorist, perfect
and 'pluperfect,' future and conditional); moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperatric)
participles (present, perfect and future); athematic and thematic roots, classified by Indian
grammarians into 10 gana; 2 voices—active and reflexive and some
special forms for the passive (present tense 3 pers. singular aorist); causative, desiderative
and intensive forms; passive participles; verbal nouns (infinitives) and gerunds, and
indeclinable participles. Syntactical: wide use of finite verbal forms in the various past
tenses, of the subjunctive mood, in the earlier period; position of particles not fixed;
word-order free.


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

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

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

(iv) Third MIA. stage (Aparabhraṣṭa): c. 600 A.C.—1000 A.C. (Type—Western or Saurasūrī Aparbhraṣṭa). Phonetic: in the main, the state of things as in second MIA., but there was further decay: weakening of final vowels—ā>a, ē, ō>i, u; in many dialects, -s.-ss. of earlier periods became -h-; intervocal single -m.>nasalised -v. or -w.; nasalisation of vowels commences. Morphological: all declensions practically reduced to one; survivals or relics of the feminine and neuter declensions in some places; typical case forms—nominative, singular -a, -i(?), and plural -a; instrumental—-ēm, -him; ablative—-ahu; genitive, singular—-aha, -aḥa; accusative, -ā, plural -nā, -nāh; locative—-i, -ahim, -ahu, -asu; establishment of inflected help-words to emphasise case relations—kara, kāṇa, kīca, maha, kaccha or kakka, thāma, sama, anta, antara, etc., generally added to the genitive or some other form; also of verb forms like (a)hantu, santa, thakka, dia, etc.; these help-words became the inflections and post-positions of the next period. Conjugation: indicative present and future, passive present; optative tending to be less and less used; imperative: the other moods and tenses entirely lost, the use of the passive participle for the past tense establishes the passive and neuter constructions; employ of fortifying suffixes, pleonastic, like -ī.l. or -ī.l., -d.; compound-verb constructions coming into use more prominently.

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

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

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

22. Common forms and inflections, as well as common habits of phonetics and syntax show that the dialects of Bengali, as well as Assamese and Oriyā on the one hand, and the dialects of the Bihārī group on the other, must have originated from some early form of IA. current in the eastern part of Northern India. To this mother-dialect, the name ‘Māgadhī’ has been given; and Māgadhī, with its immediate neighbour ‘Ardhamāgadhī,’ the source of E. Hindī, formed the ‘Prācyā’ or eastern group of dialects in the late OIA., and MIA. periods. Some of the phonetic characteristics of Māgadhī, e.g., “ś” for “ṣ ṣ s,” “l” for “r,” noticed from a very early period, are preserved or can be traced in its descendants; and some time before its break-up into Bhōjpuriyā, Maithili and Magahi, and Oriyā and Assamese-Bengali, which continued along their own lines since then, it developed certain morphological features and syntactical tendencies (e.g., use of “kaa” and “kēra” or “kara” with the genitive, of “-ill-”, “-ell-” or “-all-” with the passive participle, of the verbal noun in “-ebba-” or “-abba-” for the future, of an active construction for the past tense), which were new in its history, and which have been inherited by its descendants. This late form of Māgadhī, when these peculiarities originated, can be described as ‘Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa.’ We have no remains in this immediate source-form of the modern Māgadhī languages preserved for us, but we can form some idea of it from a comparison of the oldest specimens of Bengali, Oriyā and Maithili, and their sister-languages, as well as of Sauraseni and other Western Apabhraṃśa dialects of the same period, of which we have records. The Prācyā speech, including Māgadhī, originally differed remarkably in its phonetics, and to some
extent in its morphology, from the other forms of IA, which prevailed to its west (§ 30).

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

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

A sketch of the early history of IA., with reference to the origin of Bengali, is attempted below, as a preliminary to a study of the Phonology and Morphology of the language.
24. Aryan speakers are admitted by most scholars to have come to India at some period not very much anterior to 1500 B.C., which is the date usually given to the commencement of the age when the Vedic hymns were composed. The Aryanisation of North-western India (Panjab) was a gradual process, and started as an overflow from what is now Afghanistan, where Aryan speakers were sojourning for some time before they turned to India, along the rivers Kubhā (Kabul), Krumu (Kuram) and Gōmatī (Gomal) and the passes of the western frontier. The original people among whom the primitive Indo-European speech, the ultimate source of Vedic and Avestic, of Greek, of Italic and Celtic, of Slavic and of Germanic, was characterised, were, according to testimony of language, pastoral, and perhaps nomadic, with some knowledge of agriculture, but their home and race-type are matters of dispute. Panjab and Kashmir, Central Asia, South Russia, Poland and Lithuania, Hungary, North Germany, and Scandinavia, among other places, have been proposed by different writers as the original Indo-European home. But it seems that there cannot be much objection in regarding the wide tract of land extending from the west and south of Russia (possibly also from east Germany and Poland) to the Altai and Thien Shan mountains of Central Asia, as the ‘area of characterisation’ of primitive Indo-European language and culture. In the central and eastern parts of this tract now live various Tatar peoples, speaking dialects of the Turkī and Mongol groups (of the Ural-Altaic family), side by side with the Russians. North of this tract was the original home of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, remnants of whom are still found there. It is probable that the wide grass lands of Eurasia were shared by primitive tribes, both Indo-European and Ural-Altaic (Altaic and Finno-Ugrian) in speech, and that there was some amount of intermingling among them. The connection between the Indo-European and Finno-Ugrian languages, as advocated by Henry Sweet (‘History of Language,’ London, 1900, Chapter VII) might be a genetic one, and it may yet be proved that the Indi-European and Finno-Ugrian (and consequently also the Altaic) speeches have a common origin in the language of the prehistoric dwellers of the Eurasian plains. There is again, no proof
INTRODUCTION

that the primitive Indo-Europeans, the Wiros, as P. Giles proposes to call them (‘Cambridge History of India,’ Vol. I, p. 66), were a pure and unmixed race. Many scholars, mostly German, assumed the original Indo-European type as being tall, long-headed, straight-nosed, with fair complexion and golden wavy hair, the Nordic type of Europe; others, like Sergi, regarded them as having been a medium round-headed race, fair, with black hair, the Alpine type; while a third view suggests with greater plausibility that the Indo-European speakers were ‘a conglomerate of peoples of different origins who in prehistoric times were welded together into an ethnic unity’ (A. H. Keane, ‘Man Past and Present,’ revised and re-written by A. H. Quiggin and A. C. Haddon, Cambridge, 1920, p. 505). Marked dialectal differences were present among the primitive Indo-Europeans, as can be seen from the derived languages. Primitive IE. dialects have been classed into two broad groups from point of view of phonetics and vocabulary, a Western and an Eastern. In the former group, original IE. gutturals, stops and aspirates, were preserved as stops and aspirates, and in some cases they seem to have been pronounced with rounded lips, and so developed a *w* quality; and in the latter, some of the original gutturals were palatalised, and then turned into fricatives; the former dialect group developing into the ‘centum’ languages—Celtic and Italic, Germanic, Greek, and the latter into the ‘satem’ languages—Indo-Iranian, Armenic, Albanian and Baltic-Slavic. (See § 33.) The presence of Tokharian (Old Kucheian), which is a non-palatalising speech, akin to the ‘centum’ languages of the west, within the eastern area is an ethnic and linguistic problem, a likely explanation of which is that it is due to the migration of a western IE.-speaking tribe into the east in some unknown epoch.

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

records, with the names of the Vedic deities Indra (in-da-ra), Varuṇa (a-ru-na or u-ru-w-na), Mītra (mi-it-ra) and the Nāsāyās or the Aśvins (na-śa-at-ti-ia) worshipped by the chiefs of the Mitanni, who ruled in the north-western part of Mesopotamia, in the 15th century B.C., and who bore Aryan names like Arta-tama, Artamanya, Śauṣṭarat, Śutarna, Śubandhu, Duṣratta, Śuwardata and Yaś-data, has inclined some scholars to regard Mesopotamia and the lands north and west of it as lying in the track of the Aryans in their progress from their home in Eastern Europe, through the Caucasus or the Balkans and Asia Minor, east to India. The presence of Śuryaš ( = Sun, Skt. «Sūrya ») and Maruttaš ( = Skt. «Marut »?) among the gods — «bugaš» — (compare Skt. «bhaga », Avestic «baqa », Slav «bogu » god) worshipped by the Kassites, who conquered Babylon in the 18th century B.C., and who also had names which have an Aryan look, e.g. Indabugaš, has also been similarly explained. The Manda or Mada people, mentioned in the early Babylonian and Hittite records, who spoke an Aryan language, and were probably the ancestors of the later Medes of Iran, were similarly an Aryan tribe stopping in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan and Western Iran during the migration of the Aryans to the east towards India (P. Giles in the ‘Cambridge History of India,’ Vol. I, Chap. III; H. R. Hall, ‘Ancient History of the Near East,’ ² 1913, p. 201; E. Forrer, ZDMG., 1922, pp. 247 ff.; Sten Konow, JRAS., 1911, pp. 42-47).

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Cf. 'Hinduism,' by W. Crooke, in Hasting’s Cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI, p. 688; E. Forrer, 'Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches,' ZDMG, 1922, i, p. 252; B. G. Tilak, 'Chaldæan and Indian Vedas,' in Comm. Essays presented to R. G. Bhândârkar, Poona, 1917, pp. 29-42; A. Weber, 'Indian Literature,' London, 1904, pp. 2, 247-248. The 'Asuras' as the enemies of the Gods in old Sanskrit literature may be a reminiscence of hostile contact between Assyrians and Aryans outside India: F. W. Thomas, in the JRAS., 1916, p. 364. The latest theory about the origin of the Dravidians is that they belong to the Mediterranean race, that they lived for some time in Mesopotamia, and by the pressure of the Akkadians or Semites, they pushed into India, by way of Balochistan (where the Brahui language marks their presence), and spread along the Indus and Ganges valleys,
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The stronghold of Dravidian culture was in the South, probably in the basin of the Kaveri; and among the Dravidians there were tribes in various stages of civilisation, from the civilised ancestors of the Kannada, Telugu and Tamil-Malayalam peoples to the wild forefathers of the Brahus and the Gonds, Khonds and Oraons. These latter may represent earlier pre-Dravidian stocks, like the Kol, who adopted Dravidian speech, and who might originally have been (as they are now) quite distinct from the civilised Dravidians. It is regarded as certain that Dravidian speakers were at one time spread over the whole of Northern India as well, from Balochistan to Bengal.

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

Beside the Dravidians there were the Kol, whose speech is a member of a linguistic family extending through Indo-China and Malay Peninsula to Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia—the Austro family (P. W. Schmidt, 'Die Mon-Khmer Völker, etc.' Brunswick, 1906). Kol speakers are now confined roughly within the region between the Ganges, the Tapti and the Godavari (West Bengal, Chota Nagpur, North-east Madras before passing into the South and absorbing there the primitive Negrito and proto-Polynesian population: James Hornell, 'The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat-designs,' Memoires of the ASB., 1920, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 225-226. The Vedic word 'manā' a weight, is regarded as being of Babylonian origin (= 'mina'), and 'parašā' (= Greek 'pelekus') axe and 'lōha' < 'rođhā' iron have been connected with Sumerian 'balag' (Akkadian 'pilakkā') and 'urudu' copper respectively; cf. A. B. Keith, 'The Early History of the Indo-Aryans' in the Bhāpārkar Comm. Volume, p. 87. The finding of a Babylonian cylinder of c. 2000 B.C. in Central India (Rākhāl-Dās Banerji, 'Bāṅgālā Itihās,' Part I, Calcutta, 1321 San, pp. 20-22), and of the Harappa seals from the Panjab, with the unmistakable Cretan bull and Cretan-looking symbols (Annual Progress Report of the Supdt. Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments. Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, Lahore, 1922, Plate IX; Cambridge History of India, I, Plate XI, 22, 23), are probably among direct evidences of early contact between the Indo-Aryans or Dravidians and the people of the West. Cf. also 'Some Ancient Elements in Indian Decorative Art' by Ananda Krishna Coomaraswamy, in the Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, quoted in the Modern Review (Calcutta) for August 1914, where the influx of decorative motifs from the Aegean region into pre-Aryan India is established.
Presidency, the Central Provinces), but on linguistic and ethnic grounds it has been surmised that at one time they lived in the Gangetic plains, up to the foot of the Himalayas.¹

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

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

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

29. Hoernle had postulated the incoming of the Aryans into India in two groups or bands, one earlier, and the other later. According to this theory, a group of Aryans first came into India and settled in the Western Gangetic Doab or the Midland country. They were followed by another group, and these new-comers dispossessed their kinsmen, who had come earlier, from their original settlements, and forced them into tracts west, north, east and south of this Midland region. The new-comers thus became the ‘Inner’ Aryans; and their predecessors, who had to retreat into the outlying tracts, became the ‘Outer’ Aryans. It was among these ‘Inner’ Aryans that Vedic culture and Brahmanical ideas grew up. This view of a two-fold Aryan immigration, or rather, of the advent into India of two separate and antagonistic groups of Aryan-speakers, both equally important, has been endorsed by Grierson, and the theory has been further elaborated by him. According to Grierson, the ‘Outer’ Band of Aryan invaders, who were closely connected with the Dardic speakers, and were probably but a branch of them, settled in the Panjab, in Sindh, in Gujarat and Rajputana, in the Maratha country, in the Eastern Hindi area, and in Bihar (whence their language was taken to Bengal, Assam and Orissa), and in the north, along the slopes of the Himalayas. Thus, the ‘Inner’ Aryan speech is now represented by Western Hindi; whereas the other current forms of Aryan speech developed from the dialects used by the ‘Outer’ Aryans (‘History of India’ by A. R. Hoernle and H. A. Stark, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 12, 13; Grierson, BSOS., Vol. I, No. 3, p. 52).
'INNER' AND 'OUTER' ARYAN

The reasons adduced by Grierson are mainly linguistic. He notices that there are certain points of disagreement between the Midland Aryan language, Western Hindī, on the one hand, and the other Aryan languages, viz., Lahndī, Sindhi, Gujarāti, Marāṭhī, Bengali, Bihārī and the Pahārī dialects, on the other. These disagreements in points in which the outer languages agree are inherited, as Grierson is inclined to think, from the two ancient groups of Aryan languages spoken by the 'Inner' and the 'Outer' Aryans respectively. Not only do the 'Outer' languages agree with each other in those very points in which they differ from the Midland language, but what is more, the Dardic languages share with the 'Outer' speeches most of these very characteristics. Consequently, the NIA. languages fall into two main classes: (i) 'Inner,' or Midland, or Saurasēnī class: classical Sanskrit is believed to be specially connected with this group, being based on the early Midland dialects; Western Hindī is its modern representative; and (ii) 'Outer,' or non-Vedic, or non-Sanskritic, the so-called 'Māgadhī' of Hoernle, to which fall practically all the other NIA. speeches; as also Sinhalese, and the Gipsy speeches outside India. The 'Outer' group is closely connected with Dardic, according to this classification. Grierson has brought together (in the BSOS., Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 78-85) those points of linguistic similarity among the 'Outer' speeches on which he has based this connection among the various 'Outer' languages, and their differentiation from the 'Inner' or Midland language.

30. What Grierson has suggested from linguistic reasons has been sought to be established on anthropological and ethnological grounds by Ramā-Prasād Chanda ('Indo-Aryan Races,' Part I, Rajshahi, 1916). Chanda, however, differs from Grierson in some of the details of the theory. According to Chanda, the 'Outer' Aryans were a brachycephalic race, derived from a stock totally different from the 'Inner' Aryans, who were dolichocephalic. This difference in race went hand in hand with a difference in dialect. The dolichocephalic 'Inner' Aryans were the ancestors of the people of the Panjāb, of the Rājpūts, and of the Brahmans of the Upper Ganges Valley (Hindostan): among them
grew up the Vedic institutions and culture and the system of the four castes. The brachycephalic ‘Outer’ Aryans, who originally knew nothing of the Vedic cults, and from whose religious notions ultimately developed Vaisnavaism and Saktism, were, in later times, profoundly influenced by the religion and ideas of the ‘Inner’ Aryans, but only after they had been settled for centuries around the latter in Western Panjab, in Sindh, in Gujarat and Maharastra, and in Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, where they crossed over from Western India through the forest country of Central India. The Gujaratis, Marathas as well as the Bengalis, Biharis and Oriyas have a preponderance of brachy- and mesaticephals: they are the result of a mixture of the round-headed ‘Outer’ Aryans with the long-headed Dravidians and Kols, as well as with the long-headed ‘Inner’ Aryans who migrated from the Midland into the outer tracts. Such, in brief, is Chanda’s view; and this also takes cognisance of the linguistic arguments put forward by Grierson.

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

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

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Iranic Dardic Indo-Aryan Dialects
Dialects Dialects
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North-west Midland West East
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5
The existence of intermediate dialects, between Iranian and Indian as well as Dardic and Indian, is exceedingly probable.

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

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

33. The Vedic language, then, as typical of OIA., may be taken to represent the archet-type from which later IA. speeches spring. This language belongs to what has been called by the philologists the *sātam* class of Indo-European tongues, namely, those which have changed the original IE. front gutturals (the so-called ‘palatals’) *k, kh, g, gh* into palatal fricatives and sibilants *ç, ż* (later *ś, j* or *s, z*). This palatalisation occurs in Baltic-Slavic and Albanian only among the IE. languages of Europe: the other European speeches of the IE. family, Greek, Italic, Celtic
and Germanic, did not change these original front gutturals into palatal spirants or sibilants (although that change has resulted in most of the modern forms of the above speeches, e.g., dialectal Greek, Italian, French, English, during the last thousand or fifteen hundred years). The Primitive IE. word for *hundred, «*kmtôm», became «śatam» in Sanskrit, «satam» in Avestic, «śiūtas» in Lithuanian, and «sūto» in Old Church Slavic; while the guttural was retained in Greek «(he)-katon», Latin «centum» (pron. kentum), Primitive Celtic «*kanton» whence Old Irish «cōt» (pron. kōl) and Welsh «cânt», Primitive Germanic «*xundām» whence Old English «hund». Two typical words, Avestic «satam» and Latin «centum», representing two varieties of transformation of the IE. «*kmtôm», are employed as convenient labels to mark off the two kinds of IE. from each other. The consonant system of IA., as represented by Vedic, is remarkably full, and is most faithful to the Primitive IE., especially as to its characteristic aspirate sounds, which are preserved nowhere else. But it is particularly poor in its vowels—IE. «a e o, ā ė ō» having already in the Indo-Iranian stage fallen together into «a, ā». The languages with which Aryan came into contact in India, of which we have belated specimens only, namely Kōl and Dravidian, influenced it a great deal in its phonetics, and determined the character of the subsequent phonetic history of IA. on some note-worthy points. The simple and primitive vowel system such as characterises Vedic was continued in Common IA. down to recent times, and it has been modified but slightly. It is to be noted that Kōl and Dravidian possess an equally simple vowel system. The aspirates of IA., however, have succeeded in imprinting themselves on all non-Aryan languages with which it came in direct touch, e.g. Kannada, Telugu, Santali. The Vedic literary speech is lacking in spirants, except in the case of the rare guttural and labial breathing, the ‘jihvā-mūliya’ [x] and the ‘upadhmāniya’ [F], as variants of the ‘visarga.’ The palatal spirant [k > ʃ] was changed to the palatal sibilant «ś» = [ʃ] in India, and [g > ž] to the palatal stop «j» = [j]. This is remarkable, when we find that the sister and probably the nearest neighbour of IA., namely Iranian as in the Avesta, is particularly rich in spirants. This lack of spirant sounds in IA.
might have been due to the very early influence of Dravidian (and perhaps also Köl). Besides, the cerebral sounds «t̐ ð̐ l̐ n̐ », which are preöminently Dravidian,¹ have already been imposed upon the earliest IA.

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

¹ The following is the reconstruction of the Sound-system of Primitive Dravidian by K. V. Subbāyya (Dravidian Phonology, I Ant., June, July, August 1909). Vowels: a, ə, i, i, u, ɔ, e, e, o, ɔ; and long ə (simple and nasalised); Consonants: p, b; t, d; t̐, d̐; k, g; (=front gutturals of IE., k, g); k̐, g̐; (=velars of IE., q, g); m, n, ʊ, ɨ, ɨ; r, l, ȓ (trilled). l̐, l̐ (=spirant cerebral l, or r, or z), and probably also a bilabial spirant, w, both voiced and unvoiced, and the palatal semi-vowel y: and there was no sibilant.
modern vernaculars, and this simplification has been carried out to a great extent along the lines of Dravidian (cf. Appendix B).

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

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

35. Even as early as the Vedic period, when the thoughts and notions, the social institutions and mental outlook of the Aryans in India, in fact, their culture as a whole, had many more things in common with the primitive Hellenes, Italians, Celts, Germans and Slavs than with their descendants the later Hindus of Northern India,—at a time when characteristic Hindu ideas did not develop among them, Dravidian cults and Dravidian language had begun to influence their religion and speech. No trace of the doctrine of transmigration, for instance, is found in the Rig-Veda, and yet no other doctrine is so peculiarly Indian; it may have had its origin in non-Aryan animism, but it became established among the Aryans quite early. Some of the cosmic notions seem to be Dravidian; Dravidian gods\(^1\) were being added to the Aryan pantheon; or rather, their attributes and natures, and sometimes

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

The language of the Rig-Veda is as yet purely Aryan or Indo-European in its forms, structure, and spirit, but its phonetics is already affected by Dravidian; and it has already begun to borrow words from Dravidian (and from Köl): not only names of objects previously unknown to the Aryans, but also a few words of ideas; among words of probable Dravidian origin in the Rig-Veda being, to give a few examples, «aṅu» particle, «araṇi», rubbing wood for fire, «kaṭu-ka» sharpen, «kapi» monkey, «karmāra» smith, «kalā» small part, art, «kāla» time, «kitava» gamester, «kuṭa» hut, «kuṇāru» withered-armed, «kuṇḍa» hole, «gaṇa» band, «nānā» several, «nila» blue, «nīhāra» cloud, snow, «puṣkara» lotus, «puṣpa» flower, «pujana» worship, «phala» fruit, «bila» hole, «bija» seed, «maṇīra» peafowl, «rātri» night, (?) «rūpa» form, «sāyam» evening, «valgu» handsome. As we proceed, the non-Aryan words are on the increase: in the Brāhmaṇas, for instance, we come across words like «aṭavi» forest, «alāka» a kind of flower, «āḍambara» drum, «kambala» blanket, (?) «kulāla» potter, «khaṅga» rhinoceros, «tapa» race, «tila» sesame, «phaṇa» froth, scum, «maṭaci» (?) locust, «marka-ta» ape, monkey, «valakṣa, balakṣa» white, «valli» creeper, (?) «vṛ̥hi» rice, «śava» corpse, mostly names of objects; and as the Aryan speech gets in strength, words of ideas seem to be borrowed no longer, but a respectable number of concrete terms are adopted into the old vernaculars and in Sanskrit. (For References, see under Appendix B.)

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

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

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

The Aryans of the Vedic cults called these non-Vedic Aryans 'Vṛātyas,'
outcasts, or riteless people. The Vṛātyas could obtain admission into the
Vedic community by the performance of a ceremony or sacrifice, « vṛātya-
stōma ». (Cf. Ramā-Prasād Chanda, op. cit., p. 39; Weber, 'Indian Literature,'
pp. 67, 68, 79.) The tract where these Vṛātyas were most numerous seems
to have been Magadha. Their priests were probably bardic as well, so that after
the absorption of the Vṛātya communities, or of sections of them, into the
Brahmanic fold, the word « māgadha » was retained in Sanskrit to mean a
bard. The rise and progress of the anti-Brahman and the anti-sacrificial ideas
of the Buddhists and the Jains among the eastern peoples—and these heterodox
schools also called their teachings 'Aryan truths,'—perhaps shows that other
traditions were established before the Brahmans came, and the Vedic
institutions or ideas brought by the Brahmans from the Midland and the
North-west (Madhyadēṣa and Uḍīcya) sat lightly on the masses. (Cf.
Weber, op. cit., p. 79.) The Vṛātya hymns of the Atharva-Veda (XV), in
which there is a delineation of a wandering Vṛātya priest, with his strange
paraphernalia and his cortege, are a puzzle: they suggest the presence
of a Śaiva cult among the Vṛātyas, and certainly a cult quite different
from that presented by the Vedic world. The extravagant respect paid
to the Vṛātya in these poems either shows the hand of the followers of
Vṛātya cults themselves; or they are the work of Vedic Aryans who felt
fascinated by the Vṛātyas with their non-Midland practices, and perhaps
by their wild mysticism, for the Atharva-Veda hymns are highly mystic
in this connection. There are, however, similar passages of mystic and
supernatural treatment of the idealised priest or mendicant elsewhere in
Vedic literature (P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, op. cit., pp. 77-78).
VRÂTYA SPEECH OF THE EAST

The general Brahman attitude towards the Vrâtyas was anything but sympathetic. But they admitted that the Vrâtyas were Aryan in speech. The ‘Tânda’ya’ or ‘Pañcaviśa Brâhmaṇa,’ in speaking of the Vrâtyas, says (XVII, 4) that they call an expression which is not uttered with difficulty as being uttered with difficulty, and also they speak the language of the initiated (i.e. into Brahmanism), although they are not initiated: «a-dur-ukta-vākyāṁ dur-uktam āhur .....a-dikṣitā dikṣita-vācam vadanti».
Weber’s explanation of the first statement is that it ‘probably refers to prâkritic, dialectic differences, to the assimilation of groups of consonants, and similar changes peculiar to the Prâkrit vernaculars’ (Weber, op. cit., pp. 67, 68); and Weber is undoubtedly right: here we have the oldest contemporary notice of a Prakritic habit of speech in India. The ‘Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa’ (III, 2, 1, 23) makes the Asuras, i.e., anti-Vedic people, presumably of the East (cf. the expression «āsuryaḥ prâcyāḥ» in the ŚB., referred to at p. 45), cry out «hēlavō, hēlava» when they were deprived of speech (ātta-vacasaḥ) and vanquished; and this word is given by Patañjali (I, i, 1) as «hēlayaḥ», and it is the Asura pronunciation, according to traditional explanation, of the words «hē arayaḥ » O, the foe-men’. A form like «alayō» or «alayaḥ» for «arayaḥ», with «l» for «r», is characteristic of the Prâcyā or eastern speech, of which that of Magadha is a variation. (Weber, op. cit., p. 150; Ramā-Prasād Chauda, op. cit., p. 222.)
Taking into consideration the linguistic state of the country during the time of Aśoka (middle of the 3rd century B.C.), it is evident that the Prakritic or ‘Māgadhī’ forms developed quite early. and in the East. The Sohgauna copper plaquette inscription is perhaps the oldest Brâhmaṇ record, and may date from the 4th century B.C.; it belongs to the Gorakhpur district in the United Provinces, within the Prâcyā area, and we find here forms like «bhānḍagalani»=«bhāyāṅgāra-», «bhala »=« bhāra », «mathula »=« Mathurā», with «l» instead of «r» (J. F. Fleet, ‘The Inscription on the Sohgauna Plate,’ JRAS., 1907, pp. 509 ff.). And the statement in the ‘Tânda’ya Brâhmaṇa’ may be reasonably construed to mean that the simplification of the consonant groups in the East was noticed by the people of the Midland or the North-west as early as, say the 8th century B.C.
It would thus seem that the real Prakrit stage was first attained by IA. in the East, among the Prăcyas, in Kōsala and in Magadha, and specially among the Vrătya Aryans who were established there. Prakritic habits of speech gradually spread themselves from the East to the West; but as it is shown by the inscriptions of the North-west and the West (e.g., the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, the Besnagar inscription, the Mathura lion capital inscription, etc.), in the earliest homes of Aryan speech in India, the habits of the easterners, although ultimately victorious, were resisted long. By the time of Aśoka, the popular dialects of the West Midland probably had succumbed, and abandoned OIA. traits; but these traits (e.g., retention of «r» with consonants, of the three sibilants «ś ś s») continued in the North-west till Kuṣāṇa times, and later. Greek forms like «Prasiai» = «Prăcyāḥ», «Amitrokhathē» = «Amitra-ghāṭaḥ», or «khadāḥ», «Sandrokuptos» = «Candra-guptaḥ», «Palibothra» = «*Pāṭalī-butra», «Pāṭaliputra», «Pāṭalī-purta» (cf. Jurl Charpentier, ZDMG., LXX, pp. 216-250), «Erennesis» = «Vārāṇasī» and «Eranmobaas» = «Hiranya-vāhāḥ», are really western, although they are names of persons, peoples, and places of the East; and the Greeks first heard these names, from the 4th century B.C., from speakers of the western and north-western dialects which retained the «r».

38. The Aryan language entered the second stage of its development some time before Buddha, for by the time that Buddha flourished (c. 500 B.C.), the spoken language of Kōsala and Magadha had progressed from the OIA. stage sufficiently far to become a distinct language from the earlier literary forms, «chandas», which obtained, namely, Vedic and Brāhmaṇic Sanskrit. In addition to fundamental changes in phonetics and modifications in morphology, old words were being replaced by new or foreign ones, or were being modified in their meaning. This was more noticeable in the second MIA. stage, when old and almost universally used IE. words, like «aśva» horse, «aśman» stone, «śva» dog, «viṣṇa» bull, «avi» sheep, «anaśvā, uksān» ox, «rōhita, aruṣa» red, «vāha, ratha» wagon, chariot, «rīs, rādhas» wealth, «sahas, taviṣī» strength, «udan» water, «√a» eat, «√grbindungr» seize, take, «√dris» see, «√grdh» be greedy, «√hān» strike, kill, «√vaks» grow, «√yaj» worship, sacrifice, «√viṣ,
THE BEGINNINGS OF SANSKRIT

\( \sqrt{\text{vēj}} \) tremble, \( \sqrt{\text{pp-n-}} \) fill, \( \sqrt{\text{ut}}-\sqrt{\text{pat}} \) fly, \( \sqrt{\text{sū}} \) give birth to, \( \sqrt{\text{dama}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{vēsa}} \) house, \( \sqrt{\text{dru}} \) tree, \( \sqrt{\text{puśkara}} \) lotus, etc., etc. gave place, respectively, to words like \( \sqrt{\text{ghōta-ka}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{prastara}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{kukkura}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{sām'a}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{gōna}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{mēsa}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{ēf'ka}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bālivarda}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{rakta}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{sakat'a}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{g'lkā}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{dhana}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{bala}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{pān'ya}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{jala}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{khād}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{jam}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{pra-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{ik}a} \), \( \sqrt{\text{dēk'ś-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{lubh}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{mār-aya-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{vṛdh}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{pūj-aya-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{kamp}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{pūr-aya-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{u'd-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{dī-ya-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{jan-aya-}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{vāt-ikā}} \) beside the old \( \sqrt{\text{grha}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{vṛkṣa}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{gaccha}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{pinda}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{kamala}} \), \( \sqrt{\text{padma}} \), etc., which are the sources of the words actually in use in NIA.

When all Aryan India became or tended to become Prakritic in speech, even in the Midland and in the Brahmatvarta of the Vedie Rishi, there was an attempt on the part of the Brahmanas—possibly they were not conscious of it—to establish for use in their schools, a form of speech as near the older dialects of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas as possible. It may be expected that when Prakritic habits were becoming the rule among the masses in Central Aryavarta, the upper classes, the Brahman priests and scholars and the Kṣatriya aristocracy, who were of Midland Aryan blood, tried to preserve purity of speech, at least in all formal affairs, if not in their private life; and they were probably the last to be affected by Prakritic habits, since they, more than any other section of the people, were born Aryan speakers; and they kept themselves aloof from the vast majority, which was a mixed group of Vedie \( \sqrt{\text{Viśa}} \), or Vrāṭyas, and Dravidians and other full-blooded non-Aryans. As it has been pointed out before, the speech of the North-west was nearest the Vedic in phonetics; and the North-west was, from its geographical position, the stronghold of Aryan speakers in India. The pronunciation of the North-west was the acknowledged standard in Brahmanic schools in the Midland, and further east, during the period of the Brāhmaṇas (p. 44). The north-western tracts (Gandhāra etc.) were famous for their learning, and both Brahman and Buddhist tradition agree in making Takṣasāli in Gandhāra a great cultural and educational centre for all Aryan India, where pupils from the farthest east of Aryandom used to resort. Towards the close of the Brāhmaṇa period, then, another literary speech, practically a younger development of the speech
of the Brāhmaṇas, was growing up in the Brahman schools, and possibly also in the courts of the Kṣatriya chiefs who followed the Vedic religion. It was a polite form of speech based on the language of the aristocracy and the priesthood of the Midland, perfected or improved, « sanskrita », in the sense that in its phonetics and in a great deal of its grammar it was made to adhere to the OIA. (Vedic and Brāhmaṇa speeches); and as such, it very closely agreed with the speech of the North-west as well. It seems the speech of the upper classes in the Midland was substantially the same as that of Gandhāra during the period 7th—6th centuries B.C.

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

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

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

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

39. The people known to the Kuruś, Pañcaśālaś and other tribes of the Midland and the West as Praeyses or Easterners consisted of the Kōsalas (in Oudh), the Kāśis (round about Benares), the Vidēhas (North Bihar) and later, the Magadhās and the Āṅgas (South Bihar). The term « Praeyya » has its modern counterpart in the word « Pūrabiya », by which the speakers of the Western and Midland speeches, Panjābī and Western Hindi, designate their eastern neighbours in Hindo-stan, the Eastern Hindi and Bihāri speakers. The Praeyya dialect seems to have developed two forms, a Western and an Eastern. The following were among the salient characteristics of the Praeyya speech: in phonetics, « l » alone was used, and there was no « r »; and there was a tendency towards cerebricalisation of « t, d » in connection with « r »; OIA. « -vy-, -ty- » etc. became « -viy-, -tiy- », but « -ly- » became « -yy- »; and there was one dental « s » for « ś s s »; in morphology, OIA. singular nominatives of « -a » nouns, « -aḥ, -am », took the form « -ē » (in the West it became « -ō- »); the accusative plural of masculine « -a » nouns had the affix « -ānī », and the locative singular « -assi » (or « -assim » ?). In the eastern
form of Praça, a patois which advanced further from the western norm, the sibilants «śśśś» were represented by the palatal «ś» and not by the dental «s».

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

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

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

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

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

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

[iii] Dardic dialects, spoken in the Western Himalayas, and also probably by settled communities of Dardic people in the plains of Northern India, who were rapidly coming under Indo-Aryan influence.
INTRODUCTION

became the language of the court and administration in Eastern India. Aśoka's court language, as in the Midland and eastern inscriptions, present varieties of this speech. (Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, 'Pali Text Society's Pali Dictionary,' 1921, Foreword, pp. 1, 2; cf. also S. Lévi, 'Sur une Langue précanonique du Bouddhisme,' J.A., 1912; H. Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen,' Berlin, 1911, pp. 40, 41.) Ample testimony is borne to the political power of the Prāyāyas ('Prasioi') in the 4th century B.C. by Greek writers. There is no wonder that their dialect would have some prestige, and cast into shade for a time the Midland and other western speeches. During the time of the Mauryas, and specially of Aśoka, this 'standard East Indian' was dominant as the official language practically all over India; and, as is evident from the presence of eastern forms—the so-called 'Māgadhisms'—in the language of the Girnar, Shah-bazgarhi and Mansehra inscriptions, it exerted a great influence on other forms of MIA. (Truman Michelson, American Journal of Philology, 1909, pp. 234 ff.; JAOS., 1909, i, pp. 77 ff.). The oldest records in this dialect are the Brāhmī inscriptions down to Aśoka (the Piprahwa vase inscription, the Sohagaura inscription, and the eastern inscriptions of Aśoka), and the fragments from the Buddhist Sanskrit drama found in Central Asia (early Kuśāna period).

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

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

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

Possibly there were in the wilder parts of India the pre-Dravidian and pre-Köl speeches of remnants of primitive Negroid and other tribes, which have since entirely disappeared.
into a Western dialect, undoubtedly that of the Midland (an old form of Sauraseni); but as it happens in such cases, when a text is rendered from one dialect into another, a great many forms of the original dialect remained, and showed themselves as a substratum. (Cf. W. Geiger, 'Pali Grammatik' in the Grundriss, § 80; H. Lüders, 'Epigraphische Beiträge, III,' in the Sitzungsberichte der König. preuss. Akad. der Wiss., 1913, LIII, pp. 934, 1003 ff.). This western dialect into which Buddha's teachings were translated came to be known as 'Pâli,' which simply means trade, and its grammar amply shows that at its basis it is a Midland speech. Pali became a sort of a sacred language for some Buddhists; and because Buddha was connected with Magadha and obtained his enlightenment there, Pali, as the speech in which the sayings of Buddha were enshrined, came to be known as 'Mâgadhi,' probably first among the Buddhists of Ceylon. The connection with Magadha suggested by this name has considerably confused our notions regarding the home of the dialect on which Pali was based. The essentials of Pali phonology and morphology agree with Sauraseni of the second MIA. period more than with any other form of MIA. A koiné akin to Pali of the Buddhist documents was established as early as the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., as can be seen from the language of the Khâravêla inscription (cf. Kâshî-Prasâd Jâyaswâl's edition of the inscription in the JBORS., 1917, Part IV, 1918, Part IV). Pali as a literary language seems to have been established during the transitional MIA. period (200 B.C.—200 A.C.), retaining, however, a generally archaic (i.e., early MIA.) type. Based on a Midland speech, which as a current language was a sort of a junior rival of Sanskrit during the transitional and second MIA. stages, it became powerful with the prestige of a literature when the folklore of Northern India was embodied in it in the 'Jâtakas,' and when the philosophy of Buddha was rendered in it. It was studied in Buddhist monasteries in North-western and Western India, as well as in the Midland; with the fall of the Mauryas, the prestige of its eastern rival, Ardha-mâgadhi, was at an end, and it became probably the only important vernacular speech of Northern India, like its modern counterpart Hindostani. During
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the Kuśāṇa period (1st cen.—4th cen. A.C.), the dialects of the extreme North-west, Gandhāra, seem to have had some prestige, both as the language of the tracts where the ruling family had its stronghold as well as the language of the culture and university centre of Takṣaśilā. Pali was used also by the speakers of the north-western dialect; and thus it came to have a number of north-western words and forms, showing characteristic Dard or Pīṣāca influence (cf. O. Frankfurter, ‘Handbook of Pali,’ London, 1883, p. 9; G. A. Grierson, ‘The Home of Literary Pali’ in the Bhānḍārkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917, pp. 118 ff.). There were also words and forms from other Aryan dialects, from the Gujarat and Malwa side, as well: e.g., the forms in «b-» for «dv-», «-pp-» instead of «-tt-» for «-tm-», etc. Pali was for some time cultivated in Ceylon, and it is quite possible there was some ‘Sihala’ influence in its formative period: the «b-» and «-pp-» forms may be from Ceylon: the Aryan language of Ceylon was a form of the old Gujarat dialect of the first MIA. Period (§§ 18, 45). When Pali was established as a literary language, it came under the influence of Sanskrit, which to some extent became its model; and Pali after the 5th century entered into a career of artificial literary existence in India, in Ceylon, and later, in Burma (among the Môn and the Burmese) and in Siam, which can be compared only with that of Sanskrit.

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

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

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

«Śutanukā nāma dēvadaśikyi
taṁ kāmayitha balanaśeyē
dēvadinnē nāma lūpa-dakkhē »

(=«Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāśikyi, tam kāmayitha Bālā
naśeyē dēvadinnē nāma lūpa-dakkhē », in Sanskrit—
«Śutanukā nāma dēva-dāśikā : tām akāmayiṣṭa Vārāṇasēyāh
dēva-dattō nāma rūpa-dakṣaḥ »)

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

1 Mention may be made of a Brâhu seal from Patna, dating probably from pre-Maurya times, with the inscription ‘Agrapilâs ‘=‘Agra-pū拉萨‘ = ‘Agra-pilasa ‘; of the Buddha Gaya seal, c. 2nd century B.C., with the legend ‘Mōkhalikâṣa ‘=‘Maskarikasya ‘; and of the Naûdi-vadha seal, find-place unknown (c. 2nd) B.C., with the inscription ‘Naûdi-vâḷhaṭa ‘= ‘Naûdi-vardhasya, vṛjjhaṣa ‘ (O. Franke, ‘Pali und Sanskrit,’ Strassburg, 1902, pp. 17, 18, 11 ; 55, 98). Franke notes sporadic cases of occurrence of /slick/ (and ʃ) for s in other epigraphical records, including those of Aśoka.
The above inscription, written in early Brāhmī characters, supplements our knowledge of the dialectal conditions in Aryan India of the 3rd century B.C. as revealed by the inscriptions of Aśoka. In these inscriptions, three main varieties of dialect are represented; one, at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, is the dialect of the extreme North-west, the phonetics of which resembles OIA. to a remarkable extent; two, the dialect of the South-west, Gujarat country, also retaining many OIA. features; and three, the dialect of the East, presenting some minor variations. This last seems to represent the actual spoken language most faithfully; the other two have occasionally adopted forms of the eastern dialect, as the standard speech, to the exclusion of their proper local forms. Thus there seem to have been attempts at standardisation on the lines of an official language. (Cf. E. Senart, 'The Inscriptions of Piyadasī,' translation by Grierson, Bombay, 1892, pp. 137 ff.: the latest opinion on the question is Truman Michelson's, in the American Journal of Philology, 1909-1910, in the JAOS., 1909, 1911, and in the IE., 1908-1909.) In the Śutanukā inscription, we have thus the evidence of another variation of the eastern dialect.

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

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

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

No inscription of Aśoka has been found within Bengal proper; this is strange, considering the proximity of Bengal to Bihar, the home province of the Maurya empire, and considering also the fact that Kaliṅga was conquered by Aśoka. But we know from the 'Divyāvadāna' that Puṇḍra-vardhana (North Central Bengal) was under Aśoka ('Divyāvadāna,' ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 427). But the mere presence of an Aśoka inscription in Bengal, even if it were to be found, would be no evidence of the Aryanisation of the people in language. Aśoka inscriptions, for instance, have been found in Dravidian tracts, at Siddapur and at Maski in the Deccan and at Jangada (Ganjam), where the Aryan tongue was never adopted by the people; and round about Dauli, Aryan (Oriya) is now spoken, but it is extremely improbable that the Aryan tongue was the vernacular of the people of Orissa (Kaliṅga) at that time. Khārvēla, the Jain King of Kaliṅga in the 2nd century B.C., has left a long inscription in an MIA. dialect. But as the Kaliṅga people were the ancestors of the speakers of modern Telugu, no Aryan speech could be adopted by the Kaliṅgas in the 2nd century B.C. The Aryan language, however, often came in the wake of the North Indian religions, Brahmaṇism, Buddhism and Jainism, and was used by royal patrons of these religions among Dravidian and other non-Aryans, merely as a sort of religious language, in documents of a religious, and often of an administrative, character.

The advent of a northern religion in non-Aryan tracts certainly meant the coming of Aryan-speaking Brahmans, Śramaṇas or Yatis from the North. The influence of Aryan was felt in the non-Aryan languages in another way, namely, by the introduction of numbers of Aryan words into the latter. We can see from a few lines in Old Kannāla, given as a specimen of an Indian language in the papyrus fragments of a Greek drama from Oxyrrhynchos
in Egypt, how great the influence of Aryan was on Kannada of the 2nd century B.C., when it had already begun to borrow Aryan words in large numbers (E. Hultszeh, JRAS., 1901, p. 399). Like the Andhras or Kalingas, and the Kamātakas, as well as other non-Aryans, it may be reasonably supposed that the pre-Aryan peoples of Bengal began to be influenced by the Aryan (or Upper Gangetic) culture and language immediately after Mithila and Magadha were Aryanised. This may have taken place before 600 B.C. But for a long time, Bengal remained outside the pale of Aryandom; and it is hardly likely that there was anything like an appreciable Aryanisation east of Mithila and Magadha and Assa before the time of Buddha. The Mahābhārata (200 B.C.—200 A.C. in its present form) mentions Bengal, no doubt, but there is nothing to show it was part of Aryan India when the original or even the received Mahābhārata was compiled.

42. Is there any evidence about the class of speech that prevailed in Bengal before the coming of the Aryan tongue? There is, of course, the presence of the Kōl and Dravidian speakers (the Santals, the Maler, the Oraons) in the western fringes of the Bengali area, and of the Bodo and Mōn-Khmer speakers in the northern and eastern frontiers. There are, again, some unmistakably Dravidian affinities in Bengali phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary: but these agreements with Dravidian are not confined to Bengali alone, but are found in other NIA. also (see Appendix B). Apart from that, local nomenclature in Bengal may be expected to throw some light on the question. Place names in Bengal have not been studied in detail, although individual writers have occasionally touched upon the topic. (Cf. Ram Comal Sen, 'Dictionary in English and Bengali,' Serampore 1834, Preface, p. 9; Rai Bahadur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyaśī, 'Bāṇgālā Grāmēr Nām,' in the Pravāṣī for Āsvina, 1317, in which there is an able discussion of the tadhava names of places in Bengal; H. Blochmann, 'Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, I,' JASB., 1873, pp. 211-244, giving a study of some Moslem place-names; cf. also F. Hahn, 'Kolarian and Dravidian Place-names,' JASB., 1903, Part III; Bijay Chandra Māzumdar, 'Sonpur,' Calcutta, 1911, pp. 18-19.)
The study of Bengali toponomy is rendered extremely difficult from the fact that old names, when they were not Sanskrit, have suffered from mutilation to such an extent that it is often impossible to reconstruct their original forms; especially when they are non-Aryan. Fortunately for us, Bengal inscriptions, from the 5th century onwards, like inscriptions found elsewhere in India, and occasionally works written in pre-Moslem Bengal, have preserved old forms of some scores of these names. But it is a pity that generally there was an attempt to give these names a Sanskrit look. In other cases, the forms preserved are translations, supposed or real, of vernacular names, due to a Sanskritising tendency which is noticeable in such learned concoctions as as भट्टार 'Bhaṭṭā-pallī' for भट्टापार 'Bhāṭṭa-pārā', युग्मेश्वर 'Yugma-sētu' for योग्येश्वर 'Yojā-sākā', कलिक्षेत्र 'Kālikṣeṭra' for कलिकात 'Kālikātā', दग्धवती 'Dagdha-vatī' for पोड़ावती 'Pōrā-bārī'. Still, they are of very great importance, as they indicate the line of change in the phonetics of these names, and help us in making guesses at the genuine old forms. If it were not for the forms preserved in the inscriptions and in pre-Moslem works, it would have been impossible for us to find out that বালুক 'Bāluṭē' and মুরুণ্ডি 'Murundī' were something like 'Bāllahiti' and 'Mūjālandi' in the 12th century, পাবন 'Pābanā' was something like 'Pāvubannā' (written 'Paduvanva') in the 11th, ব্রহ্মাচার 'Brahma-cār' was 'Baraṅgačāra' or 'Barawaṅcāla' (written 'Varapaṅcāla') in the 9th. (Cf. Sītā-hāṭī Grant of Bāllāla Sena; Rāma-carita of Sandhyākara Nandī, ed. H. P. Śāstri, ASB.; Sylhet Bhāṭērā Grant: see Appendix C, in which some of the more interesting names obtained from early inscriptions in Bengal are given.)

In the formation of these names, we find some words which are distinctly Dravidian: e.g., -jōla, -jōta, jōli, -jōṭikā etc.: -hiṭṭi, bhiṭṭi, -viṭṭi, -hiṣṭ(h)ī etc.; -gaḍāla, -gaḍāli; -pōla, -vōla; and probably also -handa, -vaḷa, -kumāla, -kumāli, and -cavaṭi, cavāḷa etc.; and besides these, there are many others which have a dīśi or non-Aryan look. The first word, as in 'Pīḷāra-viṭṭi-jōṭikā, Uktārā-yōta (=jōta), Dharinmāyō-jōṭikā, Navā-jōli, Camyalā-jōli, Sik(ph?)-gaḍāli-jōli, Dijamakkā-jōli', meaning channel, water-course, river, water, is found in modern Bengal place
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names: e.g., নাড়াজোল « Nāra-jūla », জোঁকুড় « Đōma-jūra », জোঁড়ামোঁকো « Jōra-sākō » (= river-bridge, probably wrongly explained as double-bridge, and rendered into Skt. as « Yugma-sētu »); cf. also নরন্তুলি « nāyanā-juli » conduit. This word is certainly Dravidian: it is found in Kandhas « jorr », whence the name of the Kāt-jūri river in Orissa (B. C. Mazumdar, ‘Sonpur’, p. 19); we can compare the Bengali word জোল « jhōla » sūp, watery mass, (also saliva, as in নাল জোল « nāl-jhōla »), and Kannaḍa « jōllu», Telugu « dzōllu » saliva; cf. also Kannāḍa « jōru » drip, flo, trickle. (B)hiṭṭi - occurs in Modern Bengali in the form of বিটু or বিটী « bhiṭṭi=bhiṭṭi, bhiṭā=bhiṭā » homestead, homestead land. It occurs in a number of village names in the old inscriptions: e.g., « Piṇḍāra-viṭṭi- », « Campā-hiṭṭi, -hiṭṭi », « Hastini-hiṭṭa », « Villa-hiṭṭi » (« -ṭṭ- » is an easily explainable Sanskritisation of « -ṭṭ- »): we can compare Dravidian (Tamil) « viṭṭu, vitṭu » house: « bh » « v » and « h » do not present any insurmountable phonetic difficulty. « Gaḍḍa, gaḍḍi », also « guḍi, guḍi », as in « Āūhā-gaḍḍi, Sura-kōṇa-gaḍḍi, Sīlā-guḍi » (cf. Modern Bengali শিলাগুড়ি « Śili-gūṛi », জলপাইগুড়ি « Jalpāi-gūṛi »), can be compared with the common Telugu affix « gaḍḍa », Kannāḍa « gaḍḍē » lump, mass, clot; bank, brink, edge. « Pōla, vōla » with which we may compare Telugu « pōlamu » field, cornland, Kannāḍa « pōḷa » field, common in names, is found in early Bengal in names like « Jayarāti-pōla, Urṇāi-pōla, Ajhaṭa-cāṇ-vōla, Dhra-vōla » etc. « Hāṇḍa », as in « Tikṣa-hāṇḍa », « Kala-hāṇḍa » (in the Tārācaṇḍi inscription of Pratāpa-dhavala, c. 1169 A.C., in Shahabad District), might be from Sanskrit « khaṇḍa »: cf. « Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa » in the 7th century Lōkanātha inscription from Tippara; but one may compare Tamil « anāḷai » nearness, vicinity, raised side of a field, boundary. « Vaṭā » is partially the source of New Bengali -ড় « -rā », a common affix in place-names: e.g., বাক্কুড় « Bākura » = Bankurah, হাওড়া « Haōrā » = Howrah, চুড়া « Cūrā » = Chinsurah, বিষড়া « Risārā » = Bagpura, ইগড়া « Igārā », সোমড়া « Sōmrā », চাপড়া « Cāpārā » etc. It is found plentifully in older inscriptions out of Bengal as well; e.g., at Bharhut and Sanchi; it may be from an OIA. « vṛṣṭha-ka », but we may note the common Kōl word for house, « orak' ». « Kūṇḍa, kundī », as in « Śṛikṣi-kundā, Śīla-kundā,
Nandi-haripā-kunda, seems to be the same word as the New Bengali kūḍ < kūḍa > heap, little hillock, dunghill, with which may be compared Telugu kōṇa > hill, rock. The Bengali ṣhē > -gūri, as in Śiliguri, mentioned above, may be a variant of kūḍ < kūḍa >; cf. Bengali gōḍ > gōḍa > fleshy navel. Cavaṭi, cāpaṭi, cavāḍa, as in Cavaṭi, Kulā-cāpaṭi, Tataba-cavāḍa, is the source of the New Bengali word ṣaṭi > cāṭi > [śoṭi] lodge, posthouse, caravanserai; it is found in other NIA. languages, but it is probably a Dravidian word (= Telugu and Kannada cāvaṭi). An investigation of the place-names in Bengal, as in other parts of Aryan India, is sure to reveal the presence of non-Aryan speakers, mostly Dravidian, all over the land before the establishment of the Aryan tongue.

43. Bengal originally did not form one country and one nation. The Ganges (Padma or Pāddā) with its branch the Bhāgarathi or Hugli and the Brahmaputra divide the country into four tracts, in which dwelt, several hundred years before Christ, at a time when the riverain system of the country must have been a great deal different from the present one, the tribes of the Pundras (in North Central Bengal, roughly in the tract bounded by the Ganges to the south and the Karatōya in the east), the Vāngas (in Bengal east of the Brahmaputra and north of the Padma), and the Rājhas and to their south the Suhmas (west of the Hugli). A great deal of the delta was marshy and uninhabitable in the early period of Bengal history. The above four tribes, Pundra, Vānga, Rājha and Suhma, were the important ones, who gave their names to the various tracts they inhabited. But there were other tribes as well, some of which, like the Kaivarttas or Kevaṭtas (Kēōts), were spread all over the country, while others, like the Cauḍālas (Cārāls), the Dōmas, (Dōms), the Haḍḍikas (Hāris), the ancestors of the Bāgūḍis (= * Vyāghra-dvipikas ?), the Vāthuris (Bā[ h]uris), the veteranās, were more or less confined to parts of the country. Under the influence of the Upper Gangetic (Brahmanic) idea of caste, many of the non-Aryan tribes have become occupation castes in an Aryanised society, their position in the present-day Hindu society being determined by the nature of their occupation as a community. The tribes of Ṭhāga (East Bihar)
and Magadha were perhaps allied, and so were the Ōḍras and the Kaliṅgas of Orissa. There seems to have been an unbroken connection between Bihar, West Bengal, Kaliṅga and the Andhra country, racially and linguistically. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter in the JASB., 1897, i, pp. 85 ff.). The Köl tribes (Santals etc.), now found in West Bengal are recent arrivals from the plateau of Chota Nagpur; but before the advent of the Santals, there were earlier Köl tribes e.g., the Bhūmijes,—ancestors of some of the humbler sections of the West Bengal people—who, with their Dravidian neighbours, have become completely Hinduised. The Maler of the Rāj-mahāl Hills, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Kandhs of Orissa are some of the ruder Dravidian speakers who still preserve their language in their hill and jungle fastnesses. The Suhmas of South-west Bengal had their capital city in Tāmralipti, or Dāmalipta, as it is called in the 'Daśa-kumāra-carita' (5th century A.C.) : this is a Sanskritised form of some name like « * Dāmālītta, Dāmālītta », and here we probably have a connection with the word « Dāmīḷa » (=Tamil), as Mahāmahōpadhyāya Hari-Prasād Śāstrī has suggested. (« *Dāmīlītta » for a « * Dāmīl-viṭṭu »? home of the Dāmīḷa people ). The modern name of this town is তমলুক, তমোলুক « Tām(o)lukā »: the affix suggests, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett, a connection with Kannadā « okkal » house, home (cf. the name « Utkala » for Orissa, probably also of Dravidian origin: Kannadā « ōkkala » =householder, farmer; the Ōḍra people= « ōḷḍa » delving labourer, in Dravidian; see F. Kittel’s ‘Kannada Dictionary,’ Bangalore, 1894, under « ōḷḍa l » and « ōḷra »). The Mahābhārata legend of the five princes Aṇga, Varga, Kaliṅga, Pūndra and Suhma being brothers, who were sons of the Rishi Dirghatamās begotten on the wife of King Bali, is probably based on traditions of ethnic kinship among the tribes of which the five princes were the eponymous ancestors. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, JASB., cited above). These early tribes of Bengal, Dravidian speakers mainly, were well-organised, and they seem to have possessed a culture of their own. The early history of Burma and Siam tells us that at a time when the Tibeto-Chinese tribes (Burmese, and Tai) had not yet arrived on the scene, and these countries were inhabited
only by Môn-Khmêr peoples, Dravidians from Bengal and Kaliṅga were emigrating into these lands, and becoming the ruling race there. Later, when these non-Aryans from India assimilated Brahmnic culture, their princes claimed connection with the ancient royal houses of Aryan Upper India (a thing which was repeated in the case of the new Rajpūt clans at a later period), and introduced among the Môns and the Khmêrs in times post Christ the Sanskrit language as well as traditions connected with Hastināpura and Ayōdhyā which yet live.

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

45. The people of Bengal, in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., do not seem to have been Aryan speakers, but they possessed great skill in some arts and crafts which was recognised in Aryanised, imperial Magadha. Kauţilya's 'Artha-sâstra' (end of 4th century B.C. in its original form) praises the silk and other stuffs made in Punêra, Suvarnâ-kûlya and Vaŋga (II, 11): the second tract has been identified with Karna-suvarṇa in Murshidabad District. The original author of the oldest Indian treatise on elephant-training and the diseases of elephants, the 'Hastyāyurvēda' ascribed to Pâla-kâpya, a work compiled during the Sûtra period (600-200 B.C.), is described as a man from 'where the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) flows towards the sea,' i.e., from East Bengal near the mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra (H. P. Śâstrî, 'Presidential Address to the 8th Bengali Literary Conference,' VSPdP., 1321, No. 4). It does not seem likely that Bengal (even North and West Bengal), was brought in line with the Aryan states of India before the Maurya period, by being conquered by Magadha. The Pâli Jâataka and Tri-piṭaka literature which gives a faithful account of Aryandom in
India in the centuries immediately before the Maurya period, mentions 16 great nations, among which Puṣṭra, Vānqa, Rāḍha or Subha have no place. Jain tradition as preserved in the ‘Āyāraṇga Sutta’ (1, 3, 4: p. 84, ‘Gaina Sūtras,’ trans. by H. Jacobi, SBE. [the work dating from the 3rd century B.C., at least in a more ancient original which is lost, but referring to the 6th century B.C.: cf. op. cit., pp. xl-xlili]) describes Lāḍha and Subhha (＝Rāḍha, Subha) as countries inhabited by a wild and churlish people. In fact, the tradition, that the Rāḍha people of West Bengal were wild and barbarous, is present down to Middle Bengali times: e.g., Mukunda-rāma writes (c. 1580) in his ‘Caṇḍakāvyā,’ (Vaṃgavāsi edition):

p. 70—baṇḍa gō-hiṃsākṣa rāḍa (＝rāḍha)

« byādhā gō-hiṃsākṣa rāḍa (＝rāḍha) »
A hunter, a cow-killer, a Rāḍha.

p. 73—kṛtī niḍḍhukale jāna jāti te chaṇḍa
Keh na parash karē nōkē bale ṛaṇa

« āti ničā-kulē jāmā, jāti-te cūrdā;
keha na parāśa kāre, lōkē bale rāḍa ».

« Birth in a very low caste; by caste, a Cu(h)ād (or Cu(h)ād : any connection with the Cu(h)ādās or sweepers of Northern India and the Panjab?) ; no one touches (me), people call (me) = Rāḍha.
The attitude of the Brahman law-makers towards Bengal in early times (p. 63) may be recalled.

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

¹ The Ceylonese Pali chronicles 'Dipa-vaṁṣa' and 'Mahā-vaṁṣa' narrate the story of Vijaya. Both these works mention 'Lāḷa,' or 'Lāḷa-raṭṭha' as the home of Vijaya. This 'Lāḷa' is only a variant of 'Lāḍa,' and is the same tract known as 'Lāṭa' in Sanskrit, and 'Larikē' in Greek = 'Lāḍikā,' which corresponds to the Gujarati coast country (Kathiawar), and probably also to South Sindh, which is still known as 'Lār' = 'Lāḍa.' Some scholars prefer to see 'Rāḍha' or West Bengal in this 'Lāḷa': if this identification were correct, it would establish the existence of an old tradition in favour of there having been a considerable Aryanisation of West Bengal in the 6th or 5th century B.C. But the only ground of connection with Bengal is the mention of Vaṅga in narrating the story of Vijaya in the Pali works: both agree in saying that the mother of Siha-bāhu, Vijaya's father, was a princess from Vaṅga or East Bengal. The Dipa-vaṁṣa, which is slightly older than the Mahā-vaṁṣa (the latter dating from the end of the 5th century after Christ), cf. M. Winternitz, 'Geschichte der indischen Litteratur,' II, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 168, 170), gives a only bald version of the wild legend of the lion and the Vaṅga princess, and mentions Vaṅga only casually, and speaks of Siha-pura, Vijaya's native city, and describes his sojourn at Suppāra and Bharu-kaccha during his voyage to Ceylon; the Mahā-vaṁṣa gives an elaborate version of the legend, mentions not only Vaṅga but also Kaliṅga and Magadha (although once), and omits Bharu-kaccha. (H. Oldenberg, the Dipa-vaṁṣa, London, 1879; W. Geiger, English Translation of the Mahā-vaṁṣa, London, 1912.) The bringing in of the names of Vaṅga and Magadha, especially of the latter, looks like interpolations; the contiguity of Lāḷa, the home of the first Aryan King of Ceylon, with Magadha, the Buddhist holy land, which would be emphasised by the frequent mention of Vaṅga as in the Mahā-vaṁṣa version, was sure to please the Ceylon Buddhists of early times. Siha-pura, from where Vijaya came, may be represented by the modern Sihōr (= Siha-ura, Siūha-pura) in Bhavnagar state, not far from the sea. Above all, the mention of Bharu-kaccha and
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Magadhan and other officials and soldiers, Brahmans, Buddhist and Jain missionaries and priests, traders and artisans in large numbers, and adventurers in search of fortune, who made the land their home. The upper classes among the original people of the land, like the upper classes everywhere under similar circumstances, would be most susceptible to this cultural and linguistic influence coming in the wake of a political suzerainty. When the upper classes are captured in this way, the spread of a foreign culture and language among the masses is a question of time only. People of humbler ranks were continually coming into Bengal from Magadha, Kāśi and beyond, as they have always been doing until now, and by settling down in the country were re-inforcing the position of the Aryan speech. It is very likely that Prāgjyotiṣa and Vaṅga, from their comparatively remote position, received Aryan speech later than West, North, and Central Bengal; and this early contrast between an advanced and Aryanised North and West Bengal, and a rather backward East Bengal, possibly

Suppāra is a strong evidence in favour of the west coast having been the home of the first Aryan settlers in Ceylon several centuries B.C. Hiuen Tsang narrates the lion legend at some length, and the story of the colonisation of Ceylon (S. Beal, 'Buddhist Records, etc.,' Vol. II, London, 1906, pp. 236 ff.), but he places the scene in Southern India. The people of the Western Indian Coast were adventurous sailors from very early times, even before the advent of the Aryans; and not to speak of their voyages to lands beyond the Arabian Sea, Java in the Eastern Ocean was first colonised from India by the Gujarati people in the 1st century A.C., according to Javanese tradition (see Rādhā-Kumud Mookerjee, 'A History of Indian Shipping, etc.,' London, 1912, pp. 150-151). The Sinhalese language, according to Geiger, is connected with Western Prakrits, Saurāṣṭrī and Mahārāṣṭrī, rather than with Māgadhī (cf. W Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,' pp. 90, 91, 92; P. Arunachalam, 'Sketches of Ceylon History;' Colombo, 1906, pp. 9, 10; see also infra, Appendix B, § 81, 'Echo Words' in Nīa and Dravidian). But there is no denying that in later, post-Aśokan times, after Buddhism was taken to Ceylon from Magadha, the connection between Bengal and Ceylon grew very intimate—regular trade through the harbour of Tāmraliptyi being carried on between Magadha and Bengal and Ceylon—a connection which continued down to the middle of the 13th century at least (when the Sanskrit scholar Rāma-candra Kavi-bhāratī, a North Bengal Brahman, persecuted by his people on becoming a Buddhist, went to Ceylon: R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgaḷār Itiḥās,' II, Calcutta, San 1324, p. 59), and traditions of which in the shape of stories of commercial voyages to Ceylon undertaken by Bengali merchants are present in Middle Bengali literature.
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differing linguistically and racially (in having a prominent Tibeto-Burman element) from West Bengal, is at the root of the contemptuous use of the term বাংলা< Bāṅgāl> for an inhabitant of East Bengal (= < Vaṅg-āla >), even at the present day when the name Vaṅga has been extended west to Puṇḍra and Rāḍha (jointly known as Gauḍa-dēśa). South Bengal (the lower reaches of the Ganges delta) does not seem to have been very much habitable below the 23rd degree of latitude, perhaps not much below the Tropic of Cancer, at the period we are speaking of (some four hundred years B.C.): it seems to have been a marshy and jungly tract, infested by tigers,¹ in which settlements were made from Puṇḍra, Rāḍha and Vaṅga later.

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

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

¹ The delta of Bengal is known by the name of বাঙ্গালী 'Bāṅgli< Bāgaḍi.' The name সাম-তা 'Sama-ta' is sometimes used for the delta, but it is properly a name for East Bengal, Vaṅga, rather than for South Bengal (Rādhā-Govinda Basāk, ‘Sama-taṭer Rāja-dhānī,’ Sāhitya, Āśvina, San 1321). The word ‘Bāgaḍi’ has not been satisfactorily explained. It is sometimes derived from a Sanskrit ‘Vaka-dvipa,’ which is phonologically inadmissible. There is a ‘Bāṛī’ or ‘Bāgaḍi’ in Midnapur District, near Garbōtā, but it is far away from the delta. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharma-pāla (c. 500 A.C.) we find the mention of a Vyāghra-taṭi district, forming part of the Puṇḍra-vardhana province. This place has not been identified, but it may be in the delta. Can ‘Vyāghra-taṭi’ = tiger-coast, a fitting name for a delta district as the home of the Royal Bengal Tiger, be the source of ‘Bāgaḍi’ (through ‘वाङ्गहाड़ि,’ ‘वाङ्गहाड़ि,’ ‘वाङ्गहाड़ि’ with despiration of ‘gh’ in Middle Bengali)?
whether Bengal formed a part of the Saka empire. But there is evidence of the industrial and commercial activities of the people of Bengal during the Kuśāna period, e.g., from the contemporary Greek work the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' (1st century A.C.: Section 63).

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

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

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1 Act II of the drama: king Pradyōta of Ujjayini says, discussing with his queen a suitable match for their daughter Vāsava-datta: 'asmat-sambaddhō Māgadhāḥ Kāśi-rājō Vaṇgaḥ Sūrāśtraḥ Māthilāḥ Śirasāṇaḥ; ete nāṃbhair iśbhayantō guṇāir māḥi: kas te vāśītēśām pārataṁ yāti rājā? connected with us are the kings of Magadha, of Kāśi, of Vaṇga, of Sūrāśtra, of Māthilā and of Śirasāṇa; they attract me by their manifold qualities: which king among them is deemed a proper bridegroom by you?'
inscriptions consist of deeds recorded on copper-plates of such grants of land to Brahmans. The Brahman 'coming out of the Midland'—_madhya-deśa-vinirgata_—as he is frequently described in these deeds, was a missionary of Hindu Aryan or North Indian culture, and it was a meritorious act with all classes of people, from the rulers downwards, to settle him in villages with grants of land. In this matter, in later times even the rulers professing the Buddhist faith followed suit. Seions of aristocratic families—_kula-putras_—from Ayōdhya and elsewhere in Northern India bought lands in Bengal for the support of Brahmanical temples, and in other ways helped to establish Hinduism; and these _kula-putras_ probably gave or reinforced the aristocracy of medieval Bengal (cf. the Dāmāda-pur copper-plates, No. 5, of 533-34 A.C.: Rādhā-Gōvinda Basāk, ‘Epigraphia Indica,’ XV, p. 115).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

In the development of NIA. from OIA., the phonetic changes brought about in the transitional period between early MIA. and second MIA.,
and the gradual decay of inflections throughout all the MIA. stages, have served to make NIA. almost entirely change its character, and to begin afresh, as it were. As it will be seen under Morphology, very few OIA. inflections have survived in NIA. But it is the loss of the intervocal stops, and the weakening of the aspirated stops to \( <h> \) in MIA., which have transformed the Aryan language in India. A lax pronunciation of the unvoiced \( <k> - <c> - <t> - <p> \) turns them easily into the voiced \( <g> - <j> - <l> - <d> - <b> \), when they are preceded and followed by vowels, which are voiced sounds. Further laxity prevents complete closure of the mouth-passage, and the voiced stops become open consonants, spirants or continuants, namely, \( <q>, <y> \) (fricative, \( =[^{[5]}] \)), some kind of fricative cerebral \( ! \) or \( [\mathfrak{q}] \), \( b \) respectively: and these open consonants often lose their audible friction, so that the consonant is reduced to zero. The voicing of the tennes is found sporadically as early as the 3rd century B.C. in Asoka’s eastern inscriptions: \( e.g., \) \( <ava-> \) for \( <apa-> \) at Sahasram: \( <ajala> \) at Dhaul, corresponding to \( <acala> \) at Jaugada; \( <loka> \) for \( <loka> \) at Jaugada; \( <libi=lipi> \) at Delhi-Topra; \( <Anityoga> \) for \( <Anti-yoka> = \) Greek \( \mathfrak{A}ntiokhos> \), at Kalsi. (Also cf. \( <rathidara=raithitara> \), Brhami inscription from Kangra Valley, 3rd century B.C. \* see J. Ph. Vogel, Ep. Ind., VII, pp. 116 ff.)

In the transitional period of MIA., 200 B.C.—200 A.C., we see that these voicing are on the increase in the inscriptions; and cases of elision also appear, growing more numerous as we advance to the second MIA. stage: \( e.g., \) \( <Anadhapdik=Anatha-pindika> \), \( <Maghadviya=Makhadeva> \), \( <avayesi<avadesi<avadesi=avadaya> \) (Bharhut, 2nd century B.C.): \( <padham=pratham> \), \( <cavutha<*caddutha<caturtha>, <radha=ratha>, <vitadha= vitatha>, <Bharadha<*Bharatha=Bhara> \), \( nava> \)

\* The intervocal cerebrals in MIA. did not become fricative, but were changed either to \( ! \) or to the so-called cerebral \( \mathfrak{t} \); the latter is not a continuant, but a \( \mathfrak{t} \) sound. The very character of the cerebrals, which needed the tongue-tip to be rolled back and struck against the roof of the mouth for their proper pronunciation, ensured the momentary closure, even when the other consonant sounds became open. See later, under Phonology, where the phonetic history of IA. is discussed.
INTRODUCTION

≡jñāpaka\textsuperscript{22} (Khāravelā Inscription, 2nd century B.C.); « chatrava = kṣatrapa », « atēurēṇa = antēpura », « thuva = stūpa », « niyadido = niryātita », « Nākaraasa = Nāgarakasya » (a hybrid form, with Dardic or Northwest Indian « k- » for « gh- »), « ayariya = ācārya », « vēya-udinō = vēgōdīrṇa », « viyaa = vijaya » (Mathura Lion Capital Inscription, early 1st century A.C.); « apratiḥavita = apratiṣṭhāpita » (Taxila Plate, of the same date as the preceding). Similar forms, with voiced stops for unvoiced ones, and « y » possibly for an open spirant pronunciation, are found in the Nasik and Karle Cave Inscriptions of the 2nd century A.C. Of the literary Prakrits (as in the older Sanskrit dramas), which were based on the spoken MIA. vernaculars of the 1st—5th centuries A.C., we find that the voicing of the tenues, and their retention side by side with the original voiced ones, to be quite the rule in Māgadhī and Śaurasēṇī (only « k- » « g- » is generally elided, but « t- » « d- » never); but in the dialect named Mahārāṣṭrī, they are in all cases elided. Modern IA. languages derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasēṇī, e.g., Bengali and Hindī, show that those original single stops of OIA., which were preserved as voiced stops in the literary Prakrits, were subsequently dropped as well: e.g., OIA. « ātama » > Māg. « śadē, sadaṁ », Śaur. « sadaṁ »: cf. Bengali श « sā » from « sāa, sāwa », Hindī « sa, saj » from « sa(ī/ī)a »; OIA. « pāda » > Māg., Śaur., pāda »: cf. Bengali प « pā », Hindī « pāv »; OIA. « calatī » > Mag. « ycaladi », Śaur. « caladi »: cf. Bengali ḍh « cālē, Hindī « cālē calāj < « calāi ». This stage of Māgadhī and Śaurasēṇī, in which all the intervocal stops were elided, has not been indicated in the oldest grammar of Prakrit that we have, that of Vararuci, who says that « -t-, -th- » become « -d-, -dh- » in Śaurasēṇī; and Māgadhī follows Śaurasēṇī in this respect; and later Sanskrit writers, who turned Sanskrit words into Prakrit, followed Vararuci and the usage of Śūdraka, Kālidāsa and the rest. But in Śaurasēṇī Apabhraṃśa, we have the genuine state of things in the spoken language indicated by plenty of forms without the intervocal consonants. For a final or intervocal stop to be elided, it must be either laxly or lazily pronounced, leading to absence of contact, as described above; or ‘throttled’ into an unexploded stop, as it has
SPIRANT PRONUNCIATION IN MIA.

happened to the final stops in many speeches; or changed into a glottal
stop, [ʔ], as in dialectal English, e.g., London cockney [woʔa, baʔa,
pʰaiʔa, maiʔi] for water, butter, paper, Michael = standard Southern English
[woʔa, bəʔa, pʰeɪpə, maɪk]. The process, namely, stops > voiced stops,
lazily uttered > open stops, or voiced fricatives with very little friction >
complete elision, or zero,—seems to have taken place in Northern India.
The « ya-śruti » of Jaina Ardha-māgadhī, which may be represented « -ý- »,
probably represents an intermediate stage between fricative pronunciation
and complete elision, when the suggestion of a spirant would just be
heard. This, as S. Lévi has noted (J.A., 1912, ii. pp. 511-512), is found in
the word « avayēsi » = « avādēsi, avādayat » in the Bharhut inscriptions,
2nd century B.C. Later MIA. inscriptions of the transitional stage show
it; and probably the Jain traditional spelling of Ardha-māgadhī with the
« ya-śruti » is a systematisation in writing of what was no doubt heard
in actual speech some time or other in the history of the dialect. Now, it
seems that the occurrence of « -g- -d- -b-, -gh- -dh- -bh- » (as well as
« -j- -jh- ») intervocally in Māgadhī and Śaurasenī in the second MIA.
period, as illustrated by Vararuci and by the early dramas, could only
have been as fricatives: witness also the existence of « -p- » as « -v- ».
in spelling, = bilabial fricative « -b- » (i.e., [v], in the IPA. script).
Similar indication of fricative or open consonant sounds by letters which
originally were always pronounced as stops is quite common in many
languages, old and new: e.g., in Gothic, in Old Irish, in Modern Greek,
in Spanish. (See under Phonology, Sound-System of Second MIA.)
Occasional hesitancy in spelling, between retaining a voiced stop and
dropping it, which is noticed in contemporary documents of the transitional
period and in Prakrit texts (e.g., the name « Moa=Mōga » respectively
in the coin of that Indo-Parthian king and in an inscription of his time)
also supports the assumption of the presence of a spirant pronunciation.
The aspirates « kh gh, th dh, ph bh » similarly became « qh, ḍh, ḍh », and
finally « -h- ». In Mahārāṣṭrī, however, the stops were already dropped
at a time when they were yet preserved as open consonants in Māgadhī
and Śaurasenī and in the dialects of the North-west, and possibly as strong
fricatives indicated by the <ya-shruti> in Ardha-māgadhi. It is not certain by which process this was brought about in the Southern dialect, but the presence of <-y-> forms in the Nasik Cave Inscriptions (cf. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, 'Wilson Philological Lectures,' 1914, pp. 88, 302), which belong to the present day Marāṭhī linguistic area, probably indicates the change here also was gradual, as in Northern India, only it was accomplished earlier. This peculiarity of pronunciation as soon as it was attained was probably noted in Northern India which still adhered to intervocal sounds.1 The predominance of vowels in Mahārāṣṭrī, as the result of the dropping of consonants, made it more melodious, and this, coupled with the prestige of a rich literature of lyrics and little couplets which was growing up in it from the beginning of the Christian era, was probably responsible for its being accepted as the Prakrit dialect for songs and poetical stanzas by Sanskrit and Prakrit dramatists and poets everywhere. Like Braj-bhākhā in Northern India from the 15th century downwards, Mahārāṣṭrī became the recognised dialect for lyrics in the second MIA. period. (See p. 61.)

50. The Prakrits of the transitional and second MIA. periods came to have some literature in them, through the endeavours of the Buddhists (the Prakrit speech of Gandhāra or the North-west, e.g., the 'Dharmapada' discovered by Dutreuil de Rhins in Central Asia, and first published by E. Senart in the J.A., 1897, and edited by Bēnī-Mādhav Baruā and Śailendra-Nāth Mitra, Calcutta University, 1921), of the Jains (the Ardha-māgadhī dialect, now apparently re-edited from 'Old Ardha-māgadhi'—cf. p. 58—) with influence from Śaurasēnī and other

1 In the 'Mṛcchkaṭṭika' drama, probably 4th century A.C. (cf. M. Winternitz, 'Indische Litteratur,' III, p. 203), a character says: 'vṛsma ḍakkhunattā avvatta-bhāsiṇō' (see Southerners speak indistinctly (Act VI). This is perhaps a comment on the early elision of the stops in the South, which would be contrasted with the comparatively distinct—'vyakta'—albeit fricative, articulation of the North. The speaker, Candanaka, speaks familiarly of the ruses of the Kārṇaṭaka people in starting a quarrel: he is apparently a man from the Mahārāṣṭra country, bordering on Kārṇaṭa; and his dialect is not pure Śaurasēnī,—it is described as Āvanti, spoken in Ujjayini—something intermediate between Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī. Cf. Pischel, 'Gram. der Prakrit Sprachen,' § 26.
dialec}, and of the Sanskrit dramatists, and vernacular poets in general (the Śaurasenī and Magadhī dialects, the Maharāṣṭrī dialect). Grammars of some of these were written in the second MIA. period; and these dialects soon became stereotyped as literary languages, and did not keep pace with the spoken dialects, both in the scholarly Sanskrit dramas and in the Prakrit compositions in which they figured. The spoken dialects developed and changed; and during the period between the second MIA. dialects as in the dramas and the modern languages, these arrived at a stage (§ 20, p. 19) which has been called ‘Apabhraṃśa,’ following Hēma-candra, who definitely describes by that name a typical late MIA. speech which is younger than the Prakrits of the dramas, but older than the modern vernaculars. Thus the ‘Śaurasenī Prakrit’ of the second MIA. stage, which was used in the Sanskrit drama, and was actually based on the spoken language, say of the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries, continued to be written in the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, and later; and being then confined to high literature only, and to a great extent removed from the actual, living Śaurasenī of the later period, it became a matter of the scholar’s and the grammarian’s interest, to be written according to the grammars based on earlier specimens and modified by later views, opinions, theories, and, very rarely, by actual (later) contemporary linguistic conditions. While this was going on, the current late Śaurasenī came to be used in literature by the masses; and then it grew to have a position of its own, as a younger Śaurasenī Prakrit; it developed into a ‘Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa,’ in which gradually a literature was created. What happened to Śaurasenī undoubtedly happened to the other Prakrits; only the literary counterparts of the ‘Apabhraṃśa’ forms of these latter—Mahārāṣṭrī, Magadhī, Ardha-magadhī, and the North-western Prakrit—are now wanting: either because the literatures in these have entirely perished; or because such literatures did not exist, at least on a large scale, which is equally likely—Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa alone having taken up the whole field for literary purposes.

51. When did MIA. have its new ‘Apabhraṃśa’ characteristics fully developed? Vararuci does not speak of any speech named Apabhraṃśa
in his grammar: apparently it was not known to him. H. Jacobi gives
evidence from literature and epigraphy, from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin,
and from the inscription of king Dhara-sena of Valabhi, that some form
of speech called Apabhraṅsa was used for literary purposes as early as the
6th century A.C. (‘Bhavisatta-kahā,’ Munich, 1918, pp. 54*—55*). Jacobi
also notes certain Apabhraṅsa traits in a Prakrit work, ‘Paūma-cariya,’
dating, according to him, from the 2nd-3rd century A.C. at the earliest (op.
cit., pp. 59* ff.). Jacobi thinks that the spoken dialects, partially at least,
developed the Apabhraṅsa traits by that period. But contemporary
date: 170 epigraphical documents, which certainly are more faithful than post-11th
century MSS., do not at all justify us in assuming the Apabhraṅsa stage
so early. In the Dutreuil de Rhins fragments of the Prakrit ‘Dharmapada,’
which belongs to the latter half of the 3rd century (see § 50), we come
across the nominal -u affix for -ō, no doubt; this weakening is
one of the characteristics of Apabhraṅsa; but -ō forms are equally
common, and -u, -ō both might be irregular graphic devices for one
sound, namely, a very close -ō, in this dialect. The ‘Mṛchakaṭīka’ has
Prakritic portions, which resemble Apabhraṅsa in some points: cf. Act II,
the dialogue between the gambling-house keeper and the gambler, whose
dialect has been called ‘Dhakki’ (see Pischel, ‘Gram. der Prakrit Sprachen,’
§ 25); this ‘Dhakki’ is really ‘Takki,’ based on a North Panjab, at any
rate a North-western, dialect, and it has nothing to do with Dhakkā=Dhākā
or Dacca in East Bengal (see Grierson, JRAS., 1913, pp. 875 ff.). These
‘Takki’ portions do not represent the true Apabhraṅsa; here it seems we
have a dialect of the North-west, like the Dutreuil de Rhins fragments
which tended to change final -ō to -u as early as the 3rd-4th centuries
A.C. The stanzas uttered by the king when he lost his reason in the
4th Act of the ‘Vikramorvaśi’ of Kālidāsa seem to be Apabhraṅsa in form
and metre; this would bring Apabhraṅsa to the 4th century A.C. But the
genuineness of these stanzas has been doubted by some scholars (Jacobi,
op. cit., p. 58*). Moreover, here the characteristic Apabhraṅsa phonetic
change—intervocalic -m- > -w-—is absent, and the Apabhraṅsa
pleonastic affixes like -illa, -alla and -ḍa are not found. The affix
ORIGIN OF APABHRA\nŚA

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

The term ‘Apabhraṇśa’ originally had no special significance, and merely meant speech fallen off (from the norm), vulgar speech. The learned man’s contempt for popular speech is manifest in the use of the terms «apaśabda, apabhraṇśa, apa+ḥāṣ» by Patañjali (cf. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 81*). No one would suggest that the word Apabhraṇśa as used by Patañjali meant anything but dialectal, ungrammatical or vulgar speech, or that it can mean anything like the tertiary development of MIA. In Bengal, the Paṇḍits used to describe the Sanskritised literary Bengali as साधु-भाषा «sādhu-bhāṣā», and the actual, living Bengali as अपभ्रष्टा «apa-bhāṣā» or इतर-भाषा «itar-bhāṣā» (cf. H. P. Śāstri, VSPdP., San 1321, p. 255). One can very well understand that after the MIA. forms (Pali and Śaurasēṇī and other Prakrits) were established, deviations in the vulgar speech, especially of some of the less cultured peoples of North-western and Western India, would be described as ‘Apabhraṇśa’ forms; and when these new traits (e.g., «-ō>-u») became established in the speech of all classes in Western and Northern India, and certain other new characteristics, not noticed before in the 5th or 6th
century, were developed and established, the term 'Apabhraṃśa,' or 'Apabhraṣṭa' would come to be restricted for this new phase of the speech, to distinguish it from the well-attested 'Prākṛta' of the earlier epoch. The Apabhraṃśas, as popular dialects, came to be employed by the masses for their songs and couplets; and, with a popular literature, they came later to obtain recognition from scholars as well. Hēma-candra, evidently following earlier and generally accepted nomenclature, called this late form of MIA. as used in literature an 'Apabhraṃśa.' The necessity for exact definitions in modern scholarship has gradually established, in Indo-Aryan Linguistics, the use of the term Apabhraṃśa to indicate the stage between the Prakrits of the dramas (second MIA.) and the modern vernaculars: a stage, as one can postulate from what has been said above, which was well established by 600 A.C. (For Apabhraṃśa, see R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar, op. cit., pp. 109-118; R. Pischel, 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa,' Abh. der kön. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1902; H. Jacobi, 'Bhavisatta-kāba,' Ueber den Apabhraṃśa, pp. 53* ff., and Sanatkumāra-caritam,' Munich, 1921, pp. xix-xxx; P. D. Guṇḍē, 'Saṁyama-mañjarī,' Annals of the Bhaṇḍārkar Inst., Poona, 1920; Grierson, 'The Apabhraṃśa Stabakas of Rāma-bhārman Tarka-vāgīśa,' I.Ant., Jan., 1922, Jan. 1923.)

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

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

2. Central Magadhan: Maithili, Magahi.
3. Western Magadhan: Bhōjpuriyā, with Nāgpuriyā or Sadāni.

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

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

(i) Common to all Magadhan:

*Phonetic:* Tendency to turn the original «ā» sound (‘samvrta’ ā=[ʌ]) of OIA. and MIA. into an «ā» [ɔ]; original «śśś» > «ś» [[j]], (but in Central and Western Magadhan, Upper Indian influence has helped this sound, after the development of these languages, to change to a dental sibilant, while in the extreme east, in Assamese, it has become a guttural spirant, [x]); epenthesis of «i» developed in all Magadhan, except probably in standard Bhōjpuriyā. *Morphological:* an instrumental in «-e, -e, -ē, -ē»; «-kāra» as a genitive affix; original genitive>oblique plural in «-n(i)>>; locative in «-e»; (see below under *Morphology*; ‘Case Inflections ’); «-l-» for the past base, «-b-» for the future base and also for a verbal noun; remnants of an «-h-» future derived from the synthetic «-sy-» future of OIA. (*e.g.,* Bhōjpuriyā 3 pers. sing. «dēkhī
< *dēkhihi », Bengali 2 pers. preceptive future dēkhō=dēkhō=dēkhā=dēkhā < dēkhi < dēkhiā < dēkhiā < dēkhiā »). Roots « hō, ah, rah », and possibly also « aich », for the substantive verb (« aich » not found in present-day Bhojpuri and Magahi). Syntactical : active construction in the past tense of the transitive verb, and affixation of personal inflections to the past base (e.g., base « dēkhl-i-, dēkhl-al- » : dialectal and standard Bengali dēkhi, dēkhiā > dēkhi, dēkhiām < dēkhl-i, dēkhl-ā-hō > dēkhlū, dēkhl-al-ām, », Assamese « dēkhl-i-ə », Oriyā « dēkhl-i, dēkhl-ū », Magahi dēkhl-ūl-1, dēkhl-ūl-ū », Maithili « dēkhl-ūl-1, dēkhl-ūl-a-hū », Bhojpuri < dēkhl-ūl-1, dēkhl-ūl-ū >) came to be developed independently in each. The differentiation between transitive and intransitive verbs, 3 person only (e.g., standard colloquial Bengali দেখলে « dēkhl-i-ẹ » he saw, but চেল « cōl-l-ō » he went, Assamese « dēkhl-i-ć » but « tsāl-il-ą », Maithili « dēkhl-ūl-al », but « cal-al-ą », Bhojpuri < dēkhl-ūl-ć, dēkhl-ūl-as », never « dēkhl-al-ą », but « cal-al-ą », can be called a common Magadhan trait, having its germs in the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. There was a general tendency to give up the distinction between the nominative and oblique forms of the noun, which is now absent in the modern Magadhan speeches.

(ii) Characteristics of Eastern Magadhan :

Full « ā » [owing] pronunciation of the short « ā » is the only one that obtains. The palatal nature of the Māgadhī sibilant is most faithfully retained. Epenthesis of « i, u » fully established. « kṣ » (in tat-sana words) pronounced as « (-k)khyp- ». Genitive in « -rā », from « -kēra, -kara »; disuse or restricted use of the genitive in « -ka », except in Oriyā. Past and future bases in « -il-, -ib- » instead of « -al-, -ab- », which characterise other Magadhan; a passive participle in « -ā »— e.g. « dēkhlā » seen; confusion between roots « ah » and « hō » (e.g., Old Hindī (a)haï and « hōwāï » both meaning is, but derived from different roots; so Magahi « hal » and « bhēl, hōl » was; in Bengali, Assamese, and Oriyā, old forms like হৃ < হৃই > হাই and হোই < হোই > হোই have merged together. See below, under Morphology : ‘Defective Verbs’).

Nominative in « -č », locative in « -t(č) », and absence of number in verb, are common to Bengali and Assamese; formal differentiation between
the past of the transitive verb and the past of the intransitive verb in the 3rd person only (e.g., সে দিলে < sē di-lē > he gave, but সে গেল < sē gē-lā > he went), is found in West and North Bengali and in Assamese; < ō > h, c eh j jh ≥ ts s dz z ≥ , found in dialectal (East) Bengali and Assamese.

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

Special plural forms: রা < -rā > শিশ < -digā >, গুলা < -gulā > etc. in Bengali; < -bilāk, -bōr, -hāt > in Assamese; < -ē, -mānē > in Oriyā. The ablative in < -u > and the conjunctive indeclinable in < -iṇā > are peculiar to Oriyā only.

(iii) Characteristics of Central Magadhan:

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

The honorific pronoun of the second person, < ahā >, is peculiar to Maithili; the substantive roots < (a)eh, thik > characterise Maithili, and are not found in Magahi; and the root < ah, ha >, beside < hō >, common in Magahi, is not characteristic of Maithili. A group like < ā + single consonant + 1, ū > results in < ā > (i.e., long ā = [ə]) + consonant > in Maithili.

(iv) Characteristics of West Magadhan:

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

(v) Common to East Magadhan and Central Magadhan:

Nominaive in « -ē »; use of the affix « -ka- » in connection with the verb 3rd person (e.g. Bengali দেখিলেক « dēkhl-il-ē-ka », Early Oṛiyā « dēkhl-il-ā-ka », Maithili-Magahi « dēkhl-āl-ka » he saw); tendency to change intervocalic « -b- » in some forms to « -m- » (e.g., Assamese « dim », dialectal Bengali দিমু « dimu » < « dībō » I shall give, Oṛiyā « dēkhimi », beside « dēkhbī » I shall see, Magahi « lēmā < lēbā » you will take); the roots « āch (=ach, ch) » and « tha (thik, thak, thāk) » for the substantive verb; and the post-positional ‘article’ « -tā, -ti ».

« -rā » plurals, from the genitive, of personal pronouns (cf. Maithili « hamārā-sabh », Magahi « hamārā-ni » = Bengali আমার সব, সব « ámbārā-sāb(h)ā » we; later this was extended to the noun in Bengali); genitive in « -kēra » (= Bengali এর « -ēra »): common to Bengali and Central Magadhan.

Pronominal adjectives in « -h- », e.g. « *jaīhana, kāhana » etc., = Mai-thili « jēhan, kēhan », Bengali যেন কেন [জিনো, কিনো] from earlier যেহেন, কেহেন, যেহ, কেহ « jēh(e)nā, kēh(e)nā », Assamese যেন কেন « zēnē, kēnē »: common to Bengali-Assamese and Maithili.

(vi) Common to East Magadhan and West Magadhan:

Root « vṛt » as a substantive root (= Bhōjpuriyā « bāt, bār, bā », Oṛiyā « āt », Bengali বাট « bāt »).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 1, pp. 20-21:

.......<kanoω phaɾiaya jōgi jaɾawā barhualai:
dāɾhi barhaya jōgī hōi gailai bakara ....
kahahī Kabira, 'sunō bhāi sādbō,
Jama-darajawā bāndhala jaibē pakarā.'>
Splitting (his) ears, the Yogi has grown matted locks:
Growing a beard the Yogi has become a goat . . . .
Saith Kabir: 'Hear, brother devotee,
At the gate of Yama you will be bound and seized.'

Part III, pp. 86-87:
..... «bābā-ghara rahaulā, babūi kahaulā,
saiyā-ghara, catura sayāna
ētaba gharawā āpana rē » . . . .

In my father's house I was retained, and was called a dāring;
My Husband's home—wise and grown-up,
I shall know that home to be mine, O.

Part III, p. 98:
«kā lai jaibau, pītama gharā aibau?
gāwa-kē lōga jaba pūchana lagīhai,
taba hama kā rē bataibañ? » . . . .

With what will he depart (when) my Love will come to (my) house?
When the people of the village will begin to question, what indeed
then shall I say?

Part IV, pp. 70-71:
« sūtala rahalā mañ nīda bhari hō, piyā dihalat jagāya;
carana-kāwala kē ānjana hō nainā lefī lagāya » . . . .
I remained sleeping in deep slumber, ah me! My Love he made (me)
awake;
The collyrium (of the dust) from his lotus like feet I put in (my) eyes.

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

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

The earliest Maithili work which we have is the ‘Varṇa-ratnakara’ of Jyotirīśvara Thākura, who wrote it during the 1st quarter of the 14th

¹ Maithili as language of public life and literature has been largely suppressed by High Hindi and Urdu during the latter part of the last century. The University of Calcutta has within the last five years taken up seriously the study of Maithili, and has received strong support from many scholars and noblemen in Mithilā; and it looks as if there will take place a revival of this descendant of the old Māgadhī speech of Eastern India.
BRAJA-BULI

century. This work is a sort of lexicon of Maithili and Sanskrit words in the frame-work of several descriptions (e.g., the description of a king's court enumerating all the functionaries and officials who would be found there). It is preserved in a unique MS.\(^1\) dating from the beginning of the 16th century, now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (R. D. Banerji, 'Bāṅgālār Itihās,' II, p. 133; Manomohan Chakravarti, in the JASB., 1915, Nov. and Dec., p. 414; Hara-Prasād Śāstrī, 'Bauddha Gāṇ O Dōhā,' VSPd., Introduction, p. 35.)

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

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

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

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

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

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1 This Avahaṭṭha work, under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śastri, is now (August 1923) in the press in Calcutta.
57. Oriya is very closely related to Bengali. West Bengali and Oriya seem to have developed from one from of Magadhi Apabhranta, as current in South-west Bengal in the 7th-8th centuries. This speech was differentiated among the Odra or Udra people¹ who lived on the borderland between Suhma (South-west Bengal) and Kalinga. Hiuen Thsang described the Odras as a barbarous people, whose words and language differed from 'Central' India; but they loved learning, and applied themselves to it without intermission, and they were mostly Buddhists. With regard to the people of Kogoda, corresponding to Puri district of the present day, Hiuen Thsang makes a more definite statement, that although the Northern Indian alphabet was current among them, their language and mode of pronunciation were quite different (S. Beal's Translation of H. T., London, 1906, II, pp. 204-206). In the early part of the 7th century, we have thus the testimony of the Chinese traveller that the sea-board country where Oriya is now spoken was non-Aryan in speech. Yet we have epigraphical evidence to show that Brahmans were settled in non-Aryan Kogoda with grants of land precisely when Hiuen Thsang noticed the general linguistic condition of the country (Ralha-Govinda Basak, 'Madhava-varmar Tamra-sasan', Sahitya for Phalguna, 1319). What would seem to have been the case is that the Odra people were receiving Aryan speech from the neighbouring Suhma and Radha, in the 7th century and before, as well as during the subsequent period, and they rapidly became

¹ Odra is the Sanskritised form of the word Odda, the name of a Dravidian people. Kittel's opinion about the meaning and affinities of the word is given at p. 68. For a different derivation, from a Dravidian root meaning to run away, see B. C. Mazumdar, Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature.' Oddyasa (=Skt. Aundriyaka) > Oriya; Odra-visaya, or Aundri-visaya = Oddyasi, Odivisaa > Oriya, the modern Oriya name for their country; whence Bengali Utkal = Uriya, the Oriya pronunciation of 's' as something like 'sy,' together with a vague sense of this word being connected with the word 'visaya' with a cerebral 's' being responsible for the Bengali spelling sa 'sy.' The form 'Odivisa' is preserved in Taranatha (16th cen.) and other Tibetan writers. The name 'Utkala' seems to be from a Dravidian word meaning householder, farmer (see supra, p. 68; also B. C. Mazumdar, op. cit.).
Aryanised. West Bengal was the centre from which Aryanism spread into Orissa and into Chota Nagpur, as far as Sambalpur side, where it joined forces with Aryan influences from the Midland and Kōsala. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, 'Sonpur,' pp. 30-31, 115-116; the influence of Bengali Kāyasthas in Orissa of the 10th-11th centuries, as can be seen from epigraphical evidence, is noticed by Mazumdar; also cf. Introduction to Vol. I of 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature' by B. C. Mazumdar, Calcutta University, 1921). The Māgadhī Apabhraṇśa of West Bengal was differentiated in Orissa, where it was transplanted, by that speech changing more in its original seat in Bengal than among the Oḍrās and the Utkalas, among whom it acquired a most conservative spirit. The Old Bengali specimens of the 10th-13th centuries, as preserved in the 'Caryās,' already shows a stage in some respects in advance of that which is represented by Middle Oriyā of a later period. Kṛṣṇa Pāṇḍita, 'author of the 'Prākṛta-candrikā' (12th century), mentions 'Uḍra' as one of the 27 Apabhraṇśas: this is perhaps the earliest reference to Oriyā as a distinct Prakritic speech (Manomohan Chakrabarti, 'The Language and Literature of Orissa,' JASB., 1897, i, p. 319). The spread of Oriyā was at the expense of Dravidian and Kōl, as in Bengal; and a civilised Dravidian speech, Telugu, seems to have receded before Oriyā.

The earliest specimens of Oriyā, in connected expressions, hitherto discovered, occur in two copper-plate grants of king Nṛśinha-dēva IV, dated c. 1395 A. C. (edited by Manomohan Chakrabarti, JASB., 1895, i, pp. 136 ff.). In these we find a respectable number of Oriyā words which show that the Oriyā language is already formed. Some of these words are very valuable for phonological study: for example, the word 'ciāri', occurring twice, for the modern 'cāri' 'four'; the 'i-' after the 'c-' is found in Marāṭhī, *ciāri > cāri*, pronounced as a palatal affricate, [ʧj] or [ʧh], and not as a dental affricate [ts], which would be the regular pronunciation of a 'c' before 'a, ā' in Marāṭhī; and this 'i' is a puzzle. (J. Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 216; 'cēri = ciāri' is found in Old Hindi, and in Old Gujarātī also. See later, Morphology, under 'Numerals'). Before that date, we can mention a
EARLY ORIYĀ IN INSCRIPTIONS

few place-names in earlier inscriptions (e.g., the copper-plate grant of Nṛsiṁha-dēva II, 1296 A. C., edited and published in the JASB., 1896, i, pp. 254-256; the grants of the Trikaliṅga Gupta and the Bhāṇja kings of South Kōsala or Sambalpur, for which see B. C. Mazumdar, ‘Sonpur,’ pp. 33 ff.; the grant of Mādhava-varmā of Kōṅgōda, 7th century, referred to above).

But the most considerable and most noteworthy specimens, apart from the literary records, which in the works of Jagannātha-dāsa and others go back to the 15th century, are in a series of inscriptions, some 12 in number, all in Oriyā, in the temples of Puri and Bhuvaneshwar, dating from 1436 to 1542 (published by Manomōhan Chakravartī, JASB., i, 1893). Along with these is to be reckoned a grant inscribed on a copper axe-head, with a short Oriyā inscription, dating from the time of Puruṣottama-dēva (1466-1496) (E. A. Gait, JBORS., 1918, Part IV). These inscriptions prove that Oriya was to all intents and purposes the same language in the first half of the 15th century that it is now.

The spelling of some of the words in these inscriptions is worthy of attention, and it throws a great deal of light upon the stress system of the language, and also on one or two points connected with the pronunciation. Epenthesis of « -y- » after a consonant was quite a regular thing; « jū » in tat-saṁa words was pronounced « gū » as now; « r » was pronounced as « ru »; and syllables contiguous to a strongly stressed one were dropped: e.g., गर्जे = « rājīye » (inscription of 1466); चारम = « āgyā, ājīnā » (1450); also चांगा (1470); बाज्र = « bājhyā, vāhya » (1459); and forms like गजिन, गजोव, गोविन (1466), गुवर्ष = गुवर्ष (« r » pronounced as « ru ») (1459), ग(=५)भोला (1470), पृष्ण = पृण, पुण्या, पुर्णा, प्रमेवर (1470), नार (1542), show that the stress was ante-penultimate, and that a preceding or following weak vowel was dropped: e.g., « gājāpati, puruṣottama, jōgibara, gurūbārē, puruṣottama, pūrūnā, paramēśwārā, nārakā ». The early Oriyā of these inscriptions is a living speech. Oriyā as in literature is more Sanskrit-ridden than Bengali, and the language there is never so interesting as in these not very long specimens in the inscriptions: except that a few archaic or obsolete forms are preserved in the former (e.g., the
conjunctive in «-iṇa»), and that in quantity it is quite a respectable body of national literature in the language.

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

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

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

(2) A glossary of over 300 words, scattered in a Sanskrit commentary on the ‘Amara-kōsa,’ by a Bengali Pañjit, Vandyā-ghātiya Sārvāṇanda, written about 1159 A.C. This work, bearing the name ‘Ṭikā-sarvasva’ was noticed in the catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. by Aufrecht and Burnell (cf. Ep. Ind., VI, p. 203). The work was lost to Bengal, but was preserved in Malabar, and it has been recently edited from Malabar MSS. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the ‘Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.’ The vernacular words preserved in it belong to the Old Bengali period, and they embody valuable material for the study of Bengali phonology. A great many of these words have become obsolete now, and quite a number of them present a slightly Sanskritised appearance, which was due to the scholastic tendencies from which Pañjits have never been free. A few of these words have been found in pre-Moslem (Old Bengali) and early Bengali literature described below. [The VSPdP. for San 1326, No. 2, has two papers, in one of which these words have been discussed (by Rāi Bahādur Yōgēsh Chandra Vidyā-nidhi, ‘Sārē Sāt Śata Vatsar Pūrveṛ Bāṅgālā Śabda’), and in the other they have been arranged alphabetically for the benefit of students (by Basanta-Raṅjan Rāy, ‘Dvādaś Šatakēr Bāṅgālā Śabda’)].
The above lists of names and words are but meagre materials to reconstruct the history of a language. Sentences and connected phrases of the language in its oldest period, just after it had evolved from the Apabhraṃśa stage, would be invaluable. Fortunately, we have been possessed of such specimens of Old Bengali, after it had manifested most of its peculiar characteristics, and before it could crystallise into the Middle Bengali of the established type. These specimens allow us to have a glimpse of the language in its formative period.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two different dialects are found in these three works. The dialect of the ‘Caryās’ alone is Old Bengali, as its peculiar Bengali forms show (e.g., the genitive in অর, অর ‘-er, ara’, dative in রে ‘-re’, locative in ত ‘-ta’; post-positional words like মাধ ‘māṭha’, অত্র ‘antara’, সাঞ্চ ‘sānga’; past and future bases in ইল, ইব ‘-il-, -ib-’ and not ‘-al-, -ab-’ of Bihārī; present participle in অন্ত ‘-anta’; conjunctive indeclinable in ইন ‘-iṅ’, conjunctive conditional in ইল ‘-il’; passive in ‘ইন ‘-iṇ ‘-ia-’, which is preserved as a relic in Middle Bengali; substantive roots অছ ‘āch’ and ধাক ‘thāk’, not ‘thik’ of Maithili or ‘thā’ of Oriyā; and a number of Bengali idioms). The two ‘Dōhā-kōṣas’ present the same dialect, which is a kind of Western (Śaurasenī) Apabhraṃśa, as its ‘-u’ nominatives, its ‘-aha’ genitives, its ‘-iija’ passives, and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhraṃśa amply indicate. There was a considerable amount of Eastern Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature, of the type found in the ‘Dōhā-kōṣas,’ in the Western Apabhraṃśa. C. Bendall has published some fragments of such Apabhraṃśa strophes (in the
'Subhāṣita-saṅgraha,' Le Muséon, new series, Vols. IV, V, Brussels, 1905). In the monasteries of Nepal, some of these Sahajiyā Apabhraṇśa songs and strophes are even now preserved and sung (H. P. Śastrī, VSPdP., 1329 San, No. 1, pp. 44 ff.). And a great many, along with poems and other compositions in Old Bengali, seem to have been rendered into Tibetan and included in the 'Bstan-Hgyur' (Tan-jur), the Indian originals being lost (cf. Cordier's Catalogue, mentioned in footnote at p. 119).

61. As has been said before, as a literary language this Western Apabhraṇśa was current in Eastern India. During the 9th-12th centuries, through the prestige of North Indian Rājpūt princely houses, in whose courts dialects akin to this late form of Śaurasenī were spoken, and whose bards cultivated it, the Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṇśa became current all over Aryan India, from Gujarat and Western Panjab to Bengal; probably as a lingua franca, and certainly as a polite language, as a bardic speech which alone was regarded as suitable for poetry of all sorts. Professional bards, 'bhāṭs,' in other parts of India had to learn this dialect, as well as Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and compose in it. In the first centuries after the development of NIA., this Śaurasenī Apabhraṇśa continued to be used, but it yielded more and more to the local dialects in the various parts of India, and ultimately, by the middle of the 15th century, it was no longer, or very sparingly, used, other vernaculars like Maithili, Awadhī, and Rājasthānī having asserted themselves; and in its own home, the Midland, it gradually approximated itself to Braj-bhākhā, which was in a way its direct representative. The Old Hindī of the 'Prithirāja-Rāsau' is very strongly influenced by Apabhraṇśa forms, is almost overwhelmed by them—the genuine NIA. character of the work showing itself nevertheless. A younger form of this Śaurasenī Apabhraṇśa, intermediate in forms and in general spirit to the genuine Apabhraṇśa of times before 1000 A.C. and to the Braj-bhākhā of the Middle Hindī period, say, of the 15th century, is sometimes known as 'Avahaṭṭha.' The 'Prākṛta-Pāṅgala' (see § 64) embodies an anthology of verses in this Avahaṭṭha speech. In Rajputana, Avahaṭṭha was also known as 'Piṅgala,' and local bards continued to compose in 'Piṅgala,' as an archaic literary
language, almost as much as they composed in ‘Dingalā’ or local Rājasthānī dialects. The prestige and influence of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa was no less strong in Bengal than in Bihar, Panjab and Rajputana. During the formative period of Bengali (?) 700—900 A. C.) and the Old Bengali period (950—1200 A. C.), a great deal of the early Buddhist (Sahajiyā) literature was composed in it. Being a dialect that was not the mother-tongue of those who composed in it, local eastern (Bengali) idioms and words have crept into it: e.g., 〈kāhiu rāva〉 raised a shout, in the ‘Dōhā-kōga’ of Saraha (p. 91 in Śāstri’s book): cf. Bengali রা কাড়া 〈রা কারা〉; 〈bhiḍi〉 tightly, fast (ibid., p. 90): cf. Middle Bengali ভিড় 〈bhiṛi〉; use of roots 〈acci〉 and 〈thakk〉 (pp. 104, 105): Bengali আছ থাক 〈āch, thāk〉; 〈jabbe〉, tabbe 〈when, then〉 (p. 107): Bengali জবর, তবে 〈jābe, tābe〉; 〈chā:(i)ai〉 leaves (p. 112): cf. Bengali ছাড় 〈chāṛa〉, but Hindostānī 〈chōṛe〉; 〈tāhara〉 his (p. 115): Bengali তাহার 〈tāhāṛa〉; 〈bujjhiau〉 understood (p. 129): cf. Bengali বুঝ 〈bujh〉; etc.

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

62. The language of the Caryās is the genuine vernacular of Bengal at its basis. It belongs to the Early or Old NIA. stage. The declension is still more like MIA. rather than NIA., although the NIA. system of post-positions has come in. The past base, when the verb is transitive, is still an adjective qualifying the object, as it is still the rule in Western Hindi. But the influence of the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa was very great on it: and occasionally of Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits of the second MIA. period. There is the old passive in « -ia- », which is lost to New Bengali, but which lingers in isolated instances in Middle Bengali. (See under Morphology: The Verb: Passive Voice.) The affix « -illa > -ila » has not as yet become universal for the past base, « -ia » forms, without the strengthening « -l- » affix, being retained in a few instances (see below, under Morphology: Conjugation, Past Base). The text at times gives a form in « -ia », but from the commentary and from the rime it can be seen that the original word was in « -ila »: e.g., Caryā 31, « chāḍia » in text== « chāḍila » in commentary; 35, « laīa » in text, to be read as « laiīa », to rime with « kaēla »; so 50, « phuliīa » is for « phuhīla », to rime with « tāēla »== « bhāīla? nēīa? ». Still, forms like « bujhiā, bharia » were used side by side with « bujhīla, milīla » etc. The past (i.e., past participle) in « -iu, -u », as in « kiu, biāpiu, gaū, ahāriu, bikasaū, thākiu, bāhiu » etc., which, however are not many, are borrowed from Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. So also the pronominal forms like « jō, sō, kō, jasu, tasu », =Old Bengali « jē, kē, jā(ha), tā(ha) », also found in the Caryās; these, again, are not very common; and also the pronominal adverbs « jima, tīma », and the pronominal adjectives « jaisana, taisana, jaisō » (Old Bengali forms would be « *jēmanta, tēmanta; jaīhaṇa, taīhaṇa »). Echoes of the older literary Prakrits of the West are not absent (e.g., the « -ō » affix; stray forms like instrumental feminine in « -ia : samāhiā»,
samādhyā; retention of double consonants in a few cases; and an occasional phrase like « kim pi = kim api »). It seems that in these Caryās we have the first attempts at literary employment of the Bengali speech. And being but first attempts, the speech is not sure of its own forms, and leans on its stronger, better established (in a literary sense) sisters and aunts. The literary languages and models which the poets of the Caryās, Lui and Kānha, Bhusuku and Cātīla, Saraha and Kukkuri, and the rest, had before them, were Sanskrit, the various literary Prakrits (of the Second MIA. stage), and Western or Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa, and the rich and ever growing literatures in them. Of these, the Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa was in spirit and form nearest the vernaculars, presenting with them almost a similar stage of development. Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa, again, was the most cultivated literary language based on a slightly archaic form of a contemporary vernacular: and its influence was paramount from Gujarat to Bengal. Naturally, it may be expected that there would be a great influence exerted by it on the Old Bengali of the period: especially when the latter was practising its first steps, so to say, in the hands of men fully familiar with the former. Hence it is not strange to find a number of Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa forms in this offspring of Māgadhī Apabhraṅsa. The manuscript in which the Caryās are preserved was written in Nepal, in a land where the scribes were perhaps more familiar with the standard Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa than with Bengali: at any rate, the readings of the poems as in the MS. sufficiently show that the scribe was not familiar with their dialect: and through this reason, the suppression of dialectal Bengali forms by others from the Western speech, at least in a few cases, is very likely; nay, it is proved by the correct reading often being given in the commentary, as in the case of the word « chādīla » quoted above. Śaurasenī had already exerted a profound influence on its neighbour and erstwhile rival, Ardha-māgadhī, so much so that the Śaurasenī Apabhraṅsa affix « -u » for the noun had become established in the Eastern Hindī dialects (Awadhī etc.), the native Ardha-māgadhī « -e > -i » affix being entirely given up. The « -u » affix also invaded the Māgadhī area, but not to the same extent.
OLD BENGALI OF THE CARYĀS: METRE

The MS. of the 'Caryācarya-viniścaya' was written in Nepal, where Maithili was current and was cultivated in the drama; and in South-eastern Nepal, the Morang country, Maithili was spoken. Hence, through contamination, it is not strange to find in the Caryā MS. two Maithili forms, 'bhaṇathi' and 'bōlathi' (= Old and Early Middle Bengali 'bhaṇanti, bōlanti') and one or two cases of use of '-a-' instead of '-i-' as the link vowel in the '-b-' forms of the verb.

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

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

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

We have in these Caryaśas some of the oldest documents in any NIA. language, documents of prime importance for NIA. philology, which can be placed side by side with the Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa fragments, in Hēma-candra, in the "Kumāra-pāla-pratibōdha," and in other works; with the Avahaṭṭha fragments in the "Prākṛta-Paṇḍaga," with the oldest Maraṭṭha fragments as in the epigraphical remains and in the "Jñānēśvari"; with the "Prithīrāja-Rāśau" in its primitive form; with the Old Western Rājasthāni remains, which are later in date; and also with the artificial Buddhist and Jain literature in Western Apabhraṃśa—like the "Dōhā-kōsas" and the "Subhāṣita-tanjgraha," and the "Bhavisatta-kaha," the "Nēmināha-caria," the "Saṁyama-maṇjari," and other works.

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

1 The importance of the Carya-padas has not been sufficiently appreciated in Bengal, and only about half a dozen papers or notes on them have been published so far by Bengali scholars. They only valuable article is by Maulavi Muhammad Shahidullah, now of the department of Sanskritic studies in the University of Dacca; his paper (in the VSPdP., 1927, pp. 145-152) offers very satisfactory readings of some obscure passages, and on the whole is extremely helpful and suggestive. Prof. H. Jacoby cursorily refers to the language of the Caryaśa as being 'Alt-Bengalisch' (in the Introduction to the 'Sanatkumāra-carita,' pp. xxvii-xxvii, Munich, 1921).
and which is our oldest Middle Bengali text: roughly, before 1200 A.C. The authors who composed these poems are Lui-pā or Lūyī-pāda (2 poems), Kukkurī (2 poems), Birūwā or Virūpā (1 poem), Gu(n)ḷārī (1), Cāṭīla (1), Bhusuku (8), Kānha or Kṛṣṇa-pāda (12), Kāmalī or Kambalāmba (1), Dōmbī (1), Sānti (2), Mahīttā or Mahīdhara (1), Bājila or Viśa-pāda (1), Saraha or Saroja-vajra (4), Šavara (2), Āja or Ārya-dēva (1), Dheṣīna (1), Dārika (1), Bhaide or Bhādra-pāda (1), Tālaka (1), Kaṭka (1), Jaya-nandī (1) and Guñjārī (1): 22 names in all. They are among the 84 Siddhas, or great miracle-working saints and teachers who are worshipped by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in Tibet and in Nepal, and about whom there are current a number of legends in Nepal, in Tibet and also in India. Their compositions have always been held in honour by the Northern Buddhists: these are even now sung by the Buddhists in Nepal (H. P. Śāstri, VS PrP, 1329), and they were rendered into Tibetan and are included in the 'Bstan-Hgyur' (Tan-jur).

The date of one of these Siddha composers of the poems, Lui or Lūyī-pāda, seems to be certain: he was an elder contemporary of Dipaṅkara Śrijañāna, or Atiśa, and they prepared a Buddhist Tāntrika

1 In the 'Tan-jur,' Cho XLVIII, there are translations of a mass of short poems (a reference to which I obtained from Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library) in the Prakritic dialects—Old Bengali, perhaps, and Western Apabhraṃśa, attributed to our poets of the Cāryās and to other Siddhas who are not represented in the 'Cāryacarya-viniścaya.' With the help of Cordier's Catalogue of the 'Tan-jur' ('Catalogue du Fondstibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' par P. Cordier, Deuxième Partie: Index du Bstan Hgyur, Tibetain 108-179, Paris, 1909), and through the courtesy of M. Jean Przyłęski (of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes of Paris) I had copied out some 40 likely versions of these Indian songs from the Volume concerned (Tibetain 157) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Przyłęski read these for me, and we compared them with the Cāryās, and so far only one Cāryā poem agreed with a text from the 'Tan-jur' (Section 2, in Cho XLVIII, Tibetain 157, p. 26: the lines beginning 'dēns po yāñ ni ma yin yin, dēns med la ni ma skyes pa'i,' agreeing with Cāryā 29 in Śāstri's book, p. 45) This sufficiently demonstrates that the veracular and Apabhraṃśa literature of the period 800-1200 A.C., or later, was to a large extent translated into Tibetan; a comparison of the text and the Tibetan translation, wherever this will be possible, is sure to help in the restoration of the former, which is generally in a very mutilated form).
work named ‘Abhiṣamaya-vibhaṅga.’ Atiśa went to Tibet in 1038 A. C., when he was 58. The literary life of Lui, when he composed these songs, can very well be placed in the second half of the 10th century. (H. P. Śāstri, English Preface to the ‘Baṇḍha Gāṇō Dōḥā,’ p. 2.) This period provisionally may be regarded as the upper limit for the Cāryās: Lui seems to have been the most venerated in the group—there is a respectful reference to him in the poem by Dārika (No. 34), and in a poem by Kānha (No. 36), and he is worshipped even now in Bengal (cf. Śāstri’s Preface): possibly he was the oldest. As many as 12 poems are by Kānha. It is quite possible that there were more Kānhas than one; the 12 poems, in most cases signed ‘Kānha, Kānhu,’ are introduced as being ‘Kānhu-pādānām, Kṛṣṇācārya-pādānām, Kṛṣṇā-pādānām, Kṛṣṇā(eśārya?)-pādānām, Kṛṣṇavajra-pādānām.’ In the Tibetan ‘Tan-jur,’ there are apparently quite a number of Kṛṣṇās who figure as authors of Tāntrika works. The Cambridge University Library has a MS. of a work called ‘Hēvajrapaṇḍjakā Yōga-ratna-mālā,’ by ‘Paṇḍitācārya Śrī-Kahṣa- (=Kānha)-pāda.’ It was written in Magadha during the 39th year of Gōvinda-pāla, the last king of Magadha (=c. 1199 A. C.), and was taken to Nepal, whence it was brought to Cambridge by D. Wright. (R. D. Banerji, ‘The Pālas of Bengal,’ p. 111.) This ‘Kahṣa’ must be one of the Kānhas, if there were several. That would place some of the poems in the second half of the 12th century, as the MS. can well be contemporaneous with the author.

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

(Machhindar-nāth)—how the latter obtained secret knowledge from Śiva in the form of a fish, how he forgot his wisdom and was ensnared in the love of life and of women, and how his pupil Gōrakh-nāth came to him and brought him back to his life as a Yōgī. Contemporary with Gōrakh-nāth was Jālandhari-pāda, known also as Hāri-pā, according to the unanimous agreement of traditions still current among the masses in Northern India and in medieval vernacular literature, from Chittagong and Assam to Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and the Panjab. Gōrakh-nāth was the gurū of a queen Mayanā-vatī of Bengal; and Mayanā-vatī's son was the famous Rājā Gōpi-canda, who, while quite a young man, gave up his kingdom and his wives, and became a Yōgī, and followed Jālandhari-pāda, as his gurū.

Gōpi-canda's renunciation is the theme of a large mass of folk poetry, songs, ballads and romances, in Bengali, Oṛiyā, Bhōjpuriyā, Hindi, Panjābī, Marāṭhi, Gujarātī and other languages, and is the subject even now sung by itinerant Yōgī beggars in Hindustan and in the Deccan. According to some versions, including Tibetan ones, Jālandhari-pāda in common with Mayanā-vatī, was a disciple of Gōrakṣa-nātha. And according to the unanimous agreement of the legends, Jālandhari had a devoted disciple in Kānu-pā or Kānha-pāda. Now, one of the Caryās, No. 36, attributed to Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda, and signed 'Kānhilā lāṅgā' i.e., 'Naked Kānhilā= Kānha' (line 4), expressly mentions Jālandhari-pāda in the last verse:

« sākhī karība Jālandhari-pāē :
pākhi (pāśī) na cāhāi [mōri] paṇḍācāyē. »

I shall make Jālandhari-pāda (my) witness:

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

The Kṛṣṇa of Caryā 36 is therefore Kānha-pāda the disciple of the Nātha Yōgī Jālandhari of the legend. This Kānha is described as 'Kṛṣṇācārya' in the Caryā commentary. The author of the 'Hevajra-panjikā Yōga-ratna-mālā' (the MS. of which dates from 1199 A.C., see p. 120)

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1 The text as printed by H. P. Śāstri runs thus: पाखी कारीब जालंधरी पाद | पाखी न राहन मोरी पाण्डा सादेः। 'sāthī karība Jālandhari pātra pākhi na rāhā na mōri pāṇḍā cādē.' It has been emended in my quotation, following the reading and interpretation of the commentary.
is described as ‘Panditacarya Sri-Kahna-pada.’ The word ‘panditacayi,’
in Carya 36, as I read it, following the Sanskrit equivalent ‘panditacarya’
given in the commentary, can very well be a reference by Kanka to
himself, the last verse usually giving the name or title of the poet: I shall
call to witness my Guru Jalandhari-pada; my Panditacarya (i.e., myself who
am a great scholar) does not look at me (i.e., my knowledge I owe to the
grace of my guru, and not to my studies and my being a Panditacarya).
If the author of Carya 36 were also the author of the Tantra work
mentioned, as it can be reasonably supposed, then we would get c. 1200 A.C.
as the lower limit for one Kanka at least; and consequently for Jalandhari
and for Goraksha-natha, and for the main personages who figure in the
Gopi-canda story, if that story has any basis in fact; and there is nothing
to show that it does not have. This Kanka must have been the Siddha
Kanka mentioned in the Tibetan and Indian lists of 84 Siddhas: and
all the poems in the Caryas, as well as the Dohakosa, may very well
be by one and the same individual.

From Marathi sources, we have some indication as to the date
of Goraksha-natha (and consequently of Kanka). Jaina-deva in the
‘Jnanesvari’ (c. 1290 A.C.) says that he received initiation from his
elder brother Nivritti-natha, who was born 1278 A.C.; and Nivritti-natha’s
guru was Gaini-natha, or Goyani-natha, whose guru was Goraksha-natha,
the disciple of Matsyendra-natha. (V. L. Bhaev, ‘Maharashtra-sarasvat,’
pp. 39, 40, 42.) It may be that the tradition presented by the ‘Jnanesvari’
is faulty, and as it often happens, omits some intervening names in the
‘guru-parampara’ (succession of masters). Assuming that Gaini-natha
was an old, old man when he initiated Nivritti-natha, we can make an
adjustment of the chronology from the Marathi source with the dates
suggested for Goraksha-natha and Kanka in the previous paragraph, namely,
the end of the 12th century.

The Tibetan legends about the 84 Siddhas, including the poets of
the Caryas, profess to give details about the life and history of them,
but they are hardly reliable. (These have been translated into German,
by A. Grunwedel in the ‘Baessler Archiv,’ Berlin, Vol. V.) Tarana-natha,
in his 'History of Buddhism in India,' in Tibetan (German translation by A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869) also gives legends about them, but in the matter of chronology, the Tibetan authority is hopelessly confusing. He, however, makes this interesting statement that at the time when the Tajiks and the Turks were ravaging Eastern India, i.e., at the end of the 12th century, the Yogi's who followed Goraksha-natha became devotees of Siva (p. 255, Schiefner). Can this suggest a date for Goraksha-natha? Tara-natha, however, gives elsewhere (p. 174, Schiefner) a date several centuries earlier for Goraksha. Among other interesting things, Tara-natha quotes a Bengali word («Ajscha» in Schiefner, p. 205 = *ayish *ayISA(a) in Old Bengali, written আইষ *āisa » come! in ordinary Bengali), as being uttered by Virupa, who is one of the poets of the Caryas.

The other poets, from the style of their composition, from language, and from general spirit, belong to the same age. The period 950-1200 A. C. would thus seem to be a reasonable date to give to these poems; and they are preserved in a post-11th century MS. These poems must have been very popular in Bengal: and we have echoes of lines from them in Middle Bengali literature, beginning from Candra-dasa in the 'Sri-Krṣṇa-Kirttana.'

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

1 E.g., Carya 6, অপারভাঙ্গনে হরিণা বৈরিঃ 'apaṇā māṃsēni hariṇā bairī' the deer is a foe (to all) because of its own flesh; cf. 'Sri-Krṣṇa-Kirttana,' p. 78, বনের হরিণা l নিঃ māṃsē jagatae bairi the deer: 'jena banera hariṇi la māṃsē jagatēra bairi'; p. 88, আপারভাঙ্গনে হরিণা জগতের বৈরিঃ 'apaṇāra māṃsē hariṇi jagatēra bairi'; also ŠKK., pp. 358-359: the lines on Sabhajīya Yoga practice are echoes of similar passages in the Caryas; and the same may be said of lines from Middle Bengali works like the 'Goraksha-vijaya.'
Most of the poems are in the artificial, literary Western Apabhraśa, or in Western Avahattha, based on earlier literary Sauraseṇī: two verses are even in regular literary Prakrit of the 2nd MIA. stage, being taken from the Prakrit drama 'Karpūra-śaṅkara' of Rāja-śekhara (c. 900 A. C.). But there are some which belong to a stage which might be called Old Western Hindī: e.g., the poems at pp. 249, 375, 412, 435, 463, 470, 516, 541, among others, in the 'Bib. Ind.' edition. B. C. Mazumdar first suggested that a few of the poems in the 'Prākṛta-Paṅgala' are in Old Bengali: e.g., those at pp. 12, 227, 334, 403, 465, from their general style, their vocabulary in some cases, and specially from their verse cadence (cf. 'History of the Bengali Language,' Calcutta University, 1920, pp. 226 ff.).

It is very likely that in their original form these poems were in Old Bengali, or rather, in Proto-Bengali, with MIA. characteristics still present. But as they stand in the 'Prākṛta-Paṅgala,' there is nothing in their forms to mark them out specially as Bengali: rather, some grammatical forms, like <jāta> is going in <caṅcalā jobbana jāta>, and <chaīla>, in the poem at p. 227 (cf. Western Hindī <jātu, jāta, jātā>, and <chaīla>); <nathī> in the poem at p. 465 (cf. Gujarātī <nathī> is not); <lijjia>, passive participle in <-ijj-> in the same poem; <dijjai> in the poem at p. 403; <jimi> in the poem at p. 334 (cf. Hindī <jīma, jiwa, jyō>); <jini> for <yēna> in the same poem (the Modern Bengali বিনি <jini> who, honorific, did not originate till later, in the late Middle Bengali period, from মর <jēhā> or মহ <jihā>),—are not Bengali or Old Bengali at all. Then, many of the forms are MIA., without the simplification of double consonants which characterises NIA. in the Midland and in Eastern India. But it is quite possible that these poems were originally Bengali, especially from their verse cadence; and through their passage from Bengal to Western India, their grammar and language has been to a great extent westernised. In their present from, they are at the best useful for comparison with Old Bengali: but, as they stand, they do not have any bearing on the development of Bengali.

Two poems ascribed to Jaya-dēva, the great Bengal poet of the 12th century, may be mentioned here. They are preserved in the Sikh 'Adi
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JAYA-DĒVA AND APABHRAṆŚA

Granth,' which is a collection, made in the 16th century, of devotional hymns composed by the Sikh Gurus and by saints of Northern India. The earliest of these hymns go back to the 12th century, and they embrace works of poets who lived in Aryan India from Bengal to the Panjab and right down to the Marāṭhā country,—poems by Northern India saints like Rāmānanda, and Kabir, as well as by the Marāṭhī poets like Trilōcana and Nāma-dēva being found in it. Jaya-dēva had become well-known in Northern India as a Vaiṣṇava saint and poet by the 16th century, and the two poems in the ‘Granth’ ascribed to him may really have been composed by him; but in their present form, they are sadly altered, and no one can recognise Bengali of any period in them. It seems very likely they were originally in the Western Apabhraṅśa as written in Bengal. Western characteristics are noticeable in them: e.g., the -u affix for the nominative. There is strong influence of Sanskrit as well. They were later altered and mutilated to their present shape.

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

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

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

The MS., from the style of script it employs, according to expert opinion, belongs to the latter half of the 14th century. It gives us the genuine West Bengali as used in literary composition in the middle of that century. The genuineness of the work is borne out by the remarkably archaic character of the forms, which agree with such widely distant dialects as North Bengali and Assamese; and some of its expressions are found in Early Oriyā. The resemblances with Early Assamese have been put forward as an argument, among others, for the spuriousness of the work,—and even in favour of its having passed through North Bengal, to be edited to its present shape.¹

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

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

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

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

The sound system is practically the same as that of late MIA., only there has been a simplification of double consonants and transformation of a nasal preceding a stop to a mere nasalisation (often expressed in writing by leaving the nasal letter untouched), with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; «ā» probably had not been drawn up to its present open «ō» [ə] value; final vowels were retained, except where there was simplification of groups like «-iā>-«i»; and there is no indication of «i» or «u» epanthesis. Elision of intervocal labials and gutturals seems to have been in force, as in second MIA.; and the occurrence of euphonic «ŷ, ō» between vowels. The genitive affix was «ā, āha «-asya», «-ēra, -ara, -ka «kēra, kara, kaa», and, in the plural,
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\(<\text{-na}\); instrumental, \(<\text{è}\); dative based on genitive; locative in \(<\text{-i, ahī, ahi}\); some post-positions; use of the plural forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns for the singular, \(<\text{amhe, tumhe}\) for \(<\text{mai, tai}\), is established; and the old \(<\text{ahakam} >\text{hāū (hāū)}\) \(<\text{I}\) is still present. In the verb, the past base ordinarily has \(<\text{-ila}\), but sometimes the \(<\text{-l-}\) does not figure; and the construction is passive for the transitive verb, adjectival for the intransitive,—the system of pronominal affixation, rendering the construction active, is as yet unknown. There are traces of the \(<\text{-h- < -sy-} >\) future; and the \(<\text{-ia-}\) passive is a living form, but the analytic \(<\sqrt{\text{jā}}\) passive is also used.

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

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

\text{(a) Transitional Middle Bengali; 1200-1300 A. C.}

The language had all its Bengali characteristics fully established during this period, so that from the speech of the \text{Caryās} it was transformed into that of the \text{‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kirttana.’} The post-positions in the declension were fully established; the conjugation became active in the past and future forms of the transitive verb, and the system of pronominal affixation to the past and future bases came in, though it was not fully established till the 15th century and later. The old \text{mātrā-vṛtta} metre, of 16 or 15 \text{mora}, found in the \text{Caryās}, became, by an arrangement of \text{akṣaras}, a syllabic metre of \(8+6=14\) \text{akṣaras} or syllables during this period: tendencies towards the development of this special metre of Bengali, the \text{‘Payār’} metre, found also in \text{Assamese} and \text{Oriyā}, are noticeable in the \text{Old Bengali period} and were possibly present in \text{Common Eastern Magadhan (Apabhraṃśa Māgadhī of the East).}
We have no genuine specimens of Bengali which can be relegated to this period. But the national legends of Bengal, the stories of Göpi-canda, of Behula and Lakhindar, of Khullanā and Dhana-pati, of Phullarā and Kāla-kētu, and of Lāu-sēna which were treated in great poems in the following centuries, were probably taking shape during this century. But nothing can be asserted about the language and literature of this period, although a little can legitimately be guessed. Politically, it was an age of chaos and destruction, being the first century of the Türkī conquest. But there was some literary activity, and Kāṇa Hari-datta, Mayūra Bhaṭṭa and Māṇika Datta, who are mentioned by later poets as being the first to take up respectively the Behula legend, the Lāu-sēna romance and the Cāṇḍi legends and treat them in long narrative poems to be chanted before a gathering of people at a number of sittings, seem to have flourished before 1300. The fragments that we have from these poets are in ordinary late Middle Bengali MSS.

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

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

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

In phonetics, the most noticeable thing, found in the ŠKK., is the weakening of independent <i> (u) > after <ā, ā>, resulting in new diphthongs <āi, āi, āu, āu>, which were regarded as one akṣara in which the second element was pronounced very short, and the first element tended to be modified; this was followed by epanthesis of < -i, -u >; < -enta < -anta > of the present participle is found as < -itā >, the change of < -ent- > -ēt- > -īt- > -it- > having been carried out during the preceding period. The aspiration of the nasal in the groups ṭ = ṭh < mh- >, ṭ = ṭh < nh- > is lost by the middle of the 15th century. Final < -ā > seems
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to have become quiescent, « -♀ », by the middle of the 15th century. The conjugation of the verb is purely active in the past tense. There are still a few traces of the old inflected passive. Compound tenses come into being. The use of a strong form of the genitive, « -rā », for the plural, noticed in its incipient stage in the ŚKK. (where it is found with the personal pronouns only) becomes established by 1500. The plural affix for the verb, « -anti », is found as « -anta, -enta » in the 15th century, and finally, by the 17th, it yields to the form « -en♀ », which is influenced by the old plural affix for the noun oblique (see under Morphology: Declension).

(c) Late Middle Bengali: 1500-1800.

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

Epenthetic « u » became « i » during the earlier part of this period, and came to modify the preceding and following « ā » and « ò » sounds, and ultimately were dropped entirely in West Bengali dialects by the close of the 18th century. Affixes like Ṣiṣya « -iṣi », verbal or nominal, were contracted, and were gradually turned to the monophthong [e, e], written -ya, -ę, in many dialects: raṅghya, bāṅghya, rāghya, regha, regha, which having kept [ia]>ia>ea>ea>ə>e: rākhiya > raṅkhiya > raṅkhiya > raṅkhēa > raṅ(ī)khē > rekhe]. In West Central Bengal, along the Hugli River, the habit of vowel-mutation and general contraction of syllables begins, and this invades the other dialects as well. The aspiration of ə « -rə » is continued till the beginning of the 17th century and then is gradually lost, Middle Bengali words like পােড়ে « pārēh <pārəthati » reads and পােড় « pāre<patati » falls becoming identical (পড়ে) in Modern Bengali.

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

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


Prose is written for the first time seriously, but for fifty years
the literary language is under the tyranny of Sanskrit. Out of the
large number of forms, dialectal, and archaic, which prevailed in
Middle Bengali, specially in the verb, documentary and epistolary
Bengali of the three centuries 1500-1800 was evolving a standard
language for prose, in which only a few recognised forms were
used; and this documentary and epistolary Bengali, based as it
was on the speech of the 15th century, or it may be, of the 14th, was
adopted as the language of ordinary prose composition, when the advent
of Western learning brought in a sudden demand for a prose style.

Literary Bengali of prose, during the greater part of the 19th century,
was thus a doubly artificial language; and, with its forms belonging
to Middle Bengali, and its vocabulary highly Sanskritised, it could only
be compared to a 'Modern English' with a Chaucerian grammar and a
super-Johnsonian vocabulary, if such a thing could be conceived. This
literary form for prose became the standard, and growth of the printing
press established the grammar and the orthography: the latter, the
work of Sanskritists ignorant of the history and phonetic tendencies of
the language, threw overboard the meagre traditions of spelling for the
lādhaṅa words that obtained in Middle Bengali. Good, simple prose
which had a relation to everyday life was occasionally written, but
the forms of the verb remained archaic. The colloquial, occasionally
attempted to be represented in a work like Carey's 'Dialogues' (1816),
went along its own line, and the stilted Sanskritic 'sādhu-bhāṣā',

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

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

70. A classification of the Bengali dialects is to be, in the first instance, from the stand-point of Modern Bengali. The composite nature of the literary speech does not make the early literature which is written in it very helpful in this matter. Special peculiarities are occasionally found: e.g., East Bengal MSS. represent in many ways the pronunciation of the epenthetic "-i-", in spellings like লেক সৈত তাল্কণ "lāikkhyā=laṅma, sāityā=satya, tātākkhyāṅḍ=tātā kṣāṇḍ", or they show a 1st person future form in -ইবম "-ibām" side by side with -ইবো, -িম "-ibō, -imu" from other dialects. In reconstructing the history of the dialects, what help can be obtained from the forms in Middle Bengali literature is to be taken, but the basis of dialectal division must be the living dialects themselves. One work, however, although it is less than 200 years old, has an exceptional value in the study of dialectal Bengali, as well as of Bengali phonology: and its value is due primarily to the script in which it is written. This is the 'Crepar Xaxtrer Orth-bhed' (=ঠুরার শাস্ত্রের অর্থবেদ 'Kṛpār Śāstrēr Artha-Bhēd') An Explanation of the Scripture of Mercy), a catechism of the Roman Catholic religion, written in 1734 in the dialect of Dacca by a Portuguese missionary, and printed, in the roman character according to the Portuguese system of orthography, at Lisbon in 1743. (S. K. Dē, 'Iurōpiya-likhita Prǎcina-tama Mudrita Bāṅgālā Pustak,' and S. K. Chatterji, 'Kṛpār Śāstrēr Artha-bhēd Ō Bāṅgālā Uccāraṇa-tattva,' in the VSPDp., San 1323, No. 3.)

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

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

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

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

The Bengali dialects cannot be referred to a single Primitive Bengali Speech, but they are derived from various local forms of late Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, which developed some common characteristics that may be called pan-Bengali: e.g., -ila, -ila for the past and future base, rather than -ala, -aba; -jā rather than simple -i for the conjunctive; -ēra -kēr, -kara besides -ara -kara for the genitive; -kē, -rē for the dative, rather than -ku as in Oṛiya: etc. These pan-Bengali features link the dialects together as members of a single group, and enabled them to be attached to a composite literary language as a matter of course. Taking
Forms of Majadhī Prakrit and Aparabhrama as brought to Bengal, Assam and Oriissa

Rādha Dialects

South-west

Rādha proper West Bengali

[Oriyā] 'South-western Bengali' [S. W. Midnapur]

Western (Extreme West) [Santal-Parganas Colloquial W. Birbhum Bengali)
W. Burdwan [Murshidabad Bankura]
Manbhum E. Burdwan
N. Midnapur]

Eastern (Central or Standard W. Birbhum Bengal)

Varṇēndra Dialects

North Central Bengali (affected by Vaṅga)

Kāma-rūpa Dialects

Eastern [Assamese]

Western North Bengal

Vaṅga Dialects

Western & S. Eastern and W. Vaṅga S. E. Vaṅga

[Mainmungsing E. Sylhet]

Eastern [Kalna] [Dacca Kachar]

[Jaipalguri Faridpur (Mayang) E. Purnia N. E. Nadiya Tippera S. Darjiling Jessore Nonkhal S. Dinajpur Khulna Chittagong Koch Bihar Barisal (Chakna)]

Rangpur Sondip
W. Goalpara N. W. Sylhet]

The materials accumulated in the LSI, Vol. V, Part 1, and the monographs on Bengali dialects and dialectal vocabularies in the VSPdP, have been made the basis of the above tabulation.

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

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

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

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

Phonetic.

The vowel system, in general, is more conservative in Vanga and North Bengal than in Rāḍha and other parts: Middle Bengali conditions, with epenthetic « -i- », are better preserved in the former than in the rest. East Rāḍha, the Standard Colloquial, has advanced more than any other dialect in effecting a total change from the Common Bengali type by introducing largely the habits of mutation, vowel harmony etc. e.g.: East Rāḍha করে, কোরে [kore], রেখে [rekhe], দিশি [dijī], বিসিতি [bili ti] = Typical East Bengali [kōira, raikha, deʃi, bilati], respectively having done
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having kept, notice, European. The open ə « è » figures as ‘आ’ [ø] in Rājha, but in Varendra, North Bengal and Vanga it is found as a slightly higher sound, [ɔ]; and the close « ē » of West Bengali frequently becomes open [ə] in Vanga: e.g., Bengali তেল oil, এক one, দেশ country, কেন why are found as [te:l, æ:k, de:ʃ, kæ:no] in West Bengali, but as [te:l, æ:k, de:ʃ, kæ:n] in Typical East Bengali. [ə] is occasionally present in West Bengali as a final sound, but it is not a characteristic sound of the Standard Colloquial. The tendency in West Bengali is to turn the অ « à » [ɔ] sound, as in English dot, to a close অ « o » as much as possible: this tendency is invading other dialects, but it was foreign to these. « ò » and « ē », derived and original, are by for the most common vowel sounds of West Bengali; and « u, i » are laxly pronounced in West Central Bengali, and tend to become « o, e ». Late Middle Bengali front [a] has merged into the central or back [a] in the Calcutta colloquial. West Bengali « o », original or derived, often becomes « u » in Vanga: this trait is met with in the extreme West Bengali area too. West Bengali and North Central Bengali have kept intact the original nasalised vowels; these seem to have also been maintained in North Bengali, but in the Vanga dialects nasalisation is entirely dropped: only in certain Eastern Vanga dialects, e.g., Chittagongese, nasalisation has recently developed from a Bengali intervocal « m » (e.g., আমার « আমার » my»জার « জার »). The West Rājha dialect in characterised by a fondness for nasalisation, especially in the verbal indeclinable in « iā »; in literary Middle Bengali, this West Rājha feature is prominent in some authors: e.g., রাখিয়া « rakhīyā » West Rājha রাখী [rakhī], in Middle Bengali written রাখিয়া[ « rakhīnā ».

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

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

Eastern, especially South-eastern Vaṅga, is remarkable for further changes in phonetics. ⟨k, p⟩ initial or intervocal, tend generally to be spirantised to [x, r], and [r] frequently is reduced to [h] in Chittagongese. There is elision of single intervocal stops and aspires on a large scale in South-eastern Vaṅga (Chittagong); where also the groups ⟨-l-s-⟩ -l-z-, ⟨-r-s-⟩ -r-z-, ⟨-lg(y)-⟩, ⟨-rg(y)-⟩: e.g., Standard Bengali चलियाछि करियाछि cāliyāchī, kāriyāchī I have walked, I have done = Chittagongese तसैल-सी, कैर-सी tsoilzi, koirzi > *tsoilyi, *koiryi > tsoilyi, koirgyi, tsoilgi, koirgi; Standard Bengali जुड़ि़ िे िे kuriyā> lazy = Chittagongese kuryā> kurya>, etc.

Morphological.

In the declension of the noun, 'South-west Bengali' shows its affinity to Oriyā by possessing the affix ⟨-mānā, -mēnā⟩ for the plural, and the ablative affix ⟨-u⟩: cf. Oriyā ⟨-māna, -u⟩. Rāḍha proper hast he affix ⟨-ādi-ēra⟩ -dēra⟩ for the genitive plural and oblique plural; and ⟨-dēra⟩ is found in Varêndra also, but seems to be absent in North Bengali, and not to be popular with the Vaṅga dialects. The literary dialect prefers ⟨ādi-ka + -era > *ādi-kēra > -dēger⟩. West Raḍha has the Common Bengali plural affix गुल ⟨gulā < kula⟩ in the form of ⟨gulā-k⟩, East Rāḍha as ⟨guno⟩, Varêndra as ⟨gulā⟩, North Bengali as ⟨gulā, gilā, glā, lā⟩, and Vaṅga as ⟨gulāin, gun⟩; and East Vaṅga ⟨-āin⟩ -āni is an old affix which is based on the genitive plural affix ⟨-ānām⟩ of OIA. Rāḍha ('South-West Bengali,' West Rāḍha, West Central Bengali), Varêndra and Kāma-rūpa agree in having ⟨-kē, ka⟩ as the proper affix
for the dative, whereas the Vanga dialects prefer «-rē» (except Chakma). The locative affix is «-t-ē» in Rāḍha, «-t-ē, -t» in Varendra, and «-t» in Kāma-rūpa and Vanga. The post-positions are numerous, and each group shows its special predilections: e.g., Rāḍha would prefer sangē with, but Vanga sāthē, «sāthē», and in some parts lāge, «lāge».

As regards pronouns, West Rāḍha has strong forms like «mohātā māhātā» = Standard Bengali ষের «mōṛā», and North Varendra and North Bengal show, apparently as a result of Maithili influence, forms with «h-» like «ham-» for আমি «āmi-» I etc. The Vanga dialects have the affix «-gō» which is added to the singular genitive to form the genitive plural: e.g., «mōṛ-gō, tōr-gō, tā-gō» our, your, their. This «-gō» affix is found in Rāḍha as well, but employed differently: «āmā-gō, tōmā-gō» our, your. In Varendra and North Bengal, this «-gō» is apparently extended to «gō-r, ghō-r, ghār». South-east Vanga has developed a double form for the 3rd personal pronoun: «hi-tē» for sē «sē» he, she.

In conjugation, there are some noteworthy points of divergence, specially between Western Bengali and Eastern Bengali. ‘South-west Bengali’ has the affix «-u» for the second person: «tui călu, căl-ł-u (cāl-n-u, cân-n-u), căl-b-u» thou wakkest, thou didst walk, thou shalt walk: this «-u» is found in Varendra and in North Bengal. The affix «-i» for the first person, past tense, is found in ‘South-west Bengali’ (as in Oriyā) and in Western Rāḍha: «mūi di-ł-i» I gave; but it is absent in the other dialects. The past first person affix «-(i)llum, -lū, -ilō» is found in Rāḍha and in Kāmarūpa, and obviously it existed in Varendra as well: the Vanga form «-ilām» has been adopted in the ‘sādu-bhāṣa,’ and «-ilām > -ilēm» has been super-imposed on most dialects, including even the West Central (i.e. Standard, Colloquial) Dialect. In the formation of the compound tenses, the progressive tenses show a difference in Rāḍha and Varendra on the one hand, and in Vanga on the other: the latter formed it with the present participle in «-itē» + the verb substantive, whereas in the former, it seems to be made, not with the «-ite» participle, but with
a different verbal form + the verb substantive: e.g., literary Bengali চলিলেছ চলিলেছ (in prose) "cālītē-chē", চলিলেছ (in poetry only) "cālī-chē", both meaning is walking, = Rāḍha dialects, 'South-west Bengali,' West Rāḍha, and East Rāḍha, respectively [cōl-te, cōl-te, cōl-te], Varêndra [cōl-se], which are forms without "-ite"; but in West and South Vaṅga [tōlite-se]. West Rāḍha occasionally has a past perfect with the adjective in "-l": e.g., গুলিল "gūl-chilā," for Common Bengali গুলিল "gīl-chilā" had gone. Eastern and South-eastern Vaṅga dialects are characterised by the "-r-" forms for the progressive tense: which are discussed at their proper place in Morphology.

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

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

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

75. With the Moslem conquest, the united tracts of Rāḍha, Varėndra,
Bāgarī (the Delta), Vaṅga with Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Caṭṭala (Chittagong),
and West Kāma-rūpa received a common name, ‘Bangālah’ or Bengal, which
is merely an extension of the appellation for the people of Vaṅga or East
Bengal. The various dialects of the provinces which were members of
one family group did not rejoice in a common name even when a literary
standard was fixed and generally adopted. These now came to acquire the
common name of the ‘Language of Bengal,’ Bengali. The Persian-using
Moslems (and following them the Portuguese) first called the language
by the name which came to be applied to the whole country—< zabān-i-
Bangālā > (and < Idioma Bengalla >). The people themselves spoke of their
native speech merely as < bhausa > or current speech, as opposed to Sanskrit
or Persian: and the word < prākṛta >, to mean the language of the land, was
frequently used by the Pauḍits. The term Gauḍa, which at first referred to
West and North Central Bengal generally, the tract the speech of which
was regarded as the standard form of Bengali, came gradually to be used with regard to the language. In the 16th century, Nadiya is described as being within Gauḍa-dōsa; and the Vaṅga country or East Bengal, as well as the dialect of Vaṅga, is contrasted with the land and speech of Gauḍa. The first native name for Bengali was thus "Gauḍa-bhāṣā," probably coming into use as early as the 16th century. This name continued down to the beginning of the 19th century, nay, even later, side by side with the new name "Vaṅga-bhāṣā" or "Bāṅgālā-bhāṣā." Rājā Rām Mōhan Rāy, the first Bengali to write a grammar of his mother tongue, called his work 'Gauḍiya Vyākaraṇa' (in English, 'Grammar of the Bengali Language,' published in 1833, but finished several years earlier). Madhusūdan Datta, the poet, refers to the people of Bengal as গৌড়-জন "Gauḍā-jaṇa" in his 'Meghanāda-vadha Kāvyā,' in the sixties of the last century. The Persian name for the language, « zabān-i-Bangālah », and the Hindīstānī form of it, « Bangālī zabān », were heard in the law-courts; and the name « Bangālah », in its Bengali form বাংলা « Bāṅgālā », later বাংলা, বাঙ্গালা, বাঙ্গালী, Bāṅgālā, Bāŋgālā, Bāŋlā », became familiar to Bengalis as a name for their language. Even Hindīstānī borrowed the word again from Bengali in the form বাঙ্গালা « Bāṅgālā ».

The Bengali language. And the English, following the Portuguese and the Mohammedan rulers of Bengal, used no other name. In 1778, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed published his 'Grammar of the Bengal Language' from 'Hoogly in Bengal'—the first book printed in Bengali characters. Some 50 years before that, the Portuguese Padre Manoel da Assumpção had written his 'Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla, e Portuguez' (Lisbon, 1743). In the title-page of the Serampore edition of Kṛtti-vāsa's 'Rāmāyaṇa' (1804), we see the note कृतिवासः बांगालि भाषा रचिल « Kṛtti-bāṣa Bāṅgalī-bhāṣāy rācila » K. composed in the Bengali language. The term 'Gauḍiya bhāṣā' or 'Gauḍīya sādhū-bhāṣā,' which was common enough in Bengal, gradually fell into disuse. 'Bāṅgālī-bhāṣā' is the name given in the 'Hutōm Pēcār Nakṣā' (1861). বাঁকঃ(১)লা ভাষা, বাঙ্গালা, বাংলা ভাষা « Bāṅg(a)la-bhāṣā, Bāŋlā, » and in the high style, বাঙ্গালী « Bāṅgā-bhāṣā » are the Bengali names for the language now in universal use.
APPENDIX A


76. A. Phonetic.
(a) Retention of final «-i, -e» (and «-u») in the North-western and Eastern languages. Grierson compares Kāśmirī «achi», Sindhi «akhī» «eye», with Bihārī (Maithili, see p. 92) «ākhi», angôr «angîru», dēkhathu = «eye, charcoal, let him see.»

The retention of final vowels, fully or slightly pronounced, cannot be adduced as an evidence of close connexion between the two groups of speech. All IA. vernaculars at some time or other retained the final vowels. Some are conservative in this respect: e.g., Oriyā, and certain forms of Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi, which still cling to them. Others have begun dropping them, and the almost inaudible «i ū» which we find are only what can be expected during the transitional stage: Maithili and Sindhi present this stage, although in Maithili there seems to be a greater advance towards the dropping of these final vowels than in Sindhi. In others, again, the final vowels have been entirely got rid of; as in the case of Hindōstānī, Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī, Bengali (in the last, however, tātsama and foreign words ending in two consonants have a vowel after them). Bengali has अंध «ākh» «eye» as an archaic word in the colloquial, and अंधि «ākhi», the fuller form, obtains in the language of poetry. Five hundred years ago, the final vowels were pronounced in Bengali. They are pronounced even now in Oriyā, in which language
they say < jālā, Gōpālā, Nārāyānā, Rāmā, > and even < sārádārā > for the Hindōstānī (Persian) < sardār >. Hindōstānī (Hindi) has dropped the final vowel < -a > or < -u > in words like < Kaśyap, sumiran, santāp, dān, bīc, ucit, sukḥ, puttr, anugrah >, etc., but the final vowels were retained in Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā of prose) at least as late as the first half of the 17th century, as can be seen from a late Middle Hindi text (Commentary on the 'Śṛgāra-sātaka' of Bhartṛhari; see 'Journal of the UP. Historical Society,' Vol. I, No. 1, article by R. P. Dewhurst). Even at the present day, the final < -i, -u > are not absent in Braj-bhākhā and in Kanaūjī, which are representative Midland speeches: e.g., in the Braj of Aligarh, we have < bāṭu > share, < mālū > property (from the Perso-Arabic < māl >), < sabu > all, < akālu > famine, < kaṅgālu > poor, < phiri > again, < pēṭu > belly, < aurō > and, < dūrī > distance, < naukarō > servant (Persian), < jwābu > answer (Perso-Arabic < jawāb >), < ēkū > one. (LSI., IX, Part I, pp. 281-282.) Kanaūjī has similar forms in < -i, -u >. In Braj, the present participle affix is both < -tu > and < -t >; and the verb indeclinable has < -i >, e.g., < kari, dhari, bhari, dēkhi, jāi > = Hindōstānī < kar, dhar, bhar, dēkh, jā >. Similar final < -i, -u > pronunciation obtained in Eastern Hindi at the time of Tulasi-dāsa: there is ample evidence in his poetry, and in the deed of arbitration written out by Tulasi-dāsa (Grierson, 'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan,' Calcutta, 1889, pp. xxvi-xxvii), we find forms like < taphasīl > (=Perso-Arabic < tafṣīl >), < Ānanda-rūmu, Tōdara-malu > and < tīnī ansa > three shares, and even < hujatī > (=Perso-Arabic < ḥujjat >). Modern Eastern Hindi has retained the final vowels even at the present day: e.g., in a recent Hindi drama ('Nētrōmnīlan Nāṭak,' by the Miśra Brothers of Allahabad, Calcutta, Samvat 1971; Act III) a character, speaking the Awadhī patois, employs the forms < sācu, jhuṭu, hāṭhu, dinu, agahanu = Agraḥāyana, sāṭhu, āju, hālu (=Perso-Arabic ḥāl), mānu, kāmu, kāju, parapaṇcu, cūru, kēṭu; laṛi, pahiri, bēci > etc. In Eastern Panjābī, associated with Western Hindi, an indistinct < -ə > is frequently heard at the end of words. In the Bihārī dialects, the suggestion of a final vowel occurs only in Maithili: it is lost in Magābi and in Bhōjpuriyā.
In the matter of retention of final sounds, it seems no inference can be drawn, connecting the Eastern (Magadhan) speeches with those to the west and north-west of the Midland speech. All NIA languages which have dropped the final vowels passed through the transitional stage, which is now noticeable in Maithili and Sindhi, and also in dialectal Western Hindi.

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

[The Bengali word quoted by Grierson under this head, বঙ্ক, <বাণ্ডা> aubergine, as being from <*বাংলানু> is a dialectal from, = Standard Bengali বঞ্চ <বেগুন, বাঙু > <বাঙ্গালা> <বাঙ্গালা> (the last form found in Old Oriyā as in the inscription of Nṛsiṁha IV, A. C. 1395), = Skt. <वांग्ना>: the <-u> affix, as in <*বাঙ্গানু>, is typically Western, and not Māgadhī. The word অঙ্গ <াঙ্গন > fire is not from a form like <*াঙ্গন >, but it is a semi-tatsama, অশ্রবি <াঙ্গু > <াঙ্গম > <াঙ্গিন > being pronounced like [aŋgəni] in the Māgadhī Apabhraṅṣa stage, the neutral sound of [ə] becoming [u] in Old Bengali through the influence of the preceding velar consonant. The old tadbhara অশ্রবি <াঙ্গু > <াঙ্গিন > <*াঙ্গিকা> occurs in Middle Bengali].

(c) Pronunciation of <i> as <e>, and of <u> as <o>. In the eastern languages, especially Bengali, <i> and <u> are lax vowels,
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like the vowels of English *pit, put*. Naturally, as the tongue does not have a very high position, there is a tendency to turn them to the low sounds of « e, o ». In the Prakrit stage, « i » before two consonants often became « ē », and short « ū » similarly became « ō »: e.g., « bēlla = bilva, pōkkhara = puṣkara, pōthaa = pustaka ».

Alteration of « i : e, u : o » is not unknown to Western Hindi: e.g., Braj-bhākhā « mōhi : muhi, tōhi : tuhi »; and the fact that the short forms of « ē, ō » are « i, u » in the causal and other forms in W. Hindi, e.g., « bōlnā : bulānā ; dēkhnā : dikhānā ; ēk : ikaṭṭah » etc., shows that there was the lax pronunciation of « i, u » and the close one of « ē, ō », approximating to each other, as in Bengali. (Cf. also Kellogg, ‘Hindi Grammar’ p. 3).

(d) Change of « u » to « i » is not a characteristic of the Eastern languages, although it is found in them, as in all other NIA. speeches, more or less. It also occurs in W. Hindi: e.g., « khilnā » beside « khulnā » to open, as a bud; « chihgulī » beside « chuṅgulī » little finger = « *kṣull’-angulikā »; « phislānā, phulsānā » lead astray by sweet words. Against W. Hindi « bālū » saul, with « u », Skt. « vāluṅkā », = Bengali বালি « bāli », cf. W. Hindi « ginnā » count = Bengali গুন « guṇānd » (* i » in W. Hindi, but « u » in Bengali, for « ā » of OIA.).

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

(e) The change of « ai < aī » and « au < aū » to an open « ē » = [ē] and open « ō » = ā [ə], is not a characteristic of the Eastern ‘outer’ speeches, although it is found in Rājasthāni-Gujarāti, Sindhi, Lahndī, and other Western ‘outer’ dialects. It is also a noteworthy characteristic of modern Western Hindi as well: so much so that at the present day, the English sounds of [ə] (as in man, which is a rather low kind of [e]), and of [ə] (as in hot), are indicated respectively by the letters ḍ « ai » and ḍh « au » in High Hindi: e.g., ḍer ‘ hat, ḍen ‘ manager, ḍer ‘in Harrison, ḍoster beside ḍotor daughter, etc. In a Hindi translation, from English, of Victor Hugo’s ‘Les Misérables,’ the name Cosette is written कॉसेट. Cf. खानी > kāi > kai > * [kə:] > kē; kahu > kaū > kāu > * [kə:] > kō; aɪ,
au <aːi, aʊ > are ordinarily pronounced with rather low tongue position in the Western Hindi homeland: « hai » sounding as [ɦɛː, ɦɛː], or even as [ɦɛː], « aur » as [ʌɔr, əɔr, əːr].

[ॆ « au » in tatsama words, = « əu » of Sanskrit, is pronounced [ou] in Bengali, much like the Southern English o in joke [dʒoʊık]; and of course, in tadbhava words, « əu » of Skt. occurs as « ə » . The Assamese pronunciation given by Grierson, « oxodh » for « aushadha », is a late semi-tatsama pronunciation, coming from an earlier [əʃɔdʃɔ], [əu] changing to [o]. Similarly, we have « ai » >[əi]>[o] in East Bengali: « əikya » = [əikkɔ>əikkɔ>əikkɔ> okko], « əisvarya » = [əifɔrʃɔ> əʃɔrdɔ]. The Bengali ভাল « bhāla » is pronounced ভালো [bhalo], and some reformers of Bengali spelling write the word as ভালো: it comes from an Old Bengali *bhālavā = Māgadhī Apabhṛtā « bhallava, bhallaa », Māgadhī Prakrit « bhallaga », Skt. « bhadra-ka », « awa » of Old Bengali changing into « a » i.e., long « a » in Early Middle Bengali, and then to « o » in New Bengali. Bengali ভাল « bhāla, -o » cannot be from « *bhālau > bhālau », which would be a Western Apabhṛtā nominative form: the Bengali form is the mere base; and the nominative form from Māgadhī Prakrit expected in Bengali would be either « *bhālī < bhallē = bhadraḥ », or « *bhālē < *bhallāi < *bhallage » = bhadrakaḥ ».

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

(g) The letters ৱ, ৰ < ṅ, ŋ > represent, intervocally, the sounds of ৷, ০ in Early Bengali, and to some extent in Modern Bengali. These arise commonly from a single « m » between two vowels. In practice, these letters indicate only a mere nasalisation of the connected vowel: the word গোসাঙ্গী « gōsāṅī » = « gōswānī » is also of written গোসাঙ্গী, গোসাঙ্গী « gōsāṅī » in Bengali. Assamese গোসাঙ্গী is really [gɔxəi]. The palatal nasal, « ŋ » [ɲ], such as is found in French, Italian and Spanish, does not occur in NIA. W. Hindi words like « bhūṅ, gusāṅ » can also be written with ঋ < ŋ >: this is only a device in spelling.

[The words « ṭhāw, ṭhāṅi », quoted by Grierson, are probably developed thus: OIA. « sthāman » plae, whence Śaurasenī Prakrit «*ṭhāma» and Saur. Ap. « *ṭhāwā », resulting in W. Hindi « ṭhāw »;
Magadhi Prakrit « *ṭhāmē » > Magadhi Ap. « *ṭhāwī » , whence Bengali « ṭāi », written টাচি, টাই।

(h) The use of « r » for « l » and « r < -d- » is almost as common in W. Hindi as in the ‘outer’ languages Sindhi and Bihāri. In the Braj-bhākhā, as in the poems of Śūra-dāsa and Bihāri-lāla, and others, we find words like « bara (bala), gara (gala), jarai (jalai, jalē), pakarai (pakarāi), larihaū (=larūgā), bigaraj (=bigarē), sābhāra (samhāla-), birā (birā), kiwāra (kiwāra), pāwāra (=prabāla), bijuri (bijilt), dubara (=durbala), ghari (ghari), phari (=philikā, phalaka), pajaryō (=prajvalita), baurā (=mukula), sāra (=sālya), tamōra (=tāmbūla), bahuri (=vi-ā-gūli-), jura (=jura), bhūra (=bhīra), sarāha-(=āgāh-) » etc., etc., instances being numerous. Lallū-lāla in the ‘Rāja-nītī’ has « syārd (=śrgala), (found also in Hindōstānī), nikaryau (=nikālā), bēr (=vēla) », among others.

This confusion between « r r l », with preference for « r », is unknown to Bengali (dialectal Bengali confuses « r » and « r », but never these sounds with « l »), to Oriyā, to Marāṭhī, and to Lahndi. In this matter, however the Eastern (Magadhi) Prakrit, the hypothetical source of the ‘outer’ languages of the East, stood apart from all other forms of MIA., and possibly also OIA., in having only « l » , and no « r ».

(i) Interchange of « d, ḍ » cannot be called a peculiarity which is shared in common between the languages of the East and of the West, in contrast to the Midland speech. The case of the Sindhi « ḍh » = [ḍ̚] is peculiar. In Assamese, the substitution of alveolars for both cerebrals and dentals is unique among Indian languages, Aryan, Dravidian, and Kōl, and is undoubtedly due to the influence of Tibeto-Burman. The Eastern languages generally maintain a rigid distinction between the two classes of sounds, whatever may be the case in dialectal forms of Lahndi (Thalī) and Gujarātī (Pārśi dialect). « d > ḍ » is not an uncommon phonetic change in the Midland language too: e.g., in the ‘Satasai’ of Bihāri, we have « ḍiṭhī (=dṛṣṭi), ḍyohī (=dēhalt), ḍōrhā (=dvyradhaka) ». In High Hindī we find « ḍābh (=darbha), ḍārha (=daḳḷha, dagdha), ḍāṛhī
(dauñṣṭrikā), dārim (= dādima), dāntī (= dañḍikā), dāsnā (= vañḍa), 
doli (= vañl) ; cf. Hindōstāni < ḍērhi > = Bengali < ḍer < ḍer >, 1½.

(j) Change of < d > to < j > through influence of a preceding or 
following palatal vowel is an extremely rare phenomenon in IA., although 
change of < d(h)y > to < j(h) > is a regular phonological law. It certainly 
cannot be described as a characteristic common to the ‘outer’ languages, 
because we have at the best only some unique sporadic cases in 
East Magadhan (e.g., Bengali < jhi >, Oriya < jhi > = < dhītā, 
duhiṭā >), in Marāṭhī (< ni > = < niḍa, niḍā >), in Sindhi (< gīṭh > = < giddhu, 
gṛdhra >).

(k) < -mb- > -m- is a change found also in W. Hindī, and < -mb- > 
< b > is found in the Eastern languages, at least in Bengali. W. Hindī has 
< jāmūn > besides < jābū > (= jambuka); and in W. Hindī < nīm > is more 
common than < nīb > (= nimbā). But cf. Bengali dialectal āmb tābā < tābā 
(āmar), tābā (tamra) >, besides ām, tām < tāmā, tāmā >; Bengali has 
nebu < lēbu, nēbu > for the Hindōstāni < lēmū > (= nimbuka). In Early 
Bengali, < b > and < -mb- > both are found: Old Bengali < tābola > (Caryā 
28); Middle Bengali < cumba, jāmb(h)īra, lambā > etc.

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

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

[The word < mālām >, quoted by Grierson as an example of loss 
of intervocal < r > in Bengali, is archaic and dialectal in Bengali, and is from 
< *mañya + illa + amha < *mṛta + ila + asma >: < mṛta > mañya > is a Prakritic 
form, the counterpart of which is found in < muñ > in W. Hindī, which 
would be a case of exactly similar kind of early loss of < r >.]
(m) Change of intervocal ‘-s-’ to ‘-h-’ is not a specially ‘outer’ characteristic, and it is found in a few instances in W. Hindī also: e.g., ‘tasya > tassa > ṭesa > ṭāha > ṭa- (ṭā-kō, ṭā-hi etc.)’; ‘karīṣādi > karīsāi > karīhaī ’; in the second instance, future ‘-sy-, -sy- > -h-’, the Western ‘outer’ languages preserve the sibilant: e.g., Gujarātī ‘karīṣē’, Rājasthānī (Jaipurī) ‘karīṣī’, Lāhṇdi ‘karīṣī’. In the numerals, the change of ‘-s-’ to ‘-h-’ is found in all MIA. and NIA.: e.g., W. Hindī ‘igārah, bārah, cauhattar’ etc., and it cannot be determined where these forms originated: but it looks as if they are Midland in origin (the Pali forms resemble the Hindōstānī ones most closely, but they do not show the change from ‘-s-’ to ‘-h-’, which took place in the late MIA. period). Isolated words like ‘kēhāri’ (=kēsarīn), ‘pāhan’ (=pāsāna) are met with in Braj-bhākhā. The word ‘pōhē’ ‘cattle’ (=paśu?) is a good Hindōstānī word.

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

(n) ‘ś’ for ‘ś, ś, s’ is a peculiar Māgadhī characteristic, and there is nothing like it in the other groups of IA. This ‘ś’ of Māgadhī is irrespective of the connected vowel. But ‘ś < ś ś s’ in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī is the case of an earlier dental ‘s < ś ś s’ becoming palatalised through the influence of a palatal vowel, ‘i, ī, ē’, or of ‘y’: ‘s’ before the back vowels, and ‘ś’ before palatal ones, being the rule. E.g., Marāṭhī ‘ḍōśī’ (=jyōtisin), ‘śikṇē’ (=śikṣāṇam), but ‘ sakṣē’ (=<√šak), ‘saṇ’ (=śaṇa); Gujarātī ‘karīṣē’ (=kariṣyati), but ‘sād’ (=sabda). (Influence of Sanskrit, however has determined some spellings with ‘ś’ in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī). The MIA. ‘outer’ dialect Mahārāṣṭrī, according to the testimony of the Prakrit grammarians, did not palatalise the sibilants, exactly like the Midland dialect Śaurāṣṭrī.
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(o) The tendency to disaspiration of <kh, gh, ch, jh, th, c'h, th, dh, ph, bh> as well as of <rh, nh, mh, lh> is a noticeable thing in Bengali, no doubt, but it is an entirely new thing, and can be taken to present only one more coincidence with Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī-Rājasthānī, and Sindhī. In the Eastern (Māgadhī) group of speeches, disaspiration of intervocal and final stops is more or less common at the present day, but this is not more than 300 years old. Disaspiration of initial aspirates is unknown to West Bengali, and is very uncommon in the case of the unvoiced aspirates in East Bengali and Assamese, although initial unvoiced aspirates also tend to drop their <h> in some East Bengali dialects. Disaspiration and transference of aspiration are of occasional occurrence in W. Hindi as well: e.g., <bhinī < bhaginī>, cf. Oriyā <bhāinī>; <nabā-duhla < nabalā-duhala> bathing and washing; <ūṭ < *ūṭh < uṭṭha, uṭra> camel; <cāṭnā> lick; <*cāṭhanā <*cāṭhanaa <caṭa> brick; <tiwāri < *tiwārī < tripāthin> a Brahman surname. But disaspiration is extremely rare in the Midland language; and on the other hand, it must be admitted, aspiration is frequently noticeable in the Midland; e.g., <bhēs < bēṣa < vēṣa; babhūṭ < bibhūṭi < vibhūṭi; phin, phuni < punah>. This entirely opposite tendency is also found in some specially Bengali forms: e.g., <pēlē > throws down = Middle Bengali <pēlē> <Māg. Ap. <pēllāi = prērayati>; Middle Bengali <phukēre < phukārē> shouts, cf. Hindi <pukārē>; Middle Bengali <pākarā < pākārā> catch, cf. Hindi <pākar>; খাল <kālbalā> handful, grasp, = Skt. <kabala>; জুন <jhumā> old, dried up = <juṇa>, ājūṇa>.

The Panjābī change of the voiced aspirates <gh, jh, dh, dh, bh> to <k, c, t, t, p>, with accompanying low tone making up for the loss of aspiration and voice, is something unparalleled in New Indo-Aryan phonetics.

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

(p) The Eastern speeches (Bengali, Assamese, Oṛiyā, Maithillī, Bhojpuriyā, and Eastern Hindi) as well as Gujarāṭī-Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī agree with the Midland speech in simplifying the MIA. double consonants and in lengthening the preceding vowel as compensation: only in the Eastern Magadhan area, the orthography does not ordinarily record this lengthening in the case of «i, ū», but always does in the case of «ā», Sanskrit orthography having interfered in the spelling of the «i, ū» words: e.g., भिक्ष for भिभिष for भिभिष, cf. भिक्ष; पुत्र for पुत्र for पुत्र, cf. पुत्र. This simplification of consonant group cum lengthening of the preceding vowel is a great point common to the Midland speech and those of the East, and the Western speeches (Sindhi, Panjābī and Lāhndī) disagree with other NIA. in this matter, but agree herein with the Dardic Kaśmīrī. This may show a special point of contact or affinity between Western NIA. and Dardic, but this rather emphasizes the difference between the former and the ‘outer’ speeches of the South-west and the East.

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

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

(b) Bengali ablative post-position হইতে, হইতে, «haitē», Early and Dialectal Bengali হই, হোলে «hantē, hontē», from «*ahitē < *ahēntē, *ahantē, < *as-ant- = s-ant», certainly agrees with the Sindhi «sandō», W. Rājasthānī «handō»; and what is more, Bengali থে, থেকে, থাকিয়া < the, thēkē, thākiyā > having been as an ablative post-position is the exact counterpart of the Gujarātī «thī, thakī». But the use of these verbal derivatives as post-positions is certainly a new thing in IA., being not earlier than late MIA.; and the use of the substantive verb to denote case relation would only be natural in the various NIA. languages.

The MIA. forms «suntō, hintō» do not seem to be connected with the Bengali হইতে «haitē». This is discussed later, under Morphology: Declension.

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

Western Hindī.
Nominative Singular: « ghōraṇ manoe (MIA. nominative singular, preserved in Braj); « ghōrā manoe (Hindōstānī base form); « gharu (Braj neuter form). 
Nominative Plural: « ghōraḥi, ghōraī, ghōrē (MIA. instrumental plural? with genitive influence?)
Dative-oblique Singular: « ghōraḥi, ghōrē (MIA. genitive singular? or MIA. instrumental plural, transferred to the singular?.
Dative-oblique Plural: « ghōran(i), ghōrō, ghōrā (MIA. genitive plural).
Locative Singular, rare form: « ghar-e, āg-e; « hindōr-e in the swing (Bihārī-lālā), « māth-e on the head (Sūra-dāṣa), etc. (MIA. locative).
Ablative Singular (rare, dialectal): « bhukkhā from hunger, in Vernacular Hindōstānī and Bāṅgarū dialects; « bhūkhan, bhūkho (Braj, Kanaūjī) (MIA. ablative + genitive plural?).
Bengali.
Nominative: affix lost.
[Oriyā Ablative: « -u: ghōrā-u, ghōrā-r-u (MIA. singular ablative?).]
Genitive Singular, lost: except in the pronoun, where it occurs as ṣa « -ā thai- « tā-ra, dhi- « ji-ra etc. (MIA. genitive singular).
Genitive Plural, as rare relics, in the affix ṣu, ṣan, ṣīn « -n, -ān -in », dialectal ṣan, ṣī: « pā, pā: e.g., pōra-guḷān, guḷān « ghōrā-guḷān, guḷān » horses; ṣān « tānd hīs (honorific) < their = (MIA. genitive plural). [In Oriyā, this MIA. genitive plural was preserved: ghōrā-ṇ-kā of horses; see p. 187.]
Locative (merged into Instrumental) : এ - এ - হারা ( = MIA. locative singular). [In Assamese, base + affix - at : - হার-এ]  

Marathi.

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

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

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

Lahndi.

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

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

Taking into consideration the nett remains of the earlier, MIA. synthetic declension, it cannot be said that Bengali, Marathi and Lahndi, as 'outer' languages, are synthetic to any special degree when compared with the Midland W. Hindi. The post-positional declension of NIA., with help-words reduced to the status of inflections, is a different thing; and
it must be admitted that, through phonetic decay, certain words in Bengali and Marāṭhī, which used to be combined with or affixed to base or oblique forms of nouns, have been worn down to mere inflectious, and thus formed the nucleus of a new synthetic declension: e.g., Bengali গোড়ার, গোড়ার < kara, kēra = kārya >, গোড়ারের < ghōṛāder> < -ādi + kēra >; Marāṭhī < ghōṛācā > < -kṛṭya-ka >. But the W. Hindi speech is not free from this in its declension, although it has not joined up the genitive post-position to the noun in a synthetic declension: e.g., < ghōṛē-nē > = oblique of < ghōṛā > + instrumental of < kārṇa-ka >; the ‘outer’ speech Lahndi here agrees with the Midland form not only in preserving an analytic genitive, but also in building up a new synthetic agent and dative case: e.g., Lahndi genitive < ghōṛē dā > = oblique of < ghōṛā > + dā < *dita-ka = datta-ka > (cf. W. Hindi < ghōṛē kā >, where < kā = kaā, kīā < kṛṭa-ka >), but agent and dative < ghōṛē nē, -nū >, where < nē, nū > = oblique forms of < kārṇa-ka >, as in Western Hindi. In W. Hindi, in the speech-feeling of many speakers, the post-positions < kō < kakṣa, sē < sama > sahitā >, par < upari, mē = madhya > are as much organic inflections as are the Bengali genitive and locative affixes < -āṛ, ēṛ, -ī, -tē > etc.; and many writers of High Hindi advocate the writing of the post-position with the noun as one word. The influence of Persian (with its separate pre-positions) on W. Hindi may have been partially responsible in instilling into the minds of some speakers of W. Hindi the idea of a separate existence of the post-positions.

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

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

(JASB., 1895, Part I, p. 347); but some of the Assamese forms, e.g., «tör ziyr» your (non-honorific) daughter, and «tömär ziya, ziýērā» your (honorific) daughter, where the affixes are «-ēr» and «-ā» or «-ērā», are obscure in origin. It is very unlikely that this isolated phenomenon in Assamese is connected with Dardic: rather, this may be a case of Tibeto-Burman (Bo polo) influence, Bo polo possessing the peculiarity found in the Aryan Assamese (cf. LSI., Vol III, Part II, p. 16).

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

Western group:

(Passive Construction)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{W. Hindi: } \text{maî/nē pōthi pārhi}\text{ } \\
&\text{Gujaratī: } \text{mē pōthi vāc-i} \\
&\text{Marāṭhi: } \text{mī pōthi vāc-il-i} \\
&\text{by-me } \text{a-book read (fem.).}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Sindhi: } \text{(mū) pōthi pārhi-me} \\
&\text{Lahndī: } \text{(maj) pōthi pārhi-m} \\
&\text{(by-me) a-book read (fem.)+by-me.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Eastern Group:

(Active Construction)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{E. Hindi: } \text{maî pōthi pārheū} \\
&\text{Bhōjpuriyā: } \text{ham pōthi pārhalī} \\
&\text{Maithili: } \text{ham pōthi pārhalahū} \\
&\text{Bengali: } \text{āmi puthi pārilām} \\
&\text{ } (\text{mui puthi pārili, -lum}) \\
&\text{Oriyā: } \text{āmībhē pōthi pārhilū} \\
&\text{ } (\text{mū pōthi pārhi}) \\
&\text{I a-book read (past, 1st person).}
\end{align*}
\]

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

78. C. Glossic.

On examining the common roots and words of Lahndī, Sindhi, Gujarāṭi, Marāṭhī, W. Hindī, Bihārī and Bengali, it would be easily found that Bihārī and Bengali do not have a special agreement with the Western languages, or with Marāṭhī: the agreement with W. Hindī, which is so very close, is often forgotten, when a word not found in W. Hindī is traced to exist in common in the Eastern and the Western languages. The question of lexical affinity cannot be always insisted upon as a strong argument for a genetic relation. To take an important root, that of the substantive verb, « āch, ach », we find that among the Magadhan languages, Bhōjpuriyā and Magahī do not use it now, but there are traces of its use in Early Bhōjpuriyā remains (e. g., in a poem ascribed to Kabir—« achalāũ mana baīrāũ » I was a baīrāũ in (my) mind, quoted by Jñānendra-mōhān Dās, in his 'Bengali Dictionary,' Calcutta, San 1323, under āch < /vaech >); Early Awadhi (E. Hindī) shows this root, although it is not found in Modern E. Hindī; of the other ‘outer’ languages, Sindhi and Lahndī have not got it, but it is found in Gujarāṭi and in some forms of Rājasthānī, and in Pahārī. The Dardic Kasmīrī also shows it. There is no trace of it in Western Hindī now, but it seems to have occurred in Saurasāṅ, according to the testimony of Vararuci (‘ Prākṛta-prakāśa,’ XII, 19), and is found in Pali. It can be well expected that some OIA. roots and words have been preserved in common in certain widely separated dialects, and lost in others contiguous to these.
79. The phonetic grounds for postulating a connexion between the North-western and Eastern groups of NIA., as being more intimate than that between these and the Midland group, are not convincing,—as phonetic peculiarities supposed to be shared only by the 'outer' groups are found to occur in W. Hindi as well. Again, in certain points, W. Hindi agrees with the Eastern languages: *e.g.* OIA. initial «v-» occurs as «b-» in W. Hindi, E. Hindi and the Magadhan languages, whereas in Gujarati Marathi, Sindhi, and Panjabi it remains as «v-»; and in other points, the agreement is between W. Hindi and the Southern and Western speeches as against the Eastern ones: *e.g.*, the tendency to make «ai, au» into open «i, o» [i, o] sounds. The 'outer' languages in their declinational system agree with the central language; only the circumstances of development were slightly different in Hindostani, the most important W. Hindi language, the speech which came under the influence of Persian more than any other. The conjugational system, again, manifests a uniform spirit in the North-west, in the South, and in the Midland; and it is only in the East that a new construction has been evolved. It may be assumed that the dialects which were the sources of the North-western and the Eastern groups possessed characteristics which were not present in those that gave rise to the Midland speech. But that does not warrant us in assuming two independent groups in the earliest period, as it might also be shown that the North-western and the Midland dialects show agreement in points where the Eastern group disagrees, and so on. The evidence of the older stages of IA. is against it. The Aśokan Prakrits show three varieties of speech, differing from each other in phonetics and to some extent in morphology: North-western, South-western, and Eastern. (See pp. 44, 47, 54—61.) The differences between the North-western speeches, and those of the East, were profound in the oldest period of which we have records: if the North-western and the Eastern languages were specially connected, we should expect them to show greater agreement at an early stage. But the contrary is the case. Beyond assuming the possibility of a number of popular dialects, modern representatives of which have in some cases retained, in others dropped, some of their
words and forms (§ 32), there are no convincing proofs for the categorical subdivision of IA. into (1) a Midland group, of different origin from (2) a surrounding ring of 'outer' speech,—the first being Indo-Aryan par excellence, the immediate relation of Sanskrit, and the second being allied to Dardic.¹ From racial (anthropological) reasons, the North-western (Lahndi and Sindhi) speakers are entirely distinct from the speakers of the Eastern languages, whereas there is affinity between the former and those (at least among the upper classes) of the Midland. The division would appear to be into Western, and Eastern, the « Udīcyā » and « Madhya-dēśiya » on the one hand, and the « Prācyā » on the other: the outstanding characteristic in these two groups within one IA. family being in the resistance to cerebralisation and in the retention of « r » in the Western group in the OIA. and early MIA. periods; and at the present day it is in the fact that the Western group preserves the passive construction in the past of the transitive verb, whereas the Eastern has made it active: and in both the cases, it is the West which has been the more conservative.

¹ Cf. A. Meillet, 'Introduction à l'Étude comparative des Langues indo-européennes,' 5th ed., Paris, 1922: 'Il ne s'y trouve presque rien qui ne s'explique par la langue védique. Les documents du moyen indien donnent une idée du developpement de la langue mais ils ne permettent pas de supposer qu'il y ait jamais eu dans l'Inde à date ancienne un dialecte qui ait différé de celui que représente le védique autrement que par des détails d'importance secondaire.' (Pp. 37, 38.)
APPENDIX B

Points of Similarity between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, showing probable Influence of the Latter.

80. A. Phonetic.

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

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

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

(d) Insertion of short vowels by anaptyxis (<svara-bhakti, viprakāra>) in consonant groups, which is such a characteristic feature of MIA. and NIA. (e.g., in words like <kilēsa, sinēha, harisa, ratana, sumirāna, parāna, barāmaṇa > etc., etc.), is paralleled out in Dravidian (e.g., Kannāḍa <barāmaṇa>, Tamil <pirāmaṇan> = a Brahman; Tamil <sinēgam = snēha, mivotiran = mitra, tiru = śrī, Kuruṭṭiṇan = Kṛṣṇa, sandiran = candra > etc. etc.). The general view is that Dravidian did not have consonant groups initially, and had only double consonants medially; and this trait was imposed upon the Aryan speech in the MIA. Period. But J. Bloch contends (‘Les Consonnes intervocaliques en Tamoul,’ MSL., XIX, pp. 85 ff., translated in the IAn., 1919, pp. 191 ff.) that in the Old Dravidian speech of several centuries B. C., groups like <tr-, dr- > existed initially as much as in IA.: the word <dramiḷa, draviḷa>, with initial <dr- >, being in all likelihood a true ‘Old Dravidian’ word, slightly Aryanised, of which <tamiḷ > was a development in the Tamil language at a post-Christian epoch, through an intermediate form <*damiḷa>, borrowed in Pali and in Old Sinhalese as <damiḷa>, and occurring in a Greek transcription <*damiṟikē > <damirice> (Latin) = <*damiḷakam > the Tamil land: simplification of the consonant groups was thus a phonological development which occurred parallelly in both Aryan and Dravidian. (In the matter of simplification of OIA consonant-groups by assimilation, which gave rise to MIA., it was probably internal, as it took place also in Italic, among other IE. languages: but here IA. reached that stage at least a thousand years before Italic; contact with Dravidian, as well as the adoption of the Aryan speech by Dravidians early in the history of IA., had probably something to do with it.)

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

81. B. Morphological.

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

The declinational system of NIA., with its agglutinated words like
<gaṇa>; -kula > gulā; sarva>sab; mānava>māna; lōka> lōg; sakala> etc.
for the plural, and with new post-positional affixes derived from nouns
etc. like <madhya>mā, mā; kakṣa > kō; sthāma > ṭhā; pārśva > pās;
sahita >ścī; *dita- > dā; kṛta- > kā; etc., greatly resembles Dravidian.
The use of verbal forms—participles and conjunctives—as post-positions
in declension (e.g., Bengali ḍīte > haitē, laṭhī > lațīṭā, thākī
<thākiyā>, diya > diyā, and similar forms in other NIA.), is a special
point of agreement between NIA. and Dravidian (e.g., Tamil <kattiyaj-
kkondu> with a knife, literally having taken a knife; <avaṇ-ōdu>,
from <ōṭṭu> touch, = with him; Tamil <iura, niura> standing, having
been = Bengali and Gujarāṭī thākī > thākiyā and <thakī>, ablative
post-position). (Cf. R. Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of Dravidian
3,' London, 1913, pp. 25: ff.; Julien Vinson, 'Manuel de la Langue tamoule,'
Paris, 1903, §§ 28, 29.)

The absence of the dative-accusative case with the affix (<kō, kē, ku> in
NIA., < -ku > in Dravidian) for neuter nouns is found in both the families.
AFFINITIES BETWEEN ARYAN & DRAVIDIAN

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

An adjectival treatment of certain cases is noted in both Dravidian and NIA.: *e.g.*, Bengali সোনার বাঁটি *sōnāra bāṭi* = cup of gold = Tamil *pon-n-u koḻam* = gold vessel. (This, however, is found in many other languages, and it cannot be insisted that there is a specially Dravidian influence here.)

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

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

(d) An almost wholesale disuse of OIA. moods and tenses reducing 
the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases 
an indicative future), a past participle forming the past, a present participle, 
a conjunctive, and some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present. 
A similar decay has taken place in Iranian. But the whole principle of 
phrase-building tended gradually to become nominal or adjectival from verbal, 
in IA.; *e.g.,* the normal OIA. (Vedie) for *he went* would be < sō’ gamat > 
or < sō’ gacchat >, or < sa jagāma >; but in MIA. and NIA., this verbal 
construction is changed to the adjectival: < sō gado, sō gao, sē gadē, *si 
gayilla, su gaū, so gaaū > etc. = Skt. < sa gataḥ >, whence NIA. < sō gayau, 
gayā > (W. Hindi), < sē gēlā > (Bengali) etc.: and herein there is a possible 
influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian the verb has an adjectival force, 
it being really a noun of agency with reference to the subject. (See 
LSI., Vol. IV, p. 295.) The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; 
and in the development of Aryan, we find a gradually increasing 
employment of the participle forms, to the exclusion of the IE. 
finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit, < kartā > 
= *a doer for* < kariṣyati > *he will do, ka kartāsmi > *I am a doer=* < kariṣyāmi > 
*I shall do*, is Dravidian in principle. The compound affix < -ta-vant- >, rare
in the Vedic speech, may be compared with the Dravidian (Tamil) 
< -d-avan > : Skt. < kṛta > done, < kṛta-vant- > one who has done; cf. Tamil 
< sēy-du > having done, < sēy-d-avan > having done he = one who has done. 
(LSI., Vol. IV, pp. 250-281). The structure of the modern Magadhan 
(Bengali, Oriyā, Maithili, Magahi, Bhōjpuriya) past and future verb, in 
showing the root + past or future (passive) participle affix + personal 
pronominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance 
attached to the conjunctive with the sense of having performed or finished an 
act, and its lavish use, e.g., Tamil < koṇḍu vā >, NIA. (Bengali) লইয়া আইস, 
নিয়ে एस < lāiyā āisā, niē ēsō > (Hindī < lāo > may similarly be < lē + ēo >), = 
having taken, come, to mean simply bring, is common to both Dravidian and 
NIA., and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, 
very early in the history of Aryan.

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

(e) Onomatopoetic formations on a lavish scale are a characteristic 
of both NIA. and Dravidian. (Cf. Rabindra-nāth Tagore, ‘Sabda-tattva,’ 
Calcutta, pp. 22 ff.; S Milne, ‘Bengali Grammar,’ Calcutta, 1913, 
Chap XX; Kellogg, ‘Hindi Grammar,’ § 849; Khansaheb and Sheth, 
‘Hints on the Study of Gujarati,’ Surat, 1915, § 255, etc.: G. U. Pope, 
§§ 686, 687, etc.). Vedic is remarkably poor in onomatopoeics; as we 
come down to MIA., and NIA., the number and force of onomatopoeics is on the increase. (Cf. B. C. Mazumdar, ‘A Study of some Onomatopoetic 
Deśī Words,’ JRAS., 1903, pp. 555-557; R. Morris, ‘Pali Miscellanies— 
Some Onomatopoeics from the Jātakas,’ Transactions of the Philological 
Society, London, 1885-1887.)

[Onomatopoetic words and jingles, however, are characteristic of 
Kūl as well: cf. P. O. Bodding, ‘Materials for a Santali Grammar,’ Part 
I, Dumka, 1922, pp. 31, 32. It may be that in this matter there is also 
Kūl influence on Aryan.]
(f) Presence of ‘echo words.’ A word is repeated partially (partially in the sense that a new syllable, the nature of which is generally fixed, is substituted for the initial one of the word in question, and the new word so formed, unmeaning by itself, echoes the sense and sound of the original word), and in this way the idea of _et cetera, and things similar to or associated with that_, is expressed. This is found in Modern Indo-Aryan and in Dravidian. _E.g._, Bengali বোধ চোদা < _ghōra_-'tōra_ > Maithili < _ghōra-tōra_ >, Hindostani < _ghōra-urā_ >, Gujarati < _ghōro-bōro_ > Marathi < _ghōra-bīra_ >, Sinhalese < _aśwayā-baśwayā_ > horses etc., horses and other animals, or horses and equipage: cf. Tamil < _kudirai-kidirai_ >, Kannada < _kudire-gidire_ >, Telugu < _gurramu-girramu_ >. So Bengali জল-উল < _jālā-ṭāla_ > = water and things, refreshment, = Hindostani < _jal-ul_ >, Marathi < _jal-bil_ >, Tamil < _taṇṭir-kīṇṇir_ >, Kannada < _nīru-gīru_ >; Bengali দাত-তাত < _dāta-tāṭa_ >, Sinhalese < _dat-bat_ > = teeth etc. In the formation of these ‘echo words,’ Bengali takes ত < _t-_ >, and retains the vowel of the original word; Maithili takes the dental < _t-_ >, keeping also the original vowel; Hindostani substitutes < _u-_ >, and Marathi < _bi-_ >, for the whole syllable; and Gujarati takes < _b-_ > for the original consonant; Sinhalese similarly has < _b-_ > with original vowel; [the agreement of Sinhalese with Gujarati and Marathi in this matter is to be noted in connection with what has been postulated about the origin of Sinhalese: see pp. 15, 72-73]; and the Dravidian languages substitute the syllable < _ki-_ , _gi-_ > for the initial one of the original word. (These ‘echo words’ are different from compounds like কোশ-চোদভ < _kāpāra-cōpāra_ > clothes etc., or চাটী-বাটি < _cāti-bāti_ > pots etc., where compare চোদভ < _cōpāra_ > with চুপড়ি < _cūpaṛi_ > = basket, and চাটি < _cāṭi_ > = earthen pot: in such compound words, one element is usually an obsolete word, and not an unmeaning echo-form, as in the cases noted above.)

82. C. Syntactical.

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

The omission of the copula is preferred by both IA. and Dravidian: e.g., Bengali এটো আমাদের বাড়ী < এটা আমাদের বাড়ী >, Kannada < idu namma mane > this (is) our house; मानववी भाल < मानुष्टै भाल >, Tamil < manidan nallavan > the man (is) good.

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

83. D. Glossic.

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

Caldwell, Gundert, Kittel and others have discussed the nature and extent of Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan. A great many of the dēśi words, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European speeches, are probably Dravidian in origin (many are also Kōl, and possibly even pre-Dravidian and pre-Kōl). (Cf. F. Kittel, 'Kannada Dictionary,' Mangalore, 1894, Introduction; R. Caldwell, 'Comp. Gram. of Drav.' 3, pp. 565 ff.; Sten Konow, 'Notes on Dravidian Philology,' IAnt., 1903, pp. 449 ff.; LSI., Vol. IV, pp. 276 ff.; Grierson, 'Indian Vernaculars' in the BSOS., I, iii; A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' p. 33; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, 'Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras,' pp. 6, 8, 15, 125, 126; F. E. Pargiter, 'Vṛṣākapī and Hanumant,' JRAS., 1913, p. 400; K. Amrita Row, 'Dravidian Elements in the Prakrits,' IAnt., Feb. 1917; 'Notes on some Hindi words from the Dravidian,' IAnt., Jan. 1916; B. C. Mazumdar, 'Bāṅgāḷa-bhāṣay Drāvīrī Upādān,' VSPdP., 1320; D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Lectures on the Ancient History of India,' 1918, Calcutta University, pp. 26-27.)
APPENDIX C

OLD BENGAL PLACE-NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS.


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


(i) 443-444 A. C.: Village ‘Dōggā’: [‘dōggā’ a dēśī word = high land, high, occurring as Bengāli dāgar ‘dāgar’ high, grown-up, Assamese ‘dāggariyā’ high one, Sir, Bengali ঠাকুর, ঠাকুরা ‘ṭhākūra, täggārā’ upland (as in হৈত্তি ‘hēti-tēggārā’ low and high, uneven; cf. ‘ṭēkārī’ in § 94). This dēśī word occurs in other NIA.: e.g., W. Hindi दुग्गर ‘duggar’ high place, hill (cf. the words दग्ग and दोङ्गर in the ‘Index Etymologique’ in Jules Bloch’s ‘Formation de la Langue marathe.’)]

(iii) 476-495 A. C.: Villages ‘Palāsā-vṛndaka, Cāṇḍa-grāma, Vāyi-grāma’; the last = ‘*Vāpt-grāma’ = Mer-ton (?): cf. ‘Vāpikā-grāma’ in the Tipperah Inscription of Lōka-nātha (§ 88), and ‘Rōlā-vāyikā’ in the Ashrafpur grant of Dāva-khadga (§ 92).

(v) 533-534 A. C. Villages ‘Svacehanda-pātaka’ (cf. Bengali পাঠা ‘pāṭa’ neighbourhood; a word found in Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa),
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(ii) Village « Navyavakāśikā » (any connection with « -sikā » as in « Lavañga-sikā » in [2] (v)? or « navya + avakāsikā » = New Channel, for passage of water?).

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

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


Villages « Paṅga » and « Vāpikā »: « Paṅga = ? paṅka » clay from bottom of tank: cf. the Faridpur village পাঁচি « Paṅgūṭi » « *Paṅgāvāsaka » abode of Panga (?).
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Village « Tāmra-pathara-khaṇḍa » = Copper-stone district (for « *Tamba-patthara »).


« Gaṅgi(a)nikā » river = গাঙ্গিনী « Gaṅginī », modern Jalangi, branch of the Ganges : found also in [4].

[Personal names : « Khāsāka » the tradesman ; « Sēkya-kārā Kāliyā » the engraver Kāliyā (cf. New Bengali : দেবকা « sēkārā » goldsmith, for which see Appendix D, Vocabulary of Bengali : Foreign Words in Bengali); « Śrī-ksi-kuṇḍa »; the Kāyastha « Dundhu-nātha ». « jāṭāli » tree = Modern Bengali জারুল « jārul(i) ».]


[Personal names : « Dēvāta, Viṭaka, Bhūgaṭa, Subhaṭa (= Subhaṭa ?), Tāṭaṭa, Vapyāṭa (= Vappaṭa); Dēdda-dēvi ».]

"Hārupapesvara-pura"; "Nākka-jōśī" (cf. "Nōkka-, Nēkka-" in § 105); "Avara-parvata" = Abor Hills?.

[Personal name: "Lāha(i)/li-jhā", according to H. P. Śāstrī, = Lāhirī Jhā = the Varēndra Brahman surname lāhirī<var>ō</var> + jhā<var>adhyā</var>pakā, or ō<var>o</var>jhā <var>u</var>pādhyāya > (?). Words: "buṭṭika" for "* buṭṭa" = New Bengali ḍō<var>b</var>u<var>r</var>ī < var>būri > score; "pravista", with dental "-st-", for "praviṣṭā", showing Assamese confusion of the cerebrals and dentals as early as the 9th century.]


Villages "Tala-pāṭaka; Dara-pāṭaka; Datta-katāka; Markatāśi-pāṭaka (= *Markatāvāsika-pāṭaka: Monkey-home-village?); Nava-rōpya; Paranāṭana; Dvārōdaka; Vvāra-mugguka (= *Dvāra-mudguka, for a vernacular *Bāra-mug(g)ua (?)); Cāta; Jaya-karmānta-vāsaka; Ta(a?)lyōdyāni-kara-taralā (?); Kōdara-cōraka; Palaśata; Śiva-hradikā-sogga-vargga; Śrimēta; Para-nāṭana-nāḍa-varmī (?); Rōlla-vāyikā; Ugra-vōraka (= vōla, pōlā field ?); Tisanāda-jaya-datta-katāka].


The word "koppam" well may be compared with Bengali kōp < kōpā > slash, dig, kōpa kūpī < kōpā, kupi > a vessel.


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

"Hāṭṭa-pāṭaka; Cātā-paḍā; Vaḍa-gāma; Maharā-pura (= present day Maurā-pur); Haḍhi-thāna (= sthāna); Dēgigāna(ema ?); Navapaṇē
(= "Vara-paṇcāla", the correct reading, = the present-day Baram-cāl, Brahma-cāl); Śiḍḍha; Amanāta; Guḍāvayika; Kāṭa-bācha (Village?); Yithāyi-nagara; Yōjatithārka (= বৃক্ষ = jūrā = pair); Balūsī-gāma; Nava-chādi; Kaḍdiyā; Savagā-nayī (=River Savagā); Ghati (= ghaut); Kāniyāni (Kāliyāli? river); Yēgamya-gaṇīya (?) ; Thava-sonti (arrested stream (?): < sthāpa-srōtas + ikā > : cf. Modern Bengali ঠে + না < thē + sotā < sonta [Old Bengali] < MIA. sônta < OIA. srōtas >); Bhāskara-ṭeṅkari (= Bhāskara Hill? cf. § 85); Nāṭayāna (= thāna? Village); Anã-kāthi, Āḍāna-kāthi (= kāthi = kāthi), showing confusion between cerebrals and dentals in the old speech of Sylhet? cf. New Bengali কাঁঠী < kāthi > in village names, §§ 97, 109); Bhōgādhatta (?); Sāta-kōpā (= Seven Springs? cf. § 93); Cēdgambudhāka (?); Naḍa-kuṭi-gāma; Haḍi-gāŋga (gāŋga: cf. New Bengali গাঁঘু < gānga > stream); Dhana-kuṇḍo-ṭi; Pōchānīya; Bhāṭa-paḍā; Chaḍhā-thānā; Haḍḍipā-grha (?) ; Piāpi-nagara; Sihāḍava-grāma > : besides a number of other tailbhava and dēśi-looking names, which cannot be read properly or distinguished.

95. [12] Bāṅgarh Grant of Mahi-pāla: 9th year = end of the 10th century: (R. D. Banerji, op. cit., p. 76; 'Gauḍa-lekha-māla').

* Gōkalikā-maṇḍala > (= Gō-kavalikā ?) ; Villages < Cūṭa-pallikā, Karatā-pallikā, Hasti-pada, Cavaṭi > (the last = tī < cāṭi > ian, serai; see p. 67).


Village < Tailāḍhaka > = New Bengali তেলাড়া < Telāṛā >.


* Nānya-maṇḍala > ; Village < Nēha-kāṣṭhi > (= snēha-kāṣṭhikā ?) : cf. the affix kāṭi < kāṭhi > in village names in South-west Vaṅga: = wood, forest (§ 109).


* Mākkhiyāna-villa > = beel (marshy lake) of the Makkhūna tree (?): * Kuntavita-khambhava (?) > ( = ? খাণ্ড < khāṃbā < khambhā < OIA.
skambha-, stambha- » pillar); « Makuti-Makkhiyāna-hasī (?) »; « Kuntavita-lākkhyavā (?) »; « Kāśi-pāṭaka » Village; « Svalpadyati (?) »; « Digumma (= dvi-gulma?) » river.


Villages « Bāla-grāma, Śirīṣa-puṇja, Kuṭumbapallī »; « Tarkārī, Śiymambaka », Districts or Villages; « Śakaṭi » river?; « Vaiṣcunda » tank.


« Hastini-bhīṭṭa, Siddhala, Vandyaghaṭi », villages in West Bengal.
[Personal (female) name: « Sānggokā ».]


« Halāvartta Maṇḍala »; Village « Kāṣṭhā (Kōṣṭha ?)-giri »; Village « Campā-hiṭṭhi » (« Champac Village, New Bengali ḍapṭi </ Campati »).


[Personal name: « Nivvōka-śarmman ».]


flow, meli, गाला < गाला > molten stuff, molten lac, lac-stick or -cake); « Nekkhā- 
देहुल देहुल < देहुल > temple); « Sik(ph?)-gaḍī-joṭi »; 
वादिधुरतिभुधु (?) »; « Nekka-śarmmā »; « Avanci, -ca (?) »; « Thaisā- 
दोभी-काक्कोज्यान (?) » (दोभी »: cf. New Bengali दोभा » दोभा » puddle); 
Nakka », § 91, also in an Assam Inscription); « pārali »=पारल < pārul(i) »=pāṭali tree.

[Personal name—« Māṅṇo-satka » = belonging to M.].

106. [23] Āmgāchi Grant of Vigrāha-pāla III: North Central 
233 ff.)

Village « Brāhmaṇi » in Puṇḍra-vardhana bhukti, Kōṭi-varṣa viṣaya ; 
Krōḍaṇci » district ?; Villages « Matsyāvāsa, Chatrā, Pōsali ». 
[Personal name : « Khōdula-dēvaśarmman » .]

107. [24] Barrackpur Grant of Vijaya-sēna; 12th century (R. D. 
Banerji, Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 279 ff.)

« Kāntī-jōnga »; « Ghāṣa-sambhōga Bhāṭṭa-vaḍā » Village; « Khāḍī 
Viṣaya » (see § 84); « Tikṣa-hanḍa » marsh. 
[Personal name—« Śālāḍḍa (Śālāḍhya ?)-nāga » ].

[25] Sīta-hāṭi Grant of Ballāla-sēna: Uttara Rāḍha or Central 
Kārttika and Agrahāyaṇa, 1318; R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 156 
ff.; Banwārgi-lāl Goswāmī, ‘ Pravāsi ’ for Phālguna, 1317.)

Administrative district (ṛāsana) of « Khāṇḍayalla » (=New Bengali खांड 
खांडले »); ibid. of « Nāḍicā, Ambayillā, Nāḍīnā, Jala-sōthi, Mōlāṇandi » 
(present-day नूतन, नूतन; « Murundī<Murandī »; « Jala-sōthi » « jala- 
sōnti »? water stream); « Āūḍa-gaḍi (?: Āūḍa-gaḍi), Sura-kōṇa-gaḍi-a 
kīyōttarali, Simali, Tarali, Kūḍambamā »; Village « Valla-hīṭṭa » (=वालाः 
< Bālute » in New Bengali); « Siṅgaṭṭā » river. 
[Personal name : « Ōvāsudēva-sārmman » ].

(i) Tarpaṇ-dīghī Grant of Laksmaṇā-sēna (R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind., 
XII, pp. 6 ff.).
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« Nīca-ḍahāra » tank (= « *nīca-ḍahara » low and deep : cf. Bengali দহর, ঢহর « dābārō, ḍahārō » deep); « Nandi-Hari-pā-kunda »? spring of Nandi Hari-pūda; « Mollāna-khādī » (« mollāna = « mūlānām », or « mṛgāla » lotus stalk : cf. Caryā 10: মোলাণ = lotus stalk ; found also in dialectal Bengali. R. D. Banerji suggests that the word is the Perso-Arabic « mūlā », and seems inclined to see in this word an indication of the existence of Musalmāns in 12th century Bengal; which is not very unlikely, as we have traditions of the advent of Moslem preachers even before the Turki conquest).

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

Village « Vēṭhaḍā » in « Pascima-khaṭikā », within « Vardhamāna » (Burdwan) district; « Lēgha-dēva-manḍapī (?) » temple; « Viḍāra-sāsana (?) ».

[Personal name : « Cahala-dēvaśarmman » ].

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


[The word « mālāmaṇḍa-vāṭi » flower-garden house = New Bengali মালান্তা-বাড়ী « mālāṅca-bāri » ].

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

« Khāḍī » district in Paunḍra-vardhana (see § 106); Village « Kāntalla-pura » Village; « Śānty-sāvi »; « Citādi-khāṭa »; « Menḍala-grāma ».

[Personal names : « Viṣṇu-pāṇi Gaḍōli, Keśava Gaḍōli » ].


Villages « Gaya-nagara, Guṇḍī-sthirā-paṭaka, Dāpa(r)ṇiyā-paṭaka »; « Rāvaṇa-sarasīski-sthāna (?) ». 
109. [27] Copper-plate Grant of Viśva-rūpa-sena: East Bengal, 12th-13th century (Nágendra-Nāth Vasu, JASB., 1896, i, pp. 6 ff.).

Villages « Aṭha-pāga; Bārayā-paḍā (= New Bengali বারইপাড়া) « Bārayā-pāra « quarter of leel-vine growers); Uṃc̄-kāṭṭhi (High wood); Vīra-kāṭṭhi; Piṅjō-kāṭṭhi; Nārantapa ».


Villages « Tāla-paḍā-pāṭaka; Satrakā-dvī (=dvīpa); Sāṅkara-pāśa » (New Bengali পাশ « pāśa » = « pārśvaka » side, quarter, in village names); « Vāguli-vittā-gadō (?) ».

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

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

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

[The word « lāla » = Chittagong dialect নাল « nāla » arable land.]
APPENDIX D

THE VOCABULARY OF BENGALI.
TATSAMA, 'SEMI-TATSAMA,' TADBHAVA, DESI AND 'VIDESI.'

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

The OIA. (Sanskrit) word «kṛṣṇa» with its modifications is another typical case. OIA. «kṛṣṇa» > MIA. «kānha» > NIA. «kānha, kāņa», (found in Middle Bengali as kāh kān «kānha, kāṇ» and now, with two new affixes added, as kāh, kānāi «kān-u, kān-āi» a pet form of the name Kṛṣṇa), shows the normal development of the word. Side by side with this tadbhāva form, we have the tatsama, kṛṣṇ, pronounced in the old fashion as «kṛśṭā, kṛśtyā», and in the new fashion as «kṛśnā»; and the various semi-tatsamas—«kaśāṇa», now lost, in Old Bengali (Caryā 16 : «kaśāṇa-ghaṇa gājai» = the black cloud rumbles), which is based on a MIA. semi-tatsama; kēṣṭ kēṣṭā «keśṭā, keśṭō», usually as the name, based on a Middle Bengali pronunciation «kṛṣṭā, ke(r)ṣṭā»; and lastly, kīṣṇ «kīṣāṇ», as in the name of an image of Kṛṣṇa, e.g., Rādhā Kīṣāṇ-jī in the images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (in a temple), which is based on another Middle Bengali pronunciation, «*kṛṣāṇā», modified by the pronunciation of Northern India: cf. Hindī «Kisan, Kisen».

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] From Old and Middle Persian > MIA.

पुथी, पुथि, पूथि < puthī, puthi, pūthi > book, manuscript in the old Indian style: earlier < pōthī >; MIA. < potthia >: Iranian (Pahlavi)
< pōst > skin, parchment, Sanskritised to < pusta, pusta-ka, pust-ikā >.

पाइक < pāikā > foot-soldier, footman: MIA. < pāikka >, from Iranian < pāik >.

মুচি < mucī > shoe-maker, earlier < mōei >, as in Hindi: from MIA.
* mōcia >: from Middle Persian (Pahlavi) < mōcak > shoe, boot (whence New Persian < mōzah, mūzah >, the source of the New Bengali word মোজা < mōjā > boots > socks).

সেক্কা < sekkāra > [sekkra] goldsmith = Old Bengali < *sēkāra >, found in a Sanskritised form < sekya-kāra > engraver, for a MIA.
*sekka-āra >, in the Bhāskara-varman (Nidhanpur) inscription of the 7th century (see page 181). The word < *sekka > is a loan-word from the Middle Persian, which had a large number of borrowed words from the Semitic (Aramaic). The Middle Persian source of < *sekka >, probably a form like < *sikkah >, is itself borrowed from the Aramaic < sykt > die for coining. (Cf. S. Fraenkel, ‘Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen,’ Leyden, 1886, pp. 192, 194. [I am indebted to Prof. Jules Bloch for the reference.])

*sekka-kāra > therefore originally = a die- engraver, then engraver,
and finally gold- or silver-smith, in its Bengali form « sēkārā ». (Arabic borrowed the word from Aramaic in the form « sikkat, sikkah », and in Persian the word was thus strengthened by the Arabic. The Perso-Arabic vocable was later introduced into India, and we have from the late Persian source the word निका « sikkā » a coin, rupee.)

[2] From Greek:

From Greek:

δαμ « dāma » price, δαμι « dāmi » a small value, 1/12 of a piece:

MIA. « damma » = « dramma » in the speech of North-western India in the Transitional MIA. period, Sanskritised to « dramya »: from the Greek « drakhmē ».

सेव, सेवं, सेव = सेव = Indian vermicelli, = Hindūstāni « siwaj, simaj, siwi » etc.: cf. Skt. « samita, samida » fine wheat flour: Greek « semidalis ». The Greek word, with its close « e », approaching the sound of « i », possibly gave a 'Transitional MIA.' form « *simida », whence the NIA. word.

शूरज, शूरज « surāga, suraj » tunnel: Sanskrit « suraṅga », from Greek « surinks (syrinx) ».

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

Classification of NIA. Words.

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

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

(a) tadbhava words;
(b) borrowed Sanskrit words, or old tatsamas and semi-tatsamas;
(c) aboriginal borrowings, and words unexplained by Aryan roots: the desī words; and
(d) A few foreign words, like the Persian and Greek ones noted in § 113.

[2] Borrowed words:

(a) Indian: Aryan.

(i) From OIA. and MIA.—from Sanskrit, Classical and Vedic: a very large number of recent tattamas and semi-tattamas; from Pali and other Prakrit: a few very recent admissions—e.g., words like ठेरा, कहापणा, पाठक, अवहात्त्वा, etc., which are restricted in use.

(ii) From NIA. sister-speeches: a very large number from Hindī (e.g., वाणी = bānī = making charges of jewelry = Hindī = banī); कालोत = kalāwa(n)t; लुघि = lucī = thin wheaten cakes fried in ghee = lucūn; the affix -वाला = -vāla, etc.; and some from the other Aryan speeches, coming through direct contact as well as through Hindī, or, in recent times, through the English newspapers conducted by both Indians and Englishmen: e.g., Panjābi = sikh = Sikh; cahī = cahī = being wanted = chāhī; cahī = demand; Gujarāti = haḍtāl = closing of markets = हड्डताल, हटाल = हटाल = strike, closing of shops; garbā = a kind of dance = गरवा = garvā = kaṇvi = a caste = kūnī = kūnī; Marāthī = pāṭil, kulakarṇi = village officers; Māvali = a Marāthā tribe = माओली, माओली = māolū, māulū. Genuine tadbhava borrowings from NIA. languages other than Hindī are rather rare in Bengali. We have in addition a number of Sanskrit (tattama) and Persian words coming to Bengali through the intermediacy of Modern Indian speeches: e.g., Marāthī = nyāyadhīś = judge = Bengali = biṣārd-kārtā; śrī-khaṇḍa = a preparation of curds; bārgī = irregural cavalry man, from the Persian, = बरगी, बरगी = bārgī = Marāthā raider; and a whole host of Persian words from Hindī.

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

(i) From the Dravidian languages: mainly caste-names, e.g., « Nāmburi, Nāmbudri (= Nambudri), Pīlī (= Pilī), Cēṭī (= Cēṭṭī) »: names of the languages—Tāmil » Tamil » ( = Tamil), Télēgu, Télēgu » Telugu, Tēlēgu » ( = Telugu), Kānāḍī » Kānāḍa » ( = Kannada), Mālāyālī, -lām » Malāyālam).

(ii) From Kōl: बोण, बंग » bōṇgā, bāṇgā » god, spirit, godling = Kōl » boŋga »; हाँड » hariyā » rice-beer, cf. Santali » hōre ».

(iii) From Tibet-Burman: names of tribes; besides a few words like लाम » lama = Tibetan » blama »; Burmese nāppi » fīsh and meat condiment = ngappe », फुङ » phūngi » Buddhist monk = hponggyi », लुं » lungyi » loin-cloth = lunggyi », दुर » dū » monastery = kyaung », etc.

(c) Extra-Indian:

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

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

(a) Portuguese

(b) English

(γ) French, Dutch (a few)

Foreign words generally, coming through the medium of European languages, should be considered as European words:—e.g., चा » cā » tea, (Chinese), जुला » jula (Bantu), सांघ » sāgu, sābu » sayo (Malay), हाराकिरिय » hārākīry » (Japanese), कालिष्ट » kālīstha » (Russian), कृ० » quinine (Peruvian), माझेंत » myājentā », folk-Bengali माझेंत » myājentār » magenta red (Italian) etc., etc.

TADBHAVA AND DESĪ WORDS.

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

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

Tadbhava words are connected with every-day life, and these had to do by far the greatest amount of work, so to speak, in the language. Frequently, through phonetic decay, the Modern Bengali forms have preserved but very little of their OIA. originals. Yet this whittling down of the forms of the words is only their historical development; and the lines along which this development has occurred, after they have been found out, give the phonological laws of the language. Thus, the Bengali word (Standard Colloquial) ḍō, ḍō « ०(y)ō » is all that is left of the OIA. word « avidhava » (« avidhava > *aiviḥava > avihavā > *āihā > *āyihānā > āihā > āiḥā > āiḥā > āiḥā > āiḥā > ०); śo, sō, sō < s(u)ō > [ʃ(u)o] favourite wife represents the OIA. word « subhaṅga » (« subhaṅga > *subhaṅga > *subhaṅga > *subhā > *suḥā > *suā > suō > sō »); āyāṅga a name in the Kṛṣṇa legend is all that remains of « Abhimanyu » (« abhimanyu > *abhimaṇṇu > ahivaṇṇa > *ābhiṅga > āiḥāṅga > āiḥāṅga > *āiña > āyāṅga »); bī « jhi » daughter, servant-
THE TADBHAVA ELEMENT

woman, of *dubhitṛ* (*dubhitā > *dihitā > dhītā > dhīḍā > *dhīḍā > dhī ṉ > jhī > jhi*); गुली *ōjha* > scholar, exorcist, eurer of snake-bites, of *upādhyāya* (*uvajjhāa > *ojjhāa > ojha*); पर *par* to wear, of *pari-dhā-ṇ* (*pari-ha-ṇ > *pairha > p哈尔a > p哈尔*); बाई, बैं *bai, bei* > son’s or daughter’s father-in-law, of *vēvāhika* (*vēvāhia > *vevāhi > *vevāhi > *bevāhi > bevāhi > bevāi > bei > bei*), और *māsi* of *matṛ-śvasṛ* (*matṛ-śvasr-ikā > mātuśśaśikā > māduśśaśigā > māduś-śasi > māuśśāśa > māuśśi > māuśi > *māisi > *māisi > māisi*, written with < -s- >.

The study of the ḍēśī words is the least satisfactory part of IA etymology. We have the modern ḍēśī words in the various languages, from which, with the help of some of the Prakrit ḍēśī words, MIA. originals may be reconstructed. Quite a number of ḍēśī words begin with a cerebral sound, and many with a palatal. In Dravidian, initial cerebral is rare, if not non-existent (see footnote, p. 38): and ḍēśī words with an initial cerebral would thus seem to be not from Dravidian. Quite a number of words in IA. have been traced to a Dravidian origin (see references under Appendix B; also pp. 42, 64 ff.). A great many are undoubtedly Köl or Austro-Asiatic. The new method inaugurated by J. Przyluski in the study of IA. borrowings from Köl, by comparing forms in the Austro-Asiatic and Austro-nesian languages, has led to some sure results in this most obscure branch of IA. etymology. (Cf. J. Przyluski in the MSL., Paris, XXII, pp. 205 ff., XXIV, pp. 118 ff.; cf. also S. K. Chatterji, ‘The Study of Köl,’ in the Calcutta Review for September, 1923). But in the absence of any knowledge of the Köl and other Austro-Asiatic speeches of an early period (barring, however, the Khmer of Cambodia: cf. G. Maspero, ‘Grammaire Khmère,’ Paris, 1915, p. 23), nothing definite can be said. There is also the possibility of non-Aryan speeches (other than Dravidian, Köl and the later Tibeto-Chinese), speeches now extinct, being present in India during the first half of the first millennium A. C., and contributing some ḍēśī words and in other ways influencing Indo-Aryan. In the present state of our knowledge, the ḍēśī words in NIA. may be considered along with
the taddhava words, as forming part of the inherited element, citing an attested non-Aryan word for reference only, wherever the latter, from similarity in form and meaning with a dēśī word in IA., offers itself for comparison.

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

**Tatsama Words.**

116. The tatsama element can be dismissed after a discussion of the modifications the Sanskrit sounds undergo in being pronounced by Bengali speakers. It will be interesting to note how persistent is the Prakrit or MIA. system of phonetics in NIA., in giving a taddhava look to recently introduced tatsama words, in pronunciation, and turning them into semi-tatsamas going very close to taddhavas, actually existing or possible,—although the spelling would scorn to note it: e.g., बाह् < vāhya >, pronounced [ba{i}j] in the Standard Colloquial; cf. a possible taddhava < *bājha >; शाण < śmaśāna >, pronounced [ʃjan], cf. taddhava वाण < māśān >; लक्ष्मी < lākṣmī >, pronounced [lokki]; पद्र < padma >, pronounced [paddo]. Words like वंस्र < vatsara, matsya > were formerly pronounced [boeʃhɔ, moeʃhɔ], but now we have a new tradition in [boʃʃɔ, moʃʃɔ]; so जिह्वा < jihvā > आह्वान < aḥvāna > have yielded their old pronunciations [ʃiʃbha, abʃbhan], to [ʃiʃbha, abʃbhan]. This sort of compromise between the tatsama and the taddhava forms, by allowing the former to reign supreme in the written (and printed) page, and the latter, as far as practicable, in the spoken word, has been instrumental in the gradual disuse from the spoken language of a very large number of good
old tadbhavas. And this has made the Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit notoriously bad, from the Sanskrit standard, so much so that the most erudite Bengali Paññit, following the traditional Bengali pronunciation, would be understood only with great difficulty when talking Sanskrit to a Paññit from Benares, Poona or Conjeeeveram.

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

The Foreign Element: Persian.

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

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

The Turks who had settled down in North-eastern Persia and 'Afghanistan' were Persianised in culture. They ruled over the Persian-speaking Tājiks, and the Turk and the Tājik both took part in spreading the Persian language in India. Persian exerted an enormous influence in Northern India; and the speech of Delhi, the head-quarters of the Mohammedan (Turki, Afghān, Moghal) power in India, became saturated with Persian, and ultimately came to be transformed into Urdu. In Bengal, Persian did not have much influence before the time of the Moghals, i.e., from the last quarter of the 16th century. Under the Turki and Afghān rulers, the administration of Bengal was left mainly in the hands of Hindu feudatories, who were mostly Kāyasthas by caste, and ordinarily very little influence could be exerted on the life and language
of the people from the Mohammedan court at Gaur or Sonargaon. The Turkī and other foreign Moslems who settled down in Bengal came themselves to be influenced by their subjects. At the end of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th, we find that the Moslem king of Bengal and his lieutenants in Chittagong were active patrons of Bengali literature. But contact with the Moslems certainly brought in a number of Persian words into Bengali during the early period of Mohammedan rule. Many of the practices of the Sultan’s darbār at Gaur were adopted by the petty chiefs of Bengal, and engrafted on the old Hindu court customs and etiquette which were preserved in the independent states of Orissa (Jājnagar), Vishnupur, Tirahūṭ, Tippera, Sylhet and Kāma-rūpa. This meant an addition of Persian terms to the vocabulary of the Bengali. The Moslem Kāzī (Qādī) or district officer, who had control over the general administration, the Āmin or governor, and in later times the Fauj-dār or military magistrate, as well as the revenue officials, brought to the people of Bengal Persian words connected with justice, revenue and general administration: and the number of such words even now in use in Bengali is quite a large one. Constant fighting in Bengal brought in a number of Persian military terms like tir arrow, kāmān bow, later gun (= kamān), qatil execution (= qātīl), kella fort (= qilah), buruj battlement, tower (= burj), ḥājārī captain over thousand (= hazārī), ṭabī victory (= faṭḥ), muruca intrenchment (= mūrcah), etc., etc. The Mohammedan preacher taught the Bengali converts and their Hindu kinsmen words like kalima or kalā creed, kūrān the Koran, bhesṭa paradise (= biḥišt), jahānnum or dūzāx hell (= jahānnumum, duzax), gōnā sin (= gunāh), pāk holy, pīr saint, pagambar prophet (= paygamar), kētāb the book (= kitāb), khūddā God (= xūdā), ḥaj pilgrimage (= ḥajj), sunnāt circumcision, rōjah fast (= rūzah), hārām forbidden (= ḥaram), and bōt, but, Indianised to bhūt, idol (= but), etc., etc.

In all these ways, quite a number of Persian words came in by
the end of the 16th century, as it is attested from literature. In the first century of the Moslem conquest, some Moslem names were in all probability familiarised to the people of Bengal, like तुरुक & turuk, Turk, Mohammedan (=turk), महम्मद = महम्मद > Muḥammad, गजी & gāzi > warrior (=gāzi), फकीर > mendicant (= faqīr), सेक > Sheik (= šayx). Intimate relations between the Turkī and other Moslem conquerors of Bengal and the Bengalis soon began. In the first quarter of the 15th century, the Varèndra Brāhmaṇ chiefs of North Bengal were a power in the Moslem state, so much so that one of them, Rājā Kāns or Gaṇēśa, made himself king, and his line, which became Mohammedan after his death, continued for some time. Persian as the cultural and administrative language of the Mohammedan rulers came to be studied by some Hindus in Bengal, probably shortly after the establishment of the Turks in the land: it may be from the beginning of the 14th century. During the first quarter of the 16th century, a Bengali Brāhmaṇ was the dabīr-xās or private secretary of the Mohammedan king of Bengal. But it was not before the 17th century that Persian came to exert any preponderant influence on Bengali. In the middle of the 16th century, Jayānanda in his ‘Caitanya-maṅgala’ makes Caitanya describe the evils of the Kali age, among which are the wearing of a beard by Brāhmaṇs, their reading Persian, putting on high boots, holding a stick and a bow, and reciting ‘mansari’ (= maśnawi?) (p. 139, VSPd. edition). These remarks show that many Brāhmaṇs were reading Persian and doing all these things, but the orthodox thought it was wrong. In the 18th century, however, the poet Bhārata-candra’s people were angry with him because he wanted to

1 The following rough figures will give some idea of the rate of admission of Persian words into Bengali, in the course of the several centuries. Fourth quarter of the 14th century: ‘Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kṛttana,’ about 9,500 lines, only 4 Persian words; fourth quarter of the 15th century: Vijaya Gupta’s ‘Padmā-Purāṇa,’ some 18,000 lines, about 125 words, including some names; middle of the 16th century, Maṇika Gānguli’s ‘Dharma-maṅgala,’ about 17,000 lines, over 225 words; fourth quarter of the 16th century, Mukunda-rāma Cakravarti’s ‘Cāndī-Kāvyā,’ some 20,000 lines, between 200 and 210 words; middle of the 18th century, Bhārata-candra’s ‘Annadā-maṅgala,’ some 13,000 lines, a little over 400 words.
read Sanskrit instead of Persian: and Bhārata-candra belonged to a good Brāhman family. The attitude apparently had changed.

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

A direct and more intimate connection was established between the capital cities of Delhi and Agra and the distant sūbah of Bengal. The real ruler of the country was no longer the Hindu bhūyā or rājā,—the feudal chief or semi-independent ruler, as before; the bhūyā became the mere zamīn-dār or land-holder under the Moghal, and his powers were transferred to a great extent to officers of the emperor. The average Bengali came in greater touch with the administrative machinery than before. The services of Bengalis were largely requisitioned to carry on the complex business of the state—executive and judicial, fiscal and military. Bengalis looking for preferment had to pay greater attention to the Persian language. By coming in touch with the men in the court of the Nawāb Nāzim (military ruler) and the Diwān (civil administrator), by mixing with Hindu and Mohammedan officials sent out from Hindostan, the Bengali of the upper classes (who until recent times has always accepted the guidance of Upper India in matters of culture), became far more refined and polished, far more open in mind, and far more astute.

New things—ideas and objects—freely came to Bengal, and for a time Bengal was no longer isolated, but became a real province of Hindostan. The Moghal empire united all Northern India; and the 17th century, which witnessed the zenith of Moghal power, saw also the establishment of a new lingua franca for India—Hindōstāni. In the 12th and 13th centuries, India was the battle-ground of two peoples, Hindu and Turki-Tājik, with different sets of ideas. By 1605, when Akbar died, a synthesis
INTRODUCTION: APPENDIX D

had been effected, out of which arose an Indo-Moslem culture, and the Hindostani speech became its vehicle. Hindostani made itself the inheritor and propagator of the Persian and Moslem spirit in India, from the 17th and 18th century; and it came to Bengal, and Persian words which formerly were brought into Bengali mostly directly, now began to be admitted in larger numbers through Hindostani into Bengali and the various other vernaculars of the land.

The result of it all was that towards the end of the 18th century, the Bengali speech of the upper classes, even among Hindus, was highly Persianised. But a turn came from the next century. A great many words which were used by the people in the 18th century continued to be employed till the middle of the 19th century, but they were not able to take root in the language (Cf. S. K. De, ‘History of Bengali Literature, 1800-1825,’ Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 142, 169, 279, 280, 283); although some still retain their place in the speech of Musalmans Bengalis, and have thus become class-dialect words. A few new words have been admitted, mainly through Hindostani, within the 19th century: e.g., বিমান ‘bimān’ insurance, খাকি ‘khaki’ khaki, আঞ্চল ‘ānjumān’ a society, etc. But so far as the standard Bengali of the present day is concerned, the nett result of the Persian influence has been the imposition, as a permanent addition to the vocabulary, of some 2,500 words (as in Jñānendrā-Mōhan Dās’s Bengali Dictionary: see § 123), which would be admitted as Bengali words by most sections of the people: together with a few Persian affixes which have become thoroughly naturalised. (See under Morphology: Formative Affixes.)

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

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

¹ E.g. আমীর, ওমরা, ইলাহী, খানদান, খেতাব, বেলাং, খাস, তীর, তাজ, ঘরবার, দৌলত, রকীব, নবব, বাবশা, মীরাজ, মালিক, হজুর, হজর; আলোচন, কুচ, কাওয়াজ, কাবুর, কাহুর, খান, মালিস, জনক, জিতের, জানাদার, তরক, তীরব, তোলাপ, ব্যবসায়, নোমল, নেতা, কোঁদু, কোত, বাহাজুর, সনস্বাদ, রসল, রেশালা, শিকার, শাসনের, সরদার, হলকা, হিন্দু।
(2) Words relating to revenue and administration and to law: over 600 words under this head, besides a number now obsolete or restricted in use.¹

(3) The Mohammedan religion²: naturalised words under this head, as understood by Hindus and others, cannot much exceed 100; but naturally Musalmān Bengalis employ a larger number of Persian (and Arabic) terms connected with their faith and its ritual. But in any case, the number of such words actually in use among Bengali Mohammedans can be laid down as not exceeding 300.

(4) Intellectual culture ³: education, music, literature, general refinement: not more than 100 words.

(5) Material culture⁴: objects of luxury, trades, arts and crafts: some 400 words of this type are found in Bengali.

¹ E.g. আযমীর, আওলাদ, আদমশূন্য, আবাস, এস্কমারি, এফিনার, ওয়ালী, কন্ন, কাট, পারিজ, পোমান্ট, চাকরান, জন, নিম্ন, আযমীর, তহবিল, তারুক, দানবার, দখল, নাজির, পিয়ারারা, ফিরিং, বাব, বীরা, বাহকুম্ব, অফার, বাহ, রাইত, শহর, সন, সরকার, হুস, হ্যান, হিন্দু, হিসাব, হিসাব, অফার, অফার, আইন, আলাদা, আইনী, ইন্ডিয়া, ইন্ডিয়া, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা, ইলাকা.

² E.g. আজু, আঞ্জিলিকা, অনুষ্ঠান, ইঙ্গিজ, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো, ইন্দো.

³ E.g. আগুম্মুর, আগুম্মুর, আগুম্মুর, এআইআইআই, এআইআইআই, এআইআইআই, এআইআই�আই, এআইআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই��আই, এআইআই�আই, এআইআই�আই.

⁴ E.g. অগুয়া, অগুয়া, অগুয়া, এআইআই, এআইআই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই�আই, এআই����আই, এ��আই, এআই�����আই, এ�������আই, এ��������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������আই, এআই��������আই, এআইআই�আই, এ��������আই, এাাাাাআই, এআই��আই, এআই��আই, এ�আই, এআই, এআই, এ�আই, এ�আই, এআই, এআই, এআই, এ��আই, এ�����������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������������আই, এ�আই, এ������, এআই�আই, এআইআই, এ�������������������������������������������������������������������������আই, এআই�আই, এ��������������������আই, এ��������������������������������আই, এ�আই, এ�������������������������আই, এআই, এ�আই.
(6) Some 30 to 40 names of foreign peoples.¹

(7) Some 500 words relating to common things and notions of life.²

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bengal</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>48.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Bengal</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Bengal</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Provinces</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panjab</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>50.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(including Sikhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Mohammedans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Bihar</td>
<td>90.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

¹ E.g. अरव, अरामन, इंग्रजी, इंदौन, इंदी, उजबक, तिब्बती, बिनाती, बांसी, ( हिंदू )।

² E.g. अन्दर, अंग्रेज, अंकुर, अं-हाओं, असमन, असल, इंग्र, इंदौं, ओजन, कम, कम, कायद, काकुशन, कोंस, पनब्र, ख़ेराक, परज, गरम, गुजरान, ठाड़, चाकर, जलदी, जानोयार, जाहाज, हिंदू, तौर, भाज, दबख, धम, दरकार, दरभ, दाग, दान, दोके, नग, नदुना, नद, नेहां, नेश, गुण, पनी, फुर्स, बजार, बनेबेस, बांब, बेहुब, बुंडका, मजबूत, निम्न, मोरव, मूल क, रकम, रेशमाई, दाल, साफ, हुद्दा, हाजार, हुम, हँसियार, हँडुग।
ISLĀM IN BENGAL

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

But this large proportion of Moslems among the Bengali-speaking people did not produce any appreciable increase of Persian influence on the language: since the masses in East Bengal, inspite of their extra-Indian religion, remained culturally and mentally Hindu (or Buddhist, with a veneer of Hinduism), and carried on the native Bengali traditions in literary and other matters. The greatest Middle Bengali Moslem Poet
is Aläöl (17th century), whose Bengali version of Malik Muhammad Jaisi’s ‘Padumāwatī’ (see p. 13) is as Sanskritic in language as the works of any of his Hindu contemporaries. But during all these centuries, the Mohammedans of Bengal were acquiring a respectable Persian vocabulary, mainly in connection with their religion and to some extent of their social life as well.

The real conversion of the Bengali Mohammedans to Islām began from the commencement of the 19th century, when some reform movements seeking to bring their life and thought more in accordance with the cosmopolitan Mohammedan notions took place. Urdu began to exert a greater influence from a centre like Calcutta. The Musalmaņs of the old school, however, in matters literary, continued to follow the old Bengali tradition; and Musalmaņs trained in schools and colleges did not seek to differentiate themselves from their Hindu kinsmen in the style of Bengali they employed. Side by side with the Hindu writers of Bengali have come forward a number of Musalmaņ writers, some of whom have made a valuable contribution to the stock of national literature, and a young generation of Musalmaņ poets and proseateurs are taking a part in transforming the stilted literary Bengali into a natural language, on a Sanskrit basis, and keeping true to its native spirit as a Sanskritic language. But within the last century has been established, in the hands of some Urdu-knowing Maulavis, a form of Bengali which is known as ‘Musalmaņi Bengali,’ in which a considerable literature consisting of adaptations of Moslem and Persian stories and romances and religious works and tracts has grown up. Works like the ‘Jang-nāmah,’ narrating the tragedy of Karbalā, biographies of Muḥammad, legends of Mohammedan saints, Persian epic and romance like the ‘Shāh-nāmah’ and the ‘Sikandar-nāmah,’ Arab romance like the ‘Amīr Hamzah’ and the Arabian Nights, and a host of other works, have been rendered into ‘Musalmaņi Bengali,’ and are quite popular with a large Mohammedan Bengali audience. The ‘Musalmaņi Bengali’ employed in these works, however, is often too much Persianised; but the metres are Bengali, and a large percentage of Sanskrit words are retained, cheek by jowl with the
Perso-Arabic importations. It is the Maulavi's reply to the Pandit's südhr-bhāṣā of the early and middle part of the 19th century. The percentage of Persian words in a typical 'Musalmānī Bengali' work, the 'Bara Dastan Āmīr Hāzmā' the Great Tale of Āmīr Hāzmā, is about 31.74, as seen from computing the words in 5 pages of a folio edition from the popular Bāṭṭālā printing houses of Calcutta. This is to a considerable extent less than in literary Urdu: 5 ghazals in the latter language, by Dāgh, Maqbul, Zafar, Āthār and Latīf, showing 235 Persian words in a total of 636, a percentage of about 40. The ordinary colloquial Bengali of the Hindu middle and upper classes of Calcutta, as in the 'Hutm Pīcār Naksā,' shows 7.1 of Persian words (see §133). In the language of the Hindu women of the upper classes, the percentage would be somewhat smaller; and in a Bengali Moslem home, it would rise to higher than 7.1%, it may be even 15%, but it could never be as high as 30%, even in the most preponderatingly Mohammedan parts of Bengal. One of the features of 'Musalmānī Bengali,' which demonstrates its rather artificial character, is the frequent use of Hindīstānī words and forms (e.g., pāṇi pā for पा 'pā' foot, bhes bhēs dress, bhoj bhoj for ēkētu a little, mēra tēra mēra, tēra for āmār tēmār or mēra tēr āmār tēmār, mōrō tōrō my, thy, òwāste bhojār wāster khōdār for bhojār kārānē for God's sake, ēcour tēsiē ēsā tēsā ēaisā taisā for ēmānā tēmānā in this way, in that way, etc., etc.), which have no existence in the Bengali as spoken by the Musalmāns in the villages, within the different dialectal areas. 'Musalmānī Bengali' thus savours of the mixed Bengali-Hindīstānī-Awadhī jargon which is heard in the bazaars of Calcutta among Mohammedan working classes, cabmen, petty traders and others, who speak Calcutta Bengali and Hindīstānī equally badly, and unlike the Mohammedan masses in the country, have no proper dialect. Books in 'Musalmānī Bengali' begin from the right side, following the way of an Arabic or Persian book, although the alphabet is Bengali. The literature in Musalmānī Bengali has no merit, and some of the deathless tales of pre-Moslem Persia, as in the 'Shāh-nāmah,' and of early Islām, have been ruined by the back
versifiers of Calcutta and Chittagong in rendering them in this jargon. The culture which is native to Bengali village life, Hindu and Moslem, is often entirely crushed out of it; and we have still to fall back upon the songs, and folk-tales, and ballads, in the standard literary language, slightly modified by dialect, which are still current among Bengali Musalmāns in the countryside, especially in East Bengal,—to appreciate the literary tradition that yet lives among them. Educated Mohammedans of the present day have not taken kindly to this form of Bengali. The earlier Musalmān writers did not employ such a Persianised language: witness Ālāʾī, who may be reckoned among the greatest poets of Early Bengal; and witness the language of scores of late Middle Bengali works by Musalmān writers, as, for example, in Munshi Ābdul Karim Sāhityaviśārada’s Descriptive List of Bengali MSS., mostly from Chittagong (‘Bāngalā Prācīn Puthir Vivaran,’ 2 parts, VSPd., San 1321). As an ever-increasing number of Musalmān writers of Bengali are coming to the front, the accession to the language of more Perso-Arabic words, specially relating to the Mohammedan religion and to Islamic culture, will be in the nature of things: but this accession can very well be without interfering with the spirit of the language by introducing Urdū forms and idioms. (Muhammad Yakūb Āli, born 1666, a younger contemporary of Ālāʾī, wrote a ‘Jang-nāmah’ in 1699: his work as preserved in MSS. and in printed editions, shows an almost equally Persianised style as an ordinary modern work in Musalmān Bengali of Calcutta; but it is a question how far the current recensions, both in MS. and in print, represent the 17th century Bengali of the poet, as their Bengali is modern, and has modern Urdū forms,—the latter being as yet an undeveloped language in the 17th century: cf. ‘Jaṅga-nāmā,’ by Ābdul Gafur Siddikī, in the VSPdP., 1324, No. 2.)

120. By ‘Persian Element in Bengali’ is to be meant not only native Persian words, but also the host of Arabic words naturalised in it, and also a few Turkī words which the Persians received from their Turkī neighbours and rulers. It does not seem as if Turkī exerted any influence on Indian languages, although it was the home language of the Moslem
ruling houses in the early centuries of Moslem conquest and rule, and again in the early part of the 16th century when Bābār wrested the Northern empire from the Paṭhāns and the Rājpūts. Hindōstānī has less than 100 Turkī words (in Fallon’s Dictionary the number is about 70), and Bengali does not seem to possess more than 40.¹ A few of these Turkī words in Hindōstānī and Bengali may have come direct from Turkī as spoken in India: but it is convenient to include them under Persian.

A few Paštō words, not even half a dozen, can also be included under Persian.²

¹ I have been able to find the following: अङ| 'āgā' master (Turkī 'aga'); हलागार| 'ālkhalā' a loose robe (alkalī); उल्टिक, बुग 'ujak, bug' an idiot, an uncultured fellow (Persian 'uzbāg'); Turkī 'ezbek' name of a Turkī tribe; उर्दु, उर्दु 'urdū, urdu' marlet, the Urdū language (Persian 'urdū', Turkī 'ordū' camp); करक, करका kalkā, kalgā aigrette ('qalga'); काली 'kālī' scissors ('qainī'); but cf. Old Bengali of Sarvānanda [p. 109]—कासि 'kāsɪ' kartrikā'; काबु 'kabu' possession, reduction to one's power ('qānu' gate, opportunity, possession, hold, grasp); कुली 'kuli' porter ('qalī' slave); चक्क 'koṇkā' stick ('qutka'); कोर्सी 'korssī' munt-tev ('qawwumā'); खातन 'khātun' lady ('xātnā'); खान, खान 'khān' lord, prince ('xān, xaqān'); खाफ 'khanum' lady ('xānum'); गलिक 'galīka' carpet ('galīka, galīka'); तमामक 'tāmānak' flint-stone for lighting fire ('caqmaq'); दान 'dān' knife ('caq'); ठाक 'tāk' screen made of finely split bamboo (Persian 'eignī', Turkī 'ciq'); तमाम 'takāmā' badge, shield-badge ('tamga'); तबक 'tābak' gun, rifle ('tupak, topak'); ठार 'tār' trough, mason's line-put ('tāghār'), तुνूक 'tunuk' regulation, rotation, pump, dignity ('tuzak'); तुनूक 'tunuk' turuk, turk ('tūk'); तोप 'top' as in 'tōp' बाबुर 'tābā'; तोप 'top' gun, cannon ('top'); दरगाह 'darōghā' an officer; बकी 'bakī' a surname (Persian 'bāksi', Turkī 'baksi' pay master); बबुरी 'bāburī' cook ('bawārī'); बहादुर 'bahādur' brave ('bāhādur'); बिबी 'bibi' a lady; बेग 'begam' lady, princess ('begum'); चक्क 'čakā' hurdle ('hūg', 'būqa'); मुचक 'mukāka', note of hand ('mucalka'); रब 'rab' 'rak', roak' leafy, raised platform ('rawaq'); लास 'lās' corpse ('lās'); रोय 'sogār' present; 'सुरंक, सुरंक 'surāk' trick, rise ('surāk' 'spung'); and the affix ī 'i' in some words ('v., बुगाली 'maśālī' 'tork-beaver, दातारी, दातारी 'khājāncī' = xazān-cī 'treasurer').

² The word पाठान = पाठान 'pāṭhān < pāṭhānā' from 'Paṭhāna,' is an Indianised form. The other Paštō words are अङ 'tapas' march (a borrowed word in Paštō, from the Arabic 'tafaḥṣā'), बोहाल, बोहिल 'rōhilā' (a tribal name, Paštō 'roh' mountain), besides a few other names of tribes.
INTRODUCTION: APPENDIX D

Of direct Arabic influence, there has been practically nil, although the Urdu form of Hindostani in the hands of Mohammedan writers at the present day sometimes borrows Arabic words and phrases straight from Arabic itself, and not through Persian.

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

PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, FRENCH AND ENGLISH WORDS.

121. The other foreign elements in Bengali consist of between 100 and 110 Portuguese words, a few Dutch and French words, and an ever-increasing number of English words. The Portuguese words are names of objects and ideas introduced by the Portuguese into India, and they indicate the extent of the material culture which Bengal and India owe to the adventurous Lusitanians. The Portuguese came to Bengal early in the 16th century, and the influence of the Portuguese language continued down to the close of the 18th. (Cf. Abinash Chandra Ghosh, 'Vaṅgē Portugīj-prabhāv Ī Vaṅga-bhāṣāy Portugīj-padāṅka,' VSPdP., San 1318, No. 1; J. J. A. Campos. 'A History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919, pp. 214-220. J. J. A. Campos, following R. Dalgado's lists in 'Influencia do Vocabulario Portugues em Linguas Asiaticas,' gives 174 words in Bengali as Portuguese. But some 8 of these are native Bengali, and about 100 are now obsolete, although they might have existed in 18th century Bengal; and a few are English rather than Portuguese, as their phonetics would show [e.g., 콜쳐 'kēc' is from the English coach, the Portuguese coche would give in Bengali the form *kuci* or *kusi*; করুণ *kurnēl* appears rather to be from the English colonel than the Poruguës coronel from which the Bengali form expected would be *kuronel*; so অর্গান *ārgān* is from English
organ, rather than Portuguese orgaõ which would give árgãm, árgãu in Bengali]. The following words, not noted in the above papers, are also from the Portuguese: कातान kātān a sword = Portuguese cuto; kānā khānā ditch, cf. Portuguese cano; and कोग kōg, kōtā kōg a bent double, as with age, cf. Port. cunha = wedge).

The French and Dutch words do not appear to be over 10 in number. Of course, there are numerous French words through English, but very few are derived directly from French. French speakers (and Dutch speakers) had occasion to come in touch with Bengalis at Chandernagore (and at Chinsurah). The following words are from the French: कोटूज kōtuţ cartouche, बारूस bārus bârouche, कुपां kupān coupon, इन्तेरे ise, इस्तुर isṭūr escritoire, écritoire, अनवस aniswa aquis liquor; कतूर kātur quatre, देश dēsh or तिस dēs onze, दुस dūs, dūse dōnse, and a few others, in connection with card games; and names of some European peoples, as in 18th century and modern Bengali: करास karās, करासी kārāsī -si - Français; ओलांदॉलांdāolāndose, डाउन्डॉर Dinemār Danemark, एलोनाल्मैnt Allemand, and possibly also the form अंग्रेज aŋgṛēj Anglais for इंग्रेज iŋgṛēj = Portuguese Ingles. The Dutch words directly borrowed are: the names of cards—हरतन hārtān hearts = harten, रुईतन ruitān diamonds = ruiten, ईस्काबān iskābān spades = schoppen (but the name for clubs, chīritān is Indian: cf. Hindīstānī cīriyā bird), and कप, कुप t(u)rūp trump in cards = troef; ईस्क(u)rūp, ईस्क(u)rūp isk(u)rūp screw = schroef; बॉम bōm shaft of carriage, ‘beau’ = boom; and पिस्पास pispās a dish of rice and meat = poespas. In addition to the above, there are probably a few more from the French and Dutch, but they have not been identified. The Germans and the Danes also came to Bengal, but no German and Danish word seems to have been borrowed direct by Bengali.

122. Of English words it is not yet the proper time to estimate the number and character. There is a steady increase going on in the English element. The English loan-words are names of objects, ideas and institutions brought into India by the Britons. In some cases, there have been attempts to substitute for the English names of material articles or
of new ideas Sanskrit (and vernacular) neologues, but these have almost invariably failed when they referred to material objects: although Indian equivalents of the English idea words and institution words, being confined to the speech of the educated, have sometimes caught on: e.g., বাধ্যমুখী « bāspā-sākatā » for railway, কোয়াকার « kautukāgārā » for museum have failed, the speech of the masses employing either রেলওয়ে « relow » or রেলগাড়ী « rel-gāri » or কলের গাড়ি « kalēr-gāri » = machine-carriage, and যাচাইর « jādu-ghārā » = magic-house; but সম্পাদক « sampādakā » for editor, অধ্যাক্ষ « âdhyâkṣa » for manager etc. are freely used in speech. Many of the English words admitted early in the 19th century have become completely Bengaliised: e.g., হাসপাতাল « hāspatāl » hospital, লাট « laṭ » lord, ইংরূল « iskul » school, ডাক্তার « daktār » doctor, গেলাস « gelās » glass, আপিস « āpis » office, টেবিল « tēbul » table, বেঁচি « beńci » bench, মশার « māstār » master, গার্ড « gārād » guard, প্রিন্স « lānṭhān » lantern etc., etc. The presence of the English language and the spread of a knowledge of the English words in their proper pronunciation is preventing a Bengaliisation of the words admitted within recent years. A few vocables, however, have assumed a totally un-English appearance through folk etymology: e.g. municipality = মুনি-পাল « munī-pāl » = band of clerical officers, or the officer-protecting; honeysuckle = হানিশিকল « hāni-sikāl » = a chain of injuries, and artichoke = হাতি-চোখ « hāti-cōkh » = elephant-eye, among the gardeners and vegetable dealers of Calcutta. These popularised forms are used only among those who have no English.

The English element is bound to be of the widest extent possible. Any newspaper would show the amount of English which finds place in Bengali journales of the present day. Trades, literature, science, art, politics, history,—in fact almost all the avenues of life and of literature are favorable for the introduction of English terms: since English is the medium through which the Bengali (and Indian) mind holds commerce with the outside world. In the early part of the 19th century, and down to the 4th quarter of it, the words adopted by Bengali were mainly names of material objects, the achievements more or less of modern science. Intimate acquaintance with European life and thought, and ideas and
institutions, and the introduction of the latter into India, are responsible for a vocabulary of culture words from English, such as is absent in early 19th century Bengali. Words like ভোট < bhōṭ > vote, বালিত < byālāt > ballot, সেক্রেটারি < sekreṭârî > secretary, প্রিন্টার < priṇṭâr > printer, গজেট < gejêt > gazette, টাইমসেবল < tâim-ṭeb(ā)l > are in common use now; and even such words as রোম(গ)্যানস < rōm(y)āns > romance, রোমান্টিক < rōmântîk >, ক্লাসিক < kl(y)āsik > classic, ট্রাইডি, কমেডি < trājêdi, kâmeđî > (for তিন গোটা, milānānta nāṭakâ ), অর্থ < ārth > , ফিউচারিজম < fiuĉäriz(ā)m > futurism, প্রাকৃতিক < pri-ṛâphelāiṭ > Pre-Raphaelite, সায়েন্স < sâyêns > science, প্রোটোপ্লাসম < protōplāz(a)m > protoplasm, প্লেইসোসিন < plĕi[s]āsīn > pleistocene, লো লল < lâ > law, প্লাট < plâṭ > plot (of a story), কেমিস্ট্রি < kēmi[s]trî > chemistry, ফিজিক্স < phiziks >, etc., etc., are being bodily adopted at the present day. Foreign names come to Bengal through English; and even Indian names of persons and places outside Bengal. These are written in Bengali according to the English pronunciation, although acquaintance with the original sources or source forms sometimes gives us, in more careful writers, Bengali forms near enough to the original, and not two degrees removed. Thus we have প্লেটো < Plēṭō >, but also প্লাটোন < Plâṭōn >; but commonly it is the English forms that obtain: e.g., ইস্কািলাস < Iskāîlas >, এরিস্টোল < Erâsîtol >, ভটোর < Bhâltêyâr > Voltaire, গোটে < Goête > Goethe, হিউগো < Bhîktâr Hiugô >; and we have careful transliterations like গী-দে-মোগাল < Gi-dē-Mœgâl > and ভোটো < Bîtô > = Marquis Ito of Japan and গীওকোঁ < Giōkōn̄a > for জোকোন্দা < Jôkōn̄da > Giocondo, স্তাং < Tâng > and সাুং < Sâng > (= Tâng, Thang and Sung dynasties of China), and even হাটিশান < Naṭîśān > and হোল্কাটা < Hôlkāṭâ > for the South Indian নটেশান and বুকাটা < Naṭēsâu, Vēṅkata >.

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

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

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

100·00

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

The native tadbhava element has been suffering from curtailment ever since the characterisation of the language as Bengali. The 47 Caryā-padas contain, including repetitions, some 2,000 words and compounds (1,957, to give something like an exact number, from Mm. H. P. Śastri’s lists in the ‘Buddha Gān Ō Dōha’). Of these, 310 are spelt exactly as in Sanskrit, but a great many of these 310 are equally
TATSAMA & TADBHAVA WORDS IN BENGALI

Tadbhava and tatsama in form: words like « kulisa, nalinī-vana, vivāha » are as much of the original stratum of the language as « bāja < vajra, dūdhu = dūda < dugda, rūkh = rūka < vrkṣa », etc. There are a number of semi-tatsamas like « niti = nitya, jaūtuka = yātuka, sādhī = sādhu, adhītā = adhyātma, avidā = avidyā, svapana = svapna » etc., etc. In fact, of the 310 words, real tatsamas are comparatively few. Genuine tatsamas like « sadguru » (occurring 7 times), « sadbhāva, vidyā, padma, -artha, avadhūti, karṇa-kuṇḍala-vajra-dhāri, sva-, sarva, sukha, duḥkha, bhava-nirvāṇa, māṁsa, vāk-pathātita, saṁjñā, iṣṭā-mālā, dvādaśa, unmatta, caryā, caṇḍali, bhava-jaladhi, rāga, purṇa, avakāśa, nānak » cannot be more than 100, at the highest computation: which would work to 5% for the language of the Caryās, leaving the remaining 95% pure tadbhava and deśi words, with some semi-tatsamas, for the language of the 10th-12th centuries.

But Bengali began to lean on Sanskrit from the beginning. The old native tadbhava forms were dropped to a great extent, even from the popular speech, tatsamas and semi-tatsamas taking their place. It would be interesting to note the rate of admission of tatsama words. In Canḍī-dāsa’s ‘Śri-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,’ out of 863 words (the sum total occurring in 7 pages taken at random from the printed edition of that work), 109 are pure tatsamas (at least in spelling), and the rest are tadbhava and deśi, with a few semi-tatsamas. The percentage works out at 12.5 for pure tatsamas. Thus Early Middle Bengali has a marked excess over the Old Bengali of the Caryās. Words like « saala, sāra, mēha, bōha, naari, niaḍa, nai » either wholly give place to their Sanskrit proto-types which most speakers of Old Bengali knew, like « sakala, sāgara, mēgha, bōḍha, nagari, nikaṭa, nadi », or are considerably restricted in use, as archaic, poetic or dialectal forms. But still, in the 14th century, a great many tadbhavas prevail, only to be gradually eliminated in the subsequent periods: although here and there in the dialects and in place-names we find old tadbhavas lingering (e.g., Chittagong bāyar = « vāta- »; North Bengali bāsāhā « tūsaa » or = « vasaha, vṛṣabha »; Bengali poetic sājang « sāyārā » = « sūgara »; Nai-hāṭi » name of a West Bengal
town, preserves 传来 « naí, nai », but every one says 传来 « naí, nādi » and no one would understand 传来 « naí », although 传来 is a living word in Assamese). In ordinary Middle Bengali, as in the popular legendary tales which are understood by the masses everywhere, the percentage of tātsama words is 33.2, and that of tadbhavas (with dēśi and a few semi-tātsama and fewer foreign words) is 66.8, as worked out from the words occurring in 10 pages of the ' Vaṅga-Sāhitya-Paricaya ' of Dīnāsh Chandra Sen, representing 5 works (2 pages from Kētakā-dāsaka Kṣemānanda's 'Manasār Bhāsān', c. 1650: 78 tātsama words out of 338; 2 pages from Kavi-kapakāya Mukunda-rāma, c. 1580: 119 tātsama words out of 322, of which 2 are Persian; Kāśi-rāma Dāsa's ' Mahabhārata ', 17th century: 147 tātsama words out of 336; Kṛttivāsa's ' Rāmāyaṇa ', 15th century: 89 out of 366 [the small proportion in this Early Middle Bengali work is noteworthy]; and Nārāyaṇa-dēva's ' Manasa-mangala ', Early Middle Bengali, but date unknown: 146 out of 313: total, 579 tātsama words out of 1,714).

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

In Modern Bengali, the colloquial has a surprisingly small percentage of Sanskrit words: one of the reasons, of course, is that in the language of ordinary conversation, the range of the vocabulary is not large. Taking four works in the colloquial style, one by Bankim Chandra (his 'Indirā,—the grammatical forms in this work are the full ones of the literary language, but the style and vocabulary are entirely of the colloquial), the second by Girish Chandra Ghosh (his drama 'Praphulla'), the third a collection of folk-tales, in a slightly archaistic but none the less living speech of East Bengal villages, retold in the literary form going close to the Calcutta dialect (the 'Thākurdādur Jhuli,' one of the inimitable compilations of Dakshinā-Ranjan Mitra Majumdar), and, finally, the 'Hutom Pēcār Naksā' of Kalī-Prasanna Sūha (see p. 135), and counting up the words in several pages of each, and arranging them in classes, and then working out the percentage, the following figures are arrived at: 79.1% tadbhava and dēṣī, with some semi-tatsama; 17.1% tatsama; and 3.7% foreign, mostly Persian ('Indirā,' 5 pages = 536 tadbhava and dēṣī + 153 tatsama + 7 foreign; 'Praphulla,' 4 pages, respectively 724 + 137 + 20; 'Thākurdādur Jhuli,' 5 pages, 731 + 125 + 14; and 'Hutom Pēcār Naksā,' 1st edition, 4 pages, 576 + 140 + 81; total, 2,570 tadbhava, dēṣī and semi-tatsama, 555 tatsama and 122 foreign words). In treating a literary, political or philosophical subject, the vocabulary has to be more Sanskritic, although the treatment may be entirely colloquial. Avoidance of tatsama words is almost impossible in Bengali; and long sustained narrative, as in the Hindi novels of Insha' Allāḥ Khān and Hari Audh, in which a purely native, i.e., tadbhava, dēṣī and semi-tatsama Hindīstānī has been employed, without Sanskrit or foreign words (see LSI., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 103, 111), cannot be thought of in Bengali; although whole sentences in tadbhava Bengali are frequently met with in poetry, sentences perfectly natural and well-balanced. But the Sanskrit vocabulary of an ordinary newspaper
or novel of the present day is understood by all who speak Bengali. In
the colloquial Bengali style discoursing of intellectual topics, the following
statistics will give a general idea of the percentage of Sanskrit loan-words.
In Rabindra-nāth Tagore’s discourse on Bengali metre (in the ‘Sabuj
Pattra’ for Caitra, 1325), a most admirable treatment of an intricate
subject entirely in the colloquial, 4 pages, presenting a total of 860
words, show 482 taIlbhaVa, 352 tatsama and 26 foreign words: i.e.,
a percentage of 56·0, 40·9 and 3·0 respectively; and 4 pages of a paper
on a political topic by Pramatha Chaudhuri (Mr. Chaudhuri is an
active champion of the use of the colloquial in literature), a paper named
‘Rāyater Kathā,’ or the Tenant-farmer’s Standpoint (‘Sabuj Pattra’ for
Phālguna-Caitra, 1326), an aggregate of 857 words shows 495 taIlbhavan,
247 tatsamas and 115 foreign words (Persian and English): a percentage
of 57·7, 28·8, and 13·4 respectively. So that in Modern Bengali as used in
literature by the best writers, the percentage of Sanskrit words does not
exceed, generally, that of Middle Bengali. The early 19th century tradition
of the Pāṇḍits is not dead, but the language cannot be said to suffer
from it any more. Some of the early works in the Sanskritic Bengali
will always remain classics in style; and the best writers of the present
day have passed through the discipline of the ‘sādhu-bhāṣā’. Percentage of words of various kinds from 5 pages of the ‘Kādambarī’ of
Ṭārā-Sankar Tarkaratna will give an idea of the amount of Sanskrit in
this kind of Bengali: 5 pages = 670 Sanskrit words and compounds+328 taIlbhava forms + 2 Persian, respectively 67·00, 32·8 and 0·2 per cent.

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

Bengali Orthography.

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

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

In Bengali, the spelling has been influenced by Sanskrit to a very great extent during the 12th century. In Middle Bengali, too, this influence was present, and it prevented a tradition and a system for the taddhāva words from growing up. Scribes were careless, and they were careless even with regard to the Sanskrit words. There was no uniformity, the same word being written differently in the same page and even in the same line. Under the tutelage of the Paṇḍits well acquainted with Sanskrit, whose influence was great at the beginning of the 19th century,
when the modern literary style was established for prose (and when printing was introduced), a rigid adherence to the correct orthography for Sanskrit words naturally came in, and brought in a needed uniformity for tātsama words, in the place of the chaos which reigned before. But the scholastic tendency went beyond its legitimate area, and sought to model the spelling of vernacular tadbhavas on their Sanskrit prototypes and on theories of orthography: e.g., জে, জাহা, জিজ্ঞ, জ্ঞত, খোঁজে, জাহাজ, জিনি, জাতা, খোঁজে জাহাজ etc. came to be written with য় য়, instead of জ জ, because of the Sanskrit যাদ and যায়: কায়া > কাজ > কাজ was written কায় > কায় >, য় য় pronounced as জ জ, and not কাজ > কাজ as before; and the শ্র শ্র of Sanskrit was restored to কান = কান > কান > = কান >, and was brought in unjustifiably to রাম, = রাম > রাম = রাম >, etc., etc. The old group ও ও > for ও >, without the intervening, unnecessary ও (ও ও >), was given up as barbarous. Some sort of system was attempted in this way: but in the matter of writing the tadbhavas, especially the verbal and other forms which figure in the colloquial, Bengali orthography is still lamentably backward and ununiform. The old spellings of the MSS. are of very great help in tracing the history of the sounds, as they are frankly phonic, when the scribes were not troubled by the ghost of Sanskrit.

According to Middle Indian notions, which form the basis of the mystical treatment of the akṣaras in the Tantric works, the number of primary letters or radical signs (মাত্রকার) in Sanskrit, and following that, in the vernaculars, is 50,—16 vowels and 34 consonants. In this enumeration, there is both scholastic theorising and popular misconception. The former added হ > to the list of vowels, although it is not found in any OIA. word or form (হ > is recognised by the 'Kātantra'), to bring about symmetry; and anuvāra র > and visarga হ > are classed under vowels—which may be justified. The latter is probably responsible for the inclusion of ক > among simple consonants is as old as the 'Lalita-vistara' (Chap. X), the romantic biography of Buddha in mixed Sanskrit, which goes back to the 1st century after Christ. This may have
been due to the differentiation, in the written form, of this consonant group from other consonant groups with \(k\), aided by some modification in its pronunciation in Sanskrit (which might have been that of \(k\k\k\h\), or of \(k\k\h\k\y\), or of the palatal stop and aspirate sounds of \([\text{ech}]\)). A modification of the pronunciation of the group \(k\s\), in Sanskrit words, from \(k+s\) \([k\s]\) to something else, in early MIA. times,—to \([k\k\t]\), in all probability,—is at the basis of the Middle Bengali value of \(k\s\) as \(k\k\h\k\y\) (in tatsama forms); and this is perhaps not unconnected with the representation in the Kharôṣṭhī alphabet of \(\text{ch}\) when derived from OIA. \(k\s\) by a separate letter from that used for an original OIA. \(\text{ch}\) (cf. A. M. Boyer, ‘Inscriptions de Miran,’ J.A., Mai-Juin, 1911, pp. 423-430). In any case, the medieval Pandits of Bengal had some justification for regarding \(\text{f} \cdot (k)\k\h\y \cdot = \text{v} \cdot k\s \cdot\) as a special consonant, because of its \(\text{y}\) element. The ligature \(\overline{k} = \text{\text{jû}}\) which came to obtain the value of \((g)\k\k\y\) in medieval Sanskrit, ought to have been recognised as a separate akṣara in MIA. or early NIA. times, in a similar way. In Early Bengali, writers always speak of the ‘31 consonants,’ and a class of composition, called \(\text{cātuś\sh|
}\text{Cātuśā\} (= cātustriṇā\satikā\)}, was very popular, in which consonants in their order, from \(k\) to \(k\s\), would be used in successive verses for alliteration or for the head word.

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

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

From the ‘Yoga-Kalandar.’

अब अंश खालक पढ़ा अर्थी मक्काम

< ṣāb ṣāt xākü bālā e cāri maqām >

(= आब अंश खाक पढ़ ० चारी मोकाम।

◦ ṣāb ṣāt xākü bālā e cāri mōkām।)

Water, Fire, Earth, Air: these are the four abodes:

मन्दिरा शनी गोपी हरि गुण नाम

< mōn diyyā suṇū kahi jārō jēśī nām >

(= मन दिया जून कही जारो जेशी नाम।)

< mānā diyyā suṇā kahi jārā jēi nāmā >

Listen attentively, I tell the name of each .....

तत्सत फ्रेझा अस्त शलील यह्री

< tatātē fērēstā aśē ०azrā?il pīhri >

(= तथाते फेरेस्ता अच्छे आझाईल पहरी।

< tāthātē pherēstā aĉē ०azrāiıl pāhārī।)

There abides as watch-man the Angel ‘Azrā’il:

बाण आकार शली शरी मोरी

< bāṅgēr akār śēi dāhryē mūrāti >

(= बांगेर आकार सई धरये मुरति।

< bāṅghērē akārē sei dāharyē mūrāti >

A tiger’s form is the figure he bears.
From the 'Nasiyat-nāmā.'

Thinking him even before the Lord, know the husband to be great.

A woman serves (should serve) her lord, enduring sorrow and pain.

If the husband were to come home from somewhere,

Leaving all works, O Woman, you should run.
BENGALI IN THE PERSO-ARABIC SCRIPT

When a woman walks towards her husband,

She performs regularly the nafl (extraordinary prayers) and the namaz (prescribed prayers);

If the husband were to call the woman at such a time,
From the ‘Okāt Rasul.’

"Jibrā'îl ṣaggā (= ṣangē) gōysē mirtū wāḏīpattī"  
(= Jibrail sange ghehe mu'tu 'adhīpiti.)

With Jibrā'îl, the lord of the death (= 'Azrā'îl) has gone to Muḥammad :

"dēxi ziggyaśilentō rasula mahāmōti"  
(= dehi jiggaiśilento rauhu mohamati.)

Seeing him, the high-souled prophet asked :

"kaha bāri Jibrā'îl šarūp bāsan"  
(= kah bāi jibrail shrop ban.)

Tell me, brother Jibrā'îl, the true words :

"tōmār šaggātī (= šangati) dēxi wahi kanazan"  
(= tomaar sankati dehi ahī kōnjan.)

Who is that person I see in your company?

Some lines have been given at length to show the nature of the orthography. Spellings like निचल | "nissa'ey" for निचल | "niścayā"

| cērtainly, पुस्त | "pust" = पुच्छ | "puchē" ask, | सारी | "sāriyā" = haḍīyā |
| "chāriyā" = having left, बाई | "baī" = bhai = brother, पराबु | "parabū" = parabur, प्रांभु | "prābhū" = master, बाक्क | "bākkā" = bāki, | indicate
the typical East Bengal pronunciation; and 「ziggyāsilentē」 =

Middle Bengali  জিগাসিলেখঃ 「jiggyāsilentā」 asked (honorable), জিগাসিলেখঃ 「jiggyāsilentā」

«pirtimbi» for প্রথিতি «prthibit» give folk-pronunciations of তাতসামস. It would appear that in the spelling, there was not much of a rigorous system which was followed, গ «g» being represented by گ «g» and খ «x»—the latter, however, indicating the dialectal Chittagong pronunciation. There was not much attention paid to the genius of the Bengali language, in the adaptation of such a different alphabet as the Perso-Arabic for it. But vowel quantity is ignored: and herein there is an agreement with the habits of early and present-day Bengali: the signs শর and পশ্চ are used for এ and ও «e, o»; and ৭্যরি are used for ই, এ, উ «i, i, u, ū». But on the whole, the system lacks consistency, and compared with it, the orthography of Urdu is a scientific one. The Perso-Bengali script of the Chittagong MSS. now only remains as a curiosity—the outcome of a belief in the sanctity of an alphabet.

126. The Portuguese employed the Roman alphabet in writing Bengali books. We have evidence that Portuguese missionary activity began in Bengal from the third quarter of the 16th century, and before 1599 a translation of a Christian tract and catechism was made by a Jesuit Padre named Dominic Sosa, who ‘indevoured to learne the Bengalan language,’ and this work was taught to Christian children at school at Siripur (‘Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes,’ Glasgow, 1905, Vol. X, p. 2051). A Christian literature in Bengali, probably in the Roman charac-

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1 See J. J. A. Campos, ‘A History of the Portuguese in Bengal,’ Calcutta, 1919, pp. 100-101. Nibhni Nāth Rāy, in his ‘Pratāpāditya,’ Calcutta, 1913, has given (pp. 463 ff.) the original Latin letter of 1599 from the Portuguese Jesuit missionary Francisco Fernandes to Nicolas Pimenta, Visitor of the Society of Jesus, narrating the work of the Portuguese mission, including that of Sosa (de Souza), in Bengal, at Siripur and elsewhere: cf. also S. K. De in the VSPdP., No. 3, pp. 180-181. (For the reference to the passage in ‘Purchas,’ I am indebted to Dr. S. N. Sen.)
ter, thus seems to have grown up. Towards the end of the next century, we have the mention of another work in Portuguese-Bengali. Two at least of these Bengali works in the Roman character were printed, the Crepar Xartrer Orthbhed (see p. 136), and the Vocabulario em Idioma Bengalla e Português (Lisbon, 1743), both by Padre Manoel da Assumpçam, and both are in existence. (S. K. De, 'History of Bengali Literature in the 19th Century, 1800-1825,' Calcutta University, 1919, pp. 69-76). The Köykañ dialect of Goa was similarly written in the Roman character: but Portuguese-Roman Bengali did not take root.

Nathaniel Brassey Halhed in his Bengali grammar (Hugli, 1778) framed a scheme of Roman transliteration for Bengali on an English basis. There are MSS. of French-Bengali vocabularies (1781-83) by Augustin Aussant, the romanisation following the French values of the letters ('Catalogue sommaire des Manuscrits indiens etc.' par A. Cabaton, Bib. Nat., Paris, 1912, pp. 106-107; S. K. Chatterji in the 'Bhārati' for Jyaiha 1330, pp. 136-137). Gilchrist's 'Oriental Fabulist' (1803) gives the fables of Æsop in several languages, including Bengali, in the Roman character, the system of transliteration being on the basis of English. At subsequent periods, in the 19th century and in the 20th, there have been sporadic attempts at making the Roman alphabet come into current use in Bengal (as well as in other parts of India), but so far they have not been successful.

127. In the border districts of Bengal, a number of alphabets allied to Bengali have been used to a small extent in writing the language, through contact with peoples using these characters: e.g., Oriyā in Midnapore, Dēva-nāgarī and Kaithā in the extreme west of Bengal, and Maithilī in the north (in the Siripuriyā dialect). In Sylhet, a kind of modified Dēva-nāgarī, called 'Sileṭ Nāgari,' has a restricted use among the local Musalmāns, and this use of Nāgarī in distant East Bengal, and among Mōhammedans, too, is explained as being the result of the influence of early colonies of proselytising Moslems from Upper India who wrote their vernaculars (Eastern and Western Hindī dialects) in Dēva-nāgarī—Persianised Hindī (or Urdū) being not yet in the field—and taught it to the local con-
verts: a tradition in employing this alphabet was thus established and has continued down to our times. Recently this alphabet has been used in printing. (Padma-nāth Šarmā, ‘Silēṭ Nāgarī,’ VSPdP., 1315, No. 1.) In Chittagong, the Chakma dialect of Bengali, spoken by Bengalised Maghs or Aracanese and other Tibeto-Burmans who are Buddhist by faith, is written in an alphabet which is a modification of the Khmēr-Mōn (Burmese) system of writing, based ultimately on an ancient South Indian alphabet (LSI., V, Part 1, pp. 321 ff.).

The use of these various characters is a relic of the past, and the prestige of the native alphabet of Bengali has never been seriously assailed. The language has become intimately associated with it, and Bengali speakers, like people everywhere, consider the alphabet as part of their language. It forms a great link with the past, with Prakrit, with Sanskrit: the phonetic history and the story of the development of the language are, howsoever imperfectly it may be, embodied in its alphabet and orthography.

While admitting and appreciating all the arguments in favour of the Indian system of writing, I remain a believer in the Roman alphabet for all Indian languages, because of the simplicity of the symbols of which it consists, because of its true alphabetical nature is not subordinating the vowels, because of its manifold advantages in teaching, and in printing, and because of its wide use in the civilised world. The Roman alphabet, modified, supplemented and arranged according to the scientific scheme of the Indian one, would be a desideratum for India. But under the present conditions of the country, the idea cannot be taken up in earnest now for popular acceptance. Sentiments are stronger than convenience, and the sentiment in favour of the national script, which is natural enough among any people, here has something real to stand upon. The cause of the illiteracy of the masses is certainly not the so-called complicated nature of the Indian system of writing, as some missionaries and others fondly imagine. The use of the Roman alphabet in India will remain for a long time a matter of scientific and academic interest only. There must be fifty years or more of bihileralism, after literacy in the current alphabets has sufficiently spread among the masses, before the romanisation idea can filter down among the people from the more educated classes. But all that is rather remote; and abandoning the Roman alphabet as an impracticable thing for India at the present moment, I would strongly advocate the unity of our country in the matter of script through that truly national script of all India—the Déva-nāgarī, as the next best thing.
PHONOLOGY
PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

PHONETIC HISTORY OF INDO-ARYAN

OLD INDO-ARYAN SOUNDS.

128. The OIA. Sound-system may be said to be represented by that of the Vedic speech, and it was the following:

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close (High)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>u: u</td>
<td>i: i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Close (High-Mid)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>o: (ə)</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Open (Low-Mid)</td>
<td>(? a: ?ʌ)</td>
<td>(?e:)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open (Low)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>a: a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>a:ü</td>
<td>a:ɪ(=? a:ɨ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Vocalic]</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>[f: ŋ, ɨ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER I

CONSONANTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Cacuminal (Retroflex)</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td>(l)</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
<td></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>ü(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The symbols in the tables above are those of the International Phonetic Association.

129. Of the above, it may be noted that—

[oː, eː], as in bone, bane in Northern (Scottish) English, were pure vowels, originating from earlier, pre-IA. short diphthongs [aʊ, aɹ] through

1 Our materials for the reconstruction of OIA. Phonetics are the following: (i) Modern pronunciations in the various parts of India and Ceylon, which have preserved a great deal of the old pronunciation through a line of uninterrupted tradition for some 3000 years; (ii) Ancient theory and practice, as in the Śikṣās and Prātiṣṭhākyas, and in Sanskrit grammatical treatises, representing faithfully the actual state of things in late OIA. times; (iii) Evidence of the Greek transcription of Indian words and names, and of Greek vocabularies into Indian speech, throwing a flood of light on Indian Phonetics of the end of the 1st MIA. and Transitional MIA. periods. (Chinese transcriptions, later than Greek, are practically of no value; and those in Iranian and Kuchean, as well as Môn and Khmōr, Siamese, Tibetan and Burmese, Javanese and Malay, Mongol, and Arabic, are on rare occasions helpful for medieval Indian pronunciations): (iv) Evidence from the phonological development of MIA., and of the NIA. languages; (v) Evidence from that of cognate IE. languages like Avestan and Old Persian, Greek and Gothic, Church Slav and Latin: all these checked by (v) the Principles of General Phonetics, and phonetic development of Speech in general.
THE OLD INDO-ARYAN VOWELS

an intermediate stage of [ɔː, eː]. Ancient Indian grammarians were fully conscious of this diphthongal origin of [ɔː, eː], which were called «sandhyakṣara» or combined syllables. [a+u, a+i] regularly became [ɔː, eː] in Vedic and in Sanskrit; but the relation of [ɔː, eː] with «av, ay», i.e., [aw, aj], or [au, ai], was quite patent, in groups like «śrō-tar: śrav-as, ē-ti: ay-ana». It may be quite reasonably presumed that in the earliest OIA. period, [ɔː, eː] had the lower, more open sounds of [ɔː, ɛː], like the sounds of Southern English ave, ere; and, at that period, they might even have retained the original short diphthongal values of [au, ai > ai?] which obtained in Indo-Iranian.

[aː; a, A, ə]: the short ə «ā» originally had an open, «vivṛta», sound, low back open [a], and the long ɔ «ā» was the same sound with long quantity, [aː]. But it is not impossible that the slightly close, «saṁvṛta», and withal back sound, traditionally = the n in Southern English but, originated already in the early OIA. period; it certainly did, at least dialectally, at the time of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.), in the North-western speech. In an unaccented position [a], or [A], seems to have been pronounced as [ə], like the a in English along, as can be seen from elision in saudhi («tē alaṅkṛtāh > tē laṅkṛtāh»), and from cases of aphaeresis and syncope in early MIA., e.g., Pali laṅkāra < alaṅkāra, numati < anumati, okka < *ukka < *ud'ka < udaka» (cf. E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' London, 1884, § 7; W. Geiger, Pali Grammar in the Grundriss der Indisch-Arab. Phil. u. Altertumskunde, § 20).

[aː, a] were low back sounds; and although the short ə [a, A] has been raised in most MIA., there has never been noticeable any tendency to front it to [a]1: the typical NIA. representatives of the OIA. [a, A] being all back vowels, e.g., Northern Indian [A], Bengali [ə], and Marāṭhī [v], the last being an [ə] with spread lips.

1 But possibly in the old Prācya speech, which changed OIA. 'as, -ah' to 'ō, [ə] before the visarga was fronted to [a, ə] before passing into 'ō': cf. the IA. change of Indo-Iranian 'az' to 'ō' ('*mazda.' > Skt. 'mādhas,' Avestic 'mazda-'; 'azdhi' > Skt. 'ōdhi,' Avestic 'zdi,' etc.)
The long diphthongs [aːi, aːi (≡aːi ?)] had their first elements long in
the Vedic period, but later, immediately before the MIA period, they seem
to have become short, and converged towards [aʊ > oː, aɪ > eː], to be
ultimately merged into original [oː, eː] in MIA. The quality of the *a* vowel in ṛ *aːi* it may be presumed, was fronted from the back [aː] to the
front [a:] in connection with the palatal [i] forming the second element of
the diphthong. The medieval and modern Sanskrit values of these
diphthongs do not make the first element long.

130. As for the consonants, the glottal sound of [h] is the *visarga*,
which is voiceless *h*, as in English *hand, happen*, occurring in OIA. only
finally after a vowel, and after the unvoiced stops in aspirates ([kh, th etc.]) ;
and *[ɦ]* is the fully voiced sound, the normal Indian ṛ *[h]*, which is
found commonly in an intervocal position in English, in words like *behind*,
*perhaps*: *[ɦ]* is found in all positions except the final in OIA., and it
occurred also in the voiced aspirates ([ɡɦ, dɦ] etc.).

[k kh, g ḡɦ] are well-known sounds; *[ŋ]* is the velar nasal; *x*,
the *jihvā-mūliya* sound, that of *ck* in German *ach*, occurred only as a
variant of *[h]* before *[k]*: *tataḥ kim* ≡ *[tatax kim]*.

The palatal stops and aspirates *[c ch, ʃ ʃɦ]* were made with the front
of the tongue striking against the hard palate, above the teeth-ridge;
there was very little of a spirant off-glide, and the sounds were rather
different from the NIA. (and MIA.) affricates with a pronounced *sh* or *zh*
element, into which they developed: they resembled *ky, gy*, or rather,
were more like *ty, dy* sounds, than anything else; and in early MIA., in
most of the dialects, *ty, dy* fell together with *[c, ʃ]*. *[ɲ]* is the French and
Italian *gu*. The palatal fricative *[ç]* was originally pronounced, as its
frequent interchange with *[k]* and *[c]* would show, like the *ch* in Standard
German *ich*. Later, it developed, during the OIA. period, the sound of a
forward kind of *sh*, *[ʃ]*, such as is found in Bengali; and this can be seen
from numerous cases of interchange with *[s]* in Vedic and Sanskrit; but in
most MIA., *[ç > ŋ]* was reduced to the dental *[s]*.

The retroflex or cerebral sounds, *[t tʰ, d dʰ, ɾ]*, were produced by striking
the curled tongue-tip well against the dome or the highest point of the
palatal arch. The retroflex sibilant, *ś* [ʃ], an śh-sound, seems to have been produced exactly in the same way. This would result in a sound approaching the velar spirant, [χ] ; and it seems in certain forms of OIA., the [χ] sound was actually the one employed for [ʃ], as we can infer from a medieval pronunciation of [ʃ] as [kh], which still obtains—[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [χ]. Cf. [s→*ʃ, ʃ→χ] in Slav: *snūxa*, synūxtu = Skt. *snuṣā*, sūnusū etc. : compare also the dialectal Paśṭo pronunciation of [ʃ] or [ʃ] as [χ]. In the MIA. vernaculars, [ʃ] fell together with [ʃ] or [s]. The retroflex laterals [ḷ, ṭṛ] seem to have occurred dialectally only, in the speech which formed the basis of the Rig-Veda dialect; they were from an original [d, ḍṛ] in intervocalic positions. Sanskrit does not use the [ḷ, ṭṛ], but Pali does.

[ṭṭh, ḍṛṛ], according to the evidence of the ‘Prātiśākhyaś,’ were *danta-mūlīya* or alveolar sounds (like l or d of English), and not interdental (like the Italian sounds), which they are now. [n, l] have always retained their alveolar sounds. The vocalic [ḷ], as in the second syllable in the English word little (without its guttural quality), was an exceedingly rare sound, and Vedic preserves it only in the root *klp* : [ṛ] was an alveolar sound: it is described in the ‘Rk-prātiśākhya’ as being produced in the *vartsa* (= barsva) *leech-ridge* region. It is also described as a cerebral sound, owing probably to its influence in changing dentals to cerebraals in certain forms of early MIA. Probably it was, as in NIA., a slightly rolled alveolar sound, of about two flaps of the tongue initially, and medially a sound of one flap only. [ṛ] was also vocalic or syllabic, occurring both long and short: र, र [ṛ, ṭṛ]. The ‘Prātiśākhyaś’ describe the [ṛ] as being made up of a very short *ā+r+ā*, forming $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} = 1$ mora [ṛ = ar]. This gives a sound like the Avestan *arə*, an Iranian equivalent of IA. [ṛ]: it was evidently a sound of one flap of the tongue, when it was short vocalic. When it was long, [ṛṛ], it was in all likelihood a fully trilled sound. [ṛ] has been described as a guttural sound by the ‘Rk-tantra-vyākaraṇa’ : perhaps it was due to the back sound of [a] figuring in it [aṛa].

The bilabial sounds do not require any note, excepting [ṛ], which is the sound made in blowing out a candle, and is a very common phone in
NIA. speech. In OIA. it was found as a modification of [h]—the
< upadhmana> sound—before a [p]: « punah punah » = [punarpunah].

The semivowels were [i] and [u]: they preserved the vocalic character
well in the OIA. period; but by the time of Pani, [u] became a
spirant, a denti-labial [v], in the speech which is treated in Pani’s
grammar; and a bilabial spirant value, [v], quite a common IA. sound
of the present day, seems to have been present in late OIA. [i] became
a spirant, which developed into a frank žh-sound, [ʒ], in Early and
Transitional MIA.

The vowels in OIA. could be nasalised; and the nasalisation was in a
peculiar way, by bringing in a nasal glide, « anusvāra », after a pure
vowel: ः ः ः ः ः aṃ (aṃ), in (im), uṃ (um) → being [a, i, u], which
practically resulted in [a, i, u]. Long vowels under certain conditions
could be « anunāsika » or nasalised properly: e.g., महा परिण = [mahā: asai]; so
रामा निर्व, सुन्यूिव ब्रह्म वर्ज [raçmi: r iña, sunūr ūuãni:F ut]. (Cf. W. D. Whitney,
‘ Sanskrit Grammar,’ §§ 209 ff. : also §§ 70 ff.) In the case of [r], it was
evidently a question of a simple nasalisation following the sonant [r],
the vowel basis of the nasalisation being an [i, u, e, a]: e.g., ः ः ः ः ः ः ः ः ः
[npr: r abhi]. That the « anusvāra » in OIA. was not a mere nasalisation,
but a nasal continuation of, or a nasal glide following a pure vowel, is
borne out by MIA., and also by the traditional pronunciations of
Sanskrit in different parts of India, which have altered [n] of OIA. to a
definite nasal [ŋ, n, ːː]: e.g., OIA. [sa-skṛta, sa-skṛta], in Bengali
pronunciation [ʃø(ʊ)ʃkrito], Northern Indian [sanskrit], Western Indian
[sa-whsrr1].

Changes of the OIA. Sounds in Middle Indo-Aryan.

131. The Sound-system of OIA. was modified to a great extent
during the First and the Transitional MIA. stages.

[ɾ, j, ʃ] were dropped, pure and simple vowels taking their places.
[a:u, a:i] were altered to [o; e:], and the fortunes of these were joined to
those of the original [o; e:]. A short [o, e] developed before double
consonants.
Among the consonants, [h], the « visarga », was dropped, and also its modifications, which, however, left traces: e.g., « duḥkha » = [duɔkha], whence Pali « dukkha »; « punāḥ punāḥ » = [punav punah], whence Pali « punappunām » etc. [ʃ, ç > ŋ] fell together with [s] in the Midland; in the East [ʃ] alone was retained; and in the North-west, all the three continued side by side till the Second MIA. stage.

The consonants of the palatal and alveolar groups came to acquire a slightly more advanced articulation. The alveolars were possibly established as interdental during the Early MIA. period. By the end of the Second MIA. period, the palatal stops had been advanced and modified into palato-alveolar affricates, made either with the front, blade or the tip of the tongue: [c, ʃ] changing to [ʧ, ŋ] [ʧ, ŋ], or [ʧ, dʒ]; and there was a further advancing of these affricated palatals in some forms of NIA. to the dental affricates [ts̪, dz] and the dental sibilants [s, z].

**MIA. AFFRICATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE PALATAL STOPS.**

132. The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early MIA. period, and in all likelihood originated first in the Pāḍyā area. Greek transcriptions of Indian « e, j » by « s, z, ss, tz, tî » and « z, dī » (< Candra-gupta=Sandrakuptos; candana = tsāndanou; Pañcālāḥ = Pāssaloí [pæc'alaː?] Pāzāloí [pæz'alaː?]; Caśi'ana=Tiastanos, Tiastānēs; Ujjayinī, Ujjēnē=Ozēnē; Yamunā>Ja'mūnā = Di'amoūna: cf. J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 119), we can conclude that the affricate value (denoted by « s, z, tz, ss ») and the stop value (= « tī, dī ») both obtained in Western and Northern India in the centuries immediately after Christ. The indiserninate use of « kh » and « ch » after « i » in the Transitional MIA. (Midland dialect ?) equivalent of Sanskrit « bhikṣuṇī »—« bhikhuni-», bhichuni- etc. at Bharhut and Sanchi (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 7), show in all probability a palatal stop pronunciation of « ch », not far removed from a « kh » made after a palatal vowel. The name « Citā », in a Buddhist inscription of the 2nd
century A. C. from Kathiawar, if it really is an Indian transcription of a Germanic (Gothic) name Hilda [xilda], would give us something like a *<ky>* value for *<c>* (cf. Sten Konow, JRAS., 1912, pp. 379-385).

The use of the ligature *<ky>* for a palatalised *<k>* in some of the Brāhmi inscriptions of the East (as at Kalsi and Ramgarh) shows that in some at least of the Eastern (and Midland?) dialects, *<c>* had lost the stop pronunciation and had become an affricate by the 3rd century B. C.; otherwise there would not have been any necessity for using a digraph *<ky>* for a fronted *<k>* , mainly when the latter occurred after *<i>* .

Prakrit grammarians, from Vararuci downwards to Mārkaṇḍeśya (17th century), imply or mention a twofold pronunciation of the letters of the *<c>* class in Second MIA. Grierson takes their statements to mean that a palatal affricate pronunciation obtained in the Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī areas ( = [cq], [f]) , and a dental one ([ts]) in the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī tracts; and he holds that later, in the North Śaurasenī area, the clear, palatal sound [cq], [f] was revived, and it ousted the old dental one of [ts] , so that the latter does not obtain any longer in Western Hindi. (‘The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatals,’ JRAS., 1913, pp. 391 ff.). But it seems that the not very clear remarks of the Prakrit grammarians may be taken quite in another way. Vararuci, our oldest Prakrit grammarian, explicitly states that in Māgadhī the palatals were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full (‘Prākṛta-prakāśa,’ XI, 5: *<ca-v arga sya spāṣṭata tathʿocēraṇaḥ>* ). Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be characterised as *<a-s paṣṭa>* or indistinct, and which evidently obtained in Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī: and such an indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather, an elided pronunciation, in Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī, as Basanta-Kumār Chatterji has rightly contended (in noticing Grierson’s article in the VSPdP. for San 1320: ‘Ca-vargīya Varṇa-samūhēr Uccāraṇ,’ esp. pp. 201-203). At the time of Vararuci, who described MIA. of the second period, Mahārāṣṭrī had already dropped its intervocal stops *<k g, e j, t d>* , but Śaurasenī and Māgadhī retained them as voiced stops, and these voiced stops were really fricatives in the Northern Indian dialects. (See
INTERVOCAL PALATALS IN MIA. 247

pp. 83-86.) A simple stop pronunciation of the palatal sounds is easier to voice and to turn to an open sound, and thus elide it, than a compound affricate one, well-advanced with a prominent [ʃ] or [ʂ] glide: [c > ç, çj, ts] is commonly retained, or at the worst simplified to [ʃ], or to [s < ts]; but [c > j > j > zero], where [j] is an open sound, would be an easy process. And according to the Prakrit grammarians, intervocal -c-, -j- in Māgadhi are never elided, whereas they are elided in Mahārāṣṭrī, same as -k-, -g-, -t-, -d-. And in Śaurasenī, apparently the unvoiced stop -c- became voiced to -j-, and this derived -j- and the original intervocal -j- both became open, i.e., the voiced spirant [ʃ, ʂ], and were elided: this can be seen from specimens of Śaurasenī in an old drama like the 'Mrčchakatika': e.g., bhōana = bhōjana; pūjijanta = pūjyyanta = pūjyamāna; pūa = pūjā; vāni = vānija; vaṇa = vacana; raś (Māgadhi laja) = rāja; vācdu = vacayatu; mōāissasi = mōcayisasya, etc.; also from Modern Western Hindi forms like bainḍ = vacana; rainḍ = rajaṇi; gaṅḍa = gajendra; bīḍ = bīja-; sūr = sūcikā, etc. It seems genuine Māgadhi words in Bengali retain the intervocal -c-, -j-, e.g., pačiḍ = Sanskrit praśīra; bijjīni bijāṇi fān = vyajaniṇā.; but such words are exceedingly rare, and non-Māgadhi forms with elided -c-, -j-, like rāi rāi mustard = rājikā, rāj rāyā = rājan are largely found in Bengali. (See below, under Phonology: the Palatal in Bengali.) In the North-western dialect, -c-, -j- both became spirantised, as in Śaurasenī, during the Transitional MIA. period; and as can be seen from Kharoṣṭhī documents, this spirant pronunciation in the North-western speech was indicated by -y-: e.g., ayarīya = ācārya; viyya = vijaya (see p. 81); puyā = pūjāyā (Taxila Vase Inscription, Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 296); śuyi, suyi = suci; gōyari = gōcarī; sōyati = sōcāntē; yā(y)ēya = yajēyya, yajēta; pūjitō = pūjitaḥ; vayati = vrajati; payēti = Pali pācenti ('Kharoṣṭhī Dharma-pada': see p. 86). The Aśokan spelling majulā (Kalsi), majūḷā (Dhaulī), majura (Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra) = mayūra- (cf. mōrā, Girnar), showing -j- for -y-, implies the presence of a fricative for the stop -j- in the 3rd century B.C. Vararuci does not give any rule for the treatment of -c-, -j- in Śaurasenī: apparently
the rule for Mahārāṣṭrī (.....prāyō lōpaḥ ), II, 2) held good here. For Māgadhī, Vararuci lays down the rule (XI, 4) that single \(< j >\) becomes \(< y >\) both initially and intervocally: \(< yāṇadi = jānāti, viyalē = vijala >\). This would imply a spirant pronunciation for \(< j >\) in Māgadhī as well, for there is ample evidence that \(< y >\) had a value like \(zh \ [j, ʒ]\) during the Transitional MIA. period (see §133). Hēma-candra also notes \(< y >\) for \(< j >\) (‘Siddha-Hēma-candra,’ VIII, 4, 292). But initial \(< j >\) did never become a spirant, any more than the other initial stops. Vararuci and Hēma-candra in this case are to be supplemented by Mārkaṇḍeya, who apparently follows old authority when he says that in Māgadhī \(< c, j >\) have \(< y >\) before them—\(< ycler, ājī >\) (‘ca-ja-yīr upari yas syāt’: XII, 21). The ligature \(< ycler, ājī >\) is undoubtedly a way of indicating a ‘clear,’ palatal affricate pronunciation, with the spirant glide, here represented by \(< y >\), properly identified, but placed before the letters denoting the original stop sounds. The affricate pronunciation later came in no doubt in Śaurāśeṇī. One can compare the device employed in the Śāradā alphabet to indicate the palatal affricates of Kaśmīrī, by \(< ycler, ājī >\), to which Grierson draws our attention, after the original \(< c, j >\) developed the dental affricate values of \(< ts, dz >\) in that language (Grierson, JRAS., 1913, p. 395).

To sum up: it would seem that the OIA. palatal stops kept their stop pronunciation in the Midland and in the Western tracts of Āryāvarta at a time when these became pronounced affricates in the East. After the IA. speech was well on the Second MIA. stage, when Vararuci wrote his grammar, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurāśeṇī preserved, at least dialectally, the old stop values initially, and medi ally they were dropped or were reduced to a weak \(< y >\)-like sound; but in Māgadhī (dialectally at least), the clear affricates were heard, and to Vararuci as an easterner, this affricate articulation appeared as being decidedly clear and well-enunciated beside the stop palatals of the other areas with their uncertain acoustic effect; and Māgadhī affricates were not elided intervocally. But, from the evidence of Greek transcriptions, the affricate sounds seem to have developed, dialectally probably, in the Śaurāśeṇī and other Western areas.
as well, in the Transitional MIA. stage; and in the late MIA. period, these became universal. Through the influence of the Midland speech, forms with elided intervocal palatal stops characterising Śaurasenní (and Ardha-māgaḍhī) of the Transitional and Second MIA. stages were accepted in the younger forms of Māgaḍhī—Proto-Bengali etc. But the palatal affricate pronunciation of \( ē, ĵ \) had gradually spread over all IA.; and under new conditions, the palatal affricates further were dentalised in some of the NIA. dialects—Assamese, East Bengali, Southern Oriyā, Marāṭhī, and dialectal Gujarāṭī.

133. The intervocal cerebrals \( ā, ḍh \) were changed to \( ū, ḷh \) in the basic dialect of the Vedic speech. Pali also has this peculiarity. Sanskrit, except in the dialectal pronunciation followed in the South of India, retains the \( ā, ḍh \) sounds. In all Indian speech, single \( -d-, -dh- \) have become the so-called ‘cerebral ſ’—ť, ſh’. This sound is made by curling up the tip of the tongue and bringing it to the point of articulation for [t ō], and then quickly making the tongue to move forward and strike against the teeth-ridge with the underneath side, and then lie flat. This modification possibly came in during the First MIA. period, if not earlier: Greek transcriptions like *Larikē = *Lāḍa-, Lāṭa-; karuophillon = *kaḍua-phala, kaṭuka-phala; Saraganos = *Sāḍa-gaṇṇa, Sāṭa-karṇi- (cf. Hāla < * Sāḷa < *Sāṭa < Sāṭa-)*, belonging to post-Christian times, show evidently a \( ſ \) pronunciation of intervocal \( ō \).

\( ā < ſ \), a semi-vowel in OIA., [I], became a pronounced fricative by the 3rd century B.C.; e.g., Asīkan North-western Prakrit (Shahbazgarhi) * badaya = * badaža *, for * bādaśa = dvādaśa *. Epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period fully establishes the \( ʒ \) pronunciation of the letter for \( ſ \). (Cf. ‘Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscription,’ F. W. Thomas, Ep. Ind., IX, pp. 133 ff.) The \( īna-sruti \) of Jaina orthography for Ardha-māgaḍhī, found also in the epigraphical remains of the Transitional MIA. period, stands equally for some sort of spirant value of \( ſ \) (see p. 85). It was this spirant value of \( ſ \) that apparently brought about the creation of the ligature \( ſys \) for \( z \) in the Brāhmī alphabet, to write the \( z \) sound in the (Iranian) Śaka language from the 1st
century A. C.: Šāmōtiya = Zāmōtiya, Dāmāyāda = Dāmazada; East Iranian (in Brāhmi) yārā = żāra = thousand, balvā = balza = Buddha (originally = priest). (Cf. H. Lüders, 'Die Šakas und die "nordarische" Sprache,' Sitzungsberichte der König preuss. Ak. der Wissen., 1913, XXIII, pp. 406 ff.; cf. also E. Leumann, 'Zur nordarischen Sprache u. Literatur,' Strassburg, 1912.) In the Kharōṣṭhī 'Dharma-pada,' ī y changed also for the spirant representative of OIA. intervocal ī, ī (e.g., the examples quoted at p. 247).

[i] > [j] > [j] > [j] became the stop [j] or the affricate [ʃ], [ʃ] in initial positions in the Second MIA. period, and in this way fell together with the original OIA. į, ī, ī, ī: e.g., OIA. īyoga, Early MIA. īyoga, Transitional and Second MIA. āyoga = āyoga, ā. This spirantised ī changed also the groups īty, īty to īce, īj = [ce, ī] > [ce, ī], īj] in the Midland and in the West during the First and Transitional MIA. stages: [tī] > [tj] > [tc] > [tc] > ce > ce > [ce]; [di] > [dj] > [dj] > [dj] > [dj] > [dj], [đdj] (?); but in the East, īty, īty had a different development during the First MIA. period: īty, īty, īty, īty, īty, īty respectively.

The bilabial semivowel a [a] seems to have developed different values in the different dialectal areas—a rounded-lip bilabial semivowel [a = w], a spread-lip bilabial spirant [v], and a denti-labial spirant [v],—which one cannot very well find out now. Greek transcriptions give for the MIA. a the following: (i) ou (= u), o: Quindion = Vindhya; Soastēs = Suvāstu; Peukelaotis = Pukk(h)alavatī, Puṣkalamvatī; Imaos = Himavā(n); Deopalli = Devapallī; (ii) b: Bidaspēs = Vidastā, Vītastā; Bibasis = Vīvēsa, Vīpāsa; Erannoboas = Hīranya-vaha; and (iii) h, initially: Huphasssa = Vipāsa. The characteristic MIA. pronunciation is that of a bilabial spirant. In the Gujarati area, from Gīrmar Asōkan forms like dv- > db; tv > tp beside tm > tp, one can surmise that the a was a strong bilabial fricative in the First MIA. period, which became a stop in the 3rd century B.C., and assimilated the preceding dental to itself [dā = dw > dv > db > bb = Gujārāti b, Sindhi b'; tā = tw > tv > tr > tp > pp; tm > tw > tv > tr > tp > pp].
STOPS EXPLODED AND UNEXPLODED

Unexploded Stops in Consonant Groups.

134. The affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops, the change of intervocal *-d-* to *-t-*; the spirantisation of *y*, which have been noticed above, and the later change of the stops *k, g, t, d, p, b* to open consonants (noticed at pp. 83 ff., also in § 132), came in only gradually. The most important characteristic of MIA. is the assimilation of dissimilar consonantal combinations into double consonants; and this characteristic primarily marks off MIA. from OIA. This change was due mainly to the first consonant in a group of two stops like *-kt-, -pt-* being pronounced without explosion, so that it was reduced to a mere stop or closure, and its position was shifted to that of the next stop: thus *lipta, bhakta* became in late OIA. *bhatita*, *lipata* [bhakta, lipata], which then became assimilated to *bhatita, litta = bhatta, litta*. Final stops, unvoiced, were similarly pronounced without explosion, as in *vidyut, marut, pariṣāt, dharmat, syāt, dhīk, manāk*; and the final unexplained or implosive *t, k* were duly lost in MIA.: e.g., Pali *vijju, maru, pariṣā, dhammā, siyā (assa), dhī, minā*. The 'Prātiṣākhya-s' have noted this characteristic in (late) OIA. pronunciation (R. Gaußhiot, 'La Fin de Mot en Indo-Européen,' Paris, 1913, pp. 91-92). In the NIA. languages, in consonant groups resulting from the dropping of intervening vowels (as, for example, in Bengali bāpake *bāpā-kē > bēpē* to the father, thākte *thākītē > thāktē* to remain, Hindīstānī *āpaka > āpēka* of self, *sakāta > sakta* is able), there is complete explosion of the first stop, and this is helped by a consciousness, vague it might be, of the fact that the forms consist of essential or radical parts, and affixes. This method of fully articulating the first stop of a group, except in the case of the same stop 'doubled,' now obtains in the modern Iudian pronunciation of Sanskrit and of tatsuwa words in the of vernaculars: e.g., *sak-ti, ab-da*: but this is merely an extension of the vernacular habit of pronunciation. The unexploded stops of late OIA. thus brought in their train their complete assimilation in the next period.

This assimilation was accompanied by other simplifications in connection with the liquids and nasals, and sibilants. Possibly a habit of
speech which preferred an open syllable to a closed one also manifested itself. A great mass of IA. speakers, at the commencement of the MIA. period (at least in the East, to start with) probably had lost the sense of distinction between root and affix. Thus what were <dhar/ma, sah/ya, šuk/ra, yaj/ṇa, ak/ši, * spṛś/ta > spṛś/ta, šuš/ka in the speech-feeling of the earlier generations in the OIA. period, became, after the speech had spread among peoples of different tongues, < dha-rma > dha-mma, sa-hya > sa-jjha, šu-kra > su-kka, ya-jña > ya-ūña, a-kṣi > a-kkhi (a-cchi), * spu-ṣṭa * hpu-ḥṭa > phu-ṭṭha, šu-ṣka * su-hka > su-kkha. The principle of the Indian alphabetical system in having only open syllables was apparently based on this sort of syllabic division.

**Stops and Spirants in MIA.**

135. Open or spirant pronunciation of the single OIA. stops < k, g, t, d, p b > intervocally was established by the close of the Transitional MIA. period. This has been described before (pp. 83 ff.). After the assimilation of compound consonants, this was undoubtedly the most important change in the history of the IA. sounds. But owing to the NIA. languages having largely replenished themselves by borrowings from Sanskrit (or Perso-Arabic, as in the case of Urdu) and by new formations, the full significance and importance of this change in the history of IA. is not usually recognised. (Cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ §§ 14, 81.) In Second and Late MIA., intervocally there were no single stops, only single spirants and double stops: and these spirants, too, were dropped from pronunciation, quite early in a dialect like Mahārāṣṭrī, and later in other dialects like Śauraseni and Māgadhī; and the elision had taken place in words inherited from OIA. long before beginning of the NIA. period. The Indian graphic system continued to employ the letters for the voiced stop sounds of [g, d, b] (generally however, ʷ < v > was used for the last) where the corresponding open sounds or spirants were undoubtedly used in speech. The epigraphical evidence from the Transitional MIA. period, and the traditions of Prakrit spelling, with their hesitancy in using < g, d, b (v) >, or omitting them, or substituting < y > for them, coupled with our knowledge
of what has happened or is actually happening in other languages, are enough to establish that. Conservatism in spelling is a common thing in languages with a long history, and letters are retained even when they have dropped from pronunciation. In Modern Spanish (Castilian), agua, abogado etc. are pronounced as [aʊ̯a, aʊ̯aɡaðo], the latter word even becoming [aʊ̯aɡa]. The OIA. āyūta-, dvīṇa-, śuka-, tāpa, hṛdaya, ādi-, sāba passed into typical MIA. ājū, duṇā, suṇa, tā, hiṇa, dīa, chā through an intermediate MIA. stage ājūṇa-, dvīṇa-, suṇa, tāba, hiṇa, dīsa, chāba: and this stage is that which was arrived at during the Transitional MIA. period. The rules of Prakrit (Second MIA.) grammar in this matter are inconsistent, and the examples in Prakrit literature for dialects like Śaurasenī and Māgadhī are not always reliable. Even the very spirant sounds are not recognised by the Prakrit grammarians: any more than a Modern Bengali grammarian would ordinarily notice the under-articulation of consonants which obtains in Bengali (e.g., thakurduṇa grand-papa [thakurduṇa] is frequently pronounced [thaŋuruḍa], and is even reduced to ṭhauḍī ṭhauḍī [thaʊ(r)dːa]. (Cf. S. K. Chatterji, 'A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' London, 1921, § 31.) We can see, however, that in genuine taddhāra forms in all the NIA. speeches, the single intervocal stops of OIA., k, g; t, d; p, b, are not preserved. The intervocal palatal stops of OIA. e, j were likewise elided in taddhāra words in some forms NIA., but were retained in others; and the intervocal cerebral stops t, d have in all NIA. been reduced to -t- = r - Wherever a NIA. word agrees with its corresponding OIA. (Sanskrit) form in retaining a stop, voiced or unvoiced, or an aspirate, such a word is not a genuine, inherited taddhāra. OIA. stops in the body of a word are as a rule preserved in NIA. only when they are preceded by a nasal, and when they were doubled by assimilation in MIA. The intervocal single aspirated stops of OIA., through a similar process of spirantisation in the stop element in Transitional MIA., became a mere aspiration in Late MIA. and NIA.: e.g., mukha > mughā > muha; laghu > laghu > lahu; kathayati > kathēti > kadhēdi > kahēdi, kāhei, kahē; vadhū-> vadhū-> vahū, bahū; Šepahālikā > *šēbhāligā > *šēbhāligā >
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER I

*śchālia > Middle Bengali শিয়ালী শিহালী > New Bengali শিবলী সিউলী; gabhīra > gaňhīra > gahīra », etc. « ch, jh » are rare as intervocal sounds; and « ṭh, dh » normally became « -ḍh = rḥ » in all late MIA. and NIA. In MIA., an aspirate occurs in the body of a word only after its corresponding stop or nasal (and in NIA. tadbhava forms, only after a long vowel, simple or nasalised).

The state of things with regard to the stops and aspirates in Typical MIA. of the Transitional and Second MIA. period, e.g., in Saurasenī of c. 200 A. C., was something like the following:

Initially only: « k-, g-, c-, j-, ṭ-, ḍ-, t-, d-, p-, b-, h-, ḷh-, ḷḥ-, ḷh-, ḷḥ-, ḷh-, ph-, bh- ».

Medially: «-g-, -y- (= [γ]), -d- (= [ṛ]), -s-, -b-[v]; -h-; -kk(h)-
-cc(h)- -jj(h)- -tt(h)- -dd(h)-, -pp(h)-
-bb(h)-; -ηκ(h)- -ηγ(h)-, -nε(h)- -ηŋ(h)-, -ηη(h)- -ηδ(h)-,
-ην(h)- -ηδ(h)-, -mp(h)- -mb(h)- ».

The double consonants of MIA. derived by assimilation continued till NIA. — to be simplified to a single consonant, with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowel: and this resultant single consonant of NIA. has persisted generally.¹

But in one dialect of MIA., the Ardha-māgadhi of the Jains, in texts which from their language apparently go back to the Transitional MIA., we meet with a few cases of elision of the normal MIA. double consonants — the group « tt »: e.g., « āyā = attā, ātman; pāya = patta, pātra; gōya = göta, götra; rā = rātri (rādi also, in Mahāraṣṭrī); sāyārī = sattari, saptati; cārī = cattāri, catvāri; cāyālisa, cālisa = catvāriṁśat » etc. (Cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' pp. 216-217.) This sort of elision of double « tt » is entirely against the spirit of MIA. phonology, and the reasons for it are not known. Possibly a case like « rāī « rādi » is to be referred to an OIA. « * rā-ti », occurring side by

¹ In certain forms of Bengali, however, we have a further elision of these resultant single stops: e.g., 'ṭhakkura, thākura,' Standard Colloquial Bengali ঠাকুর 'ṭhāur' beside ঠাকুর 'ṭhākura'; ṭān 'ṭān' for ঢ়ুঠুঠ 'ṭhākurī, thākurī,' honoured lady; 'vappa, bāpa' father, Chittagong Bengali=বাপ 'bāy.'
side with "ra-tris, ra-tri"; "eari", for "*cayar", found in all NIA., may be from analogy of forms like "catur" > "cau" (cf. J. Bloch, op. cit.); but the early forms in most NIA. being "eiari" (see p. 106: see also later, under Morphology: the Numerals), we may have to postulate the influence of Middle Persian in Late NIA.—Pahlavi "cahar", Pāzand "cehār" (=New Persian "cehār, cār") possibly having something to do in the use of "eiari" for "cattāri" in Late NIA. and NIA. (cf. "sahassa" of Late NIA., ousted by the Persian "hazār"); "cayālisa" for "catvāriṇiṣāt" is an extension of this to the numerals for the 10-group; and "sayari" for "sattari" may well be on the analogy of "*cayarī, eiari" for "cattāri".

The other words remain obscure—"āya, pāya, goya". Can it be that "āya" is a blend of the taddhāra "attā" and a semi-talsama "*ātamā > *ādamā > *āyava"?

There seem to have been some cases of simplification of double consonants to a single one with compensatory lengthening, mainly of sibilants, in Transitional and Second MIA.

136. Phonological development of MIA. from OIA. is a subject apart, its study belonging properly to that of Pali and other Prakrits and the Apabhraṅga. In the late MIA. period, some further modifications of the OIA. Sound-system became prominent. The Transitional and Second MIA. tendency to elide single intervocal stops of OIA. continued and manifested itself in specifically late MIA. formations as well; single "-m-" intervocally became "-w-", which was reduced to a mere nasalisation of

1 In Bengali, there are the words দাঁ "dā(o)" 'chopper, bill' = 'dātra'; গাঁ "gā(o)" = 'gātra,' beside a regular taddhāra 'gāta' < 'gatta' = 'gātra' in Middle Bengali, and an old semi-talsama 'gata' from 'gattara'; and পা 'pā, Oṛiyā 'pua,' beside পূত 'puta' = 'pūta' < 'putta, putra.' The last form may have been influenced by 'pōta,' which would give 'pā, pō' in NIA. গা, পাঁ, পাঁ, পাঁ 'gā, gāo, gāy, gāa' may be an analogical formation, 'after 'kāya' = 'kā'; দা 'dā' is explained by Grierson as being from a form 'drāta,' attested from Kaśmiri: it is found in Hindi as 'dāw, dāū,' bill, sickle, and the occurrence in Skt. of the forms 'dāti' sickle, 'cythe,' 'dāta' mow, cut off, 'dātra' mowing, mower shows that the source of the NIA. word is not 'dātra,' but rather some form like 'dātr' (although the Kōl word 'datrom' sickle, evidently an old Aryan borrowing, would show that 'dātra' was quite a popular OIA. vocable).
the vowel in most cases in NIA. and this modification probably appeared sporadically quite early (cf. « yamunā=ḫyāwūnā » > Greek transcription « Iobarēs »). Intervocal sibilants single or double became « h » in some cases: a change also noticed in a few early instances (cf. « kāršāpaṇa » = « kahāpaṇa » in Pali); its origin and scope in MIA. is not known.

MIA. kept in close touch with Sanskrit, and especially in later times, when it had the disadvantage of having a large number of homophones through phonetic decay. Thus, « ākāra, āgāra, ācāra » would all be reduced to « āāra », « suta, śuka » to « su »; and it was necessary to introduce fresh blood, as it were, into the system of the speech, in the shape of new words and forms. Tutsamas were being brought into MIA. from the time of its differentiation as MIA. The phonetic changes which modified these newcomers were to some extent different from those which characterised original MIA. When in these tutsamas there was a nexus of a stop + liquid or nasal, MIA. no longer went in for assimilation, which characterised its phonetics in the formative period, but anaptyxis (viprakārṣa), which is a habit of pronunciation occasionally found in OIA. (in the « svara-bhakti » of the Vedic speech), came in: thus « dharma » dhama > dhāma is a tad-bhava, « dharma » dharama is a semi-tutsama; so « sarṣapa » *sassapa > sāsava : sarisapa, sarisava »; « varṣa » vassa > vāsa : varisā »; « kpśa » kanha : kasaṇa »; « ratna » ought to have a tadbhava *ratta > *rata » (cf. « sapatū » savattī, NIA. saut »), but already in Pali we find the semi-tutsama « ratana » (Bengali ṛṭan < ṛṭāṇa⁴⁶ > is not from this MIA. form, which would have given only « radana » raḍaṇa > raṇa > *rawaṇa > *raṇā > *rava > *rā > *rā > *rā > *rā, it is a new semi-tutsama; but cf. « ādarśikā » > semi-tutsama in Early MIA. *ādarśikā [instead of the proper tadbhava *ādarśikā which would have become *ārṣī < *āśī in Bengali]; *ādarśikā > *ārāsyā > ṛārapaṇa). Sanskrit words in MIA. also had to conform to the phonetic habit of MIA. which would tolerate only double stops in the middle of a word, and not single ones, as single ones would be voiced and spirantised: thus « ēka > ēa », as in Assamese « ṛ-zān » = « ēka-jana », tadbhava; « ēka », reintroduced in MIA., became « ekka », whence a Common NIA. « ēk ».
137. The phonetic system of the native (i.e., of the old *tadbhava* and *dēśi*) element in Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa, the source of Bengali, was in all likelihood the following:

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>u: u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Close</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>o: o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Open</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ə:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasalised forms of the vowels also occurred.

**Consonants.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Velār</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Inter-dental</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>ʈ ɖ</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirates</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kh gh</td>
<td>ʈh dʰ</td>
<td>th dʰ</td>
<td>ph bh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ɭ ɭh</td>
<td>ɭh dʰ</td>
<td>ɭh dʰ</td>
<td>ɭh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>ɲ ɳ</td>
<td>ɲ n</td>
<td>ɲ n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>(ʔ-ʌ-)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ɾ, ɾ̃</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>ʃ (ʔ-ɣ-)</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ (ʔ-ɣ-)</td>
<td>ʃ (ʔ-ɣ-)</td>
<td>(-v-) ʊ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>/j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
<td>-j- (ə)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
About the sounds of the above system as reconstructed, the following points are to be noted.

OIA. short \( \text{ä} \) [a] seems to have been changed to the slightly higher sound of [o], as in Southern English hot, which in Middle Bengali (of post-14th century times) became [ɔ], the normal sound of the New Bengali \( \text{a} \); in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and in Old Bengali it was sufficiently near [a:] to be interchangeable with it. In other words, \( \text{ā} \) [a] in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, Old Bengali and Early Middle Bengali was slightly lower in articulation than the New Bengali \( \text{ä} \) [ɔ]. The New Bengali sound is pronounced with the lips very slightly rounded, and this gives it its definite quality as a distinct vowel from \( \text{a} \) [a:, a]; the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and Old and Early Middle Bengali equivalent was in all probability not rounded.

\( [g, \delta, \upsilon] \) possibly occurred for \( [g, d, b] \) in intervocal positions under certain circumstances. \( [p] \) occurred before \( [s], \frac{3}{2} \), and "doubly" in the middle of a word \( [mp = m:] \); and possibly it was also the modification of \( [m > \text{w}] \) before palatal vowels. \( [n] \) seems to have existed in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, as can be seen from the evidence of Oriyā and Old and dialectal Bengali, although it now no longer exists in Bengali-Assamese and in 'Bihārī'. It is not known for certain whether Māg. Ap. possessed \( [l] \), which is now found only in Oriyā, where it represents an OIA. or MIA. single intervocal \( [l] \); in all likelihood it did exist intervocally.

Evidence of Bengali and Oriyā would show that \( [r] \) was present in the source-form of these speeches. Probably there was a restoration (or rather importation) of \( [r] \) in Eastern Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa through Sanskrit and Northern Indian influence. Genuine Māgadhī forms would be expected to show \( [l] \) for \( [r] \) of OIA.; and that is what we find in an Old Bengali word like \( \text{nāc} = \text{rā察} \) (= rathyā), as in Sarvānanda's glossary, in Middle Bengali \( \text{nāc} = \text{rā察} \), and in a Modern Bengali word like \( \text{pāchāl} = \text{prācira} \). But \( [r] \)-words are plentiful, even in common roots like \( \text{kār} \), \( \text{dhār} \) etc. The Central and Western Magadhan speeches in this matter are more uniform, having a tendency to reduce all laterals and \( r \)-sounds to \( [r] \). (See p. 96.)
MODIFICATIONS IN OLD BENGALI

Palatal «ś» = [ʃ] was the only inherited sibilant in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa; but it is not unlikely that the dental [s] sound was also present, among the masses of non-Aryan (Köl and Mön-Khmēr) origin, and among Upper Indian settlers within the Magadhan area; but from the later history of the Magadhan speech in its eastern branch, it may be seen that there at least the proper Māgadhī sound resisted all [s] influence, and remained [ʃ].

The semi-vowels [j, w] were glides to prevent hiatus, and were the half-close vowels [e, o] used as consonants, which would be dropped or brought in according to option. In transliteration, these «śruti» sounds could be written «ŷ, ŵ». The semi-vowels never occurred initially: OIA. [i, ū] in initial positions had become [ʃʃ, b] in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, before its split into the Modern Magadhan speeches. OIA. [i] after dental stops, in tātsama words, no longer palatalised the latter—«nitya» [nittīa] became [nitt(ə)i], «vidyā» [ūidīa] became [biddeːa:], etc.

OLD AND EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI.

138. Some important changes ushered in the NIA. period. Excepting in the North-Western and Western (i.e., Eastern Panjābī, Lahndī and Sindhī) areas, double consonants of MIA. were simplified to a single consonant, and there was compensation for this loss of quantity in the consonant of the syllable (a ‘double’ consonant group means only a ‘long’ consonant) by lengthening the preceding vowel: e.g., «patra = patta > pāta, putra = putta > pūta, camma = camma > cāma, anya = anna > āna» = [pataː > paːto, putaː > puːto, camaː > ʃamaː, anaː > aːn/>. Nasals preceding stops or aspirates were first ‘shortened’ and then ‘dropped,’ compensation coming in by lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: e.g., «canda = cāla» [ʃanda > ʃaːnd, ʃaːnd]. Final long vowels were weakened, and assimilated to preceding vowels, in most cases: «rādhika > rāhia > rāhi». Euphonic glides of «ŷ» and «ŵ» became more prominent between «udvṛtta» vowels, after the dropping of intervening stops: e.g., «vāta > vāda, vāda > vā > bāwa, bāya [baː, baː] = bād, bād, bād, bāː». In later times, these glides weakened and were dropped.
In Bengali, a shifting of the stress system to the initial syllable came in during the formative period: this led to the dropping of unstressed long vowels in the middle of a word, and to lengthening of \(<\text{a} >\) to \(<\text{ā} >\) initially. The \(<\text{ā} >, \text{ā}>\) sounds in their normal historical relation to each other in Old and Middle Bengali may be thus indicated:

Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa short \(<\text{ā} >\) [ᵣ] > Old Bengali [ᵣ] > Middle Bengali [ᵣ, ə, ō];

Māg. Ap. \(<\text{a}́\text{ā} >\) [ᵣəᵣ] > Old Bengali [ᵣəᵣ, ə:] > Middle Bengali [ᵣ; ə, ō];

Māg. Ap. \(<\text{ā} >\) [ᵣ] before two consonants > Old Bengali [ᵣ; ə, ō] > Middle Bengali [ᵣ; ə, ō];


The open [ᵣ] pronunciation of \(<\text{ā} >\) probably became the partially rounded [ə] by the end of the Early Middle Bengali Period: [ə] developed a long quality, and interchange with [ᵣ; ə] was no longer in the nature of things in Middle Bengali and New Bengali. The MIA. vowel [e:] in initial syllables became open in Middle Bengali, [e:], and possibly also in Old Bengali: cf. \(<\text{dekkhāi} >\) > দেক্খাই [de:kʰai] > দেখাই, দেখে [de:kʰai, de:kʰei] > দেখে, 'ছাড়ে' [de:kʰei]; eḳk > ḍaka [e:kə] > [e:kə] > [e:k]; and \(<\text{yā} >\) after a consonant, in tāṣamas, became [eːa:, eːa:], later [eː] in New Bengali: \(<\text{tyāga} >\) > ত্যাগ [teːaːɡə, teːeaːɡə] > [teːaːɡ]. Post-consonantal \(<\text{a} >\) in tāṣamas similarly became [əːaː] > əːə > ōːə (see later, under 'the Origin of the New Bengali Vowels: [ə] '). In connection with [i], in Early Middle Bengali, the back \(<\text{a} >\) [ᵣ; ə] received a frontal articulation [ᵣ; ə], which later became [e] in the Standard Colloquial (see p. 133; also later, under 'Vowel Mutation,' and 'the Origin of New Bengali Vowels: [e] '). [i] after a vowel grew weak, and there was epenthesis. Nasalisation of the vowels was fully developed; also vowel-harmony came in quite early in the history of Bengali as a NIA. speech.
The consonants remained much the same, but the spirant pronunciation of intervocal voiced stops was no longer present, except in the case of \(-p\-\) which still obtained as \([Vo]\) occasionally in Middle Bengali; and \(-k-\) intervocal was voiced sometimes in Middle Bengali; \(-l-\) seems to have been merged in to \(-l-\) in Old Bengali; but \(-n-\) probably continued, at least dialectally, in Early Middle Bengali. \([\&]\) was once more re-established as the sole sibilant, although it was written \(-s, s, s\-\). Intervocal \(-h-\) \([\&]\) grew weak, and was often dropped; and there was in Late Middle Bengali a tendency to drop aspiration of non-initial aspirate stops. The semi-vowels as glides occurred only as \([\&, \&]\), and they were unknown initially.

139. Below are given specimens of Old and Early Middle Bengali, of the 11th-12th and 14th centuries, with the reconstructed pronunciation in phonetic transcription.

Old Bengali: Caryās 5, 33.

The text in Bengali characters, as in Mm. H.P. Śāstri's edition (see pp. 110 ff.) is given, followed by an emended reading in transcription. The length \([\&]\) of the vowels is not always sure, MIA. quantity being all changed in Bengali from the period of the formation of the language. The metre is \(\text{Pādākulaka}\) or \(\text{Caupā}\), of couplets of 16 more each, rimed: and in Old Bengali, the pauses were after the 8th \(\text{mora}\), dividing the line into two halves, with strong sentence stress at the beginning of each, marked \(["\)]\), and a secondary stress in each, as can be judged from the Middle Bengali metre, 'Payār,' which seems to have developed out of the Pādākulaka. The verses were chanted, and the chant music or tune accommodated all questions of quantity in individual syllables.

\(\text{(Caryā 5)}\): \(\text{ভনন} \quad \text{গহণ} \quad \text{গঙ্গীর} \quad \text{বেগে} \quad \text{বাহি} \).

\(\text{"bhn}({\&})\text{-n}({\&})\text{i} \quad \text{"goLd\text{-}d\text{-}gdm} \quad \text{"bhmr-begē} \quad \text{"bhr\text{-}i:\}}\)

The river of being is deep, with great force it flows:

\(\text{হাতে} \quad \text{চিথিল} \quad \text{ফাকে} \quad \text{ন} \quad \text{সাহী} \).

\(\text{"du({\&})\text{-ntē} \quad \text{"ti:k\text{-}k\text{-}l\text{-}d} \quad \text{"mā:�\text{-}fē} \quad \text{nd} \quad \text{"th\text{-}f\text{-}i\text{-}i:\}}\)

In (its) two ends (=sides) is mire, in the middle no bottom.
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER I

For the sake of Dharma, Cātīla builds a bridge:

["dhamarthaḥ 'jñatil | "jñānaṃ gṛñ'hit(e)i: |]

Men going across (can) cross with full reliance.

Having split (=cut down) the tree of Ignorance, he joins the boards:

["phaṃì(ẹ)i ("pha:rīn) 'mohā-turu | "paṭi: jñor(ẹ)i: |]

With the strong axe of Advaya (=monism) he strikes (?) at Nirvāṇa.

After having mounted on the bridge, turn not to the right or the left.

Bōdhi (=Supreme Knowledge) is near, go not afar.

If, O (ye) men, ye will be goers across,

Ask thou (=ye) Cātīla, the peerless Master.

(Caryā 33): The high place (?) is my home, there is no neighbour.

In (my) pot there is no rice, (yet) daily I come in.

This cripple (this frog), the world, too much wavering (hopping) it goes.
EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI PRONUNCIATION

["du:filə 'du:ði:o ki | "bøj:te ("bø:jte ? ) j₃am'a:(e)i:]  
The milk that is milked off, does it go back into the teat?

["bolədə bi(e)'a:(e)i]o | "g₃p(e)i(e)a: 'bø:jfe:]  
An ox has made a barren cow to bear:

A pail (full) is milked of three evenings (= three times a day).

The nude standing which is that (understanding), indeed is a praiseworthy understanding.

He that is the thief, he indeed is the honest man.

["niti niti 'fi(e):la | 'fi:fe 'fənd fi'fænd(e)i:]  
Day to day the jackal fights with the lion.

["di'fəndəpa:(e)erə | gitə | "birlə: bu'fei(e)i:]  
(This) song of Dhenḏhaṇa-pāda one understands all alone.

It would be seen that in the above extracts, verbal forms like "gärhayi, ṭaraŷi, jāŷi, jūjaŷi " (where in ordinary speech the final affix "aï" probably became a diphthong, "ai" to be changed into "e" of later Middle Bengali) had the euphonic "ɣ" glide = [ø], which would come in when in verse the affix would be pronounced as two syllables; and for metric reasons, the final "-i" would be lengthened whenever required.

EARLY MIDDLE BENGALI: 'ŚRI-KṚṣṇA-KIRTANĀ' (See P. 128).

[ŋ] seems to have been pronounced in the West Bengali of this work. ə " [-] was perhaps not yet [ø], but it is likely the higher back vowel was pronounced in groups like [oŋ = oĩ], and in other cases.
The basket of curds, by Yamuna's bank having put down,
Jāka pāde gōbrālinī chāri pās chāhiṁ ā.
"dāko pare 'go(ē)alini | "jāri pāfo 'jīā(hī)a"
The milkmaids raise a shout, having looked at four sides.
Bīhāṇ āilāhe! ētā te bēla āpār.
"bīnān (ē)ā'lahī (ē)ēthā | "bēlā: (ē)ā'pa:ro"
At dawn we have come here, the period is long.
Keta khetā bhāgo 'jābo āmīō | "mōthurāṇ 'pāro"
In how long a time shall we go to Mathurā's strand?
Ghāte rāghuān kahi gēlā se.
"gaṭāeṃ ghāti(ē)a:lo | "kēhi gēlā 'je:"
The ghaut-keeper of this ghaut—where is he gone?
Dāhiṁ chūparī mōar pār karī dé ā.
"dāhīro jūparī mōr | "pār ko:ri 'de:"
Do take to the other side my basket of curds.”
Nāēra āastāre gēlo jhāvālī rāihe ā.
"nā(ē)ērō (ē)āntōre gēli | "jōndrāboli (-ōli) 'rahi"
For the sake of a boat went Candraśalī Rādhākā.
Tarā pāchē 'arō ḍōto | "go(ē)alini 'jōhi"
Behind her, all the other milk-maid friends.
Keta dūr gījīā te bēti ā nāēra ā.
"kōthō durō 'gīā dekhō(ē)e | "ekn-khāni 'nā(ē)e"
After going some distance, a boat is seen.

tarā hrīṁhē rāihe tār pās yāē ā.
"jōtōōrō jīn(ē)i(ē)a raḥī | "tarō pāfo 'jōa(ē)e"
Being quick, Rādhākā goes beside it.
Tār ēmān gījīā te bēle rādhi gōbrālinī ā.
"tarō thānō 'gi(ē)a bole | "rādhi go(ē)alīni"
Going to its place (= near it), the Milkmaid Rādākā says:
কেহ মনে পার হিবি ছেটি না অৰ্থ খানি ॥

"কগিতু মনে 'পরা বিঠাল। 'জোহো না(৩)ন 'কানি।

"In what manner shall we cross? the boat is small.
একে একে পার হবা বাইব মথরা।

"কেক(৬)কেক 'পাতা হোসা | 'শো(৬)বো মথুরা।

Crossing one by one, we shall go to Mathurā.

সুকাই চতুষ্টি নাম না সহিব ভরা।

"জমঁহা(ে)ি জোপিলে না(৩)ন | "না জোপিলে বহুরা।

If all were to get into the boat, the weight will not be borne.

শুন বাটীবাল নাম চাপারিনি ঘাটে।

"যোরা গঁথি(ে)আলো না(৩)ন | "জোপা(ে)িা গঁথে।

Hear, O ghaunt-keeper! having brought your boat to the ghaut,

সুকা পার কৰ বাইউ মথুরার হাটে।

"জমঁহা পার 'করা শানি(৬)ু | "মথুরার লা নাহে।

Make us all cross over, let us go to Mathurā's mart.

রাধার বলে চোদী ঘটীবাল হাটে।

"রাধাবর বেল্যন জুনি | "গাথি(ে)আলো 'নাহে।

Having heard Rādhā's words, the ghaut-keeper smiles.

বা঳ী শানি বলী গাথিল চণ্ডীবাল।

"বাৰও জোৰি 'বরী বনী | "গাল্লু জোৰি।

Adoring Bāsali with his head, Candīdāsa sang.

(Page 294): কে না বাংশী বাপো বড়াঢ়ি কালিনী নাই কুলে।

"কে না বাঁশী 'বাপো 'বরাই | "কালিনী নৈ কুলে।

Who is it, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute on the bank of the Kālini river?

কে না বাংশী বাপো বড়াঢ়ি এ গোঠে গে কুলে।

"কে না বাঁশী 'বাপো 'বরাই | "(৬)ে গোথো 'গো কুলে।

Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute among these pastures and herds of kine?

আকুল শাবীর মোর বেআকুল মন।

"াকুল 'জোরী মোর | "(৬)োকুল মুন।

My body is all disordered, my mind is agitated.

বাংশীর শাকশে মো আউলাইলে। রাসন॥

"বাঁশীর 'জোবড়ে মো | "াুলালো 'রাবড়ন।

At the sound of the flute I disarranged my cooking (= domestic affairs).
Who is it indeed, O Grandmother, that plays on the flute, what man indeed is he?

At his feet, O Grandmother, what fault have I done?

At the sound of the flute, O Grandmother, I have lost my life.

Is it only to make my mind agitated,

The son of Nanda plays on (his) melodious flute.

I am not a bird, that I might fly and fall near him.

Let the earth open up, that having gone in I may hide.

The forest burns, O Grandmother, everybody knows it.
THE SOUND SYSTEM OF NEW BENGALI

মোঃ মন পোড়ে বেঙে কুষারের পলিল।
[ "মোঃ মনে পৃথে স্বাস্থ্য | "কুমনের পলিলী ]
But my heart burns, like the potter’s kiln.

আত্মীয় স্থখায় মোঃ কাছ আভিলাদে।
[ "অম্বর সৃষ্টিতে মোঃ কাছে | "কাননের অভিলাসে ]
For the desire of Kṛṣṇa, my heart is dried up.

বাসলী শিরে বন্দী গাইল চণ্ডীলাসে। (=last line of preceding extract).

LATE MIDDLE BENGALI AND NEW BENGALI.

140. In Middle Bengali of times post 14th century, certain other phonetic changes came in (e.g., epenthesis), which have been touched upon before (see p. 133). The development of one modern dialect in particular can be taken up in discussing the history of Bengali: and the dialect par excellence for that purpose is that of West Central Bengal (the Standard Colloquial). The phonological history of this dialect through Middle and Old Bengali has been attempted in the chapters that follow, side by side with that of the literary speech; and a survey of the phonetics of Late Middle Bengali is hardly necessary here.

The sounds of New Bengali, in the Standard Dialect as spoken by the educated people of Calcutta and West Central Bengal, have been described in ‘A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics’ (by S. K. Chatterji, London, 1921: originally in the BSOS., London, Vol. II, Part I; specimens of dialectal Bengali in the phonetic script have been given in the same journal, Vol. II, Part II. See also the LSI., V, I). Below are given in tabular form the sounds of the Standard Colloquial.

**Vowels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Front</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>u ū</td>
<td>i ů</td>
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<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>o ə</td>
<td>e Æ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ɔ ɔ̃</td>
<td>(ʌ) æ ə̃</td>
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<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ā a</td>
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### Consonants

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k  g</td>
<td>ō  ū</td>
<td></td>
<td>t  d</td>
<td>p  b</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kh  gh</td>
<td>th  dh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>çh  çš</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flapped</td>
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<td>r</td>
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<td>r</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>h  ŋ  ŋ  ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ç  s  z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f  v  F  v</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ē</td>
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<td>ŏ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Of the above sounds, it may be noted that [ɔ] is the sound of English *awe*, occurring in Bengali both long and short, and [æ] is very nearly that of Southern English *a* in *hat*, being somewhat lower than the English sound; and [ʌ] is found only in foreign words not naturalised. There is a large number of diphthongs, some 25, although the script recognises only 2; and there are some triphthongs also.

The retroflex [t ŋ] are no longer the cerebrals of OIA. (such as are still found in the Dravidian languages, and in Panjabi for instance among NIA speeches), but they have advanced forward considerably towards the palato-alveolar region, so much so that to a Bengali there is no difference between the so-called cerebrals of his language and the tŋ of English, alveolar sounds. [n, l] when before the retroflex
DIALECTAL SOUNDS OF NEW BENGALI

sounds, have a retroflex colouring, and [n] is also slightly palatalised before the palatal affricates. [s] is practically a variant of the [ʃ] phoneme under certain conditions; and [z] occurs in foreign vocables, and, rarely, as a modification of the native [ʃ], [f]. [f, v, v] are commonly substituted for the aspirates [bh, bh] of careful speakers. [h] is the sound occurring in the unvoiced aspirates, and is found by itself, in a final position, in interjections. [ə, ə] occur only as intervocal glides.

Length in vowels is not of significant importance, but the length (or doubling) of consonants is important. The stress in predominantly initial, and word-stress yields to sentence-stress, or to the dominant stress in the sense-group.

The more important sounds of dialectal Bengali may be noted.

[æ]: half-open front vowel, intermediate between [e] and [ə] of Standard Bengali, is found in the East Bengali dialects, as well as in the Bengali of the extreme West (see p. 112).

[a]: low or open front vowel, like a in English man as pronounced in the North of England: found in most Bengali dialects, but it cannot be said to characterise the speech of Calcutta and the surrounding area, where it is occasionally heard as subsidiary form of [a]: e.g., Dialectal Bengali কাল=কাল [ka:l] yesterday, to-morrow (besides কাল, কাল, kail, kail), from Old Bengali কালি [kali], and কাল [ka:l] time, death; but Calcutta Bengali, both the words=কাল [ka:l]; Dialectal Bengali আজ, আজ, আজ, আজ [a:ʃ, a:dz, a:z; ai dz, aidz, aiʃ; aidz, aiʃ] to-day (from Old Bengali আজ [aʃi], but Calcutta Bengali আজ [aʃ]).

[ts, dz]: dental affricates, which are the common East and North as well as North Central Bengali equivalents of the Standard Bengali [ʃ], [ʃ]. [z] is frequently found for [dz]; and [ʃ, bh] becomes [s] outside the West Bengal area.

[n] occurs in Bengali of the extreme West, but it is rather rare.

[ʔ] the glottal stop = the Alif Hamzah of Arabic, is found in some forms of East Bengali for [ʕ], in initial positions (see page 143).

A kind of bilabial [φ], in which the lips are much more widely separated from each other than in the case of the Standard Bengali.
[ph > r], with the acoustic effect of [ɦ] to the unaccustomed ear, is the East Vanga equivalent of a single [p, ph] of Standard Bengali.

[x]: the velar fricative, unvoiced, is found for [k, kh] in East Vanga, and in some forms of West Vanga as well.

[ŋ, ɠ, ʋ] also occur in most forms of Bengali owing to the under-articulation of intervocal stops, which is a common enough Bengali habit (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' § 31); and [ʷv] or [ʷ] is similarly found for intervocal [m].

**Percentage of Frequency of New Bengali Sounds.**

141. Standard Colloquial Bengali has thus the following sounds, viewed historically, with reference to the language as a whole:

Seven vowel sounds: [i, e, æ, o, a, ʊ, u]; and the rare foreign vowel [ʌ]. All these, except the last, are capable of nasalisation, [ʷ].

Eight stop sounds: [k, g, t, d, p, b];

Two affricates: [ɕ, ʃ];

Ten aspirates, stops and affricates: [kh, gɦ, çh, fɦ, fɭ, fɭ, th, dh, ph, bɦ]; (besides, the aspirated [rɦ] is found, as well as [nɦ, mɦ, lɦ]);

Three nasals: [ŋ, n, m];

One lateral: [l];

Two flapped sounds: [ɾ, ɹ];

Four fricatives: [h, f, ʃ, s]; (the fricative sounds of [f v, ʋ v] and [z] are not used by all speakers, and [ph, bɦ] and [ʃ] respectively for these would be quite normal).

Two semi-vowels: [ɛ, ɔ].

Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar (§ 75) has given an average of percentage of frequency of each sound in Sanskrit, which may be regarded as holding good for OIA. in general. I have tried to find out the comparative frequency of sounds for New Bengali, as in the colloquial speech in the educated Calcutta pronunciation. Taking 6 passages1 from

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1 These 6 passages, presenting an aggregate of over 9,000 sounds, were from the following works: from Kāli-Prasanna Simha's 'Intōm Pēnācār Naksā' (see p. 135), over 4,600 sounds; Baṅkim-Chandra Chatterji's 'Kāpāla-kuṇḍalā,' some 1,200 sounds; Madhusūdan Datta's 'Mēghaṇāda-vadha Kāvya,' about 900 sounds; Girish Chandra Ghosh's 'Bilwa-
as many writers, I transcribed them phonetically, and counted up the total numbers of sounds, individually and collectively, and then worked out the percentage. The results are given below: and for comparison with Sanskrit (OIA.), Whitney’s figures are quoted side by side. The order is that of the Indian alphabet. The Bengali diphthongs have been split up and included under the simple vowels making them up. Long (or the so-called ‘double’) consonants have been computed as two consonants, following general usage.

Vowels.

Bengali.  Sanskrit.
অ [ɔ]—6·63 ;  < a > [ a, ʌ, ə]—19·78,
আ [a]—11·32 ;  < a > [a:]—8·19 ;
ই, ই [i]—6·77 ;  < i > [i]—4·85, < i > [ii]—1·19 ;
ঈ, এ [u]—3·08 ;  < u > [u]—2·61, < ú > [u:]—0·73 ;
এ [e]—8·96 ;  < ŋ > [ŋ]—0·74, < ŋ > [ŋ]—0·01,
এ[আ]’ [æ]—0·98 ;  < ł > [l]—0·01 ;
ও [o]—7·82 ;  < ö > [e:, ? e:]—2·84 ; < ö > [o:, ? o:]—1·58 ;
‘আ’ [ʌ]—0·03 ;  < ə > [a:i, a:i]—0·51 ; < ã > [a:u]—0·18 ;
* [*]—0·58.  < t, n > [*]—0·63.

Consonants.

Bengali.  Sanskrit.
ক [k]—4·15,  খ [kh]—0·88,  [k]—1·99,  [kh]—0·13,
গ [g]—1·59,  ঘ [gh]—0·17,  [g]—0·82,  [gh]—0·15,
ঝ,ঞ [ŋ]—0·59 ;  [ŋ]—0·22 ;

mangal,’ a little less than 1,000 sounds; from Mm. Haraprasād Śāstri’s Presidential Address to the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, San 1321, about 1,000 sounds; and from among the recent poems of Rabindra-nāth Tagore, some 1,200 sounds.
Bengali. | Sanskrit.  
---|---
চ [চ]—1·37, ছ [ছ]—0·79, টি [টি]—1·46, ভ [ভ]—0·21; ঱ [঱]—0·14, ল [ল]—0·26, ড [ড]—0·64, ঢ [ঢ]—0·02; ত [ত]—3·83, থ [থ]—0·53, ধ [ধ]—2·51, ধ [ধ]—0·75, ন [ন]—4·97; 
প [প]—2·14, ফ [ফ]—0·36, [p]—2·46, [ph]—0·03, ব [ব]—4·44, ভ [bh] (v, v) —0·47, ভ [bd] —0·46, [bh]—1·27, 
ম [ম]—2·78; [m]—4·34; 
য [য]—1·06, [y]—7·01, [j]—4·25, [r]—5·05, ল [ল]—4·14, ল [ল]—0·69, ৰ, ভ ও ৰ [ল]—0·09; 
[ oxidation ]—3·64, স [স]—0·35, হ [হ]—1·40, [h]—2·02. 

In the above comparative tables, certain points are interesting, showing the result of transformation from OIA. to NIA.

OIA. <ā> became [o] as well as [a; a] in Bengali through compensatory lengthening in connection with the simplification of double consonants groups), as well as [o] in New Bengali times: hence the decrease in <ā> [o] and the increase of আ [a] and ও [o] sounds in Bengali. The large percentage of [e] in the Standard Bengali Colloquial in due to the habit of umlaut in that dialect, which has transformed many an [a] and [i] into [e].
FREQUENCY OF SOUNDS IN BENGALI & OIA.

In literary Bengali, the [e] would present a smaller figure. On the whole, vowel sounds in New Bengali are slightly in excess of what the case was in OIA as presented by Sanskrit (46.17% and 44.15% respectively).

The excess of [k] and [kh] in Bengali is due partly to the doubling of these sounds before y, r, l, v in tatsama words; and to some extent, the increase of [kh] is due to the modifications of Sanskrit ks. [ŋ] has developed from OIA. [ŋ, ŋg], as well as from anusvāra: hence the excess over Sanskrit.

The substantive verb-root aeh is partly responsible for the percentage of frequency of the [d(h)] sound. The palatal affricates have been largely due to the assimilation of the dentals with y. [d(h)] and [ʃ] acoustically are the most prominent sounds of Bengali.

The excess in the cerebrals is noteworthy—and it is just what can be expected from a descendant of the Māgadhī form of MIA.

The dentals have kept close to the OIA. figures, but the decrease of [t] is to be noticed. [t] was a common OIA. sound; it has been dropped in intervocal positions in NIA. (as, e.g., in the present verbal forms in -tī, and the passive participle in -ta); and besides, it has been in many cases cerebralised or palatalised. The [n] sound in Bengali has been re-inforced by the cerebral and palatal nasals.

Bengali [ph] in many cases is due to the aspiration of [p] in connection with a sibilant, which took place in MIA. All initial -v- s have become [b] in Bengali, in tadāhāras, and intervocally in tatsamas also: hence the increase in [b]. The weakening of [bh], one of the most characteristic sounds of OIA., to [ɦ], is partly the reason of the decrease of the sound in Bengali: we may note that -bh- figured in some common inflections of the noun in OIA., which have been lost. The loss of final -m-, so common in Sanskrit, and the transformation of intervocal -m- to a mere nasalisation, has led to the decrease of that sound in Bengali.

The semivowels of OIA., [i=j] and [u=w], have been changed respectively to [ʃ] and [b] when initial; and in the interior of a word, they have been either assimilated, or reduced to zero. Bengali started afresh with its own semi-vowel glides [ɔ, ə], which are optional intervocal
sounds only; and hence this low percentage in Modern Bengali with its large number of diphthongs not admitting a pronounced glide.

Some common suffixes of Modern Bengali—the plural and the genitive—have <r>: this certainly has helped the high frequency of this sound in the language. It will be seen that [r] is the most frequent consonant sound in Bengali, as [t] is in Sanskrit. ([r, p, f], combined, however, come second in Sanskrit).

[1] was quite a popular sound in the dialects of the East; and the Bengali verb has its simple past form, as well as a conjunctive indeclinable, with an [1] affix. These are the reasons of the discrepancy between Sanskrit (representing OIA., of the West) and Bengali.

The sibilants have become curtailed to some extent, owing to their assimilation in groups like <sc, st(h), sn, st(h), sp, sk, sp, sk> etc. In Bengali, [ʃ] takes the place of [s] of Sanskrit, the [s] sound being of rare occurrence; and [ʃ] is lost.

[ʃ] shows a slight excess. But the weakening of intervocal [kh qh, th dh, ph bh] to [ʃ] in MIA., would make us expect a bigger figure for this sound in Bengali. A great many intervocal [ʃ]s are dropped in New Bengali.

[h] was lost in MIA., and the sound is of independent development in Bengali where it occurs only finally in interjections.

The history of the development of the sounds of Modern Bengali from OIA., is now proceeded with from the next Chapter.
CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS.

ACCENT SYSTEM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON VOWELS.

Stress Accent in Indo-Aryan.

142. The MIA. vowel system was transformed into that of NIA., but there were certain losses, and changes in quality and quantity in NIA., which are remarkable; thus, an OIA. (Sanskrit) word like « utpātayati, utpātayati » became in MIA. « uppaṭeti, uppaṭedi, uppaṭeī, uppaṭai », which was transformed into New Bengali উপাদে > উপড়ে, উপড়ু « upārē, > upārāy, upārāy »: here we see the loss of the long medial vowel « ā » of OIA. Similarly, in OIA. word « bhrāṭjāyā »=late MIA. « * bhāu-jāā, bhāujja » = Bengali ভাউজ > ভাজ « bhāujā > bhājā », we see the loss of final and medial vowels in NIA.; and in a case like Bengali উনুন « unun » ovēn =OIA. « * uṣnāpanikā », we see not only loss of final vowels, but also change of « ā » to « u ».

All these modifications were due in the first instance to the accent system obtaining in the Aryan speech, specially during the transitional stage between MIA. and NIA., and to the subsequent operation of special phonetic habits which were developed in the various NIA. speeches (e. g., Vowel Harmony and Vowel Mutation or Umlaut in Bengali).

The kind of accent which was attended by the loss apparently of weak syllables, by concentrating on a particular syllable most of the effort required in pronouncing the whole word and thus neglecting the other ones, was undoubtedly an accent of force, a respiratory accent, or stress accent. This stress accent is often intimately connected with the raising or lowering of the tone of voice, or pitch (cf. Daniel Jones, ' An Outline of English Phonetics,' Leipzig, 1922, p. v) ; and in some cases, stress, or pitch, or both, means increase in the length of the syllable. Stress and pitch are both present in all languages, but each language has its
predilection one way or the other, either making stress the dominant speech attribute, subordinating pitch or musical tone to it (as for instance in English), or vice versa (as in the Old Greek). This pitch is with reference to the syllable in individual words,—apart from intonation or modulation of voice in connected speech, which is present in all languages in a more or less pronounced way.

In the oldest form of IA., as preserved in the Rig and the other Vedas and in the 'Brāhmaṇas,' pitch or musical accent was the predominant one; and the ancient Indian grammarians in explaining accent in Vedic have only thought of pitch or raising and lowering of the voice in the different syllables (udāttā, anudāttā, svarīta), and not stress. We have no indication as to how far the stress accent was present in OIA., or how strong it was. But it has been assumed by some scholars (pre-eminently H. Jacobi) that there developed in the Indo-Aryan speech a pronounced stress accent, in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. (i.e., in the First and Transitional MIA. stages), which was distinct from the earlier, predominantly musical, accent of OIA.; and this stress usually was on the first long syllable from the end of the word, and there was a secondary stress on the first syllable. This new stress accent roughly corresponded in place with that obtaining in classical Latin. (Cf. H. Jacobi, 'Über die Betonung im klassischen Sanskrit und in den Prakrit-Sprachen,' ZDMG., XLVII, pp. 571-582.) In the medieval and modern pronunciation of Sanskrit, when verses are simply read and not chanted to a set tune, it is this stress accent that obtained and still obtains now (cf. G. Bühler, 'Leitfaden für den Elementarcurus des Sanskrit,' Vienna, 1883; J. Wackernagel, 'Altindische Grammatik,' I, § 254; also the paper of H. Jacobi); and Grierson accepts this view of the presence of a 'Latin' stress in Early MIA., which formed the basis of the accent system of the NIA. speeches (G. A. Grierson, 'On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JRAS., 1895, pp. 139 ff.). Against Jacobi's view is Pischel's, who differentiated between the various MIA. dialects in their accent systems, and thought that certain dialects (like Mahārāṣṭrī, Ardha-māgadhi, Jainā Māgadhi, poetic Apabhraṃśa, and poetic Jainā Śauraseni—in short,
dialec­ts originating in the South-western IA. area, or employed, as in the case of Ardha-māgadhī and Jaina Śaurasenī, by people of the South-west) preserved the Vedic (OIA.) accent, at least with regard to the place where it occurred in the word; but other dialects of MIA. (like Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Dhakkī [= Ṭakkī, a North Panjāb speech; see p. 88] ) developed the new arrangement of stress which is preserved in classical Sanskrit. This theory of Pischel’s, of two systems of accentuation prevailing in MIA., is supported and developed by R. L. Turner, who notes the difference between Gujarātī and Marāṭhī (the former having a definite stress which differs in acoustic effect considerably from the absence or weakness of any stress in Marāṭhī), and seeks to establish that the original Indo-European accent as preserved in OIA. (Vedic), did not change its place, although it became a stress from pitch, and was carried on in Marāṭhī, a descendant of Māhārāṣṭrī, but it was the new stress system of MIA. (Śaurasenī etc.) that was continued into Gujarātī and the rest. (R. Pischel, ‘Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen,’ § 46; R. L. Turner, ‘The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhī,’ JRAS., 1916, pp. 250-251.) Jules Bloch is sceptical about the speculations as to the presence of a stress accent in MIA., and does not think that the NIA. speeches possess a stress either, and believes that the rhythm in NIA. is mainly quantitative; but he admits that accent is not a stable phenomenon in speech, and that in India the Aryan speech, in its development in the various parts of the country at different times, underwent different modifications with regard to the accent, through contact with different non-Aryan tongues which have given place to it (J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ §§ 32, 36; ‘l’ Accent d’ Intensité,’ in the Bhāṣādarśak Comm. Volume, pp. 359-364).

The question of accent (stress accent) in IA. is indeed a complicated one, and the absence of sure evidence in this matter for OIA. and MIA. leaves room only for a hypothesis about its existence in the earlier phases of IA. In NIA., a stress or expiratory accent does exist, at least in some forms of NIA., e.g., Standard Bengali, Hindōstānī, Sinhalese; and my impression is that it is found in all forms of NIA., although it is frequently associated with length. This side of NIA. phonetics, however, has
not been fully enquired into. The loss of unstressed vowels, initial, medial and final, in a breath group of a single word or a group of words, as we can see from most languages, is generally the result of a strong expiratory stress.\(^1\) Witness the development of the Romance languages from Latin, witness cases of contraction like English [ˈboʊsθ] from ˈbæt+sveinn, [ˈhæzif] from ˈhʊs-wɪf, Parisian French [titˈmɛʁ] = ˈpetite mère, Bengali দেরক (dérk(h)o) wooden lamp-stand from *diwa-rākh-uā (= dīparakṣa-ūka), Hindīstānī [dubˈlɑː] from ˈdubbala-, durbala-, [ˈpjɑːr] from ˈpiya-āra, priya-āra; witness also cases in Bengali like নেন্দুগুরা [ˈnɛndɔɡoɾa] for নিয়া আয়িস গিয়া জায় = go and get, do (lit. having taken, come, having gone, go).

In OIA., the loss of unstressed syllables is found, but is rather rare: e.g., ˈɑnu vartiṣyē > ˈán-vartiṣyē; ˈsu-vārṇa > svarṇa; ˈjānu+bila > jām-bila; ˈsn-nu-más > su-n-más; ˈsūnara > *sūnra > *sundra > sundara; *avīs > viś > bird, cf. Latin ˈauis; ˈtila-pīṇja>til-pīṇja; Vedic ˈtmān > atmān; etc. (A. A. Macdonell, ‘Vedic Grammar,’ § 18; the article by Jacob in the ZDMG., XLVII; J. Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, § 53). Cases are on the increase in MIA., as in Pali and the Prakrits of the Second MIA. stage; as well as weakening of unaccented syllables: e.g., Pali ˈjaggaṭi < *jaggrati < *jāgarati < jāgarti, ˈdhītā < duḥtí; ˈdaka < udaka; ˈkīnāti < kriṇāti, ˈkāhāpāṇa=kārṣa-pāṇa; ˈdānīm=iddānīm; Prakrit (Arḍha-māgadhī) ˈlāu = alābu, ˈrāhāṭṭa = araghāṭṭa; ˈsaukha-pada > * sanakhapada > saṇapphaya, ˈkatta < kalātra < kalatra, ˈpoppālā < pūgaphala = pūgāphala; ˈutkāṭa = ukkhā; ˈsāhāyya=sāhījja; ˈsurbhi > *surbhi > subbhi; ˈṭhilla < siddhila=śithila; ˈsīrīṣa < ˈsīrīṣa; ˈpōsaha > upavasatha; ˈhau < ahakat(i), ahām; ˈōkkhala, ūkkhala = *udkhala = udūkhalā, cf. Bengali উখলি ˈuhkāli etc., etc. The presence of a strong stress accent in

\(^1\) Cases of loss of a syllable as a result of low pitch are found, but are extremely limited: e.g., London English [ˈʃʊkju, kju] for a conventional thank you [ˈθæŋkju], where the high pitch in which the second syllable is pronounced makes the preceding one almost inaudible, although normally it is the stressed syllable in this sense group. Here pitch is more powerful than stress.
MIA., a new development in the Aryan speech which was brought in after the decay of the old tone, at least in the Northern Indian plains, can thus be very well assumed.

**Accent in Old Bengali.**

143. The general lines of NIA. vowel phonology, as a phenomenon connected with stress, have been laid down by Grierson ('On the Stress Accent in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars,' JRAS., 1895; also cf. R. L. Turner, 'The Indo-Germanic Accent in Marāṭhi,' JRAS., 1916). The Northern IA. languages, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, Rājasthānī Gujarātī, Sindhi, Panjābī (Eastern and Western), Bhōjpuriyā, Maithili, and Magahi, seem in the main to agree with the stress system which characterised all Aryan speech, except perhaps in the South-west (the Marāṭhi area). The stress system of Modern Bengali, however, presents a striking contrast with other NIA. speeches. All Bengali dialects, however, cannot be said to possess a uniform system of stressing: the accent habits of the various dialectal areas have not been studied, and only some general remarks can be made about the Standard Colloquial Speech. In this form of Bengali, the stress is dominantly initial; and word-stress surrenders itself entirely to sentence stress, the initial syllable of the first important word in a sense-group having the stress, and the other words losing their stress if they possess it when isolated. Learned Sanskrit words not fully naturalised, however, frequently retain a non-initial stress, which is generally on the first long syllable or closed syllable from the end. (S. K. Chatterji, 'Bengali Phonetics,' op. cit., § 58.) The main point of difference between pan-IA. accent and the Bengali Standard Dialect accent therefore consists in this: Bengali accent is initial, and a Bengali phrase, or breath-group, or sense-group, has only one stress, an initial one. The history of Assamese and Oṛiyā, the sister-speeches of Bengali, in this matter is not known; but Oṛiyā in the 15th century seemed to possess a non-initial stress, on the ante-penultimate syllable (cf. p. 107); and in Modern Oṛiyā, the stress is not initial, unlike that of Standard Bengali. Early Assamese seems also to have possessed a non-initial stress like
Oriyā (see p. 94), but the actual conditions have not been studied; but it seems that in Modern Assamese, although we find plenty of initial stress, the general speech habit is not such as we meet with in Standard Bengali, in favouring a dominant initial stress, verbal and phrasal.

Non-initial stress is now found in some of the dialectal forms of Bengali, e.g., in the dialects of the extreme West, and it seems also in the Western Vaṅga dialects. As it frequently happens, stress is confounded with length and with pitch. This matter, however, has not been investigated at all, and opinion cannot be safely given about any form of Bengali except the Standard Colloquial. But a strong initial phrase stress seems to be present in most forms of Bengali. This might be due to a recent influence of the West Central Dialect, the dialect par excellence for initial stress. But judging from the general trend of pan-Bengali phonology, it seems that a strong non-initial stress was prevalent all over Bengal, in the formative period of the language, and gave to Bengali as a whole some of its distinctive features in vowel phonetics. The rule of the short antepenultimate in Maithili (Grierson, 'Maithili Grammar', ASB., pp. 16 ff.), or a similar shortening of long vowels through lack of stress in Western Hindi (cf. S. H. Kellogg, 'Hindi Grammar', § 84; see also before, p. 160), turning a borrowed Persian word like <jān-war> animal to <jānāwar> in Hindōstānī, is a phonetic habit more or less common to most forms of NIA., which has been inherited by NIA. from MIA. But this has been discarded by Bengali entirely. The oldest Bengali, judging from forms actually preserved, was only in partial agreement with its sister and cousin speeches by not wholly doing away with the vowel and stress system inherited from MIA.

In fact, it seems that during the formative period of Bengali, there were two systems of accent which were both current in the language,—

(1) the pan-Indian system, which by preference placed the stress on a long penultimate, and (2) the peculiarly Bengali system, which sought to bring all stress to the head of the word. Examples of the first system are furnished by the following forms of names from the inscriptions: <Hāḍī-gāŋga> = ḍādī + gāṇḍā <Hāḍī-gāŋga = ḍāḍīka-gāṅga> (see p. 183);
TWO SYSTEMS OF STRESS IN BENGALI 281

< Lācchu-vaḍā (p. 185) = *Lācha-vaḍā for *Lācha-vaḍā>, which would give a New Bengali *nāča < *Nāchā (cf. *ghātā = ghaṭṭa >, with simplification of MIA. double stops, in the same inscription); < Jáugalla < *Jāu-galla (p. 185); < Ambayilla for *Āmbayilla > (p. 186), compare < Khāṇḍayilla > in the same inscription; < Nīca-ḍahāra > for < *Nica- > (p. 187); < Citaḍi- > for *Cita- > (p. 187); < Aṭha- > in a compound form, for < āṭha- > (p. 188) : compare < Sāta-kōpa > at p. 183. One can compare also the form < kāṇā-mōtika > for *kāṇā-mōḍia > (p. 180): here < kāṇā > evidently is for a MIA. < kaṇa- = karṇaka > edge; and the simplification of the double consonant, with compensatory lengthening weakened to short quantity, is remarkable for the early date of this inscription. In the Cāryā-padas, there are a number of forms showing, from the arrangement of vowels, the normal NIA. stress: it is quite likely that from the fact of the MS. of the Cāryās having been written in Nepal, the characteristic stress and quantity of Northern NIA. have insinuated themselves in these cases. Still, the following forms are noteworthy: < āvaṇāgavāna (Cāryā 7: āganakaka-gamana-, New Bengali āgaṇa-gānā āgānā); āhāriu (19, 26: = āhāritam); bhātāra (20: *bhātāra=bhātṛ); kāla (21: kāla-); āpāṇē, āpāṇā (22: āpāna- = ātman); ādhā-ṛati (2, 22: ardha>addha, ādhā+ṛati); bāpā (32: bāpa<vappa, vapa, father); gāvī (33: gāvī-); maī āhārika pāṇiya (35: mayā+ēna *āhārita+ila pāṇiṣya-); pāṭāvāla oar (38: pātra>patta, pāta+pāla); hāthā (41 = hātha-, hasta-); ādasa (46: semi-tatsama,=ādāsa); sāmāya (40: =sāmāyati enters: but cf. sāmāya, in 33)>; etc., etc. From Sarvāṇanda’s ‘Tīkā-sarvasva’ (see p. 109), we can note < pāgāra > (prākāra): in New Bengali, this word has preserved the short < ā > in the initial syllable—pāgāra < pāgar > dilch; < āmbāḍa (āmrāta); sānkṛama = sā(ŋ)kāma (saṅkrama); jhāmpāṇa = jhāpaṇa litter (= yāpya-yāna, New Bengali ымān < jhāpaṇa >). With the above forms, showing in general a stress scheme < < < or < <., < <., or < <., or <., we can compare the following, from Old Bengali as well: < Kāliyā (p. 181); Kāṇa-dvipikā (p. 181); Kāṭā-bācha, Sāta-kōpā, Bhāṭa-vaḍā (p. 183); Sānti-vaḍā (also Sānti-vaḍā) (p. 184); Kānti-jogga, Ghāsa-sambhōga Bhāṭa- (= Bhāṭa-)vaḍā (p. 186); Khāṇḍayilla, Vālla-hiṭṭā
p. 186); Bārayi-paḍā, Vira-kāṭhī (p. 188); Sāṅkara-pāśa (p. 185); Bāghapokhirā (p. 188). In Sarvānanda we have also the following; « bāsā-hara > (=vāsa-grha) = Middle and New Bengali bāsā-rā chamber to which a wedded couple retire (a non-initial stress would have given a New Bengali *bāsārā *) ; kālaja, kālēja (kālēya), cf. Western Hindi kālējā borrowed into Bengali as kālejā, kālejā, kālijā; kāhara> (kārāṛa, kārāḥara); dāḍha-kākā = New Bengali dāḍhā-kākā jackdaw; and cāmāthī (carma-yaśā). The Caryās give us « Kāmaru (Carya 2: Kānarūpa), sāṅkama = sākāwa (5: saṅkrama) = New Bengali sākē « sākō » bridge; kācchhi (8: kacchhikā); cānda-kānti (31: candrā-kānti); Jālandhari (36: cf. W. Hindi Jālandhari); pāṇḍitācārya; pāṇiā (43: pāṇiya); bāsāsi (15: vasāsi); hānu (10, 18, 20, 25: *haū, ahakañ = ahām); kāma-caṇḍālī (18: karma-caṇḍālikā); āhārā (21: āhāra-); bālāga (26: bālāgra = kēśāgra), etc., etc.

From the above instances, it might be inferred that there were two systems of stress in Old Bengali, and also in pre-Bengali, and neither of these could be said to have been finally triumphant, to the entire exclusion or suppression of the other, during the Old Bengali period. But the initial stress had the victory ultimately, and by the end of the Early Middle Bengali period, it is very likely that it was active in West Central Bengali and in most Bengali dialects, thus giving to Modern Bengali words their typical forms. The following examples will illustrate the case:

Old Bengali Middle Bengali New Bengali
« āmbāḍa, *āmbāḍā (āmrātaka): āmbārā, āmārā: āmrā āmrā »
« paḍīyēśi (pravēśin): pārśi: pārśī »
« *tāmbōlī, tāmbōlī (tambulika): tāmulī: tāmulī »
« *akhāḍā (akṣa-vātaka): ākhārā: ākāṛā ākāṛā »
« *kumhā (kā?)dā (kuṣmāṇḍa-): kūmarā: kūmārā kūmārā »
« *pakhalāi (prakṣālayati): pākhāle, pākhālē: pākhalē ».
< Campā-hiṭṭi > (as in inscriptions, a village name): Chāmpāti Chāmpāṭi »
a surname.

In Old Bengali, forms with initial stress seem also to have occurred side by side with those quoted above. In the Early Middle Bengali of
the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,' there are indications that initial stress obtained: hence, the initial अ «ā» [n] occurs as «ā» [a:, a] in this work—a tendency, although controlled by tātsama forms, which has persisted even at the present day: e.g., आवृति «ābdhi» (abuddhi), आसुक्त «āsukha» (a-), आनल «ānala», आनुभूति «ānumatī», आनुपाम «ānupāma» (anupama), आलक «ālaka», etc., etc.; also in tadbhavas—आईहप «Āihaṇa» (Abhimanyu), अअर «āara» (apara); cf. also अई «āihā» (avidhavā). Compare also बाख्यान «bākhāna» (vyākhyāna: W. Hindi bākhān); काठाल «kānthāla» (cf. Old Bengali कānça-bhāla» [Sarvāṇanda], = New Bengali काठाल «kāthāla») * jack-fruit; कांपिक «Kāmpīkti» (Kṛṣṇa: cf. W. Hindi Kāmhaī, Kānhaiyā), New Bengali कानाइ «Kānai»; पालाव «pālā» (= pālā: palāvatī); बाजा «bājā» (vādyā+âpayati); बार्ह «bārhā» (v ardâaphayati); बार्ह «bārhā» (bandhâpayati: cf. Caryā 31, bandhāvā); पाठ «pāthā» (prasthâpayati); साम «sām» (samâyati); etc., etc. Middle and Modern Bengali forms with long vowel in initial syllables demonstrate sufficiently that of the two systems of accentuation which can be noticed to exist side by side in Old Bengali (and possibly also in Magadhī Apabhraṃśa as spoken in Bengal, during the closing centuries of the MIA. period), the system which may be called pan-Indian, preferring the accent on a long syllable from the end, had to yield to that which was peculiarly of Bengal.

It may be presumed that the agreement in matters of stress with the sister-speeches of Northern India was a point which characterised the Proto-Bengali speech (as well as Magadhī Prakrit, as brought by settlers from Bihar and Upper India who introduced the Aryan speech into Bengal), and that the initial stress habit was the indigenous one which was imposed upon the language as it became the speech of the masses, who were originally of non-Aryan race and language. It may be that the two systems of accentuation at first characterised class dialects: Sarvāṇanda in his glossary makes a passing reference to «nicōkti» or vulgar speech, apparently in contrast to a respectable dialect. The initial stress might originally have characterised the speech of the lower classes,—at least in certain districts. It is quite possible that even in the pre-Bengali period, the initial stress had already become established, but in writing the words of the language,
the earlier tradition came out in the spelling. But in any case, it can be
legitimately assumed that the indigenous habit got the better of the Upper
Indian one, originally belonging to the Aryan language, and shaped the
forms of Bengali. These two cross influences, together with the fact of
dialects, have helped to deprive Bengali of a regularity in its phonology.
The languages which were replaced by the Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa in Bengal
were Dravidian, Kōl and Môn-Khmēr (Austro-Asiatic), and Tibeto-Burman.
It has been presumed that in Primitive Dravidian, the accent was on the
initial or root syllable (K. V. Subbayya, IAnt., 1909, p. 161); the Tibeto-
Burman (Boḍo) is said to have a strong initial phrase stress (cf. J. D.
Anderson, 'Accent and Prosody in Bengali,' JRAS., 1913, pp. 857 ff.);
and as for Austro-Asiatic, nothing definite seems to have been established.

Accent and Versification in Bengali.

Origin of the Bengali Syllabic Metres.

144. Nothing is known about sentence stress in OIA. and MIA.
The position of the pitch accent of OIA. with reference to the sentence,
however, is partly known (A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar,' §§ 109,
110, 111). The sentence accent of Old Bengali—the West Bengali dialect
from which the modern Standard Colloquial is derived, at least—can possibly
be guessed from the development of Bengali verse. Old Bengali (and
also Eastern Magadhan) verse had a special course of its own, differentiating
itself from that of Central and Western Māgadhī versification (and from
that of other IA. speeches), by substituting a syllabic cadence for one
on a moric basis. Late MIA. and Early NIA. possessed the mātrā
or moric rhythm in verse, in which each half or quarter of a couplet
consisted of a fixed number of instants distributed among long or short
syllables of which the number was immaterial. The Upper Indian mātrā
metres were apparently introduced into Bengali and into other Eastern
Magadhan dialects during their formative period, as a literary imposition,
but they were never naturalised in the East,—in Bengali, Assamese and
Oriyā. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Hindi and Maithili influences
revived the Western (Apabhraṃśa) traditions in versification in Bengali,
THE 'PAYĀR' METRE

Assamese and Orijā, but these local speeches, which had by this time found themselves metrically, as it were, refused to take up the mātrā-ṛṣita metres; and the mātrā metre had to use the artificial Braja-buli dialect, with its Maithili basis, as its vehicle in the East. There seems to have been present a system of indigenous versification, based on Proto- and Pre-Bengali speech rhythm, and possibly non-Aryan in origin, in Bengal, of which we have no knowledge, but which apparently altered the general character of Eastern prosody. Bengali-Assamese and Orijā developed some common metres, which may be an inheritance from the Eastern Magadhan Apabhraṇa: e.g., the 'Payār' metre (Bengali পাযার < payār >, Assamese পাড়া, পাযার, পাবার < payār >, Orijā < payārā >), which is entirely syllabic, in its purest form. This metre takes the place of the 'Dōhā' and the 'Caṇpāl' of Northern India in popularity. The 'Payār' is a rimed couplet of two lines, each consisting of 14 syllables; and there is a pause after the eighth syllable. The <ā ē ī ō ū > vowels of common IA., and vowels which were long by position (i.e., when they occurred before two consonants), did not have any prominence over the short <ā ē ī ō ū > in the line, and neither did the diphthongs. This sort of levelling in verse implies the loss of vowel quantity as a significant element in speech. We have also to consider that verses in Old and Middle Bengali, Assamese and Orijā (and even at the present day in these languages), were chanted, and the tune made an adjustment of irregularities in the shape of absence of or excess over the requisite number of syllables. In the Payār as used by Bengali-Assamese and Orijā during their oldest periods, we cannot tell for certain how far the stress accent played a part. In the Payār as read or chanted now in Bengali, there is a stress on the first syllable of each line, generally followed by a stress on the fifth syllable, and then comes the pause after the eighth syllable, the second part of the line commencing with the stressed ninth syllable, and the thirteenth also has a stress, which is quite strong, as it is frequently accompanied by length. Examples from the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana' have been given at pp. 250-254. This stress system is a noteworthy thing in the Bengali Payār: and although in the Modern Bengali Payār, or in the Bengali blank verse based
on the Payār, the stress arrangement becomes much more varied, the basis commonly remains as follows:

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In Assamese and Oriya, too, the arrangement of the Payār is exactly as in Bengali, the pause being after the eighth syllable, and the thirteenth is always a strong syllable, but the stresses on the other syllables—namely, on the first, fifth and ninth, are not so strong as in Bengali: but nevertheless, some sort of stress does exist on the first and the ninth, which can be easily distinguished when the Assamese and the Oriya Payār are chanted: and the great point common to the Bengali Payār and those of Assamese and Oriya lies in the division of the line into two parts of 8 + 6 syllables respectively, and in the thirteenth being a syllable which is stressed or made long, i.e., in some way or other made more prominent than the rest. Specimens of Oriya and Assamese Payār are given below.

Oriya: < sādhu-jānā- | mānē śuṇā || ēkā-mānā | kāri ||
bicitrā dē | uḷā tuḷā || kāhibi bis | tāri || . . . .
kāhā māhā- | muni mōtē || śē āpūrbā | līlā ||
kē kēmāntē | Jāgānnāthā- || dēḷā tu | līlā || >

Listen with one intent, ye good people:
I shall describe in detail the wondrous Raising of the Temple . . . .
Tell me, great sage, that marvellous gest:
Who raised the Temple of Jagannātha, and how. (From the 'Dēḷā-tōḷā'
or 'Śrī-ksētrā-māhātmya,' Contai edition, p. 3).

Assamese: < bihānē bā | jāīlā khēri || khelāibārā | tāre ||
bhai gāilā bi | yālā putā || ebhō nāilā | ghārē ||
Jāmunārā | tīrē tīrē || phirē Nandā- | jāyā ||
bhaiilā acē | tānā sātē || Kṛṣṇākā | nā-pāyā || >

He went out at dawn to play his games:
It has become afternoon, yet (my) son has not come home.
The wife of Nanda wanders along the banks of the Yamuna:
The good wife became senseless not having found Kṛṣṇa. (From the 'Cūra-
dhāra Nāṭ' of Mādhava-dēva, edited by Bāṇī-kānta Kākatī, p. 8.)
THE 16 MORIC METRE IN EARLY BENGAL

It is quite possible that the Payār metre when it was formed did not have the stresses which characterise it now—it was only a question of quantity. But the total disregard of Common I.A. quantity is surprising. In the 14th century Early Middle Bengali of the 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Kīrttana,' in the 15th century remains of Assamese, and in the 16th century specimens of Oṛiyā, the Payār is in a perfectly developed form. We have evidence of literary culture and of song-craft and verse-making in Bengal in the 10th-12th centuries. The Payār can only be expected to be a 11th century development of a metre in use in vernacular poetry of the 10th-12th centuries. In the specimens of Old Bengali as in the Caryās, we have no Payār, but we find that a 16 moric metre is quite popular. In its pauses, it agrees with the Payār, and often in the number of its syllables too, 14. This we can see also from the songs of the 'Gīta-govinda.' This 16 moric metre is the 'Pādākulaka,' which evidently was introduced into Bengal during the late M.I.A. period. It has become the 'Caupār' of Northern India, from the Panjab and Gujrat to Bihar. (Cf. 'Prākṛt-Paṅgala,' pp. 223-224; Kellogg's 'Hindi Grammar 2,' p. 578.) All sorts of arrangements for the 16 morae were possible; but the type which was preferred in Bengal was the one in which each line of the couplet was divided into four feet of 4 morae each, which could be arranged in one of the following ways—(i) '‘‘‘‘, (ii) --, (iii) - - '‘‘‘, (iv) '‘‘‘ - --, (v) '‘‘‘-'‘‘‘, the second scheme being preferred in the fourth foot. There was usually a pause after the second foot (i.e., after the 5th instant). The bulk of the Caryās are in this metre (see pp. 250-251). It may be that here there was the influence of a 13 moric metre, arranged into four pādas of 8 and 7 instants, in the fixing of the pause in the 16 moric one. In Old Bengali, however, the O.I.A. and M.I.A. quantity is lost, and vowels which historically ought to be long are pronounced short. A common type of Pādākulaka, which thus seems to have been specially liked in Bengal, and in the Eastern Magadhan area, is this:

- - - - | - - - - || - - - - | - - ||

Jaya-dēva had a fine ear for music, and in writing his pādas (whether in the vernacular, i.e., Old Bengali, or in Western Āpabhraṃśa, or in
Sanskrit—see pp. 125-126), which were unquestionably meant in the first instance for a Bengali audience, he frequently arranges his 16 moric lines according to the above scheme: e.g.,

« viharati Haririha | sarasa-vasantë || » (Song 3, refrain);
« rāsē Harīmiha | vihita-vilāsam ||
smarati manō mama | kṛta-parihāsam ||
(= ? * sumaraī maṇa mama | kia-parihāsam ||)» (Song 5, refrain);
« sarasa-maśṛnamapi | malayaja-paṇkam ||
paśyati viśamiva | vauṣi saṣaṇkam ||2||
śvasita-pavanamanu | pama-pariṇāham |
madana-dahanamiva | vahati sadāham ||3|| » etc., etc. (Song 9);
« paśyati diśi diśi | rahasi bhavantam |
tadadhara-madhura-ma | dhūni pibantam ||1||…
« madhu-ripurahamiti | bhāvana-śilā ||4|| » etc. (Song 12);
« dalita-kusuma-dara- | vilulita-kēśā ||1||…
mukharita-rasana-ja | ghanat-gati-lōlā ||4||…
srama-jala-kaṇa-bhara- | subhaga-śarīrā | 7 | » (Song 14);
« janayasi manasi ki | miti guru-khēdam ||6|| » (Song 18).

The arrangement, — — — | — — — || — — — | — — ||, as in most of the lines quoted above, gives a perfect Payār of 14 syllables, with a strong thirteenth syllable. Couplets in the vernacular or Apabhraṃśa were known as « pada » in Old Bengali, as we can see from the Sanskrit commentary to the Cāryās. The syllabic metre which arose out of the moric « padas » ¹ came to be called « pāyāra » or « pāvāra » (= padākāra) in Bengali-Assamese and Oriyā, and the old term also continued to be applied to this new form of couplet (cf. Assamese « pada »).

¹ The connection between the syllabic Payār and the moric metre of the 'Gīta-gōvinda' was suggested long ago by Rāma-gati Nīyya-ratna in his work on the Bengali Language and Literature (see page 187), p. 37. But this connection has been disputed by some (e.g., Śāsānka Mōhan Sēn, in the 'Pravāś' for Āśāda, 1321, p. 267).
VERSIFICATION IN BENGALI: STRESSED METRE.

145. The tendency to divide the line into sense or breath groups of four instants (which became four syllables, normally, as in the Payár metre, as developed out of the 16 moric Pādakulaka), is a noteworthy one, and it savours of an initial sentence stress such as characterises New Bengali. There is another common Eastern Magadhan metre, the < tripadi > or < lācāri, lēcharī (< rathyā) >, which is also on this basis of four instanced or four syllabled breath-groups. Specimens of it we find as early as the 12th century, in the ‘Gīta-govinda,’ e.g.,

< rati-sukha- | sārē || gatamabhi | sārē
madana-ma | nōhara- || vēsam * || (Song 11);
< samudita- | madanē || ramaṇī- | vadanē ||
eumbana- | valitā || dharē || * (Song 15).

Also lines like < vādasi yadu | kīncidapi | danta-ruci- | kāumudī ||
harati dara- | timiramati- | gōram || * (Song 19),
would seem to be based on the principle of breath groups detached from each other by initial stress; and such lines, the quantity apart, would be perfectly natural in Bengali. The speech habit of Bengali in dividing the sentence into a number of convenient sense or breath groups of about equal length, with a dominant initial stress; is responsible for the development of the stressed metres of Bengali. The syllabic principle of a fixed number of akṣaras no doubt came into operation, but the general history of Bengali versification implies the presence of a strong initial phrase stress in the language. The theory of akṣaras, however, became rigid, and influenced all versification in formal literature in Late Middle Bengali times, and prevented the principle of stress in metre from being recognised for a long time. The habit of chanting verses also was responsible for this to some extent.

In Bengali, at the present day, three different systems of versification obtain.1 These are: (1) the < māstrā-vṛtta >, or the old moric metre: this

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1 The most systematic study of Bengali versification, hitherto published, is by Prabodh-Chandra Sen, in a recent series of articles to the ‘Pravāsi’ (Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna and
remains more as an exotic versification, the popularity of the Vaiṣṇava lyrics in Braja-buli having familiarised the people with it. In it, all diphthongs and closed syllables or syllables followed by two consonants, are long. (2) The «ākṣara-vṛttā», or syllabic metre, which started from a fixed number of ākṣaras or syllables, but the elision of vowels in these ākṣaras brings about a decrease of syllables, which is compensated by lengthening the syllable preceding the vowel elided, and by a rhythmic adjustment of the line; and the fixed number of ākṣaras can be increased by adding fresh ākṣaras with quiescent vowels. It thus can be described as being in principle a moric metre; but it differs from the proper moric metre in not necessarily increasing the quantity of a vowel or a syllable, because it is a diphthong or because it is followed by two consonants. Thus, in moric lines like the following—

ललाटे | जय-टीका || प्रहन || हार गले || चले रे || दीर चले |
| से कार || नहे कार || रघुनन || तैरव || कन || शिख जले |
| [ललाटे | दृष्ट-टीका || प्रहन- || हार गोल || दृष्ट- || रघुनन || रघुनन || तैरव || कन || शिख जले ||

Je kara | nahe kara || jhakhan || bhuro || rudra || jhika bhule ||

Mark of victory on his brow, wreath of flowers on his neck, he goes, oh, the hero goes;

That prison is not a prison where the terrible flame of Rudra flashes

(from Kāzī Nazrul Islām),

each foot consists of 3+1=7 morae (ś, i, u, ē, ō) of Sanskrit as a rule not having length, except in lines frankly on the Sanskrit, Prakrit or Brajabuli model, and the diphthong [oi] and the closed vowels in [hur, bir, rudra=rudhra] are equivalent to 2 morae. Or in lines like—

Caitra, 1329 San, and Vaiśākha, 1330 [=1922-23]), which clearly distinguishes between the three types of metre in Bengali, and classifies them on a scientific basis. Some of the examples quoted above are from Mr. Sōn's articles. The most suggestive papers of Rabindra-nāth Tagore (in the 'Sabuj Pattra' for Jyaiṣṭha and Śrāvaṇa, 1321, and Caitra 1324), and of the late Satyendra-Nāth Datta (the article 'Chanda-Sarvasvati' in the 'Bhārati' for Vaiśākha, 1325) are other important contributions in this line; as also the articles by Śaśāṅka-Mōhan Sōn ('Bāṅgalā Chanda,' in the 'Pravāsi' for Āsadhā, 1321) and Bijay-Chandra Mazumdar ('Bāṅgalā Chanda,' 'Pravāsi' for Agrabāyaṇa, 1322).
'MĀṬRA' AND 'AKṢARA' METRE

Each foot except the last has four morae, the diphthongs and the closed syllables being long. A certain amount of stressing is inevitable, as New Bengali has strong stresses, but that is not absolutely necessary. But in 'akṣara-vṛttā' lines like—

Slowly, towards the Sea, wetted with tears,
They march, filling the land with the sound of lamentations (from the 'Mēghanāḍa-vadha' of Madhusūdan Datta),

there is no question of quantity as the basis of versification, but of a rhythm which holds itself within the limits of 14 syllables or instants; and in counting these instants, [ˈʃindhu] and [osˈru] are as much two instants as [ˈdʰire] and [ˈtiti], and the rhythm requires the lengthening of [dɛʃ] and [bɪʃəd] to make up for the loss of final [ɔ] which counted as a syllable. And, similarly, lines like

A most difficult doctrine, filled with terrible scholarship (an example given by Rabindra-nāth),

and

In the woods, the flower-buds all have burst open (Madan-Mōhan Tarkālaṅkāra)
are equally regarded as good Payār lines, of the same value.

(3) The third type of metre is the stressed one, «svara-vṛtta», as it has been happily named. The pivot of this metre is stress: a line divides itself into a number of feet, in which the quantity or the number of individual syllables is of secondary importance, although the whole foot takes up a certain length, and each foot has one stress, mostly initially, and only one. The preponderance of closed syllables in the colloquial, i.e., in the actual, living Bengali, which alone is suitable for this metre, gives it a force and a swing which is totally absent in the other metres which are based on the tamer movement of Early Middle Bengali (which did not, from the fact of final and medial vowels being not as yet dropped, have closed syllables, except in Sanskrit tātsamas). Thus, for example,—

 samañnek tui | ṭar k'oreciś! || pōhun tōbe | dīrbōe, ||
 emn k' tui | bāga-hāra ? || ḍhiū bē bādhōn | ḍhiū bē! ||
 [‘jamneke tuī | ‘bholo koreciś! || ‘peciho bōr | ‘ghirbe, ||
 ‘emni kī tuī | ‘bhiag-o-fiāra ? || ‘ghirbe bādhōn | ‘ghirbe ||]

Thou art afraid of the front! and the rear will surround thee!

Art thou so luckless? (Thy) bonds will break, (sure) they will break
(Rābindra-nāth),
where we have this arrangement:

\[
\times \times \times \times | \times \times \times \times | \times \times | \times \times \times.
\]

This is on the basis of the Payār, only the verse has abandoned itself to the stress as the dominant principle, and the division of the line into breath groups forming the feet is essential; whereas in the syllabic Payār, the first eight syllables may be arranged without bringing in a break after the 4th; the stress on the 5th can be done away with; and the number of syllables (or instants) for the whole line must not exceed 14. In the common syllabic Payār, the whole line can be looked upon as one unit. But not so in the stressed metre. The foot is more or less a self-sufficient item there, as it confines the sense: e.g.,

mukto bēgir | pān ṣeṭās | mukto bētāre | rōnge, ||
[ ‘mukto-bēnir | ‘gōgga ḍhethāc || ‘mukti biṭore | rōnge, ||
Where the Ganges of the four plaited (i.e., with its numerous branches, which is the freeing of the tributaries received in Upper India) spreads salvation in merry glee,

We Bengalis live in that boon-giving, holy land of Bengal...

Waging war with the tiger we remain alive....

With one hand we have checked the Magh (Arakanese), with the other the Moghal;

The Lord of Delhi had to fall back at the command of Caud and Pratâp.

(From Satyêndra-Nâth Datta).

In the above extract, where there are more than four syllables in the foot, they are pronounced very quick, some of them being almost slurred. The remark of the 'Prâkâta-Paîngala,' that two or three syllables when quickly uttered are to be taken as one (Bib. Ind. edition, p. 11), is to be recalled.

On the whole, however, the stressed metre prefers feet of four syllables. New Bengali has recognised this metre, and its possibilities are immense, as has been seen from experiment. It certainly originated in early Bengali speech rhythm: in all probability, in the Old Bengali period. But the practice of chanting verses, and the theory of aksaras, as has been said before, prevented it from coming to its own. Old Bengali of the Caryâs preferred feet of four instants, as we have seen before: and to read these feet with initial stress, as in the lines quoted at pp. 261-263, will not be to go counter to the rhythm. We have also seen that initial stress was asserting itself in words in Old Bengali. Lines from Middle Bengali,
like the following, seem to be equally of the « aksara-vṛttta » when chanted
and of the « svara-vṛttta » when read like normal prose:

कोण सुर्ख़ | कंश तोर || मुखै उठे | हास |
नाहि जाण | एवेव तो || आपाण || नाश ||

[ 'koṇa jukhe | 'koṇa tord || 'mukhe (e)ṭhe | 'nā江门 ? ||
'nāhi jāṇa || '(e)ebē tē : || '(e)arpagni || 'naʃō || ]

Through what joy, O Kaṁsa, there rises a smile on thy face?
Thou dost not know now of thine own destruction. (ŚKK., p. 3);

गुंगा-तीरे | दारा(e)ि(e)a || 'gūturdi | 'ca(e)e ('gāhe) ||
रात्रि-काल | हील ओळ || गुंगा || खाल || 
माली-जाति || हील गुफ्ते || मालके ए | खाना || .......

[ 'gūgga-tire | 'dāra(e)i(e)a || 'gūturdi | 'ca(e)e ('gāhe) ||
'rat:rikal(e) || 'fioi(e)ा(e) || 'futilo to | 'tha(e)e ||
'mali jāti || 'fihilo purbe || 'maloutside(e) || 'khana ||]

Standing on the bank of the Ganges, he looked at the four sides.

It became night time; the Ojhā (scholar, 'clerk') slept there...
Formerly, people of the gardener's caste used to live, and here (was)
a flower-garden. (From Kṛttivāsa, 15th century: VSP., I, p. 889).

In the above cases, of course, too many open syllables make the
cadence tame and weak beside that of the New Bengali lines quoted
immediately before. Instances like the above are extremely frequent in
Middle Bengali, which undoubtedly possessed the stressed metre. The loss
of final, and frequently of intervocal vowels, in bringing about which the
initial stress system had some hand, gave to the Bengali language a
greater number of strong or closed syllables, and the stressed metre obtained
a greater scope. (This loss is treated in the next section.) It continued
to be freely employed in a mass of popular literature, in proverbs, in
riddles, in charms, in ritualistic and other verse current among the women,
in poetic contests in which the conversational style was supreme,—in fact,
everywhere in Bengali—except in formal poems on classic or religious
themes, which used the « aksara-vṛttta », and in the Vaiṣṇava poems
in Braja-buli, which preferred the « mātrā-vṛttta ». 
ELISION OF THE FINAL ‘A’

From all that has been said above, in §§ 144 and 145, the conclusion may be drawn that initial phrase stress, to which the stress in individual words was subordinated, characterised one form of Old Bengali, or East Magadhian Apabhraṣṭa, as much as did initial stress in individual words. Breath groups of four syllables were preferred in it. The moric metre of Northern India had to yield to a metre based on this grouping or dissection of a line into bits or breath-groups of fixed length, bearing a dominant head-stress. The Modern Standard Colloquial, and the Middle Bengali literary language, which are both based on West Central Bengali, show these characteristics. And it is quite likely that the source form of the Payār metre (and the stressed metre) was in this Pre-Bengali or Old Bengali dialect of West Bengal, and thence it spread into Orissa and Assam. In these last two tracts, initial stress was not the rule, and the development of a stressed metre (the presence of which can be postulated in Old Bengali from Early Middle Bengali examples) consequently did not take place there.

METRICAL AND OTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE DROPPING OF FINAL AND MEDIAL VOWELS IN MIDDLE BENGALI.

146. In later Bengali, the Payār continued as a 14-syllabled metre, when it was regular. But from the 15th century onwards, we notice irregularities—Payār lines showing occasionally less than 14, and frequently more syllables, or akṣaras—15, 16, 17 or 18. When the number was less than 14 (as it is at times in the ŚKK.: see pp. 264, 265 etc.), there would be dwelling upon a suitable syllable for a sufficiently long period to make up for the wanting syllable; and when there were more syllables than 14, as in post-14th century Bengali, the extra ones were dropped by the elision of final and medial vowels. This elision was certainly present already in the spoken language of the 15th century: and it was undoubtedly the result of a strong stress on the initial syllable.

In the 14th century Bengali of the ŚKK., we find Payār couplets with more than 14 akṣaras, but these extra akṣaras consist entirely of the vowels <i, u> forming only the weak finals of diphthongs. A case like the following, however, is exceptional in the ŚKK.:
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER II

p. 2—তাহার হাথে হীতে কংশাহরের বিনাশে।
   "тāhārā hāthē hāibē kānśā surērā bijnāśē ||"

From his hands there will be the destruction of the demon Kāṁśa,
would appear irregular—to the eye; but really it is not so—the word
tāhārā unquestionably being pronounced in reading and chanting
as "tārā"—"tārā hāthē hāibē kānśā surērā bijnāśē ||".

Final syllables were not as yet dropped in the 14th century. Rimes
like the following are conclusive that the final "-ā" was pronounced in
the 14th century in nouns and adjectives as in verbs: e.g.,

p. 24—তাল "bhałā", always ending in "-ā" = [ə]: গোমাল "guśal";
p. 42—লেখ কর "lekhā kārā" (<kārabha): বাসলী বর "bā-ālī bārā";
p. 50—কাহ "kānhā, kānā" Kr̥ṣṇa: দান "dānā";
p. 51—চাপ "cāpā" (< cāpabhā) press!: সমাপ "samtāpā";
p. 84—গাদাহার "gādādhrār" : পারিহার "pārihārā" (>hārāhā) abandon!;
p. 90—তুন "śunā" (< śuṇābha) hear!: আলিঙ্গন "ālingānā";
p. 95—লাজ বাস "lājā bāsā" think it a shame: যুথবাস "dudhā-bāsā"
   smell of milk;

p. 251—ধর "dhārā" hold! : ভিতর "bhītārā" within.

The final "-ā" was thus retained in the pronunciation in the 14th
century as much as the long "-ā" [ə] derived from earlier "-āwā, -āhā"
(see p. 260). But finally and medially, the epenthetic as well as the original
"i" (as well as "u") had become weak, and formed a diphthong with a
preceding "ā, ā", so that the two akṣaras, "āī, āī, āīyī, āīyī" would form a
diphthong "āī, āī". The akṣara principle was thus modified in this way in
14th century Bengali: e.g., in the SKK,

ভাগে পুনে আঝি তোর পাইলে দরশন।
   "bhāgā punē āji tōrā pāilō ḍārāsāṇa" (p. 16),

Through luck and through merit today I have obtained thy sight:
we have 15 akṣaras, but "pāilō" = "pāi-lo" is a word of two syllables.

আমার মানাইবো! করী আশে জুরাত।
   "āyārā mānāyibō (= mānāyibō) kārī rāśeṣā jugāti" (p. 13),
   And I shall make (her) consent, using no end of device.
`AKṢARA' METRE AND ELISION OF ‘-A-, -A’

‘Akṣara’ metre and elision of ‘-A-, -A’

निन्दासि निन्दासि  क्रष्ण का ता।
< अकरणे, अला राजह, | निन्दासि (= निन्दासि) क्रष्णा काला » (p. 93),
For no reason, O Rādhā, dost blame dark Kṛṣṇa.

हेर भाल मते साहि नेह कान्हाञि बाँसी ||
< हेरा, भाला माते साहि | नेहा, कान्हानि (= -अः), बाँसी » (p. 331),
Look, Kānhāi, ask for (thy) flute in good grace.

See also page 263, last line of Bengali text, and p. 266, line 17.

Barring the above cases of apparent irregularity, 14th century Payār
is quite regular, as the final and medial vowels remain. But from the
next century, we find remarkable breaches of the rule of the 14 aksaras.
For instance, in Kṛttivāsa’s ‘Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kānda’ (in the VSPd.
edition based on a MS. of 1580), we have lines like the following :

Uttara Kāṇḍa, p. 31b :

‘हाई के बले हाई के धने नाहि भाई बाइ। (18 aksaras)
< भाइरा बाई भाइरा धाने नाहि भाई बाइ रा ||
There is no sharing, O brother, in a brother’s forces and a brother’s wealth.

This was evidently pronounced as

[ ‘भाईरा ’भाईरा ? bole | ’भाईरा ’भाईरा ? dhane || ’नाहि
‘भाईरा ’भाई || ’बाइ रा ||]

Ibid., p. 30b :

यथिर तेहे तेहे बापे करिल कहानाद || (17 aksaras)
[’जोथिर ’जोथिर ? tore | ’तोमाबे ’तोमाबे ? bape ||’कोर्ला कोन्सा ’दान रा ||
For whose sake your father made a gift of his daughter.

Ibid, p. 30b :

दूरे थाकिण्य अधिक कुवेरे कौडाय माथा। (16 aksaras)
[ ’दूरे थाकिण्य | ’प्रोस्तो ’कुबेरे नाइ | ’माथा रा ||
Remaining afar, Prahasta bowed his head to Kubera.

Ibid., p. 43a :

बाबाे बाग्र गाने टोरर बाणे तेजे काटे। (18 aksaras)
[ ’राबन-राजगर | ’जाने टोरर ||’बाणे तेजे | ’काटे रा ||
He cut the corslet and the helmet of king Rāvana with the force of (his) arrows.

From other Middle Bengali works :

हिंदुद्वाणी हल राज्य तोमार किसेर काज। (16 akṣaras)
पेयादा पाइक यह आहेत शीर्ष करि पान॥ (16 akṣaras)
[‘hinduani | ‘hōilo raśīō ||’tomar kīfer | ‘ka:ʃō (‘kāʃō) ||
‘psada pa(ə)ık | ‘ʃōto aːʃe || ‘ʃig:ʃiro kōri | ‘ʃa:ʃō (‘ʃaʃō) ||]

It has become the regime of Hinduism, what business have you now?

All the footmen and soldiers that be, get ready quick.

Śrī-Karaṇa-Nandr’s ‘Mahābhārata’: beginning of the 16th century (VSPd. edition, based on MS. of 1663)—

p. 72a—क्रृष्ण मनन गीर कुमिल। बेहेन गूँठु || (17 akṣaras)
[‘kṛiʃō er nンドon | ‘bir ruʃilo || ‘ʃeʃinə pro|’ʃonə ||
 The hero, the son of Kṛṣṇa, angered, so fierce.

p. 83a—नागा पारिब कदाचित बाणे मरिते ताहाक। (16 akṣaras)
[‘na parībə | ‘kədəʃīto || ‘bəne maːrte | ‘takə ||
 Shall never be able to kill him with an arrow.

‘Mayanāmatār Gāṇ,’ 17th century (Dacca SPd. edition):

p. 9—अन्नात बोले बहुं ग गोपिन गोपिर। (16 akṣaras)
 सात काहिते रुंदि आमार धरेर तितर॥ (17 akṣaras)
[‘ədūnaɓ bole | ‘boin goː || ‘pəduna fun’dəːr(ə) ||
 ‘ʃat ka(ə)jiter | ‘budəʃi (ə)amar || ‘dhrər bhiːtər(ə)||]

Adunā says, ‘O sister, beautiful Padunā, the wit of seven clerks (Kāyasthas)
is within my body.’

Examples like the above can be culled by the hundred from Middle Bengali literature. They show that the earlier MB. poets were guided not by the eye, but by the ear. If in a tatsama word, a vowel with two consonants after it did not make any difference, for metrical purposes, then it was recognised in the 15th century, after the medial and final vowels had dropped off from pronunciation, the same thing could happen in tadbhava words: क्रृष्ण «krṣṇā» and नन्द «nāndā» were two akṣaras of equal value in metre, and so could be क्रृष्ण «krṣṇēra» and नन्दन «nāndana», with quiescent «-a». But with the later poets, during the 16th-18th and 19th centuries, the magic word akṣaras seemed to have exerted an influ-
ence, and the system of writing was brought to bear upon the versification: *aksara* was taken in its wrong sense of a *written character*, the syllabic value of which might be zero, and not of a *syllable*. As a result, the tendency grew not to allow too many *aksaras* with mute *-ā = -a*, and to avoid the diphthongal use of the vowel इ *-i*, which became in late Middle Bengali orthography the ज = *-y* subscript: हिल = हैला = was = हला = हाली = हाइला; पाईल = पायल obtained = पाला = पायल = पाईला; करिया = कारया = having done = करि = kāryā = kārī; जानाईव जानाइबा = जानाइबा = jānābi = jānāb = etc., which made a line to appear to the eye as one of 14 *aksaras* or letters, and 14 only. This cannot be said to have been detrimental to the Payār, this attempt to *make* it rigid and to avoid too many diphthongs and closed syllables in the line. But the undue influence of the graphic system disguised the true nature of Bengali versification, and prevented an early recognition of the stress principle in orthodox literature.

From a study of Middle Bengali versification, therefore, it can be seen that the dropping of the final *-ā*, and of the medial vowels (under certain circumstances) was well established from the 15th century.

147. Another evidence for the dropping of the final *-ā*, and occasionally of the medial *-ā*, is the early Roman transcription of Bengal names in European works and maps dating from the middle of the 16th century. Thus, for instance, João de Barros (middle of the 16th century) in his *Da Asia* has given some Bengal names, and we find the following in the Lisbon edition of 1777 ff.: in the map of Bengal in that work, IV, 9, p. 451, we have *Fatiabas = Fateh-ābād, -ābāz; Betor = Bēār; Bernagar = Barunagar Bārd-nagarea (= Varāha-nagara?); Mandaram = Mādāraṇ Māndārāṇ; Noldii = Nālādi Nāḷā-dī (< Nala-dvīpa); Nazirpur = Nāzirpur*,—place names showing loss of final *-ā* in the 16th century: at p. 454, we have *Caor*, which is काओर *Kāwarū (<kāwarū<kāma-rūpa>)* (cf. Map 2 in *Delle Navigazione e Viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio, etc.*, Vol. I, Venice, 1606). Compare these with *Gouro = Goura Gaurā*, a word showing retention of final *-ā* in pronunciation, in De Barros’ map. Forms like *Comotah = Kāmata Kāmātā*; *Cospetir,
Gaspatii = গঞ্জবতি gājā-pāti; « Noropatii = নরণগতি Nārāpati; « Pipilli-patam = পিপলী Pip(i)li-, in De Barros, show that internal unstressed vowels were not yet dropped in all cases in 16th century Bengali: cf. in Ralph Fitch (1583-91: 'Purchas,' X, pp. 181 ff.): « Couche=কোচ Kōc; Suckel Counce=শুকল (শুক) kōc Sukāl Kōc; Satagam = সাতগী Sāt-gā; Serre-pore=শ্রীপুর Sṛī-pur; Bacola বাকলা « Bākālā », which indicate similar conditions.

The loss of medial vowels can only have been due to strong initial stress in Middle Bengali. In this respect, Bengali was in advance of its sister IA. speeches: Western Hiindi, for instance, kept its final vowels (« -ǚ, -ā, -ī ») as late as the 17th century, and Oriyā does it even now, preserving a 'Middle NIA.' stage, whereas Bengali shed off the final « -ृ », which formed by far the most common final vowel, by the middle of the 15th century.

The initial stress of Bengali in individual words has given us contracted forms of common tadbhava words which are rather removed from those of Hindōstāni, which may be said to preserve the NIA. norm: e.g., Bengali বোনাই, বুনোই, বুনৈই « bōnāi, bunōi, bunui » = Hindōstāni « bahānā » (bhagint-pati); dialectal Bengali নায়েরের « nāyēr » father's family (of a married woman) = Hindōstāni « naihār » (jñāti-gṛha); কষ্টী « kāśṭi » touchstone = Hind. « kasauti » (kāra-paṭṭikā); রাখা রাখাখালা » herdsmen = Hind. « rakhāwāla » (rakṣā-pāla); পারে « pāre » puts on = Hind. « pahirai » (paridhiyate); চাকুরা « cākā » = Hind. « cakrāwā » (cakravāka); পায়লা « pāyālā » first = Hind. « pahilā » (pratha+illa); etc., etc.

The changes of OIA. vowels to MIA. in the formation of Bengali are discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

[A] OIA. AND MIA. VOWELS IN BENGALI

[I] FINAL VOWELS

148. Final vowels of OIA. were continued down to Late MIA. and Early NIA. times. The long final vowels "-ā, -i, -ū", however, were shortened to "-ā, -i, -ū", and "-ē, -ō" were weakened and shortened to "-i, -u" in late MIA. (Apabhraṣṭa), and these shortened vowels "-ā, -i, -ū" fell together with original short "-ā, -i, -u". All NIA. inherited these short vowels, but in later times in Bengali, during the Middle Bengali period, they were all dropped, or assimilated: except "-i, -ū" where they were preceded by vowels of a different quality.

The anusvāra which followed a final vowel in Late MIA. was possibly a very weak nasalisation, which did not in any way affect it in its development into NIA.

(1) OIA., > MIA. "-ā, -ā".

[a] OIA. "-ā".

149. OIA. "-ā" > MIA. "-ā" > OB., eMB. "-ā = -a = NB. "-a", or zero. Examples: আট "āṭa", MB. আঠ "āṭha" (attha, asta-); আব "āba" or "ābhā" > cloud (abhra), cf. Standard Coll. আবছ "āba-chā" > hazy; আম, আব "āmā, āba" (amba, āmra); এক "ēka" (MIA. sts. ēkka < ēka); কাড় "kāḍa" (kaṭkana); কান "kāṇa" (karma); কুড় "kūḍa" (kuda); কুড় "kūḍa" (kūḍha, < *kūṭha > *kūṭha = kuṭha); গাঢ "gāḍa" > tree (gaccha); গাঢ "ghāḍa" > sunshine, sweat (gharma); চাদ "cāda" (candra); চিন "cīn" (cihna); চাণ "chāṇa" (chanda); জাড় "jāda" > cold (jādya); OB. জাম "jām" (jamma, janma); তাত "tāṭa" (tappa); তাল "tāla" (tella, tālā); MB. থান "thāṇa" (sthāna); দাত "dāṭa" (danta); পাত "pāṭa" (pata); বুল, বোল " bālā, bōlā"
(baülə, mukula); вис « bī́ṣh » (eMIA. [Pali] viṣaṁ, OIA. *viṁsat = viṁsati : cf. triṁsat, etc.); मात्र « mā́jhá » (madhya); ḫāṃ, ḫom « hā́wṛṇḍ, hā́ṇḍ » being (bhavana); ḫaṭ « hā̀ṭh » , M.B. ḫaṭ « hā̀ṭh » (hasta); etc., etc.

Examples are quite common.

Loss of final « -ā » by assimilation with a preceding vowel (see also post, § 172, ' Vowels in Contact '):

(i) MIA. « -āá »: normally, this becomes a single « -ā » in Bengali, pronounced [o] or [ɔ]. Unelided final अ « -ā » in tadbhara words and forms, commonly pronounced [ o ], comes from a M.B. « -ā » [ɔ:] derived from an earlier group like « -āá = āwā, āhā »: the phonetic change here is really that of contraction, the nature of which is not seen at once. छ' « ṝā » (saa, sata); त' « jā » measure of length (jaa, yava); चल « cālā » you walk < M.B. चलाह « cālāhá » (= OIA. calatha); तेर « tênā » < OB. « *tēnā » (tēnā, trayōḍaśa); दान, दानो « dānā, dānō » ghost, spirit < OB. « *dāṇavā » (OIA. dāṇava); भाल, भालो « bhālā, bhālō » < MB. bhālā (bhālava, bhālāhā = bhadraka); etc.

(ii) MIA. « -āá » becomes « -ā ». Late MIA. « -āá », from OIA. « -ākā » etc. (i.e., « आ + consonant + ā »), gave OB. « -ā », NB. « -ā » , as a common affix: also « -āha > -āá » in lMB., through loss of « h »: e.g., ओङ « ojha » (uvajjha, upādhyāya); क्वः « kārā » (kaṭāha); घा « ghā » blow, wound, sore (gha, ghāta); छ « chā » (śaba); छ « jā » (jāta); त « tā » (tāpa); न « nā » (nava = nāu); पल « pālaya » (pālava, prabāla); पौ « pā » (pāda), also « pāag » < M.B. pāwa >; ह « bā », also बाय, बायो « bā̀, bā́ » (bā́ya, bā́va » (vāta); निय, M.B. sts. बिया, बियाता » (vivāha); एक « ekā » (ekka, ēka), but एक « ēkā » alone (*ekkāka = OIA. *ēkāka, cf. ēkākin); काल, कालो « kālā, kālō » black (kāla, kālaka), but काल « kālā » the black one (* = kālā, *kālaka); OB. « tā » hīs (tāha, tasya); etc.

(iii) MIA. « -iā, -iā > became « -i » in OB. = « -i, -i » in NB.: MB. अगि, NB. आग « āgi, āg » (*aggiā = *agnikā »; the feminine gender for this word in Hindi etc. is a proof that it is not from MIA. « aggi » = OIA. nominative « agnih »); अरति « ārāti » (āratrika); OB., MB. करी, करι « kārī, kārī » (MIA. karia, OIA. *-karya = -kṛt-ya = kṛtvā); MB. काति « kāti », cf. Assamese « kāti » (kārttika), the name of the month, now ousted by the
ts. form; লি, ছি, ছি (ghia, ghita); MB. মূতি অন্তি = NB. মুতি for মূতি through Hindostani influence (mottiā, muktika); eMB. slo. আবাস = avasi (*avasīya, *avasī = avasīa); etc., etc.

The OIA. passive participle in -ita, = MIA. -ia, similarly became -i > -i in Bengali: see under Morphology: 'the Past Base.' The common NIA. adjectival affix indicating connection, -i, is derived in this way from OIA. -iya, -ika: cf. the non-feminine forms পার্থী, সত্তি, আচ্ছাদ = pācāi, sātāi, ātāi etc., from *pānacama, *saptamika, *āstamika (and not from the feminine *pāncami, saptami, āstami etc.).

(iv) MIA. -uā, -uā became -ē in OB. = -u in NB., in some cases turned into an epenthetic vowel: also MB. -uhā > -uā: e.g., OB. কামুরু, kāmarū, kāmrāu, MB. কানুরু = kānum (Kama-rūpa); গোরু = gōru = cattle (gō-rūpa); MB. ছাঞু = chāmu = (chammuha, sanmukha); নেলু = nelou = (nimbuka); মু = mu (muhā, muha); etc.

(v) MIA. -ē > OB. -ē = (w/y)a > NB. -ē; also MB. -uhi > -ē = de = de a surname (deva); MB. de = de (dēha).

The affix for the instrumental, a, e -ē, -ē, can be considered here; only the loss of -ē took place in MIA. of the Third Period: e.g., OIA. hastena > Magadhi MIA. hatthēna, Apabhraśa hatthē, hatthē > OB. hatthē, hathe > NB. hathe. In মুই মুই = mi, tui > I, thou, from OB. and MB. *mōnē, mōye, mōē, *mōī, maī, muī; tōnē, tōyē, tōē, *tōī, tai, tuai etc. (= *mayēna, tvayēna, i.e., maya, tvaya + ēna), the influence of the -ē- in the OIA. and the MIA. compounded form helped to alter the vocalism of these words to -i-

(vi) MIA. -ē > OB. -ōa > NB. -ō: = jī (jō, yōga); cf. rei > ro (rowhā, rōma).

Final a -ē in Tatsamas.

Tatsama and Sami-tatsama words as a rule drop the final a -ē: e.g.,
ব্লী, ব্লী, ব্লী (ghia, ghita); MB. মূতি অন্তি = NB. মুতি for মূতি through Hindostani influence (mottiā, muktika); eMB. slo. আবাস = avasi (*avasīya, *avasī = avasīa); etc., etc.
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But in the case of tss. and stss., there are certain exceptions, when the final « -ā » is retained in pronunciation, and these may be noted:

(i) Bengali Phonetics does not allow two consonants to end a word: there must be, in the absence of an anaptyctic vowel, a final vowel, to prop up the consonants, as it were: e.g., पूर्व « pūrbā » (pūrva), or पूरब « pūrabā »; चन्द्र « cāndrā » or चन्द्र « cāndrār̂ṣa »; वीर्य « birātvā » [birot̐a] (vīratva); सत्य « sātyā » [jot̐o, E. Beng. jōit̐o]; न्याय « nyāyyā » [nayj̐a]; सूर्य « sūryā » [jūr̐jo]; बिज « bijā » [big̐a]; हंस « hāusā » [hauj̐o]; दुःख « duḥkhā »; प्रास « prāśnā »; धर्म « dhārmā »; etc., etc.

(ii) « -ā » after « -h- », in a final syllable, is retained: सन « snēhā » (beside tlb. नेह « nehā »); देह « dēhā » (cf. MB. tlb. दे « de »); बीह « bibāhā » (tib. बीयā »); अनुग्रह « anugrabāhā »; विद्रोह « bidrōha »; etc., etc.

(iii) Adjectives:

(a) the ts. « -ta, -ita » affix retains the « -ā »: पुलकित « pulakitā », गीत « gītā », गात « gātā », अनुदित « anuditā », ब्याख्यात « vyākhyaṭā », etc., etc.

The « -tā » forms, when used as nouns, drop the « -ā »: गीत « gītā », गात « gātā », बिज « bijā », निषिद्ध « niscitā » etc., etc.; and a few adjectives which are commonly used also drop « -ā » optionally: e.g., चलित « chalitā », गहित « gahitā », बनित « bánitā », अनुग्रह « anugrabāhā »; पदित « paditā », विद्रोह « bidrōha », etc.; cf. पालित « pālitā », adjective, but « pālitā », a surname.

(b) the ts. affix « -yā » retains the vowel: श्रेय « shrey », पेय « pey », बिध्य « śrēyā (= śrēyas) », देय « deyā », बिधेय « bidheya »; etc.

(c) the ts. affixes तर तम « -tārā, -tāmā ».

(d) the ts. forms in त « -tha = -ṭhā ».

(iv) Ts. words, which are not naturalised, as a rule can be pronounced with final « -ā »; the tendency would be to drop the « -ā », but usage differs. The following cases are noteworthy. Words of two syllables with « ŋ, āi, āu » in the first syllable, keep the « -ā » as ts. forms: रूप, रूष, तृण, मृग, तेल, शैल, मोन, पौष « brā, kṛṣṇa, trṇā, mṛgā, tālā, śailā, mānā, gauṇā »; (but note the semi-tatsama forms—more heard in pronunciation than seen in writing—षेष, तृण, मृग, पौष « śa-īḍā, tā-īḍā, mā-ūṇā, gā-unā »). Words ending in « -nā » optionally retain the « -ā »: पौष, तृण, मृग, रूप « drōṇā, brāṇa, gāṇā, rāṇa ».
The retention of the final <ā>, or otherwise, depends upon the extent to which the ts. word has become naturalised; e.g., নগ < nāgā > hill, নব < nābā > nine, new, সম < sāmā >, সন < sānā >, যুব < yubā > youth, মম < māmā > my etc. retain the vowel. Ts. words occurring in a compound as its first part as a rule do not drop the vowel: e.g., রণ-মুখে < rāṇā-mukhā > facing, going to the fight; পাদেগে < pādā-segā >; জন্মস্ত্র < jānā-tāntrā >; দানবীর < dānā-bīra >; চিকুরভার < cikurā-bhārā >; ভারবাহী < bhārā-bāhī >; etc.: the dropping or retention of the <ā> is, however, determined by the rhythmic consideration of the whole line.

The rules (i) and (ii) for ts. words also obtain in foreign words: e.g., Persian < mard > man > মরদ < mārād > or মর্দ < mārdā, mādā >; < রাহ > king > শা < śa > or শাহ < śāhā >; English < box > বাক্স < bāksā >, < inch > ইঞ্চি < ińci >, etc.

[b] OIA. < -ā >.

150. OIA. < -ā > MIA. < -ā > ( < -ā > in nominative, < -ā > in oblique), LMIA. < -ā > OB., eMB. < -ā > NB. < -a >, i.e., zero. Examples: আশ < āśā > (āśā); উক < ুক > (ulkā); ওস < oṣā > dew (avasyā); কল < kālā > machine (kalā); কার < kāthā > wall (kanthā); খাট < khatā > (khatvā); খেল < khelā > (khēla); গাং, গাঙ, গাং < gāng(g)ā > river (gaṅgā); MB. গিহ, গিম < gīmā = gīvā > (givā); গিন < ghnā > (ghṛṇā); জাং < jāṅā > (jāṅghā); জিম, জিব < jībā, jībbā > (jībbhā, jihvā); তিয়াস < tiyāśā > (tṛṣā, tṛṣṇā + pipāsā); ধার < dhārā > edge (dhārā); নথ < nāthā > nose ring (nastā), possibly an old borrowing, ultimately from a Panjab dialect, in post NIA. times in Bengali; নন্দ < nānādā > (uñanandā); নন্দ, নীঢ়, নিন্দ < nindā, nīdā > (nindā, nīdā, nīdrā); পারখা < pārakṣā > (parikṣā); পাছ < pācchā > (pacchā, paścā, paścāt); পিরাস < pīrāsā > (pīrāsā); পান < pāṇā > as in আমাপানে < āmā-pānē > towards me, looking at me, recognising me (paṇāḥ, praṇā [?]); ফন < phānā > (phanā); বাঁ < bānta > (vattā, vārtā); বাঁ < bānta > (vanyā); বাং < bāṅghā > (vandhyā); ¹ MB. বাং < bāṅghā > (bāṅghā); ভিক, ভিক < bhikhā > (bhikṣā); ভুঁ < bhukhbā.

¹ Cf. বে আছে বাং। সে দের সীমার 'jē āchō bāṁjha, sē déy sāṁjh'—Let her who is childless (in the family) light the evening lamp.

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bhūkhā (bubhuksā); माज « माज » as in माज कछ « माज-काहा » heart of timber (majja); माल « माल », mainly in compounds (malā); मिह « मिह », cf. मिहकुन « मिह-कुन ¼ मिह-कहनिया » मिहा-कहानिया » liar (mithyā); MB. मुद्रि « मुद्रि » ring (mudrā); मेल « मेल » (melā); राज « राज » (rājā); ला « ला » lac (lāhā, lāksā); MB. नास, नास « नास, नास » (rathyā); नाज « नाज » (lājā); नाल नाल « लाल, नाल » (lālā); नालास « लालास » (lālasā); नाल « लाल » in compounds, e.g., हाती-सालह « हाती-सालह » elephant-stable: cf. गोहाल « गो-हाल » cow-pen (gōhāla); शिल « शिल » (sila); शेज « शेज » (sayya); नाज « नाज » (sajjā); साँह « साँह » (sandhyā); साध, *शाह « साध = शा- » (śraddhā); see p. 190; सान « सान » gesture, as in हातन सह-सानह « हातन-चानह » gesture with the hand, also हात-चान « हात-चानह » (sannā, saujnā); हळू « हळू » (haridrā); etc.

The plural affix of OIA. « -ā, -ā » nouns, « -āh », in eMIA. « -ā », was similarly reduced to « -ā » in Apabhraṇa, and lost its force in OB.: e.g., « dēśāh > dēsā > dēsā; vārtāh > vattā > vattā > bātā ». New plural forms had to be built up for the nominative with the help of the genitive and instrumental plural, as well as by adding nouns of multitude, as a result.

In the OIA. affixes « -ānām, -cām » , which became « -ānā(m), -cām, *-cām, -cām » in the MIA. period, there was pre-Apabhraṇa weakening of « -ā- » to « -ā »; « *tānām », occurring beside « tēsām », gave early MIA. « tānām, tānā » and « tēsām, *tēsām », Late MIA. « tānā, tānā, tēhā », whence the NIA. forms—Bengali তান tān his (honorific, < their), তান: tān = oblique of honorific singular 3rd personal pronoun, তাহ, তাহ, tāh, tihā > he (honorific, < they); Asamese তো tō he (honorific); Oriya তা(hā)n- = oblique of 3rd pers., plural > honorific singular; Maithili tān-ik his (honorific), Magahi and Bhōjpuryā « tinh » = oblique of 3rd personal pronoun plural; Awadhi « ten(h)- », 3rd person plural obl.; Hindītānī « tīn- », 3rd pers. pl. obl.; etc., etc.

Tatvamāya words do not drop the OIA. « -ā » vowel, and in many cases, the ts. forms occur side by side with the tōn, like চেল, চেল; শিল, শিল, etc., quoted above. A sīs. like রে রেকান (rekhā), or সীম « sīmā » (sīmā), drops its « -ā ».
Cases of loss of OIA. final «-ā» by assimilation (see later also, under ‘Vowels in Contact’):

(i) OIA. «-ā, -ā + cons. + -ā» > Late MIA. «-āā -āā, -āa, -aa, -ā» > OB. «-āa, -āwā, -ā, -āwa» > NB. «-ā, -ā»: এও «এো», from «এীা» = MB. আঝী «আীহা» (avidhava); মা «মা», মাড় «মাড়» < OB. «মা঵া» (māa, māta); শালা «শালা» (śalaka); in NB. ভাজ ভাজ«ভাজা», MB. ভাউঝ «ভাউঝ», the loss of the final «-ā» had taken place before the Aparbhāṣa stage (bhrāṭ-jāyā > bhāu-jāa, *bhāujjā > *bhāujjā > OB. «-bhāujā»; so শালা «শালাজ» (শালাকা-জায়া); etc.

(ii) OIA. «-ikā» > MIA. «iā, -iā» > OB. «-i» > NB. «-i, -i». Examples: আন্ত্র, আন্ত্র, আরোমা আজি «আজি, আদি, আই» grandmother (aryikā); কাহিনী «kāhinī» (*kathinikā); NB. দী «গী» OB. (Sarvānanda) «gī, i», brains (*gṛhitikā); চুঁবি «cūrī» (*cūri, caurya + ikā); চুরি «cūrī» (kṣurikā); চুঁবি «cūlī» goat (*chayaliā, *chagalikā); চুরী «jūrī» pair (*yōktrikā); বাজী «বাজী» (vāṭikā); বাজী «বাজী» sand (*bālikā = bālukā); বাজী «বাজী, মাজী» ladder (madikā); মাজী «mājī» (mptikā); দী «দী» (rōti); দী «দী» (दी) (*śayyikā); etc. Examples illustrating this dropping of OIA. «-ā» in feminine forms in «-ikā» are very numerous, and this «-ikā» > «-iā» > «-i» gave the most common feminine and diminutive affix of all NIA., taking the place of the OIA. feminine affixes «-ā» and «-i». The vowel was originally long, «-iā» = [iə] becoming [iː] ; it remains long in most NIA., e.g., Hindōstāni, but in Bengali, absence of stress made it short, even from the OB. period.

(iii) OIA. «-uka, -upā» etc. > NIA. «-ū, -u»: see below, §172, under ‘Vowels in Contact.’

(2) OIA. «-i, -i».

151. (i) OIA. «-i, -i» > Late MIA. «-i» > OB. «-i» > (MB. epenthetic «i») > NB. zero, in the Standard Dialect, when occurring after a consonant.

Examples: আঁধ «আঁধ» (*apkhi, akkhi, aksi); আঁচ «আঁচ» flame (*auci, acci, arcis); আঁচ, আচ, আঁ江 «আঁচ, আচ, আঁচ» (MIA. *ajjim = adya); so
PHONOLGY: CHAPTER III

In a number of s.t.s. words as well, the final -i, -i is lost; e.g.,

<i>ād, əid (ādi); ḍāit, jāit, jāit (jāti); ḍung < jut as in ḍhuṅk < cōkher < jut < sight of the eye (*juti, jyōtis); ġuṅg < jugit < device < OB. s.t.s. *jugiti (yuki); pīrit < pīrit <, MB. pīriti < pīrti; mūr < mūrāt < mūrti; rīt < rīt(i); etc., but cf. ġid < dīd < dīthi < (drūthi), with -i preserved, which remains an archaic, poetic (MB.) word. But s.t.s. words keep the final -i, i.

(ii) OIA. -i, -i > MIA. -i, -i > OB. -i, retained, when it occurred after a vowel in OB. and MB.; e.g., 

<i>chāi, chāi > thatch, thatched cabin of a boat (chadis); žāma < jāmāi, jāmaī < *,jāmātī = OIA. jāmatī; nāi < nāi, nāi (i) ninety (also = nābbaī < nābbāi), (ii) river, (iii) new or young heifer: (navati; nādi; navī, navīkā); dāi < dāi, dāi, MB. dāhi < dā(h)i (dadhi); bārāi < bārāi (vardhakin); bhāi < bhāi (*bhāti = OIA. bhātī); sāi < sāi, sāi, MB.
"sâ(h)i" (sakhi); also in the word «-pati» -paï, -vaï» in compounds, e.g.,
बनाई, दलूई «dâlai», dâlui»a surname (dalapati), नन्दाइ»nânâdai» (nanandpati),
बनाई «bônâi» (bhabgni-pati: see p. 300); OB. and eMB. बनाई, कलाई, दलूई
«bôlaï, karaï, calaï» etc., verbs of 3rd person singular, where the final «-i»
remained,—to be assimilated with the «-â-» preceding to «-ê-». OIA.
instrumental plural «-bhis», MIA. «-hi», and the locative «*-dhi» -hi»,
reduced to «-i» in Proto-Bengali, also underwent assimilation, but in some
cases it is found in MA. : e.g., আমি, তুমি «âmi, tumi», OB. «âmhê, tumhê»,
Oriya «âmhhê, tumhhê» (=*amahi, *tumhahi [or -éhî]: asmabhês, yusmabhês). This «-(h)i» affix seems to have attached itself to the genitive
plural form, in forming the new nominative (honorific) of pronouns, etc.: see under 'Declension of the Noun,' and under 'Pronouns.' In আমি «âsî»
(asiti), there is assimilation of «-i» with preceding «-i-» in the MIA.
form «asî».

In MB. সুক্ষী «sundhi» = «sugandhi», the «-i» is probably for
«-ika», with assimilation of final «-a» as under § 149, p. 302: সুক্ষী = সূক্ষী
NB. সোধী «sôdhâ» = «sôdh-+.-â» foetid (= sugandha-); নাম «nâni» is
from «navanîta» rather than «navani». In the eMB. of the ŠKKK., we
have ta. and stâs, as well as ibh. words, like «ânumati, âkhi (= akshî), âti
(atî), ârati (â-rati), âbudhi, gâti, giri, tutî (stuti), thitî (sthitî), dâdhi
(dadhi), dhunî (dhvani), nidhi, pâtî, pâtî (pağkti), bihi (vidhi), buddhi
(buddhi), bhâkâtî (bhakti), mânî, mâtî, munî, yugâtî (yukti), yutî = jutî
(jyôtish), râftî, sângâtî, sândhi, sidhî (siddhi), bârî» with long «í»: this
lengthening is possibly a reminiscence in orthography of a stage in OB.,
when original «-i» from OIA. «-î, ì» was tending to be lost, and the
presence of a large number of words in «-i», from «-ikâ, -ikâ» etc., served
to make the long «-i» the more common form of the «i» sound in a final
position.

Words and forms in OB. with original «-i» (i.e., final «-i» derived
from Māgadhī Apabhraṣṭa) in many cases fell together with the «-â»
words. The nominative form in «-i», which seems to have characterised
Māgadhī Apabhraṣṭa, has entirely dropped out of Bengali, as well as the

(3) OIA. « -ū, -ū »

152. (i) OIA. « -ū, -ū » > MIA. « -ū, -ū », Late MIA. « -u » > OB. « -ū » > MB. epenthetic « -ū, -i » > NB. zero, when occurring after a consonant. Cases also occur, where « u » has become « -ā ». Examples: आ, आस « ākh, āukh » (*akkhu < *akṣu = ikṣu); श, शिय « āś, āśī » *fibre (aṅṣu); योस « khōs » < खोस « khaṅs », OB. (Sarvānanda) « khaṅs » ītch (*khachu, kacchu); ठोस « eōc » < ठौच « cāuc » (caṇeu); जाम « jām » (jambu); तात « tāt » (tantu); दाद « dād » < दाउद « dāud » (daddu, dadru); पान « pān » ashes (pāṅṣu); फाग « phāg » (phalgu); OB., MB. बाह « bāhā » (bāhu); बौह « mōch » (mhačchu, smaśru); श, शास « sās, sās » in compounds (śvaśrū); त, तास « sā, sāhā » merchant (sādu); हिं « hiṃ » (hiŋgu); etc., etc. In sīs. words also, « -u » is frequently dropped: धा, धात, धातु « dhāt, dhāit, dhāut » (dhātu); दाय « dāyāl » (dayālu); etc.

Third words preserve the final « -ū, -ū ».

(ii) OB. « -u » is retained in NB., when in OB. and MB., the « -u » was immediately preceded by a vowel: e.g. आ, also आय « āu, āi » (āu, āyuś); दूक « jāu, jānu » loc. (jatu); बाऽ, बांत « jāu » (yavāgū); बांत « jhāu » (jhumu; also jhamu-ka); बू, बू « bāu, bāu », MB. « bā(h)u », OB. « bāhu » (vadhū); बाह « bāu » (vāyu); बाह, बाह « māu, māu », MB. « mā(h)u » (madhu); बाह « lāu » (alābu); etc. The affix « -u » for the imperative 3rd person, = « -tu » of OIA., remained in OB. and MB.; but in MB. it was lengthened by a « -kū » , and became medial, and was dropped after a vowel: e.g., MB. दू, दाऽ, होड, कू, दू, « *dēu, jāu, hōu, kāru, cālu » beside « dēu-kū, jāu-kū, hōu-kū, kāru-kū, cālu-kū » = NB. दूक or दूक, कूक or बाक, होडक (होडक) or होऊ « diukk, dikk »; jāukk, jākū, hōukk, hōkk » and बाक, बाहक « kārūk, cālukk ».

Some exceptional cases: फाव « kāu » (kāka) is through vocalisation of a MB. « kāwa < kāa »; पार « pārāu » = OB. य पारसु » = OIA.।

« para-svāḥ »: « -śu » represents a Māgadhī « * śuvē », (cf. Pali « suvē »), in Māg. Ap. « * suvi » , which ought to give an OB. « * sui » , which is
not found isolated in NIA. « śu » in « pāṛśu is » probably due to the reduction of the expected final « -i » to « -ā », giving a Māg. Ap. form « *śuva » , which was normally simplified to « śi, su ». MB. पहुँ, पहुँ « pāhu, pāhū » (prabhū) is not found in NB., where it would occur as « *pau, pau » : the nasalised form is noteworthy ; बधु « bādhu » friend, lover (bandhu-ka); गारु « khāru » bracelet, गारु « gāru » pitcher, छातु « chātu », टाकु « tāku », लाजु « lāru », अतु « atu », टाँटु « (h)āṭ(h)u » = OB. « aṭḍu » (? ) khee, seem to show assimilation of « -ā », coming respectively from MIA. खाद्युā, गद्युā, सत्तुā = saktu-ka, तक्कुā = takru-ka, लाज्युā, *aṭḍyuu-ā ? (but cf. aṣṭhi-vant-khee) » : cf. §149, (iv).

Words like the following—tibhs. छू « dudhu » (dugdha), सिन्थू « mitu » friend in affectionate address (mitra), उवु, उवु « ub(h)u » (ūrdhva) ; stss. like शू « dhuttu » (dhūrtta) ; stss. like छू « duṣṭu » (duṣṭta), have an « -u » affix, derived ultimately from « -u-ka ». (See under Morphology : ‘Formative Affixes.’) The literary influence of the Western Apabhraṃśa brought in a number of « -u » forms into Bengali ; and in the 16th century MB., the « -u » affix also sought to enter into Bengali through Braja-buli and through Braj-blākhā (see p. 103); e.g., forms like OB. (Caryās) « kiu, ahāriu, tasu » etc. (p. 115), MB. শুঁ, তুঁ « jāchu, tāchu », মুঁ « māju » to me, of me, অর্ন « ājhāru » tears, লাঁ « lāgu » fixed, etc. But this Western « -u » < MIA. (Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī) « -ō » did not take root in Bengali.

(+) OIA., MIA. « -ē »


The Māgadhī affix for the nom. sing. and for the loc. sing. of « -ā » nouns would come under this : « dēvaḥ > dēve > *dēvi > OB *dēwi » ; « dēvē > dēve > *dēvi > OB. *dēwi » ; but in OB., the « -i » for the locative is occasionally found, but that for the nominative is almost entirely lost, relics possibly only being found in a few forms (which are discussed under Morphology : ‘The Noun : Inflections, Nominative ’). The representative of « *dēvi » in OB. is « *dēwa » = MB. cē « dē ». For the locative, the « -ē, -ē »
affix ousted the old «-i»: this new «-ī, -ē» of OB. being from «-ahī, -ahi; aī, aī» of Late MIA. (See under Morphology: ‘Inflections: Locative.’) The following cases, among others, show loss of OIA. «-ē»:

Early NIA. «-i» in the locative: आद-पास «ās-pās» around (*āsi-pāsi: asrē pārśvē: cf. Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 57); पार «pār» on the other side (*pāri, pārē); पर «pār» after (*pāri, parē); बर-ढर «ghār-ghār» in every home (*ghari gharī, gṛhē gṛhē); etc., etc.

OIA., MIA. «-ō» was extremely rare in Magadhi, and we have no sure case in Bengali. The Oriyā ablative affix «-u» probably represents the MIA. «-ō» = OIA. ablative «-tas». «-ō» does not occur in the base form of any OIA. word, any more than «-ē».

154. The above in general show the apocope of final vowels in Bengali. In many cases, however, ts. forms with the final vowels have been reintroduced, or made to influence the thk. ones, by restoring the final vowels—the unmodified thks. being found as archaic words in poetry: e.g., अश «āśā», beside आश «āśā»; माल «mālā», beside माल «mālā»; मिछ «mīchā» for «mīchā», influenced by «mīthā»; so माय «māyā», but cf. OB. «māa» = «māva»; छाया «chāyā», frequently pronounced as छाओ «chāwa», shows imperfect influence of the learned form «chāyā» on a thk. without the final «-ā» and with the euphonic «-v»—OB. «chāva, chāwa», NB. «chāwa, chāōa»; बांश «bāṅkha», see, p. 305 (vandhyā): here however, there may be the NIA. «-a» affix, cf. दाऊ «dāu» from «sāc» (satya); काथा «kāthā» (kanthā); etc. The cases of restitution for «-i, -u», e.g. भूत «mūthi» for भूत «mūth», are in the nature of reversion to archaic forms, and MB. epenthesis of «-i, -u» prevents it to a great extent: and the language here prefers the full ts. forms, rather than palpably false forms.

[II] VOWELS IN INITIAL SYLLABLES.

155. These have generally been preserved in Bengali. So long as the stress was on non-initial syllables, in Apabhraṇa and in Old Bengali, there remained the likelihood of an original initial long syllable being shortened, or of a short syllable being dropped. Instances of such weakening of original long syllables in Bengali have been given in § 143:
and dropping of initial vowels through absence of stress is not unknown to MIA. (see pp. 241, 278). Bengali has inherited a few words which underwent this apæresis in the MIA. period: e.g.,

(i) <ृ->: তিসি < tisi > linseed (*atisi, atasi), <। a- > dropped in the OIA. or eMIA. period; so MB. পিন্ড < pindha > (api-nah, api-naddha); হীলান, হেলান < hilān, hēlān > to lean (? abhilagnā), apæresis in the lMIA. period; রৌঢ < rūḍhā > soap-nut (ariṣṭa-); ভিজ < bhij > to moisten (abhyañj); ভিজ্য > ভেজ্য < bhijāy, bhējāy > closes the door (? abhyajyatē); ভীতর < bhitarā > (abhyantara); OB. হাঁক for হড < hān < haū > (hakaṁ, ahakaṁ = aham), apæresis in Early MIA.; হেলে, হেলে < hilē, hēlē > leans (abhilagati? abhiliyatē?), a Late MIA. case; লাঁ < lā > (alābu); and সওয়ার < sawārā > horseman, an eMIA. borrowing from Old Persian আসার > = Skt. আস্ত < aśva + bhr >, later strengthened by the New Persian সুবার >.

<ृ->: inherited forms with loss of initial of <ृ- > not found.

(ii) Loss of initial < i- > is not seen in any word in Bengali: in the word দিল, দিলাম < dīla, dīlā >, generally connected with < *sīṭhila = sīthila < *sṛṭh-ila >, however, there seems to be loss of an initial syllable with < i- >.

(iii) Apæresis of < u- >: ডুমুর < dūmura > (udumbara); বইসে, বৈসে, বাসে < baisa, bāisa, bāsē > (uvaϊsāi, upaviṣati), a Late MIA. case; < pānāi < pānāi > (upānah-), apæresis in eMIA.

(iv) <ौ-, ौ- >: no case in Bengali, except রেজুরো < rēgu > (eranādikā).

A few cases of Bengali apæresis are also found: OB. < antara >, eMB. আম্বরে < ambāre >: NB. তরে < tāre > for the sake of (dative post-position); NB. < jābāla > (ajā-pāla); NB. ছিল < chilā > was, beside আছিল < āchilā >; MB. ছিকে < chitē > to be for আছিল < āchitē > (aceh, aeh); MB. সিরা, সিঞ্চ < sia, siā > for আসিমার, -ঞা < āsiyā, -iūā > having come (āviṣ); NB. ধার < dhārā > loan < MB. উদার < uddhārā > (uddhāra); NB. sts. পর < pārā > upon (upari); NB. হেন < hēnā >, MB. হেনে < ēhēnā > such, so like (through analogy of হেনে < hehen > kēnā, kehēnā >, হেনে < hehen > jēnā, jēhēnā >).

(1) Initial <ृ-, >, and <-ृ- > in Initial Syllables.

156. (i) Initial <ृ- >.
OIA. and MIA. "ā-" followed by a single consonant, seems to have become "a-" in eMB., through initial stress: e.g., अज्ञ, अज्ञुली • अजलद, अजुल • a foolish boy and girl ("अजु-अजु") ; अवी "अवि", cf. ओरवा "अवि" (अवित्व); अर "अर" • eMB. अवर "अवरा" (avara, apara); अवल "अवला" (alakta-); अव "अव" • MB. अवह "अवहा" (avidhava); अवय "अवया" • MB. अविन "अविना" (Abhimanyu); अवस "अवसा" (asura); अवल "अवला" (alasa); अवम "अवमा" (amta-); etc. In the Early MB. of the ŚKK., its words almost invariably show "a-" for "ā-": अभिवद "अभिवद्व", अवि "अवि", अवर "अवरा", अवम "अवमा", अविन "अविना", अवक "अवकास", अवल "अवला" (st.), अवी "अवी" • MB. अव "अव" became "ā-" in MB. in tbbh., stss., and tss.: e.g. st. अवोभी, अवानी. अवाणी अवक "अवकास", अवल "अवला" • tbb. (amūlyā); अव "अव" for "अव" (alavanika); अवम "अवमा" • uneven. The MB. intensive prefix "ā-" equally became "ā-": अधोर "अधोरा" (= ghora), अधोक "अधोकास", अधोर "अधोरा" (vṛthā), अधोक "अधोक" (kumāri), अधोर "अधोरा" • colourred (raṅga-), अधोर "अधोरा" • vicious (chidra ?), etc. etc. In eMB., through an increasing influence of Sanskrit forms, this "ā-" fell into disfavour, and "ā-" became supreme in ts. words; and some tbbhs. also took up "ā-". But here and there we have the "ā-" forms lingering in NB., commonly in pronunciation, and at times in orthography as well: e.g., in addition to the tbb. words given before, we find अव "अव", अव "अव" • plight, distress (avastha); अव "अव" • eight, अव "अव" • (abhiyāga-), अव "अव" • (ārondhā(nā) • no cooking (a feast-day when people eat things prepared on the previous day) (arandhana), अच्छा, अच्छ, अच्छा "ācāmba, ācāmbita, ācāmakā • suddenly (?: cf. Hindōstānī acambha); अस्पद "अस्पद्ध" (âspadāna • spardha), अस्पद "अस्पद्ध" • astē-byastē (asta-vyasta), etc.

The initial "ā-" of Persian loan-words similarly became "ā-": e.g., "āzān (ādān) • अजान अजान • call to prayer; "अमी "अमी" • prince, dignitary; "अन "अन "pomegranate; "अव "अव "sound; etc. etc.
157. (ii) Consonant + ā + consonant.

The <ə- > in this case remains <ā-ā > in Bengali: e.g.,

कौला < kālā > as in कौन kāun (kapila-); कड़ < kārā > (iron) bracelet (kaṭa); कड़ु < kāruṇā > (kaṭuka-); कन्न < kānui > (kaphoṇi-);
करे < kārē > (karaṅ, kāriṅi); कहे < kāhē > (kathayati); खन्त < khaṅtā > (khanitra-); गड़ < gārurā > (garuḍa); गालश < gālāśi > (gala-paśika); घर < gharā > (ghara, ghṛa); चले < cālē > (calati); जूत जूत < jāu, jāu > (jatu);
जन < jaṅ < (jana); जल < jālā > (jala); झड < jharā > (cf. jhatikā); ठल < ṭalē > (ṭalati); जर < ārā > fear (dara); M.B. तर < tārā > (taṭa); तल < thālā > (sthala); दह < dāi, dāi > (dadhi); सल < dādi > (dala); रुद < dhārā > body, torso (*dhāta, dhṛta); नह नह < nāi, nāi >, as in नह बांधु nāi bāḍhura heifer calf (navikā); ननव < nānādā > (ṇanandṛ); पाल < pālā > (pavitra-); M.B. पड़ित < parichā > (pratikṣaka-); पड़े < pāṭe > (patati); पड़े = पड़े < pāṭe > (pāṭe) (patṛtā); प्रसन्न < prasna > first (pratha-ila); प्रसर < prayarā > (padākara);
परसू < pārāsā > (parama); परल < pālā > (parāśva); परल < pālā > (*pālāva, pravāla-); फल < phalā > (phala);
फलार < phalarā > (phalāhara); फु फु < bāu, bāu > (vadhū); फु < bānā > (vana); बहिन < bāhin > (bhaginī);
फड < bhārā > a surname (bhāta, bhṛta); मू मू < mau, mau > (madhu); मर < márē > (*marati, mriyate); माफ < māfā > a large snake (mahākāla); माफ < māfā > (māfā); माफ < māfā > (*māta-, mṛta); रस < rāṣṭ < (rasa); रस < rāṣṭ < (rasa); रस < rāṣṭ < ingredients in working metals (rasāyana); रस < rāṣṭ < (rasāva); M.B. रस < sāśa > (saśa-);
सह < sāhē > (sabatē); हल < hāludā > (haridrā); etc., etc.

The following cases, and a few others, at first sight look irregular, but they seem to be from <ē- > forms: e.g. हलक < hālākā > (lāghu: ṛghava, *lāhā, *hālaa+kka); शाम < śām > (śamit: *śamika); and बैनि < bāniyā > (vānij: vānija-), probably extra-Māgadhī in MIA.

Perso-Arabic words also retain the <ə- >: कम < kām > little (kam); कब < khābā > news (xabar); पार < gājā > a poem, a kind of composition in verse (gazal); जाप < jabān > speech, word (zabān); नम < nām > prayers (namāz); राफ < rāfā > settlement (raf'a), etc. Hindostān pronunciation of <ā > as [ə], however, frequently influences the <ə- > <ā- > in becoming the frank <ā > in Bengali, especially in recent admissions from the Persian.
158. (iii) OIA. and MIA. «ā» in initial syllables, followed by two consonants.

In words which were originally of two syllables, or three or more syllables with a weak or short penultimate or second syllable, «-ā-» is lengthened to «-ā-» and one of the consonants is dropped; and if it is a case of nasal + consonant, the nasal is reduced to a mere nasalisation of the lengthened «-ā-», and the following consonant too is often reduced to its corresponding nasal. E.g., अक «ākā» (ākka); अक्र «ākṛ» (akṣara); अक, अक्षि «āk(i)» (*ājkhī, akkhi, akṣī); अङ्गि «āgi» (āgi, aggī, agni-); अच «āc» (*āsuci, arsi); अध «ādē» (ācchā, OIA. *acchati); अज «āj» (ajjim, adya); अइ «ātā» (aṣṭa); अति «āṭhi» stone of fruit (asthi-); अत «āt» (antra); काक «kākānā» (kaṇkaṇa); काँच «kāchā» (kakṣa); किंद्र «kīndram» (krandana); कां «kāḍhra» (skandha); कां «kāṇ» (karna); काप «kāp» (karma); क्षुज्र «kṣuṣrā» (kharjura); खट «khatā» (khatvā); खट «kharā» (khanda); खाज «khaṇā» a sweetmeat (khadya-); गाज «gadhā» (gaddaha-, gardabha-); गाज «gajē» (garjati); गाल «gali» abuse (garha-); गाम «ghaṃ» vast (gharma); चाउ «cāul»*, M.B. ताठ, ताडल «tāulā, tārulā» (taṇḍula); चक «cakā» (cakra); चात, चातल «cātārya, cātālā» (catvara); चाद «cādā» (candara); चाप «cāpā» (campaka-); छात «chāṭ» roof (chatra); छाड «chādā» style, fashion (chanda); जात «jāṭ» (yantra-); जाम «jām» (jambu); M.B. ताज «tāj» (tarjati); ताक «tāk» (tarkayati); तात «tāṭ» heat (taptā); तात «tāṭa» (tanta, tantra); थाम «thāmā» (stambha); दाप «dāpā» (darpa); दाम «dāmā» price (dramya, Greek drakhmē); नाच «nācē» (naccai, nṛtyati); पाथ «pākā» wing, side (pakṣa); पाल, पालल «pālāṇ, pālāṇkā» (pallaṇka, paryaṇka); बाज «bājā» (vajra); बाज, बाज़ «bārāi, bārui» (vardhakin); बाज «bhālā» (bhadra-); माकड «mākārā» (markaṇḍa); बख «bākhā» (śaṇkha); बाप «bāpā» substance, fleshy part of fruit (*śaṃsa, *śāśa = sasya) etc., etc.

In words of more than two syllables, the «-ā-» in initial syllables, although followed by two consonants in MIA. (one of which is dropped in NIA.), remains as «-ā-» without being lengthened to «-ā-», when a following syllable, the penultimate or the ante-penultimate generally, was a strong one (i.e., long, or stressed, or both). This seems to have been
due to the Māgadhī Apabhraṣṭa habit of stressing, before initial stress asserted itself in Bengali: and OB. forms like «āndhāra» (andha-kāra), bāṅgāla (Caryā 49: vaṅgāla), bhātāra (Caryā 20: bhartṛ, *bhattāra), kāpāsa (Caryā 50: kappāsa, karpāsa), kāṇṭhabhāla (Sarvānanda, *=kānta-hāla, *kānta-āla), bāndhāvai (Caryā 22: *bandhāpayati), sāntāra (Caryā 37: santāra), bākhaṇa- (Caryā 37: bakkhaṇa = vyākhyāna), sāṇkrāma (Sarvānanda: sāṇkrama), āmbāda (Sarvānanda: āmrata), Aṭṭha-pāga (grant of Viśvarūpa-sēna, see p. 188: aṣṭa-) etc., show «ā» for an expected «a» through something like the law of the weak ante-penultimate obtaining in some form of Bengali in the OB. period. (See ante, pp. 280-82.) MB. also shows, in words like पाखाले: pākhāle » (praskhālayati), पालाय: pālāy » (pālāyati), a hesitancy between the «ā» and the «-ā-». In NB., the initial stress has made the «-ā-» before a simplified double consonant group an «-ā-» as a regular thing, no matter if a succeeding syllable was strong: e.g., अधार: «ādhāra» , «OB. āndhāra» (andha-kāra); काटारी: «kāṭāri » (kartarikā), cf. Hind. « kāṭārī »; काळ, -ली: «kākāl(l) » waist, spine (kaṅkālikā); भातार: «bhāṭāra» (bhartṛ-), cf. Hind. « bhāṭār »; काटल: «kāṭāla» jack fruit (kaṅṭāla), cf. Hind. « kāṭār »; पाठाय: «pāṭhāvai, prasthāpayati); साज: «sāj» , MB. साज: «sāja» (*sajjāpayati); कार्यवाल: «kār̥var̥a » office (kacca-haria, kṛtya-gṛha-) cf. Hind. « kac-harī »; खान: «khāmāra» barn (khambhāra, skambhāgāra); सावत: «sabhāra» a place-name (sabhāgāra); गोबार: beside गोबार: «gābāra» (gābāra); बांध: «bākhaṇḍ» (vyākhyāna); etc., etc. OB. also shows this sort of lengthening: this has been discussed before. In certain cases, however, in NB., we find no lengthening: possibly these are relics from the age when dialectally in West Bengal the non-initial stress cum absence of lengthening obtained: e.g. खचन: «jakhana» when (jakkhaṇa, yat-kṣaṇa): so तখन: «takkaṇa» then (tat-kṣaṇa); कत: «kakhaṇa» when? (kakkaṇa, *kat-kṣaṇa); जङ्ग: «jaṅjala» (jaṅjala); stts. दखन: «dakhaṇa» south (dakkaṇa, daṅkṣaṇa), but cf. the tāh. जान: «dāhā»; the numerals पनर, पनर (paṅnara, paṅcadaśa), पनर, पनर (paṅnara, paṅcadaśa), पक्ष: पुस्त (paṅca-wiṣa,
paṅca-viṅśati”), but cf. सातश < sātaśa < (sāttāvīsa, sapta-viṅśati), Orijā < sāṭāśa, etc.

Words with the < -ā, -ā (śikā) > affix at the end, serving to modify the original form in a special manner (or even when employed pleonastically), seem to have been stressed on the < ā > in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa, as can be surmised from the evidence of Orijā and other Magadhan (see ante, pp. 94, 96, 280). OB. also shows words without lengthening of < ā > before a simplified consonant group of MIA., through this stress on the final syllable: e.g., < hāṭhā (Caryā 41 : hattha-), bāpā (Caryā 32 : bappa-), cākā (Caryā 14 : cakka-), pākhā (Caryā 4 : pakkha-), etc.: cf. Orijā < rājā, cākā, gācha >, etc. In MB., these forms with short < -ā- > were reduced to those with the normal < -ā- >, though here and there the < -ā- > forms have survived: e.g., चकल, चकल < cakalā, cakāla > slice, beside चक्क > cakalā > district (cakra-); खपर > khāparā >, besides < khāparā > sherd, tile (kharpara-); बद्धना < bādhānā > pitcher with spout (vardhana-); कठि < kāṣi > line, under-lining (karṣikā); etc.

Absence of compensatory lengthening of < ā > to < ā >, after the loss of one of two following consonants, is a phonological puzzle, which is found in a number of words (apart from the cases noted above, where we have the question of stress) in Bengali, as well as in other NIA. languages like the other Māgadhan speeches, and Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī. All these languages normally drop one consonant in a MIA. double consonant group, and lengthen the preceding vowel; or nasalise and lengthen the vowel, and in this way assimilate the nasal in a MIA. group of nasal + consonant. Thus, the normal development is along this line: गरवा < gābā >, cf. NB. गाबान < gābaṇā > vanul; आद्य > adhy, आज āj(i) >; शर्प > sarpā >; etc. But cases like कु च < kācū > (kaevi); बल < khāla > apothecary’s mortar (khalla); ज्ञ < thāk > be at stand-still, beside ग्न > thāk > (stabh-ka); छक < chākā > chess-board (śat-ka); नथ < nāthā > nose-ring (nastā); MB. नाथ < nāthā > beside NB. नाठ < nāṭ > (nastā); बट < /bāṭ > remain (cf. Bhōjpurī < bāṛ >, from < vaṭṭ, vart = vṛt >); लन < /lakṣ > notice, see (lakṣ); रति < rāti > a minute weight with the red guṇjā berry (raktikā); सब < sābā > (sarva); etc., appear irregular. Some of the
above instances can be explained as being due to the literary influence of 'Prakrit' in the Early NIA. period (e.g. ठक = thākka, नठ = nāṭha, or as being forms borrowed from other NIA. (e.g., रति > Hind. ratti, nath = nāṭha, — the Hind. forms themselves being based on, or influenced by, Panjabī ones, Panjabī being a NIA. speech not showing simplification of double consonants with accompanying vowel length); or again, as in the case of the word सब = sabb, there is in all likelihood the influence of the stress. Thus, sabb would mostly come in composition in MIA., in forms like sabb-ja na, sabb-kā, sabb-dēsa, sabb-lo(k)a, sabb-manussa, sabb-mahāraja, etc., etc.; and in such compounds, the initial syllable would lack the stress in Common MIA., so that the word sabb could be shortened to sabb- in compound forms like these even before the NIA. stage, and passed on to NIA. as sabb—,—a wide employ of the word as the head-word of plural-indicating compounds preventing a normal *sabb from developing in NIA. The form sabb is found in all Aryan India, from the Afghan frontier to Assam, and *sabb is unknown: and the frequent use of sabb, also occurring as sambā, sāma, side by side with sabb all over the NIA. area, indicates the influence of the ts. sabb assembly, mass, in making sabb sabb preserve the s- and not change it to sā in Early NIA. But still, a number of forms with ā do present a difficulty; e.g. var tātā > vat tātā > bā tē > for *bā tē > (bā tē remain is a defective verb in Bengali: cf. bātē pounds, crushes (as spices for cooking) = var thāti, vat tēti, bātēi: can it be due to a sort of sense of relationship between the causative bātē with ā and the neuter form, on the analogy of cāle causes to move: cāle walks, pārē fells: pārē fells etc. [for which see Morphology: 'the Verb, Roots']—that the ā vowel was brought into bātē for *bātē ?; kāhē lakṣātē, etc. (Cf. J. Bloch, 'Language Marathi,' p. 65).

ā after MIA. p-, b-, m-, labial sounds, is found as o in Bengali, in pohālā, pohāli, (pahā-la, pahā-la), MB. pōrā, pōrā, pōrā (pavāla, pahā-la); MB. pōrā,
Monosyllabic words in NB. (Standard Colloquial) frequently prefer [o] for «-a-»: this tendency may have been very old in Bengali: e.g., বন «বন্ধ» [bo:n] (vana); মন «মান্ধ» [mo:n] (manas); জন «জন্ধ» [jo:n] (jana); ধন «ধান্ধ» [dho:n] (dhana). Generally these words are closed with a nasal, but we have রণ «রণ্ধ» [ro:n], not [ro:n] (raña); cf. বল «বল্ধ» [bo:l] (bala), মত «মত্ধ» [mo:t] (mata), etc.

(2) Initial «a-», and «-a-» in Initial Syllables.

159. (i) OIA. «a» before a single consonant in an initial syllable has normally remained «a» in Bengali: e.g., আইল «aılā» (āyāta+ ila); আইস «āisē» (āvisati); আতল আটু «aул, алу» [aul, aлу], cf. আলু-থালু [ālu-thālu] disherelled (ākula); আউই, আুই «āuś, aśu» rainy-season rice-crop (generally connected with ts. «aśu» quick, but seemingly from «a-√vrś-»); অওঞ্জকের «√aোঞ্জকের» close (āvṛj-); আংটু «√aংটু» stir (a-vartt-); কাই «kái» (kvātha); sts. কাঙ, ṭṭh. ৫ কাউই «kāṅ, kāū» (kāka); কাঁচ, কাঁচ «kāc, kac» (kāca); কায়েত «kāyeṭ» (kāyastha); কালো «kālo» black (kāla-); খাই «খাই» (khāta-); খার «খার» (khādāti); পাই «gā» (grāma); গা «ghā» sore, blow (ghāta); গানী «ghānī» oil-mill (cf. «ghrānaka», Sivadoni Inscription, Lalitpur, U. P., Ep. Ind. I, p. 169 ff.); ছাঁর «খার» ashes (kṣāra); জানে «jāgē» (*jaggaî, jagartti); খাড় «jharā» (deśî, jhāta); ঠাই «sthāni» (sthaman); তাই «tā» (tāpa); তাল «tal» (tal); দাঁড়ি «dārīmā» (daḍlima); দানো «dānō» (dānava); ধার «dhār» (dhāvati); নার «nā» expletive (nāma); নার «nā» boat (nāva-nāy); পা «pā» (pāda); পাঙ্খ «pāre» (pātayati); পানী «pānī» (pāṇīya); পার «pāre» is able (pārayati); বা «bā» (vāta); বাইন > বাণ, বেদন < বাণান > বেগুনি, বেগুনি (বাণী); МВ. বাঙ «বাঙ» (বাণী); বাঙ «বাঙ» (বাণী); মাঝে «মাঝে» (মাঝে, māṭ); sts. মাপে «মাপে» (মাপে); or ṭṭh. < < mappati < māpyatē > is measured > measures [?]); রাই «রাই» shout (rāva); রাই, রাহী «রাহি» (rādīkā); বাণ «রায়» (rājikā); রায় «রায়» (rājan); রাইঃ «রাইঃ» (? rāja-putra; ? sts. < rāja-duṭa); MB. রাঙল
OIA. ‘ā’ + TWO CONSONANTS

<rāula> (rāja-kula); <sāi> (svāmin); <sārga> (sātalā); <sāla> (sālā) (śvāla-); <śadānā> (śrāvana); <śadānā> (śyāmala); MB. <śadānā>, <śadānā> (śāpa); <śadānā> (śāga); <nāhē, nādā> (nādi, nāti); hāne <hānē> strikes (hānayati); etc., etc.

In Late MIA., <ā> of OIA. before one consonant became weakened to <ā> through absence of stress: cases are found in OB., MB., and NB.: e.g., <stäksa> (Caryā 50: ākāsa), *bātāsa*, cf. Oriyā <bātāsā> (vātā-); <tadākāv > (tadākāvā); <sāgarā (sāgarā); <bānārāhā (bānārāhā); <thālā (thālā); <bag (sthālikā); <bākha > (bākha); <jāhāk (jāhāk); <lattice (jālakha-, jālāka-, jāla-gavākṣa), cf. Hindī <jāhāklā >; MB. <rajā-putā > (rajā-putā), NB. <rajā-putā >; hānāh <jāmāi > (jāmār); might have been *jāmāi* in Old Bengali, dialectally. Evidence of OB. and NB. forms, however, shows that the <ā> in long words also remained as <ā> (or was restored back from <ā> to <ā>) through initial stress, primary or secondary: e.g., <bāsākhā > <OB. <bāsā-hara > (vāsā-ṛgha); <nāthā > (nāthā-ṛgha); OB. <kāhāra > (kārā-ṛgha), etc. (see pp. 281, 282).

160. (ii) OIA. <ā> before two consonants.

The change was to <ā> in MIA., and this <ā> followed the fortunes of OIA <ā > MIA. <ā> before double consonants in Bengali. E.g.,<ā > (ārdra-ka-); <āmā <āmbā, āmbā > (āmba, āmra); <kājā > (kājā, kārya); MB. <kāti > (kānti, kānti); <kāsa > (kānsa-, kānsya-); <jātā > cold (jāddha, jādya); <tāmā, tāma > (tāma, tāma-); <bāghā > (bāggha, vyāghra); <bajā > (bajjā, vādyate); <vātā > (vātā); <pāsā, pārsva > (pāsā, pārsva); <bāmu > (bāmaha, bāmaha-); <bhārā > (bhārā, bhārā-); <mārgē > asks (mārgē, *mārgē = mārgayati); <mās, māsa > (māsā, māsā); <lāsā > (lāsā, lāsā); <sāthā > with, in company (sāththa, sārtha); <hās, hāsā > (hāsā, hāsā); etc.

Occurrence of OIA. <ā > MIA. <ā > as <ā >, after loss of a consonant, is also found in OB.: e.g., <kāpāsa > (Caryā 50: kārpāsa), bākhāna- (Caryā 37: vyākhyāna); ambāda (Sarvānanda: āmrāta), etc. In NB. we have <ā >: <kāpāsa >, bākhāna-, āmrāta. 41
161. In connection with a nasal, Bengali <ā> in initial syllables, when followed by <ā> in the next syllable, has a tendency to be advanced from its ordinary back value of [ā] to a frontal [ã], which becomes a frank [ã] or [ã], in both standard and dialectal Bengali. The colloquial of Calcutta is specially noticeable for this. E.g., কাকাল [kākal, kākal] spinal cord, waist (kaŋkāla); কালা [kātal, kātal] jack fruit (kaŋḍāla); কাদারী [kājāri, kājāri] (kāusya-kārika); টাকা for টাকা < टाक < टाका > [ṭaka, ṭeke] rupee (ṭaŋka-): cf. South-eastern Bengali টেংযা < टीय < टीया > for [ṭeke]; পাকাল [pākal, pākal] a fish (paŋkāla); দেকাল [dēka, bēka] (baŋka, vakra); ভাটাল [bhāta, bhāta] a ball (*bhānta-); সাধ (sādha, sādha) conch-bracelet (sāŋkha-); সাকাত [śakat, śakat] friend (sarga-); etc., etc. This change of [a] to [ə] is frequently indicated in spelling by ț < -ē- > or  nj < -yā > (বেকা, বাঙ্কা < bēka, bāṅka >).

162. The difference in quality between <ā> and <ā>, which was existent from Late OIA. (as [a, o] and [aː]), and became further prominent in MB., when <ā> = [a, o] became [œ], has been instrumental in keeping <ā> and <ā> distinct from each other in Bengali; and this distinction of <ā> from <ā> by quality enables us to form some idea of the <ā, ā> in relation to each other in OB. But in the case of the <i> and <u> vowels, there has never been any difference—at any rate, any remarkable difference—between the qualities of their long and short forms. Length of vowels early became immaterial in Bengali, so that a historically long or short syllable no longer could retain its proper spelling when scribes were careless in their writing. In addition to these root causes, there was the influence of Sanskrit orthography in unsettling the proper indication of length in writing. Bengali spelling thus from OB. times has been most unsatisfactory in the matter of length for <i> and <u>, and is not at all a sure guide to the early pronunciation. For the expected *দ্ধি < dīthi > (dīthhi, dṛṣṭhi), *তীন < cīnd > (cihna), *নিত্হৃ < nithur > (niśṭhura), *তীন < tin > (tiṇi, tri-), *হং < jūjhē > (yudhyati), *উতর < utārē > (uttarati), *দুঃক < dukha > (dukkha, duḥkha) etc., we find দিঠি < dīthi >, চিন < cīn >, নিত্রুর < nithur >, তিন < tin >, হং < jūjhē >, উতর < utārē >. Words like < iṣṭa > > ইষ্ট, ইষ্ট < Iṣṭ, Iṣṭ >, < bhitti > > ভিঠ, ভিঠ > শুষ্ক >
OIA. AND MIA. 'I, I' IN INITIAL SYLLABLES

<sukha>, etc., are not written with the long vowel—unlike the case of original <ā> under similar circumstances, for which we have normally <ā> in Bengali—because quantity does not matter at all in Bengali speech, and because the Sanskrit prototypes on which the spelling is mainly modelled have short vowels; cf. दीधि 〈dīghi〉 = (dirghikā), रुत्त <sūta> (sūtra-), where the long vowels are on the model of the Sanskrit prototypes. Maithili, Awadhī, Hindūstāni and Gujarāti, etc. are much more careful, and this carefulness is due to the very nature of their phonetic character in which length of vowels is an important thing.

Old spellings in MSS., and modern spelling and pronunciation both may ignore vowel length for <i> and <u>, but it may be surmised that in OB., and in Māg. Ap., the line of development of <ī> <u> (as well as of <e, o>) was similar, as in the case of <ā, ā>: i.e., long <ī, ū> occurred in the oldest Bengali before a simplified consonant group, although there was weakening of <ī, ū> to <i, u> through absence of stress.

In MB. and NB., the rules of Vowel Harmony modified [i, u] sounds to [e, o]: this is discussed later. There is a certain amount of interchange of [i, u] in root (i.e., initial) syllables in some dēśi and tibh. forms, for which see below, under 'Origin of the NB. Vowels: [i], [u].'

(3) Initial <ī-, ī->, and < -ī-, -ī- > in Initial Syllables.

163. (i) OIA. and MIA. <ī, ī> in initial syllables, followed by one consonant, retained its quality in Bengali. Following the Bengali habit of length, monosyllables have the vowel long, and polysyllables short. The quantity is ignored in writing.

कि, की 〈ki, ki〉 (kim, kim); किने 〈kinē〉 (kinaĩ, khipāti); किल 〈kila〉 jisticuff (kila); रेकौड़ा 〈kūra〉 (kīta-); चीन 〈khina⇌ (kṣīna); बीर 〈khir⇌ (kṣira); MB. गिम 〈gimā, gikā〉 (grivā ); गिल 〈gilē〉 (gilati); धिन 〈ghī〉 (ghia, ghṛta); धिन 〈ghina⇌ (ghina, ghṛṇā); चीन 〈cīna⇌ Chinese (china-); OB. चिरेवता 〈cīrēvata (Sarvānanda), NB. चिरवता, चिरेवत 〈cīrata, ciretâ 〈kīrata-tikta-); जो 〈ji〉 (jīva); धिह 〈dhī, duhitā); MB. तिहीत्री, तिहृत्री 〈tiārī > tiūrī ovem (with three lumps for the pot) (trīr̥-īkāences in three lumps for the pot) (trīr̥-īkā); तिह्र 〈tiyās⇌ (tṛṣā + pipāsā); धिर 〈thir⇌ (sthira);
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

तिराच, तेराच तिराच, तेराच । । तिराच, तेराच । । तिराच, तेराच ।
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Example:

(ii) "ि" of MIA. followed by two consonants । "ि" in OIA.

इंि ईंि ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)।

Example:

ईंि ईंि ईंि ईंि ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)।

Example:

ईंि ईंि ईंि ईंि ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)। ईंि (िनि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि, ईंि)।
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(*piṅgala); *pañal, paṅul *pipāla, pipulā (pippali); *pīthā (pītha, prātha); *piṭha *piṭhā *cake (piṣṭaka); *piṭala *pitāla (pittala); *bībha *bībha (bībhala, vīhvala); *bhīcā (vṛṣcā, cf. vṛṣekā); *bhīcāna *bīchānā bed (vīchādana-); *bīṭhā *bīṭhā ugly, vicious (dēśi viṭṭhāla- polluting); *bināti *bināti (viṃśattia, viṃṇāptikā); *bīhā *bhīkā (bhikā); *bhīna *bhīna (bhinnā); *bhīla *bhīla (bhilla-); *bīma-raulā *for *bhīma-raulā hornet (bhīma-raulā); *mīśā *mīśā (mīśāyate); *mīsāni *mīsāni (mīśāpayati); *riṣe *riṣe (rīṣyati); *riṣkā *riṣkā (rīṣyati); *sīrā *sīrā (sīrāyati); *sit(h)ā *lees, dregs (siṣṭa-); *siṃpur *siṃpur (sindura); *siṃhā *siṃhā (siddha-); *sīn *sīn (siṅgu); *sītal, sīṭal *hitāla, hēṭāla (hintāla); etc., etc.

(4) ‘ū, ŭ’ Initial, and in Initial Syllables.

164. (i) ‘ū, ŭ’ followed by one consonant remain ‘u’ in NB., except where altered to ‘o’ by Vowel Harmony. The NB. ‘ū’ is long in monosyllables. (ii) *upaśā stīs. (upavāsa); MB. uśa, uē ‘uē’ (udēti); (iii) *uniśā (una-vaśa); OB., MB. uśāni *uśāni adorned palace or pavilion, as in bār-ūśāni, bār-ūśāni *bār-ūśāni, bār-ūśāni festivity in a pavilion erected by public subscription: cf. uśāni or uśāni, place-name in Ducea district (upakāra, -ika); (iv) urūd, urūd *urūd, urūd (*urū-vant- = ūru: cf. ērv-asthi-vant:-thigh and knee; or ? urū-asthi thigh-bone); (v) kūṣa, kūte *kūcītā, kūcē a fish, like the eel (kucika); kūla *kūla (kula); MB. kūpa, kōpār, kōpār *kumāra, kōmāra, kōmāra (kumāra); kūna *kūna (kūna-); kūna, kūra *khura (kṣura); kūna *gu (gū) (gūtha); (vi) guṇā *guṇā (guvāka); (vii) cuśū, cuśū *cuśū, cuśū (cuśāti); (viii) tūtā *tūtā (tūtā); (ix) tūtā *tūtā (tūtā); (x) turitā *turitā (*turanta: *var-ant-); (xi) duña *duña (dhūna-); (xii) duña *dhūna (dhūnaī, dhūnāī); (xiii) puṁ *puṁ (pūtikā); (xiv) purē *burus (puṭati); (xv) purāna *purūna (purūtana-); (xvi) purē *purē (purāyati); (xvii) phūre *phūre (phuṭati); (xviii) bhukha *bhukha (bubhukā);
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眼球 < bbhūmi > (bhūmi); 眼部 < bhōmā > < *bhuma > (as in Early Assamese) eyelash (*bhuva, *bhrva, bhrū); চোখ, চোখটি < bhujāli, bojāli > (bhujā-pāla-); 眼 < mu > (mukha); 眼睛 < mūlā > (mūla-); 眼睫毛 < śūn > tendril (śúka-); 眼睛 < śūn > (śūnāi, śrṇōti); 瞳孔 < śūndā > (śūkara, sū-); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. < u, ū > before two consonants = MIA. < ū > Bengali < u, ū >; ऊक < uk > (ulkā); ऊड्ड < ukhārē > (ukkhāḍē, utkhātayati); ऊड़े < ugārē > (udgārayati); ऊड़ < ākar > (*uṣīca, uceca-); ऊड़ < ujā > (ud-yāti); ऊड़ < niṣpr < period, waste (?ud-jhāta); ऊठ < uthē > (ut-sthā-); ऊड़ < urē > (udāḍē, udāḍayātē = udāḍiyatē); ऊ < ud > (udra); ऊठल < uṭhāla > overflow (utsthala); ऊ < ūn > (urnā); ऊनान < unān(i) > oven (*uṣnāpanikā); ऊमड़ < umārā > (unmarda); ऊभ < ubhā > (ubbha-, ārdha-); ऊमय < umāy > shimmers (uṣmāyatē); ऊलस < ulāsē > (ullasati); ऊकुड़ < kuk(n)ra > (kukkuta-); कुम < kumāra > (kumbha-kāra); कुमীর < kumīra > (kumbhira); कूड < kūci > bristle, hard broom (kureikā); कूड < kūkti > groove (kuṇe-); कूड < kūnd > a flower (kunda); कूड < kūdē > jumps (kurdati); कूड < kūja > (kubja-); कूड < kūrā > (kūlla = kṣudra + tāta); कूड < khus > broken rice (kṣudra); कूड < guchhāna > arranged (guccha-); गुजरट < gujarāt > (gurjara-trā, Beng. -t- < rāstra); चुम < cume > (cumbati); चुक < cuk > mistake, fall (eukka, eyut-kṛ); चुप < cūp > (eũṇa); चुप < jhun < old, dried-up coco-nut (? jũṇa-); चुφ < chutφ > (*sūtra-kāra = sūtra-dhāra); OB. चुφ < Caryā 9 > चुप < chudha > chutφ > impurity, the touch of which is pollution (? kṣubđha : infl. of chu-tough); चुक्त, चुक्त < jujhē > (yudhyatē); चुक्त < tuṭē > (trutyati); चुφ < dūmurd > (udumbara); चुφ < dūbē > sinks (dēsi buḍḍai); चुφ < ḍhūpē > seeks (dēsi ḍhunḍhaï); चुφ < tumi > (MIA. tūmē); चुφ < tūṭi > चुφ < tūṭi > तुट < tūṭha-; चुφ < dūdiyā, dūḍē > quarrelsome (*dunda-, dvandva-); चुφ < dudhra > (dudhra); चुφ < dhūt(h)urā > (dhūstura-); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra-); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); OB. चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrā > (puṇḍra); चुφ < pūrार < ring (mudra-); चुφ < muthā > (musta-); MIA. कूठ
MIA. ‘E, Ė, O, Ō’ IN INITIAL SYLLABLES

< ruṭhā > (ruṣṭa-); ṣuṇa < śuṅhā > (suṣka-); ṣūṇḍa < śuṅḍa > (ṣuddha); ṣūṭhā < śuṭhā > (suṭṭhi); MB. ẓuṅ < śuṅa > (ṣunya); etc., etc.

OIA. i, i, u, ū occurred as < ē, ō > in MIA., before two consonants: the reason for this lowering of the high vowels of OIA. is not clear (see Pischel, ‘Gramm. der Prakrit-sprachen, §§ 119, 122, 125). NIA. retains the < ē, ō > vowels in some words inherited from MIA. In Bengali, instances are bēḷa (bélā, bilva); ēlha < hēthā > (ēttha, itthā); OB. bēći < beṇṭa > (Caryā 33 = bāṭi?) (vēṭṭa, for *viṇṭa = vṛnta); ēkō < kōkhā > (*koṇkha: cf. kūksi); ēkō < gōchā > (gōcha, for guecha = *gṛp-sa); ēkō < chēḍā > (*chēnda-, chidra); tēṭuḷ < tēṭul > (tēntali, tēntidi dēśi); mōṛa < mōṛa > head of street, (?) mōṛāḷa < mōṛāla > head-man, chief (see p. 320) (mōṇḍa, mūṇḍa); MB. pōṭha < pōṭha > big book (pōṭtha, pustaka); OB. pōṭhari < pōṭhiri > (*pōṭkhirē-, pūṣkara-); MB. mōḷ < mōḷa > (mōlla, mūlya); cf. also MB. pēḍ < kēṛa > (*khēṛa = *khīḍa, khīḍa = kīḍā); OB. tābōḷa < tābōḷa > (tambōḷa: tāmbulā).

(5) MIA. < ē, Ė; ō, Ō >.

165. MIA. < ē, Ė > and < ō, Ō > < OIA. < ē, Ė, āy, ay > and < ō, ō, av >, remain in Bengali, except where they are modified in post-Bengali times by Umlaut or Vowel-Harmony. From Early Middle Bengali times, it would seem that < ē > in initial syllables, with a low position, became the open < ē > = [ə]; this occurs in New Bengali as [ə] or as [æ]. It is possible that < ō > similarly tended to become the open < ō > = [ə], but in New Bengali this is not a noticeable feature, although in the Bengali of the extreme West this broad pronunciation is at times heard.

(i) OIA. < ē > before one consonant > MIA. < ē > Bengali < ē > [e, æ, æ]: e.g., ē < ē > this (ēa, ētad); ēgār < ēgāra > (Late MIA. < ēgāraha >, for < ēcāra > = OIA. < ēkāśa >: < ēga > a Late MIA. st., from < ēka >)† ējāri < ēj(a)ṛi > (ēka-jvara-); ējārī < ējāri > flower bed (kēdārika); ēkō, ēkō < kēu < kēhō > (*kēvō, *kēvi, *kēpi = kāh api); ēkō < khēyā > ferry (kṣēpa-); ēkō < kēhu > thread wound round (kṣēpa); ēkō < khēlā > (khēlā); ēkō < cēḷa > [cēḷa] (cēlāka); ēkō < cēṛi > (cēṭi); ēkō < chē > (chēda); ēkō < chēcē, sēcē > (*sēṅcayati, sēcayati); MB. ē < ĕ >
(dēha, dēva); dēvar < dēor > [dœːr] (dēvara); MB. dēya < dēyā > sky, cloud (dēva-); dēvaliya > dēvaliyā > dēului > pauper (dēva-kulika-); MB. dēhāra > (dēva-grha-); dēy < dēy > (*dēti = dāti, dadāti); *dēajā > dēvali *dēvari > dēuri > (cf. Skt. dehali); MB. dēvalinā < dēyāsini > priestess (dēva-vāsini); nēha > nēi < nēha > nēi > (snēha); nēuchā < *nēwāchā > (nēpathya-); pēca > pēccā > (pēcaka); pēṭa > pēṭā > (pēṭaka); bhēra > (*mheḍa-, *mēha-ḍa-, mēsa-); bhēla > (bhēlaka); MB. rēha > (rēkha); hēvali < hēvali > riddle (hēmalīka); sēvātī < sēvīti > a flower (sēvanti); etc., etc.

(ii) OIA. ē before two consonants > MIA. ē before two consonants > Old Bengali ē before single consonant = NB. ē; [e, e, æ]. Also MIA. formations, sts. or dēsi, or otherwise, with ē before two consonants.

Examples: ēkā (MIA. sts. ēkka); ētā (MIA. ēttia-); ēba (MIA. ēmba-); hēka (h)ēthā (MIA. ēttha-); kētā (kṣētra); MB. gēruā < gēruā > (MIA. *gēνdu-); jēthā (jyēṣṭha-tāta); dēkhē (dēkkhaï, dṛks-); nērū (nēsī lēṇḍa); nēṭā > forest (nētra); pēma > (pēmma, prēman); pēle > pēlē, phēlē > casts, throws down (pēllaï, prērayati); pēti > pēṭa > (dēsi pēṭta); bēta < bēṭa > son (bēṭṭa- < ? vētra-: cf. vaṅsa family); bēta > bēṭa > (vētra); bēra > bēṛa > (vēḍha, vēḍha, vēṭṭha, vēṣṭa-); sēja > sēja > (śeṣja, sayya); sēla > sēla > (śeḷla, sālya); sēṭha > sēṭha > (śeṭṭhi, śreṣṭhin); hētā < hēṭa > (hēṭṭha = ? *adhiṣṭṭāt; Sanskritisation, in the 'Mahā-vastu,' hēṭṭā); etc.

(iii) OIA. āi > MIA. ē, ē > Old Bengali ē > NB. ē [e, æ]; also OIA. āy > MIA. ē, ē > Bengali ē. gēnuā > (gāiruka); MB. cēwana > (cāītanya); tē in compounds (tray-); tēla > tēla > (tēlla, tālā); MB. bēja > (vāidya); bhāi, bhāi > bēhai, bēyāi > (vaivālika); sēvala > sēvala > (sāvala-); etc.

Dēsi words like ēra < dēra > much (cf. MIA. dēsi āhar, Beng. āhar deep), ēkī < ēkī > husking machine, ērōs < dērōs > a vegetable, 'lady's fingers;' ēkō > ēkī > an ear-ornament, ēkur < ēkur > belching, ēka < ēkā > a push, etc., are of uncertain origin.
166. (i) OIA <ō> before one consonant remains in Bengali: e.g., MB. कोइल, कुइल <kōlā, kuīlā> (kōkila-); कोल <kōlā> (kōḍa); कोष <kōṣa> (kōna); कोश <kōša> (kōṣa-); गोशाला <gōśālā> (gōpāla-); गोरु <gōrū> (gō-rūpa); गोरी <gōrī> (gōśvāmin); गोरड़ <ghōrā> (ghōṭa-, dēśi); जो, जो <jō> opportunity, chance (yōga); जोय <jōya> is supplied (yōgāyate); जोड़ <tōrē> (trōṭayati); जोल <tōlē> (tōlayati); जोड़ <thōrā> (stōka+-ṣa-); जोल <dōlā> (dōla-); जोल <pōlā> (pōṭa-la-); जोष <pōṣa> (pōṣa); जोड़ <phōrā> (spōṭa-); MB. मो <mō> (mōha); मोक्ष <mōka> (mōdaka-); मोक्ष <mōcā> plantain (mōca in Pali: dēśi); रौ <rō> (rōman, lōman); रूय <rōy> (rōpayati); MB. मोट <sōhē> (sōbhatē); मोल <sōlā> (sōḍaśa); मोट <sōtā> (sōnta, srōtas); etc.

(ii) OIA. <ō> before two consonants > MIA. <ō> before two consonants > Bengali <o>: e.g., MB. ओठ <ōṭhā> (ōṭha, ōṣtha); कोटाल <kōṭāla> (kōtta-pāla. kōṣṭha-pāla); कोल <kōlā> Kōl, non-Aryan people (MIA. kōlā); गोपा <khōpā> (MIA. khōmpa-<?); गोठ <gōṭa> fleshy navel; a non-Aryan tribe (MIA. dēśi gōṇḍa); गोठ <gōṭha> (gōṭha); गोठ <gōṭa> (gōtra); गोय <ghōlā> (MIA. ghōlla = ghūrṇa-?); गोह <gōphā> (*gōmpha, gumphā); गोह <gōphā> cave (*gōphā-, gumphā<?); गोठ <jōṭa> (jōktra); गोठ <jōṭā> shell fish (MIA. *jōṛa-ḍa-, dēśi, as in OB.); जोनाके <jōṇā-ki> moonlight, as in Assamese, = fire-fly in Bengali (jōңha-, jjōtsna); टोपा <ṭōpā> helmet, bridegroom’s tinsel crown (MIA. *ṭōppa-ra-<dēśi>); डोम <dōmā> (dōmba); डोम <dōmā> drum (MIA. dōhāla-: dēśi); डोम <dōmā> > पूढ़ी <pōṭha, pōṭhi> putḥi <pottthaas <pōstaka, Skt. pustaka, pustikā); बोढा <bōrā> a snake (bōṛa-); बोठ <jōṭa> (yōtra); बोठ <lōḍhā> (lōdhra); etc.

(iii) OIA. <ān-, ān-, ā-, uv- > before single and double consonants; also OIA. groups <am-, -up-, etc.> <av-, uv->, Late MIA. <ō-, uv- > before single consonant, <ō> before two consonants > Bengali <o>: e.g., ओ <ōjha> (ōjjha, uvajjha, upādhyāya); ओड़न, ओड़न <or(h)an> (ōḍhāna, *ōvedḍhāna, ava-veṣṭana); ओत <ōt> <dēv (kośa, avaśaya); ओट्जा, ओट्जा <ōriyā > uriyā (ōḍiṇya, ānḍriya-); कोट, कोट <kōcā, kōcā> a North
Bengal tribe (*kačōca: cf. Sanskritisations kuvaca, kambōja); ṣṣūra < ṣoṛā > (gaśura-); ṣori < ṣtī > (stūra); ṣej < ṣhōd > (MIA. chuvasati-); ṣeṭa < ṣhōd > (*soča, ṣāṅca); ṣoṣa < ṣhōy > (ṭhāvei, sthāpayati); ṣoṇa < ḍōnā > leaf-cup (damanaka-); ṣoṇa < ḍhōbā > (√dhāv; -b-<?); ṣo, ṣo, ṣont < ṣō, ṣō, ṣo> < ṣō, ṣō, ṣo> (lāuha-); ṣoṇa < ṣōnā > (svanā-); ṣoṇa < ṣōhāg > husbands’ love (sāubhāgya); MB. ṣoṇ, ṣoṇ > ṣōn < ṣōν >, ṣoṇ >, ṣoṇ > (lavaṇa-); ṣo, ṣo, ṣo < ṣō, ṣō, ṣo > (mama, tava); ṣoṇa < ṣōy > (suvaï, svapiti); ṣoṇa < ṣō < pāva, *pāda, pāda-kā); etc., etc.

Cases of interchange between < i > and < ē > and between < u > and < ō >, which characterise Bengali phonology, are treated later, under Vowel Harmony.

[III] VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS.

(1) Vowels not in Contact in MIA.

167. Elision of vowels in the middle of words through absence of stress occurs sporadically in the earlier forms of IA. Examples have been adduced at p. 278. Elision of whole syllables by haplology sometimes occur in OIA.: e.g. Vedic < tuvīra(va)vaṇ, ir(adh)adhyāi, ma(dhv)-dugdha, śīṛṣa-(sa)kti >, etc. (Cf. Maedonell, ‘Vedic Grammar for Students,’ p. 19.) But a regular tendency to drop unstressed vowels in the interior of words manifested itself only as late as the 15th century in Bengali, as we have seen before (pp. 295 ff.). It would be seen that the preference which Bengali has developed for words of two syllables, or morae, is responsible for the loss of a medial vowel: this loss commonly takes place when a primitive word (primitive so far as Bengali is concerned) is extended by the addition of an < -ā > or < -i > affix. This is the dimetric or bimoric (dvi-māтриka) principle operating on length in Bengali words (see ‘Bengali Phonetics,’ § 55).

Loss of vowels in the interior of words through lack of stress, in MB. and NB.:—

(i) Loss of OIA., MIA. < -ā >: e.g., ṣaṅgala < ṣagāla > guards (argalayati); *āṭaṭās, āṭaṭi < āṭaṭ(r)isā > (aśta-triṇḥat); ṣoṇa < ṣōnā > veil (ava-vēṣṭana-); ṣiṃh < ṣuṇā > (una-viṇāsi); ṣoṇa, ṣoṇa < ṣāṅna, kāṇnā >
LOSS OF INTERIOR ‘-A-’ IN BENGALI

(karaṇa-), and similar cases of the verbal noun in ‘-ana-’, like धरना "dhārāṇā" (dharaṇa-), कल्पना "kālāṇā, kālā" coquetry (kalana-), संदर्भ, कल्प "kādāṇā, kānā" (kāndana), etc., etc.; काढू "kāthāra" lumber (kāṣṭha + da-); कल्प "kālāmi" (kalambika); गुम्फ "gumf-sā" (? grīśma-); गोडायल "ghūrd-gārī" (ghoṭa-+gāḍālikā); चित्र "cit(h)ālā" a fish (cittahala, citra-phala); टाकश "tāka-sālā" mint (tāṅka-sālā); गाधा "gādāhā" (gaddaha-, gardabha-); पन्नतिस "pāṅt(r)īśā" (pannatiśa, paṅca-triśat); बध "bādhāna" water-jug (vardhana-); बादल "bāḍalā" rains (vardala-); पाढ "pāyā-sāri" < "pāṇḍ-sāri", cf. Hindi "pansāri" (paṇya-sālikā); नन "nāri" "nāriṃ" "nāri" (*naha-haranī, nakharaṇikā); मथ "māyārā" (madaka-); माय "māṇā" (madana-); भिक्षु "bhīmā-rula, bhiṅga-rula" (bhīmā-rolleya); सी "sīthā < sīrnanta-" (sīmanta-) leaves of meal, refuse (*saṅkaṭikā); शी "sīthānā" "sīrānā" head of bed (śīras + sthāna); भास "bhāsura" < "bhāi-śvaśura" husband’s elder-brother (bhrat-śvaśura); देश "dēshkho" < "dia-rākhuā" (dipa-rakṣa-); stks. कम "kāmā" a sweet-meat (kadamba-); घटक "ghāṭkāli" profession of a match-mater (sts. ghaṭaka + āla-); छोड "chākā" (*chakka-, šakata-); मेघ "mēghalā" (mēgha-la-; and in recent polysynthetic expressions like 'आयठिन' < 'aṭṭin' so many days, (= cātā dinā), जित "jāṭin" so long (= jātā dinā), तथ "tākhāni" immediately (= tākhānt + i), etc.

In the affix ‘-tavya-’, giving the future (and verbal noun) affix of Bengali, -ib- -īb- -ā, there is loss of -ā-: किर "kāribā" (kārība, kariabba, *karitavya, kartavya); दिब "dibā" (*dībba, *dītavya = dātavya); डिल "cālibā" (*calība, calitavya, cf. cartavya); डिब "nibā" (*niabba, nētavya), etc., etc. This loss of course, is of Vowels in Contact (q.v.), and is pre-Bengali. Also in the past and adjectival affix इल "ilā" < "(i)ta-+ilā"; तु "sutilā" (*suttilla, sutta-illa, supta+ila); पाँ "pākila" (*pakilla, pakka-illa, pakva+ila); etc.

(ii) OIA., MIA. -ā: loss in Bengali, in Late MB. and NB. times: अ "ākāra" (a-ka-va-ṭa-); अ "ānāra" (aṅgāra-); उ "ukkāra" from उ "ukkāra"; उ "ukkāra" (utkā타yati); उ "upār, upārā" (utpāṭayati); OB.
< 'kāhārā> (kāray-ṛha); 'kumāra> < 'kumārā> (kuśmādṛa-); Calcutta Bengali गयला < ṣāyāla > = gopalā < ṣālā > (gopāla-); gābharā < ṣābharā > (garbhā- gara-kāṭha); बाि (ळ)ला < baī(ळ)lā > (vaṅgāla-); etc. Cf. Standard Colloquial forms of names, with implication of contempt, like रािला < rākhalā > from rākhalā > a personal name (= raksā-pāla-), gopāla < gopālā > sts. (= gopāla-); etc.; and 'kośāe' < kojjac' = kośāā यािेह 'kothā jāitehā > where are you going?, कोखेक < kothēke > = कोश थाकिया < kothā thākiyā > from where? etc., etc.

Unstressed original < -ā > and < -ā > -ā-, when flanked before or after, or on both sides, by a high vowel (preferably an < -i >), are changed to < -u- > in Late MB. and NB. The intermediate stage of this change was an [o] sound: [ ə > o > u ]. This is due to Vowel Harmony which characterises Bengali phonology: see next chapter.

(iii) OIA., MIA. < -i-, -i- >. Between consonants, the < i > vowel in the interior of a word in Bengali is reduced to < ā >, as it is found in MB. and NB. orthography, and it is now dropped in NB. Possibly in Late MB. the elision of the < i > vowel characterised the pronunciation; although the orthography, by not using the virāma in the place of the elided or quiescent < i >, suggests the presence of, and, it seems, even helped to bring in, an < ā = ā > pronunciation. Examples: कुटिन < kuṭin > bāṅ (kuṭthin); संभव < khaṭ < khanitra-); धरी < ṣār(ā)ṛi >, OB. < ṣārī > (ṛhiṇi); राजनी, राजनी < cādīn < cādīn > moonlight (*candrinikā); परव < ṣārkhā >, परव < ṣārkhā > (parikṣa, parikṣ-); पर < ṣāyāla, *pāhlā, pāhālā, pāhīlā > (pahilla-, pratha+ila-); पर < pār < from MB. पर < pār, pāhrē = pāhirē, pārīhē > (*parihaï, paridhīyatē); प्रबो < pārī > from MB. प्रबो, प्रबो < pārī, pārāi >, OB. < pāḏīyēśi > (prativēśin); पर < pāryēsē > serves food, OB. < *pāryēsai > (parivēśayati; cf. Hindi parōsai); पात < pāntā > watery (pānī, pānyaya-); पिप्र < pīprā > MB. पिप्र < pīprā >, OB. < *pīpīrā > (also < pimpaḍā >, as in Sarvānanda) (cf. Skt. pīplikā) बडो < bār(ā)ṣi > hook (badīṣa-); बन्ध < mūnā > fellow, man (in contempt) < *mīnā, munīsā >, cf. মুনি < munis, munis > day-labourer (Asōkan Prakrit munisa = manūṣya); सद, सय < सार, sārṣa, sārīṣa [jorīṭa] (sarisava-, sarṣapa-); sts. form like पेतनी < pētni > (prētin); colloquial forms of names,
contemptuous, like বিপ্লন, বস্তুক কটুক * bipnē, rāskē, phātkē * etc. (vipina + iyā, sphaṭika + iyā, rasika + iyā); etc., etc.

In NB. compounds also: চিরন-দাতি * cirun-dātī * comb-toothed from চিরনি * cirunî * (=*cirāwanī) comb; পানকল * pān-phālā * for পান-ফল * pān-phālā * water chestnut; পান-কোঁড়ি * pān-kāuri * a water-bird (pānī + kāuri, cf. kukuḍ, kukkuṭa-); পাখ-মার * pākh-māṭa * a bird-killer (pākhī + māra-); গাড়ানী * gā-ānī, gāfānwāng * cab-man (gārī + wāng), etc.; সোনে * sōnē * on that day > colloquially ‘সিদ্ধন’ [śidne], etc. Intervocal * -i- *, after * -a-, -ा-, is the most common Bengali vowel to have been dropped in the development of NB. from MB. The vowel * i * wherever possible underwent epenthesis in MB.; and the epenthetic * i * was weakened and dropped in West Bengali, altering the quality of the contiguous vowels, although this epenthetic * i *, full or weakened, still remains in East and North Bengali. (See under ‘Epenthesis.’)

There is loss of * -i- * in the formation of the past and adjectives base -ইল * -ilā * of Bengali: and this loss is pre-Bengali: e.g., চাল * călilā * (*calila-, *calia-lla, calīta+ila-); আনিল * anilā * (*ănilla-, cf. Ardhamāgadhī aniliya; *ănilla-lla, ānīta+ila); রাখিল * rakhilā * (rakkhilla-, rakhśila-lla, raksita+ila); etc., etc. (See later, ‘Vowels in Contact.’)

(iv) OIA. and MIA. * -u-, -ū-. Between consonants, this vowel behaved like * i * in Bengali—although the * ā * pronunciation of * -u- * is not so common. Examples: আঁট * anātā, anātī * ring (āṅguṣṭha-); আঁকাশ * ākṣaś * pole-hook for gathering fruit (āṅkuṣṭikā); উচ-কাপাল * uč-kāpalā * high browed (term of abuse among women), cf. উচু * uĉu * high; কুক্ত * kūktā * (kukkuta-); কুড়ি, কুর্ম * kurmi, kurmī * a caste (kuṭumbin); ঠাকুর * thākurān * honoured lady (MIA. *ṭhakkurānī); বাবা * bāblā * acacia (barbula-); MB. নিহৃদ * nihūr- * return (ni-ghuṭ) is found as নিহৃদ * nihūr- *; similarly, বাহু * bāhu-, bāhur- * return (vi-ā-ghuṭ); বিজ্ঞ * bij(ā)li * from বিজ্ঞ * bijulī * (vijju-, vidyut-); familiar forms of names, like ওঁকা * [orlo] for অক্তু, অক্তু-ওঁী * ātulā+uā * , etc. Cases of loss of * -u-, however, are not so common as that of * i *.

Through epenthesis also * -u- * is lost. In Late MB., and in most Bengali dialects, this epenthetic * -u- * became * i *, and fell together with it.
(v) MIA. < -ē- >, from various sources in OIA., is rarely lost in early Bengali. It is weakened to < i > in some cases, when followed by < i > in the next syllable, and to < ā >. E.g., OIA. < ākhē̄ṭika > ( < ? ) = OB. < aḥērī > hunter; MIA. < āmēhī, tūmhēhī > > Bengal আমি, তুমি < āmi, tumī >; OIA. < pratīvēśī > > MIA. < paṭiṭeśī > > OB. পড়েবেশী < paṭāvēśī > in MS. = < *pārīyeśī > > MB. < pārīśī > > NB. পড়ছী < pārśī >; OIA. < parīvēśayati > > Late MIA. < *pārīyeśeśī, -aī > > OB. < *pārīyeśai, *parīvēśai > > MB. *পরসে, পরসে < pārīše, *pārāše > > NB. পরশে < pārāše >; OB. < bhāhēnīt > > NB. বহৃঠি < bāreī < afruit; OIA. < bāhēkha(?)(cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt.-Sprachen,' §115) > MIA. < bhāhē̄kha- > > OB. < bhāhēḍā, bahaḍā > (Sarvānanda) > MB. বহৃঠা < bāhārā, NB. বহৃঠা < bāyṛā [baṛā]; OIA. < kārvēla, *kāravēlla- > > Late MIA. < karavēlla > > NB. করেলা, করা < kārēlā, kār(a)lā > a vegetable; sts. সংদ < sānd > > OB., MB. < *sandaha > (sandēhā); etc. Cf. Bengali অধীল < ādhāl > a half piece, Hindīstānī < adhēlā >.

The MIA. form in < -ē- > for the causative is lost to Bengali, having followed the simple verb form: OIA. < cālayati >, > Late MIA. < cālēi > > *cālai > > Beng. চালে < cāle >; MIA. < kārāpayati = kārayati > > Late MIA. < kārvēi, karāvai > > B. কারায় < kārē >; etc.

In NB., following the bimoric principle, < -ē- > is commonly dropped in familiar forms of names, like < Varēndra- > > বরেন < bārēnā >: বরনা < bārnā >, < Gaṇēśa- > : গণ্যা < gānā >, < Narēśa- > : নরশা < nārā >, etc.

(vi) MIA. < -ē-, -e-, >, from various sources: loss rare in Bengali. MIA. < tambōla > > NB. তামলী < tämīt > (tambulika); অলুনী < alonī >: অলুনী < *alōnī >, occasionally < ālni > (*alōnia, alavānika); NB. দামড়া < dāmṛā >, cf. OB. < dāmbōdā > (Sarvānanda) (damya-); পড়োল, পড়েল, পড়লা < pārōlā, pārōla, pār(a)lā > (paṭōlā); etc. Cf. NB. গাম্ভূ < ga+mochā > gāmchēhā < gā+močhā > towel, lit. body-wiper.

Like < -a-, -a- > -a- > of Bengali flanked by high vowels, < -o- > in the interior of a word becomes < -u- >: this is treated under Vowel Harmony.

168. Interior vowels remain in Bengali when they occur (through loss of original MIA. or OB. final vowel) in the last syllable of the word in NB., and are closed by a consonant.
RETENTION OF ‘-ā-’

(i) *-ā-*: अचल *ाचला* (añcalā); अश्व, अश्व *ाष्ठा, अष्ठा* (aśvattha); उल *ुला* (ujvala); वैद *कान्दा* (krandana); केशु, केशु *केंशु, केंश* [kaeṣṭ] (kavata, kaivarta); गांडु *गांड* (gadāla); बाण, बाण *गाण्ड, गाण्ड* (ghātā-la); चरṇ *चरण* (charaṇa); छाय, छाय *छाय, छाय* (chājana); जागु *जाग* (*tājtana); जीव *जीव* (jīva); चारक *चारक* (ghakka, sthag); तात *तात* (tapta-la); देवर, देवर *देवर, देवर* [deor] (deva); नागर *नागर* (nagara); निर्दolver *निर्दolver* (nirakṣa); नेश, नेश, नेश *नेश, नेश, नेश* (nēch, nēch, nēch); पाहव *पाहव* (pājara); बिघुल *बिघुल* (bīchala); बिघुल *बिघुल* (bīchala); बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुल*; बिघुल *बिघुلا
becomes \( \text{ā} \) in Bengali through contact with the \( \text{ā} \) glide: a few examples can be found above.

In certain cases, \( \text{-ā-} \) occurs as \( \text{-ā-} \), both before one consonant and two consonants of MIA.: e.g., करात् \( \text{kārātā} \) \( \text{< kara-vāta} \) (MIA. करावत्, OIA. करापत्रय, cf. Marāṭhi, Gujarāṭi करवत्, Hindi करान, कराय); चाराइ \( \text{cārāi} \) \( \text{< sparrow} \), beside चारू \( \text{cāru} \) \( \text{< cāru} \) (caṭaka, caṭakikā); MB. नायन \( \text{nāyana} \) (nayana); MB. बयान \( \text{bāyana, vadana} \); तमाल \( \text{tāyala} \) (sakala); MB. पड़ाह, पड़ा \( \text{pāra(hā)} \) (pataha). Instances are not very many.

(i) \( \text{-ā-} \), = MIA. -ā, -ā-: अनाज \( \text{ānājā} \) (annājja, annādyā); OB. अचारा \( \text{ācāra} \) (ācārya, ācārya); उजाइ \( \text{ujāi} \) (ud-yāti); आदर \( \text{ādār} \) (ekādaśa); कहड़ी, कहड़ी \( \text{kārā, kārā} \) (katāha); केसाखी \( \text{kēyāri} \) (kēdarikā); कपास \( \text{kāpāsā} \) (karpāsa); गोहल \( \text{gōhālā} \) (gōsālā); गोजोल \( \text{gōjālā} \) (gōpāla-); चांडा \( \text{cārālā} \) (canḍāla); चिरात \( \text{cīrātā} \), OB. चिरायिता \( \text{chirāya(tkta)} \); देवान \( \text{dēvānā} \) (dēva-dhānya); नेहाइ \( \text{nēhāi} \) \( \text{< awil} \) (*nīdhpikā); MB. निहाल \( \text{nihāla} \) (niphālayati); MB. निसान \( \text{nīsān} \) \( \text{< music} \) (nīṣvāna); MB. निसान \( \text{nīsān} \) \( \text{< nīsāvā} \); पाठाल \( \text{pācel} \) \( \text{< a kind of verse composition} \) (paṭeṭalikā); पाठाल \( \text{pāyathān} \) (pada-sthāna); बावाणी, बावाणी \( \text{bāvānī} \) (vaṭgālīka); बावान \( \text{bāvānā} \) (vyākhyāna); बराल \( \text{bārāl} \) (vīḍāla); बिहान \( \text{bīhānā} \) (vibhāna); MB. तहार \( \text{tēhār} \) \( \text{< maṭālaya, mahālaya, mahāgāra} \); माशान \( \text{māsānā} \) (smaṣāna); यायान \( \text{yāyānā} \) \( \text{< joānā} \) (yamāna, yamānika); सतार \( \text{satārā} \) (santāra); सिंहान \( \text{sīhānā} \) (sīrasthāna); सिंहान \( \text{sīhānā} \) \( \text{< sīgālā} \); सोहाग \( \text{sōhāgā} \) (sāubhāgya); होहाल \( \text{hōhālā} \) (hintāla); etc., etc.

(iii) OIA. -ī, -ī-; MB. अनिन \( \text{ānīnā} \) (āśvina); अथिरे, अथिरे \( \text{āthirā, āthirā} \) (asthira); अवाइ \( \text{āvāi} \) \( \text{< [ni] (āmiṣa)} \); अलिप \( \text{ālipā} \) \( \text{< decorative designs painted on the floor with rice-paste} \) (ālimpana); अथिरे \( \text{āthirā} \) \( \text{< (abhirā)} \); कहिन \( \text{kāhinī} \) \( \text{< kathinikā} \); कुमिर \( \text{kumīr} \) (kumbhira); MB. कनिर \( \text{kānīrā} \) (karpikāra); गहिर \( \text{gahīrā} \) \( \text{< garbhīnā} \); गहिर \( \text{gahīrā} \) \( \text{< garbhīnā} \); कलिः \( \text{cāliṣā} \) \( \text{< catvarinā} \); दाहिन \( \text{dāhīnā} \) \( \text{< candriniikā} \); तिस \( \text{tīṣ} \) \( \text{< triṣe} \) \( \text{in bhū} \) \( \text{< bhūtis} \) \( \text{< bhūtis} \) \( \text{< bhātis} \) \( \text{< bhātis} \); etc., OB. बतिस \( \text{batisa} \) \( \text{< triṣe} \); जामिर \( \text{jamīrā} \) (jambira); दाहिन, दाहिन \( \text{dāhīnā} \) \( \text{< dāhīnā} \), also \( \text{< sth. \text{dāhīnā} \} (dakiṣṇa); दाळिष
in medial syllables

<dárim> - <dálím> (dājimba); <nātin> (*naptrin); <pātī< <pācil> (prācīra); MB. <pārihā> (pratikṣaka); <bāhitā< bō-, bu-> (vahitra) (see p. 319, bottom); MB. <bānimā< bānijāra> (vānijya-kāra); <bāniya< bānīya, bēnē> (vānija-); <bāhir< bāhirā> (bāhira, bahir); MB. <mādir< mādirā> (mandira); <hārin< hāriṇ̄< hāriṇā> (hāriṇa); <hāriya< hāriyālā> (hārita, harit-āla); etc., etc. Cf. also MB. -<i> in passive forms, from MIA. -<i>: <kāriyê< kāriyā> (kariai, kriyāte); <kātyê< kāṭṭiai, kṛtyate); <dékhiê< dēkhiai, *dṛksyate = dṛṣyate); etc.

(iii) OIA. -<u>, -<i>: <āguš< ākuśa> (ākuśa-); <ākur< ākurā> (ākurā); <i>ūr< ādurā> (indura); MB. <kāpur< kāpūra> (karpūra); <ku< ku< kūkū< kūkura>; <khajur< khējura> (kharjura); <garu< garu< garu< garu< garu< garu> (garuḍa); <cāndhu< cāndhuri< a līlā (caturdhurīka); <jārula< jārula> (jaṭula); MB. <tārula< tārula> (taṇḍula); MB. <dādur< dādurā> (dardura); <dochu< dochu< dochu< dochu< dochu< dochu> two pieces of cloth, dhōti and chādar (dvīsūtra); MB. <pāhun< pāhunā> (prāghunīa); <ni< ni< ni< ni< ni< ni> (niṣṭhirā); <ni< ni< ni< ni< ni< ni> (niṣṭhirā); <nātur< nāturā> (nāṭhu); <vadhū< vadhū< vadhū< vadhū< vadhū< vadhū> (vadhū); <bhādhu< bhādhu< bhādhu< bhādhu< bhādhu< bhādhu> (bandhuka-); MB. <bhāsur< bhāsurā> (bhrāṭṛ + śvasura); <manus< manus< manus< manus< manus< manus> (manusya); <maur< mauri< mauri< mauri< mauri< mauri> < mauri< mauri< mauri< mauri< mauri< mauri> (madhurikā); MB. <raul< rātula> (rāktula); <raut< rāutā> (rāja-putra); <śaśur< śaśurā> (śvaśru+ti-); <si< si< si< si< si< si> (sindura); MB. <sāpur< sāpurā> (sampaṭa-); <hir< hi< hi< hi< hi< hi> (higaṇḍula); <nīur< nīurā> (nīpura); etc.

(vi) MIA. -<e>, -<e>: from various sources in OIA. -<e>, -<e>, etc.: <er> genitive affix (kēra< MIA. sts. *kāra< kārya); <adv.< adv.< adv.< adv.< adv.< adv.> plentići< (*aḍha-illa, aḍḥya + ila); OB. <ahēr< hunte< (bhēṭika); MB. <udē< udeśa> (uddēṣa); OB. <ekh< MB. sts. *ekha< upēkha> (upēkṣa); <gane< ganeśa>; OB. <sēbēna> (Caryā 26 : saṁvedana); etc.

(vii) MIA. -<i>, -<i>, from various sources in OIA. -<i>, occurs as -<u> through Vowel Harmony. <ākō< ākō< h[a]; <kō< kō< kō< kō< kō< kō> (kaphōni); MB. <amol< amolā>, NB. <amol< amolā> (amolla, amūlya); MB. <bichō< bichōbhā> (vikṣobha); MB. <hilol< hilolā> (hillōla); OB. <kićhi< <kićhi< (Sarvananda), NB. <ke< ke< ke< ke< ke< ke> earth-worm (cf. kićulikā); <sājā< sājō< armō< (raṁyōga-); etc.
(2) Vowels in Contact.

169. OIA., at least in prose, did not allow hiatus, and vowel groups except the diphthongs <āi, āu> were unknown to it. In MIA. of the Transitional, Second and Third periods, with the loss of the single intervocal stops, OIA. separated vowels became MIA. vowels in contact (udvṛṭta, uddhṛṭa or ṣeṣa vowels: cf. Pischel, §164), except where a glide sound, <ṅ> or <ṅ (ṅ)>, intervened. In Late MIA. (Apabhraṃśa) and Early NIA., there was a threefold treatment of the OIA. vowels brought into entire or partial contact (i.e. contact with intervening <ṅ, ṃ> glide) by the elision of stops. (Cf. J. Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ § 53 ff.) The three kinds of treatment were—

[a] the retention of the original OIA. vowels as separate vowels, by inserting a euphonic <ṅ> or <ṅ>;
[b] the udvṛṭta vowels were turned into diphthongs;
[c] they were contracted into a single vowel.

[a] Insertion of Euphonic Glides.

170. Insertion of glides was brought in (at least in some dialects like Ardha-māgadhi, to judge from the <ṅa-śruti> in spelling) at a period when the spirant pronunciation of the original intervocal stops was dying out, but was not entirely dead. (See before, pp. 85, 252.) At that stage, when its memory was not lost, there was a consciousness in the speaker that there was a consonant between the vowels, even when it existed no more; and the time taken up by the original stop, or its later spirant modification, in pronouncing the whole word, was now utilised in passing from one vowel to another. This sort of deliberation, so to say, between the resultant detached vowels, when the tongue position changed from one vowel to another, resulted as a matter of course in the production of intermediate vocalic sounds, or glides. In a rapid passing from one vowel to another, the glides would not be audible; but during the Transitional and Second MIA. stages, the effect of the historical presence of the old intervening stop was still in force in the IA. speech, and the glides were quite audible
sounds, taking the place of the original consonants. The glides were very short vowels; and whether they tended to be a front or back sound depended on the character of the preceding or following original vowels. In this matter, there was no reference to OIA. and Early MIA. \(-p->-v->\) becoming \(-w->\), and then \(-y->\), through influence of preceding vowel; also an original \(<v->\): e.g., \(<dipa->dīva>dīwa>NIA.\ diyā>; \<āviṣati>āwīśāī>NIA.\ āyīśē\) (see p. 123). In the Transitional MIA. stage, and also in the Second MIA. stage, there was undoubtedly some difficulty felt in representing the glides when they were heard. The letters \(u\) and \(v\) could not very well be used, since at that time they had spirant values \([ʒ, j]\) and \([v, v]\). The \(\text{ṣa-śruti}\) in inscriptions of the Transitional MIA. stage is in all likelihood for a spirant pronunciation, which was traditionally carried on in the later Jaina Ardhā-māgadhī orthography (see pp. 83-85). The use of \(u, v\) on a large scale for the vocalic glides could come in only in the Second and Late MIA. stages, after the complete passing away from the Aryan speech of the spirant articulation of stops and of the original semi-vowels; for then only could \(u, v\) be free to represent the semi-vowel sounds of \(<y, w->\) once more. Second MIA. (\'Prakrit\' and Apabhraṇśa) orthography normally does not indicate the glides, although they certainly occurred between the vowels, as can be seen from NIA. pronunciation and spelling, and phonology. Here the old tradition was strong in the orthography. The orthography with \(<y->\), favoured by the Jaina, seems to have some influence. The use of \(u, v\) for the glide sounds seems to have gained in favour from the Apabhraṇśa stage, and in the Early NIA. period: but usage differs in the different NIA. languages; and spelling is a very capricious thing in the Indian literary languages based on the vernaculars. Typical examples of NIA. glides can be given from Western Hindi: OIA. \(<sūkara->\) MIA. \(<sūgara, sūgara, sū(w)ara->\) Hindi \(suṣa, suṣa\) \(<sūwara->\); OIA. \(<dipa->\) MIA. \(<dība-, dība-, dī(w/y)a->\) Hindi \(diṣa->diyā->\); OIA. \(<kāṭara->\) MIA. \(<kāḍara, kāḍara, kā(y)ara->\) Hindi \(kāṭar\) \(<kāṭar->\); OIA. \(<rājan, rāja->\) MIA. \(<rāja->[raː], rā(w/y)a->\) Hindi \(ṛma\) \(<ṛva->\); OIA. \(<sūcikā->\) MIA. \(*sūjīgā, sūjīgā\)
sū(y)i(y)a > Hindi सू > sūi = *sū or *sūi [suːi:] or [suːiː]; OIA. भेदः > MIA. भेदः, bhēḍa(w)a > Old Hindi भेदः > bhēḍa; etc.

Forms with the glides were also inherited by OB. from the Māgadhi Aṣṭasāhasrika. But as seen from the Early MB. of the Śākya, they were mostly diphthongised, or contracted, by the beginning or middle of the 11th century at the latest. This is treated in the next two sections. The glide sounds in Bengali were, normally, the half close vowels [ə, ə]: see pp. 257, 259, 269. They were represented by ə (y = ə), ə (w = ə) in Old Bengali, and Pre-Bengali as well; and frequently they were unrepresented in orthography: e.g., OB. bādiya > (Sarvāṇanda) = NB. বাদিয়া, bādiya, bāde > snake-charmer; maha, mahā > (ibid.) for *maha, mahā > = NB. মহায়া, mahu > (madhuka-); pīva > (Caryā 6), cf. MB. pīva > piyā > (pi, pibati); ayanāgavanā > (Caryā 7: āgamana-gamana-); niyādi (Caryā 5), niyādi (Caryā 7), MB. nija > niyāra > (niyā, nika); dehi (= deyi?) riming with hōi (= hōi, hoī) > (Caryā 17); chēva, chēva > (Caryā 45) (chēa, bhēa = chēda bhēda); etc. The use of ə for the ə glide, however, quickly became obsolete in Bengali writing. ə was used for the sound of ə b, initially or in the interior of words; ə was used for ə j; and ə y was left free for one of the glide sounds. Instead of devising a new letter exclusively for the ə glide, as Assamese, and Maithili, and Kaithi, did (see p. 226), Middle Bengali either left unnoticed the ə glide, the same thing that Oriya did, or employed the letter ə y. It seems that a confusion between ə and ə as letters for the intervocal ə y, ə w glides occurred in OB. orthography itself: আবেশ > (Caryā 33), for instance, stands for *aivi and hence MB. NB. আবেশ, aivi, aisi (= -si) (āvisi): cf. the old Tibetan transcription aivi (p. 123, anet). The use of the letter ə = ə y for the ə glide, as much as for the proper ə y, is of extremely common occurrence in MB. and NB.; e.g. avar, avar *aivar, avara = *āvar >, NB. āvar, avar > avar >, cf. Assamese arov < *arā > avar (avara, apara); MB. tāruvar = tāruvar > (ŚKK.: tāru-vara); sāthā = sāthā, sāthā > sathuwa companion, NB. satho, sātho šeth, sāthā > (sātha + -u: sārtha-); ə = dhūya, dhūa =
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dhūwa > refrain (dhrūva-); mōya = mōyā, mōa = mōwā' (mōdaka-);
etc. In later Middle Bengali, the letter ༌ was often used: e.g. haṛa, haṛa, haṛa; hāya, hāa, hāo = haṁa > being, been; khāya, khāa, khāo, khāa; khāya, khāa, khāo = khāwā > eating, eaten. Bengali orthography in Late MB. and NB. times looked upon with disfavour the juxta position of vowels, as Sanskrit did not allow it: hence spellings like ḷuṇa, ḷaṇa, ḷona, ḷona, ḷona fell into disfavour with the Paṇḍits, and especially a spelling like ḷaṇa, ḷaṇa where the vowel ༌ was treated like a consonant, with the < māṭrā > vowel added to it. The use of ༌ on a large scale as a letter avoiding hiatus was thus fully established in the standard form of Bengali, from Late MB. times: thus, ḷuṇa, ḷaṇa, ḷona. Further ༌ had become a colourless letter, a mere vowel-carrier, in MB. It is thus we have the establishment of the group ༌ < ṭi > for the simple sound of < w > before ༉, े in NB. In Late MB. and NB., after intervocal ṣ < -h- > had become quiescent, a vowel glide came in between two vowels, but the ṣ continued to be written; and the letter ṣ < h > came to be used occasionally to indicate the glide sounds in other words, where it historically ought not to come. Occasionally this resulted in a < h- > pronunciation being established: thus, Bengali ḷaḥaṇ < bāhānna >, also pronounced < bāhānna > (dvāphaṇaṣaṭa), but Orīyā < bābānna >, Maithili, W. Hindi, Gujarāti < bāwan >, Marāṭhi < bāwanna >, Panjābī < bawanjāh >; बिहुला, बेहुला < Bihulā, Bēhulā >, for बिङ्गला < Bī(w/y)ulā > = Skt. < Vipulā >, the name of the heroine of the Manasa legend.

In ordinary NB. pronunciation, there is not much of a deliberation, or slow enunciation, and the < ṣ, ṭ > glide is not ordinarily an audible sound, except between low vowels (e, o, ॉ, ॊ). There has been thus a tendency towards diphthongisation and contraction,—words like MB. शिखर < sī-ṣa-la > being reduced to [ʃi:l, ʃa:l], and शेल, शाल [ʃe:l, ʃa:l], and शास, शासन < sā-ṣa-rā, sā-ṣa-rā > [ʃaːrə, ʃaːrə] to शासन [ʃaːr, ʃaːr] or to [ʃaor, ʃaːr], and शूर, शूर < sūr < sū-ṣa-rā > [ʃuːrə] to शुरू, शेर [ʃuɔr, ʃoːr], etc. (NB. may be said, however, to prefer the < ṣ > = [ʃ] glide). Thus vowels which were detached from each other in OBI., and in Early MB., by the glide sounds representing the old stops of OIA., have become vowels in contact in Late MB., suffering from loss of glide, and have become
diphthongs in NB. Only in final syllables, in final positions in some archaic forms, and in the altered quality of the connected vowels (as well as in slow and deliberate pronunciation), that traces of the Late MIA. glides are found in Bengali. The original OIA. «-v-» has fallen together with the glides, frequently altering its character to «-y-» from «-w-», as noted before.

(i) «-y-» glide in Bengali:

केबारी < केवारी > (केवारी); केब्रा < केव्रा > (केव्रा); MB. नियारी < नियारी > (नियारी); न. नारायण; न. नारायण; MB. नारायण; CB. नारायण; CB. नारायण; — an early borrowing from North India? cf. Māndapi Pkt. « lāja >; सागर < सागर > (सागर); MB. न. सागर; CB. सागर; CB. सागर; — diphthongised to केब्रा < केव्रा >, < «*kaśi» a black cow or heifer (kapila); बाश < «*bāś < *bāśa > (dvāvīśati); MB. आहिं «आो > < «āyicea a surname (āditya) etc.

(ii) «-w-» glide in Bengali, commonly written बाश < «*bāwa > (bāwa); मों < मों > (mōṇa); बाश < «*bāwa > (bāwa); CB. बाश; सत. बाश for बाश = Skt. < (bāwa); बाश < «*bāwa > (bāwa); मुर्ण < «*bāwa > (bāwa); सागर < सागर > (sāgar); CB. सागर; CB. सागर; — diphthongised to केब्रा < केव्रा >, < «*kaśi» a black cow or heifer (kapila); बाश < «*bāś < *bāśa > (dvāvīśati); MB. आहिं «आो > < «āyicea a surname (āditya) etc.

[b] Diphthongisation of Vowels in Contact.

171. Diphthongisation and contraction of contact-vowels went hand in hand in the few cases where they are found in the earlier stages
of MIA., before the wholesale dropping of intervocal "stops. This diphthongisation, of course, is of vowels of different quality, and not the simple assimilation of similar vowels. As early as the 3rd century B.C., we have in the Asoka inscriptions forms like < thajra- > (sthavira), < traidasa > (trayodaśa), < mōra < *maura, *maura > (mayura) (Girnar), and < tōdasa > (trayodaśa), < ujenī > (ujjayinī) etc. (Dhaulī). These changes, however, are of the character which changed OIA. < āi, āu, aya, ava > to < ē, ō >. In cases like Second MIA. < kēla > (*kaila, *kaila, *kadala = kadala) = NIA. (Hindi) < kēlā >, < cō > < < cau, cau > (catur-), < thēra > (thaira, *thaīra, *tbavira, sthavira), < bōra > Bengali < bōra > (bāura, *bāura, *badura = badara), etc., similarly there was diphthongisation before contraction took place. (Cf. Pischel, 'Grammatik der Pkt. Sprachen,' § 166.)

In the development of Bengali, we see that diphthongisation on a large scale took place from early times. Diphthongisation of the < ā+i > and < ā+u > vowels in contact occurred to a certain extent in OB. and in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa, as spellings like < jāu > = < jaū > (jatu : see p. 185), < nai > = ? < naī, naī > (nadi: p. 185), < cau > = < cau > (catur-: p. 185) in the inscriptions, and like < jāuvana > (yāuvana), beside < jāutuka > (yāutuka), and < tailōe > (trailokyā-) for < *tailōe > in the MS. of the Caryās, would show. So in forms like < gaa-illa,1 gāya-illa > > gīl, gēl < gai, gē >, cf. 'Bihārī' < gail > (gata+ila-), < kaṭa-illa > > ķal kai-lā > MB. kār < kār-ila > is a new formation (kṛta+ila-), < maṭa-illa > > bēl < maṭ-ila > (mṛta+ila-) (or < gaa-illa > > gā-illa > ga-illa >, whence < ga-cla >; so < kaṭa >, which occurs also in OB.); < chaṭala- > < chai-la- >, cf. MB. čeča < chāli > goat (chagala, *chagalika), < chaṭana- > < chai-ña- > NB. čeča < chāna > caseine (chagana), *pajatthāna > *paj-thāna > MB. pāṭhāna < paithāna > foot of bed (padasthāna), we find the presence of a diphthongisation in Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali. The alphabet had letters only for the diphthongs < ai, au >; possibly the speech actually had other diphthongs,

1 These have restricted the genuine Māgadhi forms ' kada, maḍa, gada,' < Old Māgadhi ' kāṭa, maṭa, *gāta' (= 'kṛta, mṛta, gata'—the last by analogy), which have been noticed by Vararuci (XI, 15): Bengali ḍaḍ, ḍaḍi ' kada, maḍa ' are found; ḍaḍ ḍaḍ ' gada ' occurs in the ŚKK.
like «ēu, ōu, āu, āi, iu», etc., which could be represented only as «ē-u, ō-u, ā-u, ā-i, i-u», by means of two separate vowels. Final «-aī» of verbs (calati < calaī) became a diphthongal vowel (calai), probably during the 13th century in Bengali, to be simplified to the simple vowel «ē» (calē) in the 14th century; and a form like খাই «khāi» similarly became a diphthong খাই «khāi», to be reduced to খায় «khāy» in Late MB. and NB.

Examples of Diphthongisation in Bengali.

In addition to vowels brought together by loss of OIA. stops, the loss of intervocal «-h-» of MB. has given rise to new contact vowels, which have been diphthongised in NB.

MIA. «aī, awi», OB., eMB. «ahi», > MB. NB. অই, ঐ, এ «āi, āi, ē», also অ «ā» in some cases: কালা «kāla, kālā» dark, e.g., কালা গোল (kapila); কালা «kāla» a fish (kavyā); কালা «kāi, kái» where (MB. kahi = MIA. kahi, OIA. *ka-dhi); OB. «kāihaṇa» > MB. কহেন «kēhēna», কেন < kēnha > >NB. কেন «kēnha» why?; কালা «kái» (kādikā); চালা «cāi» (cavikā); চাল, চাল < chāi > (chadis); জাহ, জাহ < jāi, jāi > oats (yavikā); জাল > thāi > depth, bottom of a sheet of water (*staghikā); তাল < dāi > (dahi, dadhi); তাল, তাল < nāi > (i) river: cf. নেহাটি < Nāi-hāṭi > a town (nadi); (ii) a heifer (navikā); (iii) ninety (navati); MB. পইনে, NB. পইন «pāi, pasā» (praviṣati); পইন, পৈনা < pāita > sacred thread (pavitra-); পইনি, পৈন্তা < pāيثা > masonry steps at the base of building (pratiṣṭḥa-); বৈনে, বন «bāiše, bāše» (*baīsai, upaviṣati); বৈষ < bāiṣa > as in the adjective বৈষ্ঠা, বিস্তার < bāiṣa, bhāyṣa > (unhāṣa, cf. Pali mahaṇa = mahiṣa); তাল < sāi > (saḥi, sakhi); etc.

MIA. «aū, awu» > OB. «au» > MB., NB. «au, ō»; also OB., MB. «ahu» > NB. «āu, ō»: কেন্তর < kānōjā > (kanaūja, kannaūjja, kānya-kubja); কোণ < kōṇā > < eMB. কোণ < kōṇā > (kaṇá, kauṇa = kah + punah); চাঁ, চাঁ < cāu-, cō- > (caṣe-, catur-); জাঁ, জাঁ < jāu > (jaui, jatu); প্রাঁচি < pāuchā, MB. পর্চি < pāuχā > derive (MIA. *pahuṇca, pahuce[h]a, = OIA. *pra-bhuceha, IE. *pro + bheu + sko- [?]); বদ < bau > (vadhū); মোচাক < māu-cakṣ > honeycomb (madhu-cakra); MB. বাঙ < rāudā > NB. বাঙ, বাঙ < rādā > (MIA. srs. rāudda, rāudra); শুণ, শুণ শুণ < sāulā, sāulā, sōlā > a fish (sakula); MB. চৌ «hō» in verb forms, 1st person = OB. «*hau, hau» (ahakaṁ, aham); etc.
DIPHTHONGISATION & CONTRACTION

Late MIA. "aya, ava" in some cases became "āi, āu" in Bengali, apparently through "sampräsāraṇa" by dropping of the "-a-" in the syllable "-ya, -va": e.g., पैथान "pāṭhāṇa" (*pāyatthāṇā, padasthāṇa); MB. (ŚKK.) महारी "bāuhārī" daughter-in-law, wife (*bavahārī < vyavahārikā female slave); MB. (ŚKK.) महारी "māuhārī", elsewhere मोहारी, mōhārī a kind of flute (*māwa-hāra-, maa=mada- [?]); दाउ "dāurī" (*dau-ḍa, *dava-ḍa, drava-ḍa); MB. sts. नातु "nātuṇā", NB. नातु, नातु "nātuṇā" new (nava-); etc.

The other diphthongs which originated in the eMB. period were "āi" and "āu", from earlier "āī, āū". There was also diphthongisation by epenthesis. E.g., अाई "āiśē" (āviśati); अाई "vāiyā", NB. नेश "nēyē" (nāvika-); अाँ "āūlā", NB. एल "ēlō" dishevelled (āūla, ākula); अाँ "kāū" (kāka-+uka-); MB. माँ "māulāni" (māūlāni, mātulāni); राइ "rāit" < राति "rāti" (rātri); साउ "sāuthā, sāithā" < साथु "sāthuṇā", NB. सेथ "sēthō" companion (sārtha > sātha+uka-), etc. Diphthongs with the high vowels "i, u" forming the second part, like "iu, ui, ēi, ēu", may have originated early in the MB. period; the diphthongs ending in low vowels, excepting "āē, āō", in words like बाय "bāē" (bāya, vāta), शाओ "sō" (śāwa, śāpa), where we have vocalisation of "y, w", came in Late MB. and in NB. The change of MB. "-a-" to "-o-" - "u-" give rise to a number of diphthongs in MB. and NB. (See later, under 'Epenthesis,' 'Vowel Harmony,' and 'Origin of the New Bengali Diphthongs'.)


172. Cases of MIA. contraction of "udvṛtta" vowels, where they were "ā" followed by "i" or "u", have been noted in §171, in examples like "kēla, tēraka, bōra, mōra", etc. Contraction of "udvṛtta" vowels by assimilation is quite a common phenomenon in Second and Late MIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 165 ff.); and Bengali inherited a number of these MIA. contracted forms: e.g., OB. "khāi" (khāai, khādati); MB. धार "dhāē" (dhāaī, dhāvati); पाइ "pāikā, pāikā" ("pāēkka", sts. < "pādatīka"; but more probably a Persian borrowing); अधार "ādhārā" (andha-āra,
andha-kāra); OB. « kaśāla » (Caryā 13 := «*kaśāla, *kaṇśāla » ? : cf. MIA. « kaṇśāla- » = « kaṁsyā-tāla »); ऋउं « rāutṣ » (rāautta, lāutta = rāja-putra); देउं « dēula » (dēula, dēvakula), etc.

But in a large number of cases, the « udyṛtta » vowels were not contracted by assimilation in MIA. They were generally retained as distinct syllables in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa and in OB., being preserved by the glide « w » or « y » which came in. The contraction habit, however, had manifested itself in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa ; it was not uncommon in OB., and seems to have been widely operative in Bengali in the 13th century, during the transition from OB. to MB.; and it had finished its work by the end of the 14th century.

(i) The group « āā (āwā) » of Late MIA. and OB. This was contracted to a long « ā » [ɔː] sound, which may be represented in transliteration by the symbol « ā ». (See p. 360.) The aspirate, « h », between vowels was dropped in MB., and the group became « āhā > āa », which also was contracted to « ā ». OIA. « āmā » > Late MIA., OB. « āwa » similarly became [ɔː] in MB., and this was represented by ओ « ā ». The « ā » fell together with original « ā = ā » in Late MB. In final positions, this « ā » optionally has the [o] pronunciation, in the Standard Colloquial, the same as original single « ā = ā » (as in ts. and other forms).

« āā, āwā > ā > ā » in the initial syllable. Examples: MB. अधान्तर अधान्तर (aṭhāntar, aṭhāntar) « bad plight (awathāntara, avasthāntara); कला « kālā > plantain (kālā, kawalā-, kaala- = kadala-); काँ < kāi > a jīsa (kāi, kavayi); कड़ा « kāra » cowry shell (kāra, kawarā, kavaḍḍa-, kaparda-); MB. गाण « gana » way (gawāṇa, gaṇaṇa = gamana); OB. गाण < [gaṇa] (Caryā 35: < gawāṇa, gaṇaṇa = gaganā); तक « cakā (cavakka = catuṣka); चड़ < cārd > slap (cawada = capaṭa, cf. capēta); चौ « cāṭi < cāti > inn, serai (OB. cavaṭi = name of village; pp. 67, 183, 185); ज ज > measure (jaṭa, java); MB. धल, NB. धल « dhālā, dhālā » (dhavala-); न < nā > (nava); stts. नदर < nāḍhāra > plump, buxom (navadhara); नांग < nānga > ' nine-fold,' a Brahman's sacred thread (nava-guna); नाण < nāni > (navati); नाणी, नाणी « nādiyā, nōlē » Nadiyā city (nava-dvīpa-); नाणी « nānī » (nānī, navanita); stts. लांग < lānga > (lānga
lavanąga); $<sá>(śata); MB. sā, sata $<sát, sātā>, cf. sāma $<sāt-mā> step-
mother (savattī, sapatnī); sāpe $<sāpē>(sāwappēi, samarpayati); etc.

Cf. also pārā (pahara, prahara); gam $<gama> wheat (*gahama, 
gadhama, *gandhama $=gōdhumā); nā $<nā> n+*ah $<nā+√*ah> 
as in nāhi, nāhib, nāhibē, etc., negative forms of the verb h 
$<hā> to be (na+$√as); etc.

$<aa, awa, awa, aha $<a, o> in interior and final syllables. MB. 
āhi $<āhi> (avihaa, avidhava); āhātā $<āthāra> (atēhāraha, aśūdaśā); 
ūnkan $<unācāśa> beside uñkānas $<unāpaicēa> (una-paicēat); uñnē 
unā-nāi $<una-navati); kāda $<kāda> kādo $<kāda, kardama), beside 
̄ka $<kāra> (ēgāra, ēkādaśā); gōkē $<gōkāla> 
gō-kavala); NB. sts. chākris $<cakkāṭi> a surname (cakravartin); 
chād, chādd 
coddā, cāuddā) (cauddaha, caturdāśa); MB. jāyti $<jāyāti> horoscope 
jāyāvattī, jāṭa-patikī; tēra $<tēra> (tēraha, tṛoḍasa); nānai $<nānai > 
da $<dālai> a surname (dālava, dalapati); dāna $<dānāra> (dānava); 
Dana, Dana $<dana>$ dānō) (dānava); nānai, nānē $<nānā> 
nahābarañi, nakha-haranā-); pāl, pālo $<pāla>$ pālo $pounded flour from the roots of a 
plant (pallava); pūran $<purāna> (purātana); pānest $<pānera>, pāner 
pānāra) (pannara, paicē-daśa); pālu $<pāluša> place-name (pālāsa-
vana); bār $<bāra> (bāraha, dvādaśa); bās $<bāsāra> (bāsa-hara, vāsa-
grha); būr $<būra> (bud̄̄haa, vṛddhaka); bhal $<bhala> (bhalla, bhadraka); 
ban $<banā> in Hajjong Dialect (mānava); MB. ('Śunya Purāṇa') sts. 
Bhāṅgi = bhāṅgi $<bhāṅgtī> bhāṅgti (bhāṅgavati); bhāṅga $<bhāṅga> 
reliance, trust (bhara-vaša-); māsrā $<māsara> monthly stipend (māsa-hara-); 
m āsāra $<māndara> place-name (māndara-vana); māla $<mālañca> 
garden (mālañca, māla-ñca); rau $<rāu> rāu $<rāsu> *rāsu $<rāsa> 
cooking (rasavati kitchen); bāng $<bānga> (bānga, ṛgapaṭṭa); ākō $< 
sākā>sākō> bridge (saṅkaṇa, saṅkrama); bō $<bōra> (bōla, bōdaśa); 
sāvēra, sāvar $<sāvēra, sāvēra> (sattaraha, saptadasa); sās. 
hināsthā $> henāsth(h)ā $> (hinavastha); sās. apē $<apēca> (*apēca, 
apacaya); etc., etc.

In verb forms: e.g., indicative and imperative 2nd person plural $> NB. 
2nd person singular or plural, indicative and imperative: OA. $-ata,
-atha > MIA. *-aa, -aha > OB., eMB. -aa, -aha, -â > NB. -â, -ô, -ô > e.g., NB. कर < kârâ > < MB. कर, करह < कारा, कारहार > (Skt. kuruta, kurutha); चलिन, चैलै < cāliō, cōlō > you will go (precative future) < MB. चलिन < cālihā > (calithaha, calisyatha); गाह < kâhā > < MB. गा < kâhā > (kâbaha=kâadhatha); in the past and future bases इल, इब < -ilâ, -ibâ >, as contrasted with the North Bengali and Bihari forms without the final -â: e.g., चलिन < cāliâ > (**calilla, calita + ila + ka), काब < kâribâ > (**karibbaa, kartavya-ka); in the past habitual or conditional इत < -itâ >: चलिन < cālitâ > (calanta + ka); and in verbal nouns or passive adjectives in आ, आन < -ānâ, -ānō >: करात < kārānâ, kārānō > (OIA. -āpana-ka, -māna-ka).

-aa > ą is the rule in Bengali. But in a few cases, we find ą instead of á: the á development seems to be exotic, and is due to the influence of the Western dialects: e.g., कौटिः < kārī >, beside कड़ा, कड़ि < kārā, kārī > (kaparda-); सौ < sāup- >, beside सप < sāp- > (samarpa-); चोक < cāuk- >, beside चाँक, चांक < cāmāk-, caωak-, *cāk- > startle (camakka-); दौड़ < dāur > run may be an old form in Bengali, through samprasāraṇa, of which a few cases are known (see p. 345), but it may as well be a borrowing from the West, the genuine native Bengali root for running being, as in Orīyā, ध < dhā > (dhav).

The final -â of OIA. and MIA. drops in Bengali. It is final -ā, which is retained as -â, ō in NB. Where in NB. we have -â finally, the Late MIA. form does not seem to have ended in two syllables with short -ā, but unquestionably there was a long -ā. MIA. काल < kāla > black can give only *kālā, *kālā > in NB. But we have ordinarily काल = काल > kālā =kālo >, and काल < kālā >; and we have काल < kālā >, with elided final -â, possibly in a compound form like काल-शिर < kālā-sirā > black vein, ‘black and blue’ (mark of a blow). The first can come only from a basis like kāla, kālava, kālaa = OIA. kāla-ka >, with the pleonastic -ka > affix; the -â in the form काल < kālā > is an affix giving a definite force, = the black one; and this can only be from some affix like -â-ka >, with a definiteness that came to be associated with -â: cf. घोड़ा < ghōrā-ṭā > horse-that-big-one = that horse; but घोड़ा < ghōrā-ṭi > horse-that-little-one = that nice little horse. (See page 302.) The -â nouns and verbal adjectives of Bengali and
other NIA. are probably to be referred to oblique (genitive) forms of Late MIA. and Early NIA. Where the original nominative affixes were lost, in some forms of NIA., it is this oblique in «-a» that took its place. E.g., Skt. «ghoṭakaḥ» = Sauraseni nominative «ghoḍaō» > Sauraseni Apabhraṃśa nominative «ghoḍaū», whence Braj-bhākhā «ghoṛau», Kanaujī «ghoṛō», etc.; the nominative forms apparently fell into disuse in Panjābī and in the dialects which form the basis of Hindūstānī, where we have now «ghoṛa» for the nominative, which is in all probability the old genitive singular «ghoḍā(h)a < ghoḍaassa < ghoṭakasya» (or ? dative singular «*ghoḍaā < ghoṭakāya»); just as in the nominative plural form the original affix was lost, and the instrumental plural or the genitive plural took its place: e.g., W. Hindī «ghoṛē, ghoṛan» etc. = «*ghoḍaahi, *ghoḍaāna» = «*ghoṭakēbhis, ghoṭakānām». The same seems to have been the case with many NB. «-ā» nouns. (See later, under Morphology: ‘the Noun.’)

(ii) The groups «āā, āā, āā», with intervening glide «w» or «y» in Late MIA. and OB., became «ā» in eMB.: ārā < ārā (avara, aparā); NB. एवानि < एवानि < एवानि एवानि (»विवाहानि = एवानि + पाण्या); अव्र < अव्र > awry, slant (? avarta) (but अवरू < अवरू > stir (milk, etc.) = 〈 ā + 〈 varīt- 〉) ; इंदानल < इंदानल > a big well (indrāgāra-); इंदानल < इंदानल > place-name (indrāvāsa); sts. उपास < उपास > (upavāsa); OB., MB. उपास < उपास > उपास < उपास > pavilion (upakārika); क्राण < क्राण > saw (*karaṇāta, *kara-pata, kara-pata; cf. karavāla); कोटिल < कोटिल > (koṭṭa-āla, koṭṭa-pāla); so गाज < गाज > a class of Brāhmans from Gayā (gayā-pālika), राक्ष < राक्ष > herdsman < MB. राक्ष < राक्ष > (rakṣa-pāla), भुजाली < भुजाली > a short sword (bhujā-pālika: cf. kara-vēla), माताल < माताल > drunkard (« mātā + āla »?; but cf. Hind. मतवाला, Beng. poetic मातायारा: मातवारा = « mātā-pāla»), etc.; गाजी < गाजी > (gala-pālikā); गोदश < गोदश > place-name (gopa-vāṭikā); चक < चक > (cakravāka); चिराङ < चिराङ >, OB. (Sarvāṇanda) < cīrīvita > (kirāta-tikta); तै < तै > (tāpa); MB. बिनाश < बिनाश > pilot (disāvāri, disā + kārin): दोहार < दोहार > singers in chorus (dhruva-kāra); MB. धात < धात > (dhāvati); sts. नाराण < नाराण > (nāryaṇa); पाण < पाण > (*prāpati = prāpnōti); पाटान < पाटान > deck, wooden boards on flooring (*pāṭa-pātanā = paṭṭa + pattana);
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A large number of disguised compounds in आर < आर > = < आगार, आकार > come under this: e.g., भावार < भावार > (भावागार), कुमार < आगार > (कुम्भा-कार), etc. See also §149 (ii), p. 302, and §150(i), p. 307.

Cf. also Persian words like वर्ण < वर्ण > fixed (barāvārd), उमेद < उमेद > applicant (*उमेद-वार = umēd-vār), etc.

When, however, < आ > in a group < आ-ख, आ-ख > occurs as a special affix, as in हआ, धाव < धाव, धाव >, there is no contraction in MB. and NB., and the < व > glide comes in: हुवा, खाला < खाल, खाल >, etc.

(iii) The Late MIA. groups < आ, ऐ >: see also ante, under 'Diphthongisation.'

< आ > < ऐ >, occasionally < ऐ >, in MB.: e.g., the affix for the verb 3rd person, ए < ए > (-ऐ, -ऐ); MB. एहेन < एहेन >, NB. एहेन < एहेन > (*एहेना-MIA. एहेना-); cf. OB. < ग्हराह >, NB. ग्हरे < ग्हरे > (ग्रा-+ -dhi); OB. < आमाह, तुमाहे >, MB., NB. आमि, तुमि < आमि, तुमि > (*माहि, *तुमहि = asmābhīs, yuṣmābhīs), etc.

< ऐ > > < उ >: e.g., देउल < देउल > (MIA. dēula, dēva-kula); चलूक < कल-उक > imperative 3rd person, MB. चलू कल-उ, OB. चलू < कलाउ > (calātu); cf. MIA. < आह >, also affix for imperative 2nd person = OB. < अु >: < चाहु = चाहाहु > (Caryā 50); जाहत < माहुत > mahout (*माहाहू, *माहावत, वाहमात्रा), etc.

(iv) The Late MIA. groups < आ, ऐ > > < ऐ >: v >, in MB., NB. मूणि, मूणि < मूणि = मूणि, mui > (*माणी, माणी + -ena); so < तौ > तौ < तौ > (*तौ + -ena); OB. < काला >, beside MB. केल < काल > (*kaella, *kailla < *kāla-illa); काल < तो > then (तौ, तौ, tā, tataḥ), a non-Māgadhí form possibly.

(v) Late MIA. < अी, आी > remain in OB., eMB.; in NB., they are contracted to < आ > or < ऐ >, except when occurring finally: e.g., NB. आस, आस < आस, आस >, MB. आस < आस > (avasati); cf. also NB. बाहर, बाहर < बाहर > (< MB. बाहर, बाहर > (bāhira, bahir); NB. एला
‘AE, ÁO’; GROUPS WITH ‘I-, I-’ 351

< ēlo > (i) came (=āilā, *āilla, āyāta+ila), (ii) dishervelled=MB. आईला, ओला < āilā, ālā > (ākula); NB. धाक < khāk >, MB. धाक < khā-kā > (khaū, khādatu); etc. Finally: गाई < gāi > (gāvi); अड्डाई < āai > (*aḍḍhāi, *aḍḍhāia, ardhatṛtīya); लाऊ < lāu > (alābu); etc.

For the Late MB. > NB. contraction of < āi > āi, oi > in West Central Bengali, in connection with Epenthesis, see § 186.

(vi) Late MIA. < āe > is a very rare group in the interior of a word. Finally, OB. eMB. < āe > becomes the diphthong [aē] in NB.: कारा < kārē > causes to do (kārē, kārēvēi). The group < ēo > became < ēu > in MB., contracted to < ā > in NB., in पाहृ < pākhāj >, MB. पाहृ < pākhāju > standing for < *पाहृत्वज < *pākhāujā > (*pākhāōjā, *pakhāōjjja, paksatōdyja), now generally ousted by पाहृत्वाज < pākhāwjā >, from Hindōstānī < pakh-waj > (= pakṣa-vādyya).

(vii) < ī, ī, ī, ī > became < i > in NB.: e.g., चिल्ड़ा, चिल्ड़ा < cīrā, cīrā > flattened rice (cīda-, cīydā-, cīvi-, cīpi-); अशी < āsi > (asi, asīti); धी < ghi > brains, OB. धीवी > (arvānanda) (*gḥiia, *gḥṛtikā); चलू < cal > I walk (*calī, *calīvi, *calimi, calāmi = calāmi); धी < jī > I live (*jīi, *jīvī, *jīvami = jīvāmi); दिल < dilā > (*di-illa-, *dia-illa-, dita = datta + ila-); तिल < nila > (*ni-illa-, *nia-illa-, nīta + ila-); खाइ < khāilā > (*khāi-illa-, *khāiya-illa-, khādita + ila-); Cf. MB. कृं, कृ < kāri, căli > (? < *karii, *calii = *karihi, *calihi >, imperatives in < -hi >); etc.

(viii) Late MIA. < ia, ia > had a three-fold development in Bengali:

(a, b) In initial syllables, generally = < e >: ए = < etā > (ēttia, *iatt-, iyat-); MB. sts. खेमा < khēmā > (*khamā, *khamā = kṣamā); eMB. तिजा < tiāja >, NB. तेज < tiō < *tiijjā = tṛtiyā>; MB. नेम < nēmā > (niāma, niyāma); sts. भेक < bhēthā > (*biathā, vyathā); देढ < MB. बेढ < dērhā > (diaḍqha, dvyardha); MB. भेंव < bhēṁi </bēṁi, bhēṁbi > will employ (vihāra-, vyavahāra); MB. भेंव < bhēṁi </bēṁi, bhēṁbi, bhēṁbi > will employ (vihāra-, vyavahāra); MB. बेथ < bhēthā > (*biabāhāra, vyavahāra); MB. बेथ < bhēthā > (*biabāhāra, vyavahāra); देशाई < dēśālāi > (*dēsālāi, dpa-śalākikā); etc. So सति < sīti > is probably from < *sēti > by Vowel Harmony (*sānti < *sāvantia, sāmanta-). But cf. जीवन, जीवन < jīvna, jīvna > (jīvana), शिखर, शिखर < MB. शिखर < śīrā, śīrā > (śīhāra). < -ia > in the middle of a word remained in eMB.; but when followed
by an «i», it became «io > iu» in lMB. and NB., through Vowel Harmony, which see.

(c) Final «-ia» became «i >»: see §149(i), §150(ii). OB. «śha > M.B. «ia > »i», as in śī «śi» a surname (?*śha = sīha; or < sīva?). M.B. ḍh, ḍh «-i(h)a», precative imperative affix, is contracted to «ō : cālihā>cōlo », rākhîh>rēkhô > rākhîh > rēkhô; but after a vowel in causatives there is no contraction: e.g., rākāhîh > rākîhô «rākbāiḥā > rākhîhî; cf. sīh > dīh > dih > dih > diो».

Final «ia», strengthened by the pleonastic affix «ā» in OB., became «iā» in the Bengali indeclinable in ápā «-iyā», to be modified to «ē», with accompanying umlaut, in NB.: e.g., eśë < M.B. aśiyā, dāsiyā, aśiyā (MIA. aśisiaa, aśīya); so के «kōrë» < kōrāy «kār̥iyā» (MIA. kāriaa, a, kārya); etc.

(ix) «ū, ū (ūū, ūū» became «ū» in OB., «u» in NB.: e.g., ṣuna «dunā» (*duṇa, dvuna-); ṣulī «duli» (*duulī, dukulīka); etc.

(x) «ua, uā» occur as «u» in Bengali: OB. «uāri» MB. ṗuārī «uāri» (*uārī, upakārika pavilion); OB. «kāmaru» (kāma-rūpa); gōr «gōrū» (*gōrū, gōrūpa); bhūn «dhūnā» (dhūpana-); bāscr «bāchura < bāchārū» (vatsa-rūpa); bāṣbūra «bādhulī» a flower (bandhuka-); sājāru «sājārū» (*sajṣa + rū, sayya-rūpa, salya-rūpa); MB. ṣunḍ «sundhî» (*suandhī, sugandhika); jōal «jōal» < jōal «juālā» (yuga + āla); OB. «tu» (*tuva, tuam = tvam); etc. See §114(iv), §150(iii). Possibly, in forms representing OIA. feminine «-rūpā, -ukā» etc., = Late MIA. «uā», we have assimilation of «u, ū» + consonant + «ā».

(xi) «cā» became «ē :» chēnā «chēn» chisal (chēnā, chēdanikā); MB. de «dē» (dēva, dēha); cf. MB. dehā. dehārā » temple (dēa-hara-, dēva-grha-); bēn «bēnā » child-birth, travail (*bēna, vēdanā?); but we have «cā > ñēva in dehār > dehār > [dēor] (dēvarā), kēra «kērā» [kērā] (kēta-ka-). See §149(v), p. 303.

(xii) Late MIA. «eī > in final positions is reduced to «ē > in the verb of the 3rd person: e.g., bādhā «bādhā » (bandhāvē, *bandhāpyati); to «ii, i > through Vowel Harmony, in the verb of the 1st person, in some roots like de «dē > dēi, di > I give; etc.
“ēu” became “iu” by Vowel Harmony, and “iu” is contracted to “i”; e.g., NB. दिक् “dik”, MB. दिक “diuk”, देउ(क) “deu(k)” (deu < *dēu = dadatu).

(xiii) “ōa” is contracted to “ō”. E.g., आलो “ālō” (ālōka); धोर “dhor” (*dhōvai, dhāvayati); धोर “dhor” (stōka + -da); रोर “roor” (*rōvai, rōvī: rōpayati); सोर “sōor” < *sōī < *sōī (sōvaī, svapīti); MB. हो “hō” (*hōai, bhavati); cf. sts. बाम “byām” (vyāmōha). See § 149 (vi).

(xiv) “ōi” is found as “ō” in the MB. word *जोभी < जोभी, spelt as सृ < ṣvasti < “ṣvasti” in the ‘Mayanāmatir Gān’ (Dacea SPd. edition, p. 25). The contraction of “ōi, ōu” belongs to IMB. and NB. phonology: see next chapter.

[B] Treatment of OIA. <ṛ>

[I] <ṛ> in Tadbhava Words.

173. OIA, <ṛ> as a sonant disappeared in MIA. Prakritisms in Vedic like विकात, sithira are, for example, on the basis of an < ar, ra > or < ir, ri > pronunciation of <ṛ >. In Late OIA. at least, <ṛ > undoubtedly had developed other pronunciations, beside that of the proper sonant <ṛ >, and < ra >, namely < ra ar, re er, ri ir, ru ur >. See p. 243, ante. (Cf. Vidhuśekhar Śastri, ‘Bāṇlay Uccāraṇ’ in the ‘Pravāsi’ for Vaisākha, 1318; ‘Ṛ-kāra-tattva,’ VSPdP., 1324, pp. 183-185). These pronunciations of <ṛ > are of course quite distinct from the ablaut grades of Primitive Indo-European, चर “cr, ēr, oṛ” or < ēl, ēl, oöl >, which are found in OIA. forms like भर-ा-ti, भर-ा-s’ etc.; they are merely Indian vernacular modifications of the original Indo-European zero grade, or <ṛ, l >. Forms like MIA. ग्हर “gṛha = gṛha, ghata = ṣvṛta = gṛta, ṣvṛha = ṣvṛha, ṟṛha = ṣvṛtha, vṛṣṭa = vṛṣṭa, amia = ṣvṛnta, amia = ṣvṛnta, ṭukha = ṣvṛuktka = vṛkṣa > sufficiently indicate the manifold pronunciation of <ṛ > in Late OIA. The lines along which OIA. <ṛ > was modified in the various dialect-areas are not known. It can be surmised from the Aśoka inscriptions that in the Early MIA. period, the dialects of the North-west normally changed <ṛ > into < ri, ur > (the < ur > occurring after labials), in which
the \(< r >\) element was retained; that the dialect of the South-west (Girnar) turned it to \(< a >\); and the North-eastern dialect made it \(< i, u >\) (the latter before labials), without the \(< r >\), but cerebralising a following dental \(^1\) (cf. Truman Michelon, 'Inter-relation of the Dialects of the 14 Rock Edicts,' JAOS., 1909, pp. 77ff.; Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 31).

The \(< i >\) treatment seems also to have been favoured in the Midland, as in the North-east. But even in the Early MIA. of the Aśoka inscriptions, we find that there is no regularity of the change which OIA. \(< r >\) underwent in a particular dialectal area, North-western, or South-western, or North-eastern (cf. Jules Bloch, op. cit., p. 47). The North-eastern speech of Aśoka shows, in addition to \(< i, u, a >\), \(< ā >\) also, in words like \(< kāta, viyāpata, vithaṇa, maṭa- >\) (kṛta, vyāpṛta, vistṛta, mṛta); forms in \(< ā >\) like \(< kaṭa, maḍa >\) are also noted by Vararuci for Māgadhī of the Second MIA. period (see p. 343, footnote). It seems that intermingling of dialects early in the history of MIA. overlaid any original tendencies or preferences for special vowels in the different dialect areas; and judging from the way in which \(< r >\) in \(t̥s̥s\). and \(st̥s̥s\). was pronounced in Middle Bengali (see § 174), it can also very well be assumed that the \(< i, u, a >\) treatments of \(< r >\) all obtained side by side in the same area, in the transitional stage from OIA. to MIA. So far as the \(t̥b̥a\). words in NIA. are concerned, no sure line of isogloss is possible in this matter.

It will be seen that quite a number of MIA. forms, showing modification of OIA. \(< r >\), were adopted into Classical Sanskrit.

(1) OIA. \(< r >\) > \(< ā >\) in MIA. This, either through compensatory lengthening, or through stress, became \(< ā >\) in some cases in Bengali. 

\(ājā\) in আজালী \(< ājāli > a foolish girl (aju-, ṭju); ṭআজবুব < ājabujha>.

\(^1\) Indo-European group of '1' + dental occurs as a single cerebral sound in OIA., as in Vedic, but 'ṛ, ṛ' + dental remains a combination of two sounds. The eastern dialect (Māgadhī) has only 'l,' and no 'ṛ': is it that 'ṛ, ṛ' + dental was also a case of '1' + dental in this dialect, so that this 'Prakritism' in changing a dental to a cerebral was really an extension of the old habit which characterised OIA. in general? See later, under Consonants: 'the Cerebrals,'
simpleton (*aju-bujh-, ūju-budh-); काछारी *kāchārī* (kaecaharia, kṛṭya-grha-); कन, कन्न, कनाई *kānā, kān-u, kānāi* (Kaṇḥa, Kṛṣṇa); OB. sī. *kasāṇa* (*kraṣṇa, kṛṣṇa*); ढड़ *kāḍh* bracelet, ring (kaṭa, kṛṭa); घर *ghṛta* (*garaḥ, grha*); घाट *ghṛṭa* stir with fingers (*gnaṭa, *ghaṭta, grṛṭa*), beside बूट *ghṛṭa*; MB. ढव *tāra* (tata, tṛṭa); ढव > ढव > ढव (dādhā, dṛḍha), beside OB. *dīḍha*; ढव > ढव *dhrā* torso (*dhaṭa, dhṛta*); ढव > ढव *dhrā, dhrāi* cloak (dhaṭa, dhaṭी = dhṛta-); ढव > ढव > a caste (naṭa, OIA. nṛt in ducer); नाच नाच > (nacca, nṛtya); ढव > मार > corpse (maṭa, mṛṭa); माटिं *māṭi* (*maṭti, mṛttikā*); बूट *bāṭa* lead (*vaṇṭa, vṛnta*), beside बूट *bāṭa*; बूट *bāṛ* the banyan tree; a coil of rope (vata, vṛṭa); ढव > ढव > soldier, senvant > a surname (bhaṭa, bhṛta); ढव > ढव > *sārāka* street (*ṣaḍa-, *ṣaṭa = śṛṭa*); also in forms like MB. कैल, कैल *kālā, māḷā* (kāya-illa, maya-illa = kṛṭa, mṛṭa), see p. 343, which are not Old Māgadhī, but later importations or formations in Late Māgadhī.

(2) ठ > ष in Bengali. अमिया *ǎmiyā* (amia-, am₃ta-); MB. अमिया *gīḍhā* (gīḍhā, grṛṭha); बूट बूट *gīṭh(ā)* (gīṭṭha, grṛṭa); MB. बूट बूट *tīnā* (tṛṇa); तिश्रुत *tiyājā*; MB. तितित *tējā* (*tiaja, *tiijja, tṛtiyā*); बूट बूट *sārāka* street (*ṣaḍa-, *ṣaṭa = śṛṭa*); also in forms like MB. तेहन, MB. तेहन *tē(h)eṇa* < *taīhana* (taīsana, taṭidsaṇa); OB. तेहन *disā* (disaṭ, dṛṣyat); MB. तितती *dīṭi* (dṛṣṭi); OB. तितती *dṛḍha* (dṛḍha); पीठ *piṭhā* (piṭṭha, pṛṣṭha); बूट *biṭhā* (vṛṣca-, cf. vṛṣika); भिभिभ *bhīma-ruṇā, bhīṇ* (bhṛṇga-ruṇā); भिभिभ *miṭhā* (miṭṭha- miṣṭa = mṛṣṭa); बूट *śiṅ* (śṛṅga); बूट *śiṅ* (śṛṅga) trumpet (śṛṅga-); OB. *sīṭhi = sīṭhi* (śṛṅga); बूट *šīkāla* (šṛṅkhala, šṛṅkā-); बूट *šiyāla* (šṛṅgala); बूट *šiṅ* (śṛṅga); etc.

(3) ठ > ष > ल in Bengali. OB. *uju*, Chittagong dial. *uji* (휴); बूट *ghṛṭa* stirring (*gṛṇṭa, *ghṛṭta = grṛṭa*); बूट *pīṭh* see p. 320; *pīṭha* *pīṭh* *pīṭh* (ārṣa); *pīṭha* *pīṭh* *pīṭh* (ārṣa); *pīṭha* *pīṭh* (ārṣa); *pīṭh* *pīṭh* (ārṣa); *pīṭh* *pīṭh* (ārṣa); बूट > बूट *būṛ(h)ā* (vṛddha-); बूट > बूट *būṛ(h)ā* (vṛddha-); बूट > बूट *bhuni, bhuni* friend (*bhunna-, *bhṛṇa-); OB. MB. चर *rūkhā* (vṛṣa);
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174. The above are instances of OIA. > MIA. > NIA. change of
< ɾ > in Bengali. The Bengali alphabet possesses ɐ < ɾ > as a letter of the
alphabet, and its common pronunciation is ɾi < r+i >. This < ri > value
for < ɾ > is found all over Northern India; but in the South, including the
Oriyā and Marādhī tracts, the pronunciation is < ru >. The < ri >
pronunciation in NB. is only one out of the various traditional pronuncia-
tions of the letter < ɾ > in MB.,—viz., < ri ir, re er, rā ār, ro or > (but never
< ru, ur >)—and some of these are still current. The name of the letter
 derp is < ri >, and the other varieties of vowel used in the pronunciation
of words in < ɾ > are now giving place to < i >, in educated speech. This
< ri > pronunciation is a very old one, and frequently in the inscriptions,
back to the oldest ones, there is interchange between < ɾ > and < ri >.
Confusions like < pṛya > for < priya >, < aḷāṅkṛita > for < aḷāṅkṛta >,
< sṛdhara > = < śṛdhara >, < śrīḥattā > = < śrīḥattā >, < rīṣιkēśa > = < hṛṣιkēśa >,
as in the early Bengal inscriptions, testify that < ri > was the recognised
value for < ɾ > in the Late MIA. period in Bengal. The Tibetans obtained
the Indian alphabet by way of Khotan (A. F. R. Hoernle, 'MS. Remains
etc. from Central Asia,' Introduction), but they were subjected to influences
from Bengal from the 7th century onwards, and the Tibetan way of writing
< ɾ, l > of Sanskrit by < r+i, l+i > is doubtless based on an Old Bengali
pronunciation.

In Early Oriyā, the pronunciation of < ɾ > was as in Bengali, but
from the 15th century onwards it became < ru >, probably through Telugu
influence. Upper India knows of no other forms than < ri >, or < ir >
by metathesis, as can also be seen from early sts. forms in Western Hindi
and Eastern Hindi: c.e., < ritu (ṛtu), trisnā (ṛṣṇā), mṛttu (mṛtyu), kisān
POST-CONSONANTAL ‘ṛ, R’ IN MIDDLE BENGALI 357

(kṛṣṇa), krisna (kṛṣṇa), birdha (vṛddha), nirpa (ṇṛpa), mirdanga (mṛdanga), birdaya (ḥṛdaya), rikhikesa (ḥṛṣikēsa) » etc.

In MB. documents, and in the old-fashioned spelling in the early 19th century papers and printed works (which still obtains in places removed from the standardising influence of schools), forms like brū, bṛvet < ghratā, ghratā >, ṛṇ < mrāgā >, ṛṇak < prāthak >, pṛyōjana, prīpā, nirpa, kripinā » (kṛpana), graha (grha), pāhpte » for parite » to wear, etc., etc. are quite common. The ‘Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed’ (see pp. 136, 234) similarly writes crepa, omert, ghirna, hirdoe, prothqhe (= pṛthak-), mirtica, prothibe (= pṛthivi), bretha (= vṛthā) » etc. In MB. ṛ in ts. and sts. words fell together with original -rā and -ri. And rā, ri, re, ro, ar, ir, er, or > are interchangeable in Bengali when they occur after a consonant. The ṛ is frequently assimilated with the following consonant in folk pronunciation. Amṛt < amṛta > is thus pronounced as [omrīto, omirto, omrōto, omrīto, omrōto, omrīto, omrēto, omrēto, omrīto, omrēto, omrēto]; pranām < pranāma > as [pronam, pornam, prenam, pennam; ponnam, pennam]; probodha < probodha > as [probodhī, porbodhī, prebodhī, perbodhī; pebodh]; so pradīpa > pradīpā becomes [prodip, pridip, predip, pordip, per dip], and even piddim, piddim [piddim, piddim] through intermediate stages like * piddipa > piddīva, piddīva and * piddipā > piddīva, piddīva; pribāti < prabhāti > commonly becomes [p(r)bāti, pibāti]; the ordinary pronunciation of kreme < kremē > is [kreme, kermē]; brū < vrata > is normally turned to [bērto, berto; bōtto, betto], and nimantraṇa and graha > have given the sts. nemāntānna > and gēro > gerō through Middle Bengali pronunciations like *nimāntānna > and *gera. This interchange of post-consonantal groups of vowel + r, or their metathesis, has turned jīr in tirshuta (tirabhukti) to jīr in tribhuta in Bengali. Foreign words are equally affected: e.g., Portuguese egreja > church gives Bengali girīja > beside gija, grijā = grijā, and the Persian mīrzā > prince occurs as grājā, mṛjā = miri̯jā » beside mīrīja. Mirīja ».

In the dialectal Bengali of Chittagong, ṛt > becomes iri: cf. girit (ṛ̱ṛ̱ta), bīra (vṛṣa) », etc.
The general practice in NB. orthography is to treat গ as a compound letter, 
. A word like আণু রা is normally pronounced [abritə], when the fact that the গ in this т is a vowel is remembered; but commonly in pronunciation the ব is 'doubled,' as in Bengali a consonant before a 
 or 
 is always doubled: e.g., [abritə]. গ is commonly used, because of the convenient shape of its subscribed form, , to denote the group 
 in foreign names, instead of the complicated group of subscribed 
, 
: e.g., ব্রিটেন for ব্রিটেন 
 Britain, ক্রিষ্ট for ক্রিষ্ট, (properly *শ্রিষ্ট) ক্রিষ্টা, ক্রিষ্টান (khrista) 
 Christ; even প্রিবাইটান < prībhi-kānsel > for প্রিবাইটি- < prībhi- > Pricy Council, ক্রিমিনাল for 
 Criminal, ক্রিকেট for Cricket, etc.: we have even 
 for receiver, and বাণ্ডিম Chandra writes রিড for the English name Reid. 
 does not occur in Bengali outside the alphabet. It is an unfamiliar letter, and frequently the long vowel is wrongly employed in writing for 
. 
 is only a letter in the alphabet, pronounced 
, and it does not figure in Bengali.

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

[I] Final « Anusvāra ».

175. The « anusvāra » and « anunāsika » of OIA. both meant nasalisation of vowels (see p. 244). OIA. « anunāsika » vowels are not preserved in MIA. « Anusvāra » could not occur before stops and aspirates, which had only corresponding nasals, « ো, ো, ূ, ু, ম », before them in OIA.; « anusvāra » occurred before « y, r, l, v, ś, ś, s, h » only. Final « -m » became the « anusvāra » in MIA.; and original « anusvāra » remained. OIA. « -m » became a frank nasalisation of the preceding vowel in the Late MIA. period (Apabhraṃśa), and this final nasalisation still survives in Gujarāti and Marāṭhi ordinarily, when in MIA. we have groups like « -aam, -aum, -i/iaam, -u/uaam », etc. ; e.g., Gujarāti « karvū » (*kariavvaum, kartavya-kam), « ghaṇū » (ghanāum, ghanakam), « pēhlū » (pahillaum, pratha-ila-kam), « hū » (hau, haum =
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ahakaṃ, aham), < sū > (saūṁ, sākam), < sō > (saūṁ, satam), < ēśi < *asī > (asūṁ, aṣṭi), < nēvū > (navaṁ, navati), etc.: Marāṭhi < śē > (s야m, śatam), < karṇē > (karaṇayām, karaṇakam), < mōti > (mōttim, mānktikam), < tālē > (tālāyām, tātaŋka), < bī > (bīām, bījam), < tāru > shriy (tāruaṁ, tārukaṃ), < nibū > (nimbuaṁ, nimbukam), < pākhrū > bīrīd (pakka-rauṃ, pakṣa-rūpam), etc., etc. Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā) has also cases of this survival of the final nasal of OIA.: e.g., < haū > l (ahakaṃ), < mṝanaū, mṝibaū > (mṝaṇa-kaṁ, mṝitavya-kaṁ), etc. This final nasalisation is not preserved in other NIA. A case like OB. < hāu = haū >, found also in MB. as the verbal affix for the 1st person, Čē < -hō >, seems to be a survival from the Māgadhi Apabhraṃsa (or through nasalisation of intervocal < ō >? E.g., < aham > ahakaṃ > *haṃ > *haṃ > haṃ >); and -ē < -hā > in दिष्ट, जिष्ठ, ईष्ठ < tīha, jīha, ihā >, etc., honorific forms of pronouns, which is from OIA. < -ēsām > MIA. < -ēham >, is due to the analogy of the other genitive plural affix < -aṇa > from < -aṇām > = < -aṇām > (see p. 306). The final < anusvāra > may be said to have been lost to Bengali. As for the < anusvāra > in the interior of words, before the semivowels, liquids and sibilants, and the aspirate < h >, it was dropped in many cases in MIA. itself; but where it occurred in MIA., before the sibilants for example, it behaved like a class nasal before its corresponding stop or aspirate, and has generally been continued down in all NIA.: as a nasalisation of the preceding vowel, which is lengthened by way of compensation (e.g., < haṣṣā > = < haṃsa >, < māṣṣā > = < māṃsa > etc.), or as the dental nasal < n > in the North-western Indian speeches which do not simplify double consonants (e.g., Panjābī < hanās >), or again as a separate nasal syllable in a language like Orijā which does not wholly nasalise the class consonants (e.g., Orijā < bāuṣā bāuṣā > = < vaṃṣa >: cf. the NB. pronunciation of < anusvāra > in lss. = [ŋ, ɳ], from MB. [w, ʋ]).

[II] Class Nasals and Interior < Anusvāra > of MIA.

176. In its development from OIA. and MIA. to NIA., < anusvāra > thus fell in line with the class nasals before their corresponding stops and
aspirates. MIA. of the Second period possessed intervocally either double stops (or stop + its aspirate), or nasal + stop or aspirate (see p. 254). The vowel preceding such a group of double stops, or nasal + stop or aspirate, was always a short one in MIA. The Aryan dialects entered the NIA. stage throughout the greater part of India when the double stops (with or without aspiration) were simplified, and there was compensatory lengthening generally. This has been described before (p. 259). In the case of groups with the nasal, the nasal as an independent sound was lost in NIA., and compensation for this loss came in by both lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel: the line of change has been indicated at p. 259. Before the final absorption of the nasal into the preceding vowel, there would be a stage when it was pronounced very short, e.g., əŋka > [əŋka, ṣəŋka] > अंक [ propTypes, अंक, अंक] >अंक < आक > [aːk]. This 'reduced' nasal can be expressed by a small ə, n m etc., written above the line [n, n, m]. Such short or reduced nasals are found elsewhere: in Sinhalese, for instance, in its tāh. element (cf. W. Geiger, 'Litteratur and Sprache der Sinhalesen,' §17). A similar stage of reduced nasals undoubtedly obtained in IA. in the mainland, probably during the Late MIA. period, and certainly during the transitional period between MIA. and NIA. In Oriya, among the Magadhan speeches, the vowels have not been nasalised to the entire absorption of the original nasals, which may be said to obtain as reduced sounds: e.g., Oriya काण्ड [kāṇḍa] weeping (krāṇa), दात [dānta] (danta), पान्च [paṇcā] (panca), etc. = Bengali কাণ্ডা > কাণা [kāṇa > kānna], দাত [dāt], পাণ্ড [paṇḍ]; in Oriya, the nasal is fully uttered in Sanskrit words like < dānta > < ұ dam >, < pānca-janya >, etc., but it is not at all so prominent in the tāh. words, which, besides, have the vowel nasalised. It seems that in OB. and in eMB., dialectally undoubtedly, the reduced nasals obtained: although the use of the ⚪< candra-bindu >, which is found in inscriptions in the mystic syllable < ṣ < ṣ (now pronounced indifferently [o:ŋ] or [o:m]) is an early evidence that the full nasalisation of vowels came in in Proto- and Old Bengali speech (see p. 226). The Caryā MS. spellings like < chānda, bāndha, tentali, kāndha, sāṇkama, tāngi, pānca, dōmbi, bhanḍāra > etc. may be taken to show that the reduced nasals were the
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rule in OB. So, too, Sarvānanda's spellings < kiñcehi (NB. कैंचे kīcē, Skt. kiñcukalu), siṣkala (≡ṣṛṣkha), vahēner a fruit (≡ NB. वहीने bārci), bandhulī (NB. बाँधुली bādhulī = bandhuka), etc., would be equally indicative of the reduced nasal. But the Ćaryās show full nasalisation of original class nasals and of < anusvāra > by means of the < candra-bindu > as well. Apart from the fully nasalised vowel in the affixes like < -ē, -ī >, we have spellings with the < candra-bindu > like the following: < hāu (ahakām), māsa (māsā), āsu (āṅsu), ūcā (*uṅca = ucca-), hādi = hārī, not *hāndī (-bhāṇḍī-), bājhē (vaṅjha, vandhyā), sājhē (saṅjhā, sandhyā), bāddhi = bādhi (sts. < vandhyā) >; and Sarvānanda has < jhampāṇa > (= yāpya-yāna), with < anusvāra > for the expected < candra-bindu >, rather than < *jhampāṇa > with < -mp- >: cf. < pimpaḍā, dāmbōḍā >, with < m > and not with < anusvāra >. The complete absorption of the nasal thus belongs to the OB. period, although it also seems that the reduced nasal still held the field in OB. The orthography in this matter, employing the class nasals after the lengthened vowel, however, may be archaic only, without reference to the actual pronunciation. In the eMB. of the ŚKK., from the spellings of words it would seem an analogous state obtained. The spelling here, too, might be only archaic. Thus we have < āṅga > (āṅga); but < āčaḷ < ācāḷa > (aṅcāla), 4 times, beside < āṅṅa < āṅcāḷa >, 11 times; < āṅṅa < āṅṅa < āṅkara > (andha-kārika); < kāṇa < kaṅkaṇa > (kaṅkaṇa), but < kāča(l) < kāča(a) > uripe; < kārā < kāṛhārā > helmsman beside < kāṇa < kāṛhārā > (= karṇa-dhāra); < kānti, kānt < kāti, -ī > beside < kānti < kānti >; < kād < kād- > (kraṇ-)d), once, beside < kāṇa < kānd- >, 11 times; < kāp < kāpā > (kamp-), twice, besides < kāṃ < kāṃpā >, 5 times; < kāṣa > thrice, besides < kāṃsa > (= kaṅsa), 10 times; so < ē < ēddā > (candra), 4 times, beside < ēnd < ēnda > 14 times. In the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally, in North Bengali and Assamese, we have no longer any reduced nasals, only nasalised vowels. But in certain tracts in the East Bengali area, we have still traces of the full nasal, mainly in connexion with the voiced consonants followed by a vowel; and vocal nasalisation is frequently absent. Thus, we have [tsā:d], beside [tsānd, tsānder] = ādā, āder, West Bengali [cā:d, cāder]: we have even [tsā:n < tsānd]; [bā:d,

But the persistent retention of the nasals as distinctly audible sounds, albeit reduced, does not mark East Bengali pronunciation in the same way that it does that of Oṛiya. OB. and eMB., as in the Çaryās and the ŚKK., may be taken to represent a mingling of dialects, showing both reduction and complete absorption of the nasals; or, what is equally likely, the spelling with the full nasals is merely an archaic thing, and is not a proper key to the pronunciation which had already become nasal. The influence of Skt. tss. in orthography, which is always conservative, is to be taken into consideration in discussing the OB. and eMB. conditions in this matter.

177. Below are given instances of nasalisation of vowels in Bengali through class nasals and < anusvāra > occurring with consonants in OIA.

As Bengali vowels normally are more or less nasalised when preceded or followed by a nasal, the < anusvāra > becomes superfluous, and is often not used in writing.

(i) Unvoiced stops and aspirates preceded by class nasals: the vowel is nasalised (after being lengthened), and the stop or the aspirate remains. E.g., छाक < छाक > (aŋka); काकल < काकल > (kaŋkala); पाक < पाक > (pāŋka); चिथ < चिथ > (saŋkha-); पाच < पाच > (paça); माच = माच < माच > (maça); साच < साच > (sāca); पाभ < पाभ > wipe (pra + uñch); बाट < बाट > (vañta, vṛnta); गाठ < गाठ > (gañthi, granthi); गृथ < गृथ > (suñthi); तात < तात > (tantu); दात < दात > (danta); पात < पात > (panti < pāṅkti); फात < फात > (fānth); कात < कात > (kantha); कप < कप > (kamp-); कप < कप > (campaka-); पाक < पाक > (gumpha); etc.

Sibilants with preceding < anusvāra > remain, with the < anusvāra > nasalising the preceding vowel: e.g., आश < आश > fibre (aṁśu); कास < कास > bell-metal (kāṁsya); कासी < कासी > (kāṁsya-kāri), but cf. Oṛiya tūbh. < काँसा, काँसार > [kāṁṣa, kāṁseri]; पाः < पाः > ashes (paṁsū), cf. Oṛiya < पाः >; बां < बां > (vaṁsa), cf. Oṛiya < बांस >; मास = मास < मास > (māsa), cf. Oṛiya < मास >; हास < हास > (haṁsa).
TREATMENT OF ‘ṅ + g’ IN BENGALI

OIA. *anusvāra* following the high vowel *i* is lost in *viṁśati*>

MB. *visa*, *viṣa* > Bengali বিষ *biṣṭa*, -িশ, -শ  - (i)শ in composition: 
 একশ *ekeśa* (ekeviṁśati), বাইশ *bāiśa* (dvaviṁśati); so -ভিঃ, -তিঃ, sth.
 তিরেশ *tisṭ, tisṭa*, tiriśṣa* (triṁśat), চিত্র *cālīśa* (catvāriṁśat), etc.

(ii) Class nasals with voiced consonants, and *anusvāra* with
* h, y, v*.

(a) *-ṇg-* of MIA., from OIA., became *-ṅg-* with reduced
nasal in Proto-Bengali, and possibly also in OB. In the NB. Standard
Colloquial, *-ṅg-* or rather, *-ng*, is assimilated to a full [ŋ],
written ে, ৭ (finally only) *-ng, ṇ, ū (ūm)*, although the OB. and eMB.
condition, with the stop sound *-g*, is preserved intervocally in some
parts of East Bengal. E.g., আক্ষ, আক্রমণ *aṅg(ṛ)iṇa* (aṅgana-);
অভাধ, অভাজ *aṁ̐ha* (abhyange); গাঙ, গাঙ, গং *gāṅga=gāṅga* >
গাঙ = gāṅ > a river (gāṅa); দেশi words like চিংড়া, চিংড়া, চিংড়ী *cīndī* prawn, lobster
(cīndiga-ta-; cf. Hind. jhiṅga), চঙ্কী, চঙ্কী *cāṅča, cāṅča*, etc., basket
(ØB. *cāṅcāda, Caryā 10), চাঙ, চাঙ *cāṅcā* well, in good spirits (dēśi cāṅga),
চাঙ্গ *cāṅcā* snail (OB. jhaṅgda), ঢাৱ, ঢাৱ *cānāsī* spear, etc.;
জাঙ্গল, জাঙ্গল *jāṅ(ɡ)āḷa* dyke (jaṅgala); বাঙ্গল, বাঙ্গল *bāṅgāla > bāṅpāla, 
bāṅpāla* (vāṅgala), but East Bengali often [bāṅgul]; ভাঙ, ভাঙ *bhaṅg* hemp
(bhaṅgā); ভাঙ, ভাঙ *bhaṅg(ɡ)ā* breaks (<bhagga), but cf. ভাঙ *bhāṅg- in the ŚKK, at least 26 times, against ভাঙ *bhāṅg-* = [bhāṅg-], 14 times;
বঙ্কি বাঙ, বাঙ *rāṅ(ɡ)ā* red (raṅga-); বাঙ, বাঙ, বাঙ *rāṅ* tin; also in
বাঙ্গলা *rāṅ-cīta* a plant (raṅga-citra-); but cf. sth. রঙ, রঙ *rāṅ* colour;
বঙ্গ, বঙ্গ *lāṅga, lāṅ* (lavaṅ-); শিঙ্গ, শিঙ্গ, শিঙ্গ *śiṅg*, শিঙ্গ, শিঙ্গ *śiṅ(ɡ)āَا
(śiṅga-); OB. *sāṅga* = [sāṅga] (Caryā 10), found in NB. সাঙ্গা, সাঙ্গা,
সাঙ্গা *sāṅ(ɡ)āt*, in the Calcutta dialect সাঙ্গা [sāṅga] (see p. 322) = friend
(sāṅga + -vant-), has given place to the ts. সঙ্গ, সঙ্গ, সঙ্গ *sāṅga, sāṅ(ɡ)ā* in NB. The group *ṅg* of OIA. and MIA. thus normally becomes *ṅ* in NB. (with nasalisation of preceding vowel generally not expressed in writing).

But eMB. spellings like ভাঙ *bhāṅg-* and Caryā spellings like
বঙ্গ *lāṅg* (= lāṅg = *nāga < *nāga < nāga = nagna), to rime
with সাঙ্গ *sāṅga* (= ? sāṅg, sāṅga, cf. NB. সাঙ্গ < sāṅga, sth. *sāṅga untoned, irregular marriage among certain lower castes), in Caryā 10, and সাঙ্গ *māṅg*
(=* māṅga *, MIA. * *maṅga< magga=mārga *—cf. also the OB. spelling 
বৃক্ষ < māṅga > in Caryās 8, 13, 14) to rime with সঙ্গ < सङ्गā = सङ्गā 
(written তৃণ in MS.), as in Caryā 8, would establish the normal trans-
formation of *-ŋ- * of OIA. to *-ṅ, -g * in OB. The assimilation was 
thus a thing of MB. and NB. times; and similar though later assimilation 
of *-nd * < *mb * to *-n, -m * are found in NB.

Tatsama words retain *-ŋ- * in full, intervocally; when closing a 
syllable, and in sts. forms, there is assimilation: e.g., জঙ্গল * jāṅgāl > forest, 
কঙ্গুল * jāṅgulē > < জঙ্গলিয় * jāṅgāl-iyā > belonging to the forest, but জঙ্গল, 
জঙ্গল * jāṅgāla > wild; মঙ্গল * māṅgāla *, but মঙ্গল, মঙ্গল * māṅglā * as a con-
tracted proper name; etc.

OIA. *-ŋgh-* became *-ṅgh * in OB., and with the dropping of the 
aspiration, the group fell together with the Bengali modification of *-ŋgh-*: 
ঝাঙ্গ, ঝাঙ * jāṅ * (jaṅghā); ঝিকিরি * sīkāni > sīkāni > (sīghānā-) *; and 
the word * saṅgha *, which would give in NB. a form *saṅ * *sāṅ *, seems 
to have merged into সঙ্গ < sāṅga > < *sāṅga *.

OIA. *-nh-* in the word *siṅha * lost its nasalisation in Early MIA. 
< siha >: the MIA. form possibly subsists in the NB. surname শী, শী 
< sī, sī * (see p. 352), originally forming part of personal names, like most 
non-Brāhmaṇ surnames in Bengal. In the sts. সিঙ্গি, সিঙ্গি * saṅ(h)i * we 
have the normal change of *-nh-* to *-ṅ(h) *. 

(b) *-nj-* becomes *-j * in NB., doubtless through a stage of 
* *n*j >: e.g., ঝাঁঝা * ঝাঁঝা > (aṅjali-); ঝাঁঝা * gājā > (gaṅja, gaṅjikā); 
পাজি * pāji > (paṅjikā); পাজর * pājāra > (paṅjara); প্রিজার * pįjāra > 
(piṅjara); ঝাঁঝা * bḥaṅja > folding of cloth, paper etc. (bhaṅj). The Maithili 
change of * n*j to * nį > n *, as in * aṅu, aṅu < aṅju * = * aṅśu * (aśru), 
is unknown to Bengali.

* *-ňjh-* of MIA. became *-jh * in Bengali: e.g., ঝাঁঝাঁ * jhaṅjhā * 
strong flavour; huge cymbals (cf. jhaṅjhā); ঝাঁঝাঁ * bājha > (vaṅjhā, vaṅdhyā); 
সাঁঝাঁ * saṅjhā > (saṅjhā, sandhyā).

OIA. * anusvāra > * + * y * became *-nj-* in MIA., and the Bengali 
development was * *j *: ঝাঁঝাঁ * saṅjōā > armour, corslet (saṅjōā-, saṁjōgā-: 
cf. Hind. saṅjōwā, saṅjōnā arrange).
(c) "-ṇḍ-" > "-'r" in Bengali: अठूँइ > एड़ूँइ > धृत > bull-calf (aṇḍa + uka-); slang "ाड़ू, एड़ू" [*aṛ] testicles (aṇḍa); त” कृष्ण "कार्ढ" arrow (kāṇḍa); ढाँड "क्हार्ड" sugar, molasses, ढाँड "क्हार्ड" sacrificial sword (khaṇḍa); पीड़ "गळ्ळस" fleshy navel (see ante, p. 67), the Gonda (dāṣi gonda); दाँड़ "कार्ढ" (candala); ढिड "ढूर " (chindati); ढाँड, ढाँड "दार्ढ, धार्ढ" oar, bird's perch (daṇḍa); नाड>नेड "नार्ढ > nārā [nārā] hard stools (laṇḍa, leṇḍa, dēṣi); पाड "पार्ण" huge, ungainly, ugly (paṇḍa eunuch), पूड "पूर्ण" sugar-cane, a caste (puṇḍa, puṇḍra); काड "पार्ण" breadth (of a pot generally) (cf. phanda belly); पीड़ "प्रां" wooden board, plinth (dēṣi? = pīnda : cf. Hindi pīr tree, vṛkṣa-pīnda in the 'Mahāvastu'); त” बाठ "बाढ़" (bhāṇḍa); मुड़ = *mūḍa "*mūrā, murā (mūnda-); ढाँड "ढूर" (raṇḍā); भूड "सूर्ध" (saṇḍa); ढाँड "सार्ढ" (saṇḍa); सांड़ू "सूर्ध" (*saṇḍānsia, sandaṇsikā); ढाँड "हार्ढ" < (०-हाण्डा < -bhaṇḍa-), in compounds.

In a few cases, we have "n" for "-ṇḍ-"—through an early assimilation of "-ṇḍ-" to "-ṇṇ-": घान, घाना, पाणी "खाण्ड, क्हाण्ड, क्हानी" piece, article (determinative word), place (=khaṇḍa-); cf. Oriya "khaṇḍā" piece, part, fragment, a single one, "khaṇḍī" pot-sherd. Bengali पट्टाखाना "पट्टाखाना" = Oriya "पट्टाखाना" the letter, lit. the letter-piece, 'one piece letter'; बाणा "penis (dēṣi baṇḍa-), cf. Oriya "बाणा". In both the cases, forms with the normal "-'r" occur—though "khāṛ" has got another meaning (see above). The "-n" forms may be due to the influence of similar words—e.g., "ष्ठाना" > धाणा "place, rectangular piece (determinative); and बाण “arrow. Cf. Hind. "गन्ना" sugar-cane = "इक्षुगन्ना" as in the 'Mahāvastu.'

"-ṇḍh-" of MIA. > "-'r" in NB., with loss of aspiration: धुऱ "dhūṛṛ" seeka (dēṣi ḍhunḍhaï); MB. कृष्ण "काणृ" helmsman, MB. काणी "काण्डाना" (*kaṇṇa-dhāra-, karṇa-dhāra-).

(d) OIA. "-nd-" > Beng. "-nd-" इदूर इदूर (indura); इदारा "idāra" (indrāgāra); काण "काण-" (krand); st. कृष्ण "कृष्ण" (kendra-); तृष "तृष" (candra); तृष "तृष" (chanda); तृष "तृष" (*bundu = bindu); MB. st. मद "मदि " (mandira); मद "मदि " (sindūra); मद "मदि " a tree, much used for fire-wood (sundara-); st. कृष्ण = कृष्ण,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER III

<kōdāla> <kādāla> (kandala <√<krand>); बादर < bādar > monkey, from Hindīstānī < bandar > (vānara); etc. Cf. Persian borrowings like ठाँ < cāda > subscription; राणा, रेणा < rādā, rādā > carpenter’s plane; बाँडी < bāḍi > slave-woman; हिंदु, हिंदु < hīdu, hīdu > = < candah; rand+a; bandah+ī; hindū, hēndō>; and cf. an English borrowing like जालरेल < jādrēl > a general, big person, big (slang), from < general >, through < *jānlēl, *jāndrēl >, = Hind. < jandrēl >.

In dialectal and standard Bengali there are a few instances of assimilation of < nd > > < n > to < n, n >: e.g., कान < kān > (krandana-); धन < cāna > [tsā:n] = < cāda > (andra); कान > कान; कानक < kādte > kātte, kānte >, from कानि < kāditē > to weep (krand-); similarly with < ndh >, which is found as < n > in बाहिथ > बाहित, बाहित, बानवत < bādhite > bādtē, bāttē, bānte > to bind (bandh); etc.

< ndh > becomes < n(h) >: अंधि < ādhi > dust-storm (andhika); अंधकार < ādhakāra > (andhakāra); चंद < kādhā > (skandha); sts. गंधा < gādha > to smell (gandha-); धान < dhāndha > doubt, paradox (dhandha); बांध < bādhā > a bond, a dam (bandha); फांध < phād > net, a blend of < phāsa > (= pāsa) and < bandha > (?); सोंक < sōdhā > (sugandha-); etc.

(e) OIA. < -mb-, -mr- > MIA. < -mb- >. The fortunes of < -mb- > were similar to those of < -ng- >: there has been uniformly an assimilation of the stop element, and the nasal generally has survived: although the < -b > treatment is found occasionally. Examples: आम < āma > (MIA. ambha < *āmbara, āmra); OB. < kāmal > a man’s name (Kambalika=Kambalāmbara-pāda); चुम > cūmā > (cumba-); जाम < jām > (jambu); डिम < dim > (dimba); तामली < tāmli > a caste (tāmbulika); sts. कदम < kādam > (kadamba); शामुक < śāmuk > (*śambukka, śambu-ka); शीं < śim > (śimba); शोभिल < śimul > (śimbali=śālmali); MB. (ŚKK.) समुद्र < sambundrya >, sts., once, beside ts. संभ < sāmbhāra >, 11 times; sts. समान < sambandha >, at Delhi and Kalsi, the dialects of which are

We find as early as in the Ṛṣya inscriptions (of the eastern area) a form showing the < mb > mm > treatment, like < lummini = lummini > for < lumbini > (at Ṛma-in-dei). But we have absence of assimilation in < tambapāmni, ambā >, at Delhi and Kalsi, the dialects of which are
on an eastern basis. The "mb" > "b" treatment seems to have characterised Old Bengali—at least, in West and West Central Bengal: the Eastern Rāḍha dialect is a dialect showing "b"; also Oriyā; e.g., Ṽravā (aṁba, āmrā), cf. Oriyā "āmbā" [āṁbo]; ṿābā (tambā, tamara), cf. Oriyā "tambā" [ṭāṁbo]; nāb - "nāb = nāb-"; MB. nāb "nāmbā-

get down = Literary Bengali नाम "nām-", East Bengali लाम "lām-", (nāmā, nam-); nēbu = nēbu, beside lebū "lebū" (nimbuka); MB. sāmā, sāmā, beside sāmār "sāmār, sāmb(h)āy" enters, cf. OB. sāmāy "sāmāy्" enters (? samāyī); OB. (Caryā ४) tābulā (tāmbula-); OB. dāmbōda (Sarvananda: Skt. damya-)= NB. dāmār "dāmār" ox; MB. jāmbir, jāmbir beside jāmār "jāmb(h)īrā, jāmīrā" (jambira). Cf. the MB. name (W. Bengal) jāmbir, jāmīr "hāmb(h)īrā" < Perso-Arabic "amīr".

OIA. < mbh- > < mbh > in OB., MB., also < mh, mm > in MB. > NB. «m», without nasalisation of preceding vowel: kūmar «kumārā» (*kumāra, kumbhāra=kumbha-kāra); kumār «kumāra» (kumbhira); ṽāmar «kāmar» barn (? skambhāgāra), cf. MB. Pāṇini, Pāṇini «kāmb(h)ā» (skambha-); gām «thamā» (stambha); sāmāle «sāmālē» bears, holds, saves (sambhālayati, sambhārayati); etc.

Also MIA. « mh » from various sources in OIA.: kūmar «kumāra» (kumhaṇḍa, kuśmāṇḍa); bāmū «bāmunā» (brāhmaṇa), cf. 'Bhārī' bābhāna (*bambhaṇa, bambaṇa <bambaṇa <brāhmaṇa); amī, tūmī «āmi, tumī » (amha-, tumba-=asma-, yuṣma-); etc.

OIA. « anusvāra » + « v » became « mb » so far as NIA. was concerned, at least in Northern and Eastern India: e.g., sās. kīṃśa, sāmā «kimbā, sāmbādā », beside the proper kīṃvā, sāṁvāda »; cf. MB. (ŚKK.) sās. sāmā «sāmālā » (sāṁvāda); NB. sās. sāṃvār- » arrange, flavour with spices (sām-vr); etc.

(f) Where two nasals of MIA. are reduced to one, there is nonasalisation of the vowel (except such as comes in through its being followed by nasal), and an «ā» is changed to «ā»: e.g., am «ānā» (ānā, anya); kān «kānā» (kaṇa, kaṇa); MB. kān, kān «kānā, kānā », NB. kān «kān-u» (*kaṇa, kaṇa, kṛṣa); sānā «sānā » (sānā, svaṇa); MB. sān «sānā » corslet (sannāha); etc.
(2) 'Spontaneous Nasalisation' in MIA. and NIA. Onomatopoetics.

178. The above are cases where the nasalisation in Bengali corresponds to, or is based on, a nasal or 'anusvāra' in OIA. But there are cases in Bengali and other NIA. in which ībh. words show nasalisation where there is no nasal in the corresponding OIA. form, as in Sanskrit: e.g., Bengali śās < hās-, Hindi < hās>, but OIA. < ś/has- >; Hindi < sācā > (= satya-), nīd > (nidrā), < sāp > (sarpa); Marāṭhī < kāsav>, beside < kāsav > (kacchapa); Hindi, Marāṭhī < āsū > (āsru); etc. These are cases of the so-called 'spontaneous nasalisation' in NIA. It seems there was an old tendency in Indo-Aryan, imposed upon it, it may be, by the non-Aryan speeches, towards articulating through both the mouth and the nose, and thus bringing in a nasalisation. This seems to have resulted also in a nasal after-glide of the vowel, an 'anusvāra', which was normally altered to a full class nasal corresponding to the stop sound which might follow: but the 'anusvāra' was retained before the sibilants and other open consonants. Prakrit spelling preserves the 'anusvāra' in most cases. This nasalising habit goes back certainly to Late OIA. and Early MIA. times: e.g., a Pali form like < mahiṣa > (mahiṣa),= Hindi < bhaṣ < *mhaiṁsa>; and a case like Skt. < karkaṭa > crab and < kaṅkaṭa > armour (cf. Bengali কাঁকড়ি।< kākārā > crab; compare Latin < cancer > and Greek < karkínos > crab), which seem to be allied, would show that it was found in OIA. But it was prominent, as can be seen from the extant remains, from the Second MIA. Period. Second MIA. had forms like < vaṅka (= vakka, vakra), daṅsana (= dassana, darśana), jampaī (= jappaī, jalpati), phaṅsa (phassa, sparśa), paṅkhi (= pakkhi, pakṣin), etc. (see Pischel, §§74, 86). This kind of spontaneous nasalisation was a characteristic thing in Second MIA. phonology; and ālōti words seem to have a special preference for alternative forms with the intrusive 'anusvāra' or nasal. The NIA. words with nasalised vowels can in most cases be referred to MIA. forms with intrusive nasal: and for such cases, where the extant remains in MIA. (Pali, Prakrit, Apabhraṅga) do not furnish us with forms showing this spontaneous nasalisation, we have to go to MIA. hypothetical forms. (G. A. Grierson, 'Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages,' JRAS., 1922, pp. 281 ff.) Spontaneous
nasalisation is therefore not a NIA. phenomenon: for the NIA. forms given above, we have to postulate Second MIA. forms like < *haunsa- (= hassa, hāsyā), *saunca (= sacca, satya), *nindā (= niddā, nidrā), *sampa (= sappa, sarpa), *kañcchava (= kaecchava, kaechapa), *aunsu (= assu, aśru), etc., in the analogy of existing nasalised forms. And it would be seen that the nasal occurs in double consonant groups generally. As Grierson has shown, in many cases the MIA. nasal or < anusvāra > is not transformed into the nasalisation of the vowel in NIA., but remains as a pure nasal, or as what may be called a reduced nasal—the rhythm of the sentence commonly determining the matter.

So far as NIA. is concerned, these forms with spontaneous nasalisation are of the same category as those which show original OIA. or historical nasalisation, being equally inherited from MIA. All NIA. do not entirely agree in details, although all share in the results of this general principle or preference of MIA.: words with spontaneous nasalisation occur in one NIA. speech, say, Western Hindi, but are absent in another, say, Bengali, and vice versa: e.g., Bengali has সাপ < saap >, পা < pa > ছাড়ে < chaṛē > from < sappa, pāa, chaḍḍ- >, whereas Hindi shows < sāp, pāj, chaṛē > from < *sampa, *pāwa, *chaṇḍ > of MIA., and Bengali কথা, কথ্যে < kathā, kāyṭhā > from < *kawattha, *kayṭṭha > (kapittha) can be compared with Marathi < kavāḥ > (*kavanṭha); conversely, Bengali has পুথি < pūṭhī > (*ponthia) beside Hindi etc. < pōṭhī > (potthia), কুদন < kūṭḍan > jumping beside Hindi < kūḍnā >, etc.

Examples in Bengali: আখ < ākh > (*ākhi, akkhi = aksi); আখর < ākhar > beside আখর < ākhar > (*əkhar, akkhar = aksara); আচ < ač > (*aṇci, aci = arci); আটি < aṭṭi > stone of fruit (*aṭṭhi, aṭṭhi = asthi); ইট beside ইট < it, ita > (*inṭa, ita < *iṭṭha = ista); উটু, উটি < uṭu, uṭṭi > (*unṭa, utta < *uttha = uṣṭra); কাকড়া < kākḍa > (*kanḍa, kakkaḍa = karkaṭa; cf. kaṇḍa armour); কাকড়া < kākur > (*kaṇḍa, kakkaḍa = karkoṭikā); কুঝ < kūj > (*kaṅkha, kakkha = kakṣa); কুঝুড়া < kǔk(u)ra > (*kuṅkaḍa, kukkuḍa = kukkuṭa); কুঝ < kūj > (*kaṅkha, kokkha, cf. kuksi); কুঝ < kūj > (*kuñja, kujja, kujja = kubja); কুঝ < kūḏe > jumps (*kunda,
kuddaí = kúrdáti); (sv̄sa < ghiś-, >, sv̄r̄ < ghēś-, >, sv̄rtí < ghāṭ-, >, sv̄rtī < ghāṭ- >, sv̄r̄t̄ < ghūṭ-, > (*ghīn̄sa-, *ghanta, *ghīnta, *ghanta=ghissa, ghatt[h]a, ghīt[t][h]a, ghūt[t][h]a=√ghṛṣ-, ghṛṣ̄ta); śācē < eacē > scrapes (caṇchaï, cacchaï, *tacchaï=taksati); cēț < ēcē- > shout (*cūica-, *cecca, cf. cit-kāra); cēț < cēcī > (*cūica- ?, cf. cucuka); cēț < chēcē > (*cheñcai? *śeñcayati, ścayati); cēș < chēdā > (*chenda-, chidā=chidra); cēț < chūțā > rise (*chunata, *chutta, *sutta=sūtra); cēș < chēčē > (*chunvāï, chuvaï = spr̄ṣati); cēș < chōčē > (*choanca, *sōca = śānca); cāndā < jhājhāra > (*jhanjhara, jhajjhara=jharjhara); cēț < ḍhēț(h)a > (*ṭhēnta, ḍhiṭṭha=ṭhr̄ṣṭha); ḍv̄ṭīṭa < tūtiyā > (*tunthā, Skt. tūtthā); tūvā < tūṣā > (*tūna, tūṣa); nāṣa, nāța < nāŋ(g)a > (*nagga, nagga=nagna); M.B. nindâ, nīdā < nindā, nidā > (*ninda, nidā=nidrā); pāčilā < pāncilā? = prācīra); pūț < pūṭ(h)i > a fish (*pouthī, pōṭhi, pūṛ̥thī); pūț < pūṭhi >, beside pūț < puthi > (*ponthia, potthia=pustika); pīvā < pipāṭā > (*pimpada-, *pimpidi-, *pippi/aḍa, cf. pipilika); pōț < pa(h)ūc-h > arrive (*pahanca, *pahuceba, OIA. *pra-bhū-ccha: see p. 344); cēț < pēțā > (*penđa-, peḍa=pēṭaka); dāči < phākki > (*phāṅkia, cf. phakkikā); dāț < ḍhāș̄ā > (phaṅsa = pāśa); bāțula < bāṭula > bullet, pellet (*banṭula, vaṭṭula = vartula); māng < māŋ > (*maṅga, magga=mārga); māŋ < māṅga, beside māṅa < māŋ(g)e, māgē > (*maṅgēi, maṅgei = mārgayati); sāng < sāŋkā > (*śaṅsa, *śaṣsa=sasya); sāŋkā < sāŋkār >, also dējaik < sējār > porcupine (*saṅja-, sajjha, *senja-, seijha=śalva+ṛupa); sāčā < sāčā > (*śačca-, saccha=satya); īs beside īs < hās-, hās- > (*hān̄sa, hassa, hāṣya); ēkā < hākā > (*haṅka, hakka); cēț < bēțā > (*bēnt[h]a, heṭṭha=*adhiśṭāt); etc.

Of the Bengali dialects, that of Rāḍha, especially West Rāḍha, has a great fondness for nasalisation, and this tendency is noticeable from the 14th century (SKK.). The conjunctive participle affix ईः < -iḷā > is particularly noticeable as being always nasalised in West Rāḍha, into ईः, iḷa, iḷā, iḷā, etc. = < iḷā >, and this nasalisation still subsists. It is especially absent or weak in East Bengal.

In cases like cēț < cēci >, cēț < cēčē >, cēț < chēcē >, cēț < chūc > etc., noticed above, as well as kāč < kāča > (kāca), ceț < pēcā > (pēcaka),
where we have a single ę in OIA., the nasalisation may be specially Bengali, being only a carrying on of the MIA. phonetic peculiarity in NIA.; so also in forms like ṣ ę̄cū ę̄a (cyav), and ṣh ę̄chō ę̄tou (MIA. chuv.-), ṣj ę̄jūi ę̄jū (jūhī, yūthī), and in words showing nasalisation of MIA. vowels in contact, or of a form like ṣṭ ę̄ṭūsa, with one consonant only. Or it may be through nasalisation in OB. of the ę glide into ę̄: cf. ę̄chuvāi, *chuwaĩ, *chuwāi, NB. chōy. NB. shows some cases of spontaneous nasalisation in foreign loan-words as well: e.g., ṣh ę̄hūs ę̄sense < Persian ę̄hūs, ṣk ę̄hūkā < Perso-Arabic ṣḥuqqah, ṣpēpē < Portuguese ę̄papai, ṣiṣapātaĩ < hāspētal < English ę̄hospital, etc.

179. Onomatopoeics are a characteristic class of words in NIA. which have nasalised vowels. Most NIA. onomatopoeic forms go back to MIA., they are of indigenous development (see ante, p. 175), and as a rule they cannot be traced to OIA. In the few that are found in Vedic, nasals do not form any conspicuous element (cf. Whitney, 'Sanskrit Grammar,' §1091a, §1135). Cf. NB. ęći ę̄cū ę̄shout, OIA. ęieieikā ę̄a bird. The MIA. equivalents of Bengali onomatopoeics are not always found, but the principle of formation is the same. Nasalisation in NB. onomatopoeics prefers the [k] = earlier [ḍ] sound; e.g., kōtrōkō ę̄kāt, but kātrōkātrī [kāṭānāṭ]; tōtrōkō ę̄tuk-tuk, but tōrōtōkō [tāk tāk]. (See references at p. 175, for lists of onomatopoeics in Bengali etc., and their significance.)

180. Nasalisation is a noteworthy thing in NIA. phonology, but, nevertheless, there are cases showing the dropping of an original OIA. nasal. In origin such elision is undoubtedly dialectal, like the preservation of the 'spontaneous nasalisation' of MIA. As has been said before, nasalisation is left unnoticed in Bengali orthography when there is a pure nasal in the preceding or following syllable: nāchā ę̄mācā (mancca), māknā ę̄mātāndā (manthana), nārā ę̄nārā (nanandī) etc. are not cases of loss of nasalisation. Loss of OIA. nasalisation figured in MIA. itself in a few words which have been inherited by NIA.: e.g., OIA. ę̄viṃśati, triṃśat, siṃha > MIA. ę̄visa, tisā, siha > NIA. ę̄bis (vīs), tīs, sī. Examples from
Bengali are आलिपना, आলपना (alipana, alpasa) (alimpana—); किछु (kichu) (cf. kincid); कुली (kula-pañj); छोटी (chatākā) (cf. Hind. छोटा (chedha) *cheda*); छोटी (chatā) *cheda* beside *cheda*); छोटी (chedha) *chedha*; MB. तित (tim); वाड़ा (vastra) (dastra); MB. निच (nich) (nirmanch); वाली (valki) beside गांधा, गांधा, गांधा (pālāk/gā, pālā) (*pallākia, *paraikā); गोड (poda) a caste (pundo); भयाश (bhayaśa) (mera) (Pali mahiśa-, mahiśa); भिता (bhitā) (abhyantrā); भिन्न (bhin) (abhyantrā); रेड़ी (redi) (rāndā); खिल (sikāla) beside OB. सिकाला (sikālā, sīkā); सकृद्ध, सकृद्धी (sakāri), सागरी (sagari) leavings of meal, beside सकृद्ध (sakāri) (sakātā); MB. साक, साउन (sācān, sēcān) a hawk (saṅcāna); etc. The loss of the nasal in the present participle affix इत (it) from अन- in the locative affix के (ke) from *anta-dhi>*antahi, in the dative post-position तरे (tera) from *antar- in, is specially Bengali, i.e., originated in the NIA. period.

[III] Nasalisation through Intervocal ‘-m,’ ‘-n.’

181. There are two other cases of nasalisation in NIA, also derived from MIA.

(i) Single intervocal ‘-m-‘ of OIA became ‘-v-,’ bilabial spirant nasalised, a nasal [v], after the Second MIA. Period. With palatal vowels, ‘-v-‘ figured as ‘-y-‘ in Early NIA. This ‘-v, -y-‘ normally occurs in NIA, as a mere nasalisation of a contiguous vowel. E.g., आँड़, आर्य, आँट < आँडार, आँडार, आँडार > (*āṁsā, āṁsa); भुई (bhūi) (bhūpi, bhūmi). In Late MIA., a ‘-v-‘ sound at times became ‘-v-‘ through analogy or infection, and nasalised a vowel in NIA: e.g., eMB. पोलार < pūrā, pavāla, prabāla); शूर < sūr > tendril (*sūra, *sūra, *sūra, *sūra, *sūra-); so probably OB. *haun < hauna, hawa > haka > aham. Conversely, there are cases of denasalisation of ‘-m-‘ ‘-v-‘ ‘-w-‘ in MB. e.g., कादा (kāda) कादा (kardama); चाल < cali > I walk (*cali, *cali, *cali, *cali, *cali, *cali); cf. also पाणी, साती, आठळ < pācāi, sātāi, āṭāi >, p. 303, beside ‘-ui‘ (chāui) (*cha-mīka). This is discussed under ‘Nasals,’ in the Phonology of the Consonants.
(ii) In the OB. and eMB. affix *-ē* for the instrumental, we have a case of nasalisation of the vowel through contact with original *-n-* which dropped out: *-ēna > -ēnā, -ēnām > -ēm, -ē*. So OIA. genitive plural affix *-ānām* gives *-ā* in Bengali. (See pp. 303, 306, ante; also in Morphology, under ‘Inflexions of the Noun,’ and ‘the Pronouns.’)

**Post-consonantal *-m-, -ū-* in Tatsamas.**

In tā. words in NB., *-m-* subscript nasalises the vowel, and is not itself pronounced separately: e.g., कुशिणि *rukminī* [rūkkiṇī], अत्मा *ātma* [āttā], पद्मा *paddā, paddo*, श्मान *śmaśāna* [śiśān], भीष्म *bhīṣma* [bhiṣṭ]; विस्मारण *vismaraṇa* [p[iśīrṇa], Skt. तैत्तिक, तत्त्वन् *tasmai, tasmin* etc. = [tofffī, toffīn]. The pronunciation [ātma] for अत्मा = [āttā, āttā, ātta] is on rare occasions heard, but that is un-Bengali. In the group ज *-jū*, *-ū* similarly nasalises the vowel and is dropped: ज्ञान *jñāna* = [gēnā], विज्ञ *vijña* = [biggī].
CHAPTER IV

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: VOWELS

[D] INTRUSIVE VOWELS (« VIPRAKARṣa », ANAPTYXIS).

182. The introduction of a glide vowel between two consonants forming a group has been referred to before (p. 256. See Pischel, § 131 ff.; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 29 ff). It has occurred in all the periods of IA., as of other Indo-European speeches. The glide vowel comes between a liquid, < r, l > or a nasal, < m, n > plus a stop, or the other way, or between a sibilant and another consonant; or, again, between two stops. The intrusion of the vowel takes place most frequently in connection with a liquid or nasal. A glide breath or voice, which is easily transformed into a vowel, comes in between two dissimilar stops when the first one is fully exploded and articulated: and the normal Indian habit, ever since the assimilation of dissimilar consonant groups leading in the MIA. period, has been to pronounce consonants in full, favouring the incoming of the glide. (See p. 251.) Hence Indian pronunciation of English words like act, beggar [ækt, bɛgær] commonly becomes [ækʰtʰ, ækʰtə, ækʰt̚] and [bɛgær], and button, sudden [bʌtən, sʌdən] become [bʌtʰən, sʌdən]. The sounds of < r, l, m, n > can be pronounced by themselves, and in this they partake of the nature of vowels, and so they can easily bring in a vowel in their train; and the same remark is to a slight extent true of the sibilants. Apart from these vocalic glides, there are the consonantal glides < w, y >, in origin also vocalic sounds, which occur between two vowels. Their nature has been discussed before (pp. 338 ff.).

From the Early MIA. period, Sanskrit borrowings were coming in, and they often showed this intrusive vowel. In Second and Late MIA., old worn-down tḥā. forms were frequently replaced by cognate ts. forms, and NIA. has duly inherited them. Thus the proper tḥā. < sāsava, sāsava > (sarṣapa) was replaced by < *sarisava >, whence Hindi < sarsā >, Beng. সারসা, সরসা < sārīṣa, sārṣa >; instead of the expected OB. tḥā. < *pāma > < MIA.
< *pamma > < OIA. < padma > , we have in OB. (Caryā 49) पजङ्ग < pākah = paṅkā > < MIA. st's. with intrusive vowel < *paṅka , paduma > < padma > . The Old Mağadhi thk. < kaṭṭaviya > , written < kaṭṭaviya > in the Aśoka inscriptions, from OIA. < kartavya > , came to be replaced, possibly during the Transitional MIA. period, by a stil. with anaptyxis < *karitavya , *karitabba > , which became in Late MIA. < *kariabba > , the source of the Magadhan करिब < kārib > , < karab > etc : the Old Mağadhi < *kaṭṭaviya > would have given a NB. *kātūi < *kātu > .

Apart from those cases of < viprakarṣa > in MIA., mainly with the liquids and sonants (which are rather difficult to distinguish if one of the two consonants is not a stop in OIA.), NIA. has carried on this principle in adopting stil. words, and foreign words. This practice was quite a characteristic habit of the NIA. speeches in their ‘Old’ and ‘Middle’ period; and in Modern NIA. it has fallen into disfavour, through the greater influence of Sauskrit on the literary language. The < viprakarṣa > forms are never used in prose, and in conversation, except in the case of some stereotyped or well-established forms : but they are thought quite proper for poetry. Each language has its preferences for < viprakarṣa > forms : where Hindi will use forms in writing and conversation like < bhagat , ratan , jatan , magan , sanah > etc., Bengali will prefer < bhāktā , rātā , jātā (yātā) , māguā , snēhā (or ‘ stēhā ’) > ; but in the colloquial, forms like < puttur , bhuru , nākhabātār , tīrī , bājjār > would be perfectly proper in Bengali.

In Bengali, intrusive vowels determine their nature from those in their contiguity, as in most languages. Words, stil. or foreign, cannot end in two consonants in Bengali : either they must have the prop of a final vowel, or < viprakarṣa > .

Examples of < viprakarṣa > in Bengali :

(i) < -ā >: অন্তরায়ি < অন্তারায়িমি > (antar-yaśmin) ; আরসী < আরসী > (ādarsā-: MIA.: see p. 256) ; করম < করামাড > (karma) ; বিশন < কিশান > (kṣanā) ; গরব < গরাবাড > (garva) ; গরজ < গরাজী > (garjati) ; গরাস < গরাসা > (graśa) ; চন্দ্র < চান্দ্রাড > (candra) ; চক্র < চাক্কাড > (cakra) ; ছব < ছাহাড > (śrāddha ; see p. 190) ; জন < জানামাড > (janma) ; stil. হাঙ্গা.
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dhāraṇa (jīcchāna, jōcchāna) (jyōtṣa); tāraśa (tāraśa); dharahāna (dārāśa); dipati (dīpti); dhāraṇa (nākhaṭṭāraṇa) (nākṣatra), cf. τῆς. MB. nathā (nākhaṭṭāraṇa); pāṭa (pāṭa); pāṭā (pāṭra); pāṇi (pāṇi); (prāṇa, -1); MB. bahāra (bājāra, bājāra) (vajra); MB. bidāsā (bidāgadhā) (vidagdha); MB. bēkāta (vyakta); bhākāta (bhākāta); bhārava (bhārava), also bhāravātu (bhārdāra-bāhu) < *bhārdāra, bhārāra, with influence of genitive -āra (bhrātra-vadhāra); māgapā (māgapā); mārāta (mārāta); mārāma (mārāma); mūrača (mūrača); mūrati (mūrati); jatāna (jatāna); rātanā (rātanā); lāgāna (lāgāna); MB. luṣṭha (luṣṭha); svāpanā (svāpanā); svarāga (svarāga); sāstā (sāstā); svātāntā (svātāntā); etc., etc.

Cf. *gārastha * < *garahastra > *garhastra > (gṛhasta); MB. jāma (jāma) birth, a very common word, is a back formation from the tōh. jāma (jāma), found in OB. = MIA. jāma (OIA. jāma), on the analogy of karama, dharama < karma, dharana > kama, dhama > tōh. kama, dhama; we have even a false restoration to pseudo-Sanskrit of this jāma, to jārama, jārama.

(ii) -i-: Ṛiṣir < indic > (indir); *kīra > kīrīya < kīryā > an oath, e.g., the kīra tōra kīra (I swear) on thy funeral rites (kriyā); MB. gīrīsa, gīrīsa (MIA. *gīrīśa) = gīrīsa: a genuine Māgadhī form, with *-ś- for -sm-; cf. a tōh. gūmā-tp. heat, stiffness = MIA. *gūmha, probably connected with gīmha); NB. st. gīrīsa (gīrīsa) [gīrīśi] (gīrīśa); *kīra > kīrī (kīrī); kīrī, kīrī (kīrī), chīrī, chīrī (probably MIA. st. = śrī; cf. tōh. cīrī). Gīrīsa, beside trīsā (tīrīsā) : the tōh. is tīma, tīsā, tīstā : found in compounds (tīrīsā); MB. stīsrī, tīrī (MIA. : strī); Gīrīsa, Gīrīsa (gīrīsa), pīlīha, pīlīha : whence NB. pīlīha, pīlīha : pīlīha, pīlīha, whence NB. pīlīha, pīlīha ; varša (MIA. : varṣa); MB. bimārīsa (vimarṣa); MB. śīna (śīna) (MIA. : snāna); MB. śīnā, śīnite (MIA. : snāna); etc.

(iii) -u- : āguṇi, āguṇi (agun(i)); MB. dhūrava (dūrūrava) (dūrūrava); MB. dhūrava (dūrūrava) (dūrūrava); MB.
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< dwārā > (dvāra); पड़, -मिनी < padumā, -mini > (< padma >; cf. OB, पुन > < MIA. < padum- >); MB. पुन > (pubupa >, through Braja-buli influence (*puhpa = puṣpa); पुन > (puttur > (putra); भुर > (bhrū); मुकुत > (mukta); MB. लुबद > (lubdha); चार > (cātra); भूर > (śuddha > (śūdra); MB. भूम > (sukhum > (? MIA., = sūkṣma); भूम > (sumara > (smar-, smṛ >; the MIA. stā. < sumara > gives MB. गोवर > (sōvar- >, with change of < -m- > to < -v- >); etc. Cf. English flute > फुल > (phulat >.

-ē- >: ग्राम > (grāma); चराध > (chērādā >, besides चराध > (chārādā >: see p. 190; ग्रेल > (prēta). Cf. English glass > गल > (gellās >.

(v) < -ō- >: शोभा > (śōbha >; शोभा > (śōva >; folk Bengali सरोवर > (sorōva > (srōtas >; etc.

For < viprakāra > in foreign words, see 'Phonology of the Foreign Elements'.

[E] Prothesis of Vowels.

183. A change similar to that of the Latin < sperare > to French < espérer > also characterised the transformation of a few words from OIA. into MIA.: e.g., Pali < itthi > < *istī = strī >, < umhayati > < *usmayatē = smyatē >. The prothetic vowel, however, was exceedingly rare in MIA., groups like < sk-, st-, sp-, sm- > being almost always assimilated or altered to < kh-, th- (ṭh-), ph-, mh- >. In ts. forms in NIA., too, we find the prothetic vowel in some words. It occurs as < ā- > or < i- >. The < ā- > seems to have become < ā > in MB., and the MB. forms have been continued down to NB.: e.g., अश्म > (asam > (suāna), cf. Hindi < asān >; अष्ट्र > (śārdha >; इतिह > (isthī >, folk pronunciation of < strī >. Compound consonant groups like क < ṇka >, क < ska > etc. are pronounced in the school room as अष्ट्र < ṇkā >, अष्ट्र < śkā > etc., following the old tradition of the prothetic vowel. The names of the three nasals न, न, न > have got a prothetic vowel before them, being pronounced ऊँ, ऊँ, ऊँ >: cf. the Oriyā name for ऊँ — अन > or अव >.
Words like তিরি < tiri >, তন < tana > are MB. stss. without prothetic vowel (*stiri = strī; stana), which simply have dropped the < s- >. Ts. words with the prothetic vowel are not many in Bengali, but a number of examples are found from among foreign loan-words.

A few words in MB. have a prothetic < ā-, ē- >, which has no special value, except perhaps that of an intensive. The source of this < ā-, ē- > is not clear (see Morphology, under Formative Affixes: 'Prefixes'): e.g., আকুমারি, অকুমারি < ākumāri, ākumāri > virgin, অমদ < āmāndā > bad, etc.

[F] Epenthesis.

184. Epenthesis of < -i- > or < -u- > is not unknown to MIA., but there it is not regular, not at all a characteristic of the language, only some sporadic instances of it being found: e.g., *kēra < *kāra, *kārīa, *kārā = kārya >, an old sts. of the MIA. period, used in Late MIA. (like *kāa < kāta >, as well as *kara, kāra >) with the genitive to strengthen it; pēranta < *pairanta, *pairīanta, *pārīanta = paryanta >; *pōra < *paurā, *paurūa, *pārūa = parva >, etc. (Cf. Pischel, § 176.) In Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa, epenthesis does not seem to have occurred. It is found only to a very limited extent in 'Bihārī'; and although it is quite a common characteristic of the Eastern Magadhan group, it cannot be said to have come into force in the Magadhan dialects or languages before the NIA. period. The OB. remains in the Čaryās and in Sarvāṇanda, as well as the names in the inscriptions, do not give any traces of epenthesis. Forms in the Oṛiṣyā inscriptions of the 15th century (see ante, p. 107) show how epenthesis had become established in Oṛiṣyā by that date. In later Oṛiṣyā, the epenthetic habit fell into desuetude. The Sadānī form of Central and West Magadhan can be said to have epenthesis: e.g., *māirkē < māri-kē > having beaten, *mairkē < mari-kē > having died, *ghaṅt < ghāti > having lessened, *ājj, kāl < āji, kāli > today, tomorrow, *kaṅt < kaṭi > having cut, etc. (See E. H. Whitley, 'Notes on the Gāñvārī Dialect of Lohardaga, Chhota Nagpur,' Calcutta, 1896.) In Modern Maithili etc., there are just traces of it, e.g., in the change of a group < -ahu > to < āh > [nū > əːn]
and it does not look as if Old or Early Middle Maithili, as in the ‘Varṇaratnakara,’ had epenthesis. The same can be said of Magahi and Bhōjpuriya.

So far as Bengali is concerned, we see a weakening of *-i, -u* after *ā, ā* in the 14th century; and the beginnings of epentheses certainly go back to that century. In the 15th century, in the works of Kṛttivāsa, Vijaya-gupta, and the rest, works which are preserved in rather late MSS., epentheses is a noticeable thing. That the language was already anticipating the *-i, -u* sounds as short vowels ending diphthongs, and shifting them forwards, is evidenced from the orthography of the ŚKK.: e.g., আসিহা *āsihā* = *āisihā* you will come (precautive), beside আইহ *āiśā* you come; অসু *āsū* beside আইসু *āisu* let him come; আসি, আসী *āsi, āsi*, আসিহাঁ *āsihā* having come, আসিং *āsi* I come, আসিব, আসিবে, আসিবেক *āsiḥā, -bē, -bēkā* will come = *āisi, āisiā, āisi, āisibā, etc.*, beside আইসে *āisē* he comes; পালি *pāli = pālī* thou hast obtained, beside পাইল, পাইল etc. *pāliā, pāyilā* has obtained (also পার *pār = pārā* I shall get); পালি *pālī, pāši* having entered, পালিঙ্গ *pāsi, pāsiṇā* ibid., পালিঙ্গ *pāsīlā* entered, পার *pār* let him enter, = *pār-, beside পাসী *pāśi* having entered, পাসী *pāsī* having entered, পাসী *pāsī* let him enter, পাসী *pāsē* enters; হসি *hāsi* = *hāsi* thou art beside হসিং *hāsihā* having been; etc. These spellings are entirely in the spirit of later MB. orthography for the epenthetic vowel—like বারি *bāri* for বাহির *bāhir* =বাহির *bāhirā* (bahis), আলু *ālu* for আলু *ālū* disherelled (ākula), চালু *cālu* for চালু *cāulā*; and even দাঁত *dānt* for the Mohammedan name দাউদ *dāūd* (Dāūd).

Epenthesis in MB. is simply the anticipation of an *i* or *u* before the consonant after which it occurred was pronounced: e.g., কারি *kāri(yā)* > *kāri(yā)* having done. In most of the dialects, the anticipatory or epenthetic vowel was retained, and the original one was dropped generally, after it had affected the character of contiguous আ *ā* by advancing it a little—e.g., করা, করা *kār(yā) [koīra < *koiria]*, as in East Bengali. In the Standard Bengali development of vowels by

1 Can these spellings suggest a pronunciation *āusn, pāusn,* in which the *i* was turned to 'u' by contamination, beside a likely *āisu, pāisu*?
Umlaut and Contraction, it seems that both the original vowel and its anticipatory form are at the basis of the modern words: e.g., *कारिया कारिया > करै, कोरे कोरे [oũ > oũ > e, ia > ia > e, aũ > aũ > o]. So साथ झाउँ, साइथ, साइथा साइथा > *झाउँ *झाउँ > *झाउँ *झाउँ (cf. Typical East Bengali साउँ, साइथा साइथा, साइथा > companion [au > *au > *au > ai > e, ua > uo > aû > o]. Epenthetic < u > changed to < i > in most Bengali dialects. In original disyllables, ending in < -i, -u >, there is no retention of the vowel in its original place any longer—at least in the modern speech—after there is epenthesis: e.g., काल < काल > काल, कौल < कौल, कौल > Standard Colloquial काल < काल [ka:l]; but certain West Bengali dialects indicate the presence of the final < -i > in MB. by having a slightly palatalised < l >—like भ < -ly —in addition to an advanced < ा >: [ ka:li, ka:ri]. There was no epenthesis when < -i > (as in the affix of the verb, first person, present tense) historically is the result of Vowel Contraction (see page 351): e.g., कौरी कौरी > I do (< *kari, *karii, *karii, *karimí = *karamí, karomí); but MB. has an epenthetic form like पौरी < पौरी > for the ts. < ारी > enemy. Ts. words also undergo epenthesis in Bengali.

Epenthetic vowels generally are not preserved in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali; they have brought in other phonetic changes. Examples: आजी आजी > आजी, आज आज, आज (adya); ts. आदि आदि > आदि, आद आद, आद; आलिपा आलिपा > आलिपा, आलिपा आलिपा, आलिपा आलिपा, आलिपा, आलिपा आलिपा, आलिपा (Skt. kīṭa); कालिया कालिया, the black one, कालिया, केले केले, केले, केले (कालिया कालिया); खली काली काली, mustard cake > खल, खल, खल, खल, खल, खल (MIA. khalī); गाण्थ, गाण्थ, गाण्थ (गाण्थ, granthi); चारी चारी > चारी, चार चार, चार (catvāri); ts. जाति जाति > जाति, जाति, जाति; तरिते तरिते > to cross > तरिते, तरिते > तरिते, तरिते, तरिते (<tr>); गाँव गाँव > गाँव, गाँव, गाँव (गाँव, thākte, thākte, thākte, thākte, thākte, thākte, thākte); धान धान > धान, धान, धान (dhān, dhān, dhān, dhān); stts. धार्कल धार्कल > धार्कल, धार्कल (धार्कल, nārkāl, nārkāl); पत्ति पत्ति > पत्ति > पत्ति (prativēśin); पनिता पनिता > watery >
The semivowel यू < y > subscript (‘y-klı’ < yá-phālā’), in a consonant group in ts. words, behaves like इ < i >, and undergoes epenthesis:

\[ अया < \text{ādyā}, \text{pronounced in East Bengal as [aiddō]} \]

so अया < anya > =
[oinn], কণ্যা < kanyā > = [koinna], কাব্য < kāvyā > = [kaibbo], কণ্যা < kārya > = [kairā, kairdo], সত্য < satya > = [sotita] (but cf. সত্য < sva-tva > সত্য < sat-tva > both = [sotita]), যোগ্য < yōgya > = [yōigga, dūigga], সাংখ্য < sāndhya > = [sāndha], পাংখ্য < pāscātya > = [paścātta], মিথ্যা < mithyā > = [miththa, mittha], etc. Sanskrit ক্ষ < kṣ > had in Bengali, Assamese and Oriya the value of < khy- > initially and < -khy- > in the interior of a word; and Sanskrit জু < jū > similarly had the sounds of < gy-, -ggy- >, with nasalisation of the contiguous vowels. The < -y- > element of these groups equally undergo epenthesis: e.g., লক্ষ < laksā > [laikkā], অক্ষ < aksa > [aikka], তত্ত্ব < tattā-kṣaṇ > by that time [tattākṣan], প্রত্যাখ্য < pratyaksā > [prattoikkha < *prattoikkha]; cf. কষ্ম < kṣamā>khyāmā>, pronounced [khāma, khāma]; যাজ্ঞ < yajña >=[yājña, dūigga], অজ্ঞ < ajñātā > [aigga], etc.

Epenthetic < i, u > were pronounced very short or weak, and they led to the formation of diphthongs with preceding vowels; and either these diphthongs remain (as in East Bengali), or the < i, u > are entirely dropped, with resultant modification of preceding < a > to < ô > and < ā > to < ê > (as in the Standard Colloquial). Some dialects both of East and West Bengal, again, are at the intermediate stage, in which just the suggestion of the epenthetic vowel is heard: this extremely short vowel can be written as < Ḱ, ũ >, or as < i, u > above the line, in the Roman character: in Bengali, the symbol Ḱ for Ḱ, ũ, first used for this purpose by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi, is very convenient, beside the apostrophe ('). Thus কাল < kāl > time=from Skt. < kāla >, [kāl] in all Bengali; but MB. কালি < kali > tomorrow, yesterday (Skt. kalya) occurs as কালি, কালি, কাল, কাল [kaɪl, kaɪl, kaɪl, kaɪl] in the various dialects, the last being the Standard Colloquial (Calcutta) form; চলিয়া < cāliyā > having walked > *চলিলিয়া, চলিয়া, চলিয়া, চলিয়া, চলিয়া [cōliya, cōliya, cōliya, cōliya, cōliya] (also [ts] for [r] in East Bengal); সাথুর < sāthūr > > *সাথুরার, সাথুরা, সাথুরা, সাথুরা, সাথুরা, সাথুরা, etc. [sāṭhūa, sāṭhā, sāṭhō, sāṭhūa, sāṭhō].

The vowels < i, u >, even when not epenthetic, formed diphthongs with preceding vowels, < a, Ũ > specially, from Early MB. (See §146, pp. 295 ff.) In MB. orthography, epenthesis of < i, u > as well as their occurrence
in diphthongs was expressed in various ways. One way, which is already found in the ŠKK. (see p. 379), was not to modify the spelling in any way, when the following syllable had \( i \) or \( u \); so that करिष्ठ \( kārī(i)yār \) would be pronounced as \( kārīra \), करिल \( kārilā \) as \( kārī(i)lā \), अलिपान \( ālīpānā \) as \( ālī(i)pānā \), and डालि \( dāli \) as \( dāl(i) \). This practice brought about the orthographic habit of writing the vowel after the consonant even when it was originally pronounced before it, and continued to be pronounced so during the MB. period: \( e.g., \) through the custom of writing फागु रेड पोवर \( phāgu \) (= phalgu) as फागु even when the pronunciation फॉग \( phāug \) was established, हूक, होक \( hāu-k, hōu-k \) \( let \, him \, be \) was also written as हू \( hāku \); and a word like अलाम \( ālāma \) \( (ākula) \) came to be written as आलू \( āalu \) : \( cf. \) आलू-एलाम \( āalu-ēlām \) \( let \, loose \, the \, hair \) (past tense) \( for \) आलू-एलाम \( āalu-ēlām \), which continued to be pronounced, in spite of the spelling, with the \( u \) vowel, or \( u \) \( i \), before the \( l \) \( (ālālāma, ālālāa \), whence Calcutta Bengali एलाम, \( -e \) \( elām, -lē \) \( [ælæl] \). In some stereotyped forms, like आलू-एलाम \( āalu-ēlām \) \( dishevelled, \) \( crumpled \), the spelling-pronunciation, however, has persisted. Epenthesis was also phonetically indicated by writing \( i \) \( \, (i) \), \( ā \) \( (ā) \), \( u \) \( (u) \) fully, especially in East Bengal MSS. \( e.g., \) सत्ता \( sātya \), pron. \( [sōtto] \), is found as \( sātta \) \( (sāitya) \); आदि \( ādī \) \( for \) आदि \( ādi \); \( bāi \) \( (bāti) \) \( for \) \( bāti \) \( (bāti) \); \( sātī \) \( (sāsthi) \); साउन, साउद \( (saud(h)ā) \) \( for \) साउ "sādhū \( (sādhu) \); लेख \( (lākṣā) \) \( for \) लेख \( (lākṣā) \), etc., etc. Again, because the \( -y- \) \( subscript \) in numerous \( ts. \) words as pronounced was epenthetic \( i \), MB. scribes, from after Early MB. times, employed the subscript \( *y* \) for indicating epenthesis in \( tth. \) forms: \( e.g., \) हू \( hāya \) \( for \) हो \( hāyā \), काठ \( kātya \) \( for \) काठ \( kātyā \), खात \( kāṭē \), \( kālā \) \( for \) काल \( kāḷā \) \( = \) कालिया \( kāliya \), राख \( rākhya \) \( for \) राखी \( rākhi \) \( < \) रान्थ, राखी \( rākhī, rākhīḥa \) \( = \) NB. Standard Coll. \( rēkhō \) \( you \, will \, keep \) \( (future \, preceptive) \), आल \( ālya \) \( for \) आल, आल \( ālā, ālāḥ \) \( (avidhavā) \), आलाह \( ālayan \) \( (n = \, w) \) \( for \) आलाम \( ālām \) \( I \, came, \) \( कर्या \) \( kārya \) \( for \) कारिष्ठ \( kārīra \), आलम \( kārya \) \( having \, done, \) \( बास \) \( bāṣe \) \( for \) बास \( bāṣe \), अस \( aṣe \) \( for \) अस \( aṣe \) \( he \, comes, \) \( पाक्याल \) \( pākyālā \) \( for \) पाक्याल \( pākālā \) \( heroism, \) \( a \) \( soldier's \, devoir \) \( (pālīk) \), बाह्य \( bāgyāṇā \) \( for \) बाह्य \( bāgaṇā \) \( (vātīgana) \),

and even a form like হালা for নাই "nāsyā" = না আইসিয়া "nā-aisiyā" not having come. Another way, which is due to the carelessness of the scribe, was not to write the « i, u » at all, both epenthetic and diphthongal, even when the next syllable did not have these vowels—so that its presence could not even be implied through attraction. Thus, simply হালা "hālā" was written for হাল "hāl" = was, বহার "bāhār = bōhār" = বহার "bāhār" (see p. 345), পাশে "pāśe" =  দীপে "dīpē" = enters, আলু "ālu" = আলু "ālu" = I came, etc. This method, or want of method, is late, and began only when in a great many words (in West Bengal), the « i, u » vowels came to be dropped from pronunciation.

Among the NB. dialects, epenthesis still retains its force in the Vanga or East Bengal speeches. In Standard Colloquial Bengali, and in West Bengal generally, there has been contraction of epenthetic vowels, as well as Umlaut, which was a direct result of epenthesis in these forms of NB. (See below.) The ‘Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed,’ being in the Dacea dialect, indicates epenthesis quite regularly: e.g., »coina »= কা (kanyā); »xaidher »= সাধ্র, সাউধের, সালু (sādhru + ēr)$; »baix bia »= বাই বিয়া=বাই বিয়া »bāsi biā »‘stale marriage,’ wedding ceremonies of the second day; »roiqha »= রাঙ (rakṣa); »xoito »= সত্য (satya); etc., etc.

186. Diphthongs, from original contact vowels (see § 171), as well as from epenthetic vowels, remained in MB. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, there have been some contractions, which are noted below.

(i) MB. [ai] became [ o ], and this was reduced into [ o ] when it occurred in a closed syllable: e.g., কৈ ‘kāi’ [koǐ] where? (kahi); পাঁয়ে [poye] < পাইতা | pāi-tā etc. ; but খাল > খাল > *খোল > খোল [kholi > khol > khol > khoi:1] dregs, dirt, mustard cake; সহিত > সহিত > *সোছিত written সহিত [sobhite > sōhite > sōhite] to bear, but করিতে > করিতে > কোরিতে, written করিতে, কোরিতে, also করিতে [kōrīte > koirte > koṁnte > korte]; বাসেত > বাইসেত > বোসেত > বাহিসেত > বোসেত [bojsite > bojsite, bolzte > bojste > boste] to sit (here there has been a merging of the OB. root বাস < bās < upaviś > into the root বস < bās = Skt. « vas » dwell); শোইs > মোইs [mō(i)ʃ > moiʃ > mojʃ] etc. Similarly, MB. « âū, âū », which also became « ōi », was changed to « o, o », which has been
contraction to [o] when closed by a consonant:  e.g., বউ, বৌ < bāu > [bou],
but সী. < oaksah > > চকু, *চকু > চক্ষ, *চোইখ, *চোইখ > চোখ [চোকুখু >
চুইখ, চুইখ > চুইখ, চুইখ > চুইখ]; MIA. < kavunā, kaśuṇa > *kuvn >
*kovn > কোন [kouv > koun > ko:n]; MIA. < caū + pahara > (< catur +
prahara) > চুষপহর > চুষপ, চুষপ > চুষপ, চুষপ > *চোইখ, *চোইখ >
চোখ as in চোখ দিন = all the day long [চোকুখু, চোকুখু চোখ >
চুইখু > চুইখু, চুইখু > চুইখু, চুইখু > চুইখু]; MIA.
< baūla > (= mukula) > MB. বৌল, *বৌল, বৌল, *বৌল > বৌল, *বৌল >
বৌল [boulo > boul, *boul > boul, *boul > boil]; MIA. < *saūla > (= sañula)
> শৌল > শৌল, *শৌল > শৌল, *শৌল > শৌল [boulo > boul, boul > boil, boil > boil]; etc., etc.

The diphthongs, with < i, u >, or with just a suggestion of the < i, u >,
are found still in East Bengali dialects.

(ii) MB. < āi > remains as < āi >, except when closed by a consonant,
when the < i > is dropped in the Standard Colloquial:  e.g., ভাই < bhāi >,
but ভাই < ভাই > ভাই > < MB. ভাই > < MB. ভাই > < MB. ভাই > < MB. ভাই > (adya); অন্তে > অন্তে, অন্তে >
< অন্তে > অন্তে, অন্তে > to come (বান্ধ); বাহি, বাহি, বাহি, বাহ ভাহি > (bahis); পাক
< পাইক > pāk > < pāık > (MIA. pāık); গাইট > gāit > gāit > (granthi);
রাইট > rāit > rāit > (rātri); and sometimes we have forms like বাহ <
বাইম > bāim > bāim > (davā-viṇśati), though the < āi > group was not a diphthong
in MB.

MB. < āu, āu > āi > is found as < āu, āi > when occurring finally in
NB., and it is contracted to < ā > in West Central Bengali, when closed by a
consonant.  E.g., লাই < lāi > (lābu), আই < āi > (āu, āyuṣ), but অট < māg >
< MB. মাউম > māug > wife, woman; সাই < sāü;k > সাউথ, সাউথ < sāudh, sāudh >
(sāudhu); ধাইত, ধাইত > dhāut, dhāit > (dhātu = rētas); ধাইত,
> ধাইব > khāk > khāk > let him eat (khaṇāta + ka); etc., etc.  cf. also বাইম
> বাইম > māusī > māsi > mother's sister, through influence of পিসি < pisī >
< পিসি > pisī >

< āi, āu > āi > in the body of a word extended by an affix is found as < ās >
in West Central Bengali, e.g., in forms like মেসো < mēśō > husband of mother's
sister < NB. *মাউক্ত, *মাইশ্যা, < মাউক্ত, মাউক্ত >, from *মাইশ্যা < মাউক্ত >
= NB. মাইশ্যা < মাইশ্যা > (mēś-ṣvāś-); হেশো < dhēnā > < MB. *মাউক্ত, *মাউক্ত,
It seems that in West Central Bengali, especially round about Calcutta, Hugli etc., just in the Late MB. period, the normal change of MB. <āi >, as well as of <āi < āu >, when this <āi > was not final (i.e., when it was closed by a consonant or was in the middle of the word), was to an <ē >. This is closely connected with umlaut in this dialect. But influence of other dialects, and especially of the literary language, prevented a wholesale contraction of <āi > to <ē >, in the speech of the upper classes at least. Thus, we have পেলে < pēlē > obtained, খেলে < khēlē > ate, আল < ēlam > I came, এল < ēlo > he came, also এল < ēlo > dishevelled etc. (respectively = Literary Bengali পাইলা pāilā, কাইল খাইলা ēlā, আইলাম or better আসিলাম ēlām, আইলাম, সারা আইলাম, আইলাম, মোটা আইলা, আইলা, আউলা ēlā, ēlām, েলা >, and MB. আইলা, আউলা ēlā, েলা >): these have become the accepted forms in the colloquial when it is used in writing. If we have চার < cār > four < cāir >, রাত < rāt > night < rāit >, গোট < gāṭ > knot < gāṭ >, ধান < cālā > rice < cāil, cāul >, সাদা < sādā > honest < sālā, সাহি সাধ, sādh >, as the ordinary forms in West Central Bengali—in the genitive, or instrumental-locative, with the এর -ের > and এ < -ē > affixes respectively, the <ā > in these words is changed to <ē >: e.g., চেরের পাঠ < cērā pāch > dishes; চেরের বেলা < cērā belā > night time; চেরের ভাড়া < cērā bāḍā > pot for rice; গোটের কাঁদি < gērā kārdi > good money, lit. money that is tied in one's cloth hem; চেরে সেদে < cērē sēdē > between a thief and an honest man; and even ভেয়ে < bhēy > among brothers, from ভাই < bhāi >, in Literary Bengali = ভাইরে ভাইলে < bhāiyē bhāiyē >. These forms in <ē > < MB. <āi > are historically quite correct, but they are falling into disuse among educated people speaking the Standard Colloquial as their native dialect. Still, among educated classes, we hear ভেয়ে < bēr > < বাইরে < bāiṛē >, beside বার < bār >; and we have the verb বেরুনে < bērūnē > to come out < MB. বাইরান, বাহিরান < bā(h)iānā >; and as we have seen above, the verb forms in <ē > are the recognised ones. In the speech
of the lower classes in the West Central Bengali area, the « ē » forms have
greater vogue. Thus we hear এনে « ওই » comes, for the educated আনে
« ওই » = MB. আইনে « ওই » (অধিসত); (এনে in educated speech stands
only for আসিনি « ওই(y)া », by umlaut); এসে « ওই » to come, for educated
সেই « ওই » = MB. সেই, *আইসিনি, আইসিসে « ওই, ওই, ওই ।। ওই »
before two consonants, however, is not changed to « ē »: e.g., রাখে
« রাখে » to keep < *রাখেরে « রাখেরে », পাঁচে « পাঁচে » to bring down <
*পাঁচেরে « পাঁচেরে », etc., not *রাখে, *পাঁচে « *রাখে, *পাঁচে »: but রাখে
« রাখে » having kept, পাঁচে « পাঁচে » having brought down, < *রাখেরে, *পাঁচেরে,
= রাখি, পাঁচি, *রাখিরে, *পাঁচিরে = রাখি, পাঁচি ».

Thus in the case of the NB. dropping of the final vowels « i, u » of
OB., as in কাল « কাল », খোস « খোস », etc., the intermediate epenthetic
stage is commonly lost sight of: but the phonology of Middle Bengali
and of the present-day dialects sufficiently demonstrates the occurrence
of the epenthetic « i, u », which is quite a characteristic of Bengali.

Middle Bengali does not seem to have developed any other diphthongs,
except « ওই, ওই, ওই, ওই », and « ওই, ওই », at least in the Early MB. period.
 Possibly the high vowels « i, u » formed diphthongs when following other
vowels as well, as NB. (West Central) contractions would suggest: e.g., NB.
পিশি « পিশি » > *পিশী « পিশী » (পিশী-শায়); ছুই « দুই » two > ছুই « দুই » in
compounds (ছুই « দুই-াই » two hundred, ছুইতো « দুই-তো » < ছুইত < দুই-তো »
two pieces etc.); দিক « দিক » let him give < দিকে « দিকে » < দিকে « দিকে »;
etc., etc. (See before, p. 345.)

[G] Vowel-Mutation or 'Umlaut'.

187. By Vowel-mutation, or 'Umlaut,' is meant the modification of
a vowel through the influence of another vowel or semi-vowel, of a different
quality, occurring in a following syllable. This phonetic change was first
observed in the Germanic languages, and as illustrations of this phenomenon
from Germanic one may give the following: Primitive Germanic « *harja-
= harja- » > Old English « here » army; « *satjan = satjan » > OE.
« settan » set; « *gūdini » > OE. « gyden » goddess; « *walx-isk-az » > OE.
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< *wealh-isc, *wēal-isc > wēlisc > foreign etc. Changes analogous to this OE. modification of earlier < a, u, ēa > to < e, y, re > through the influence of the following < i > are found in NB., especially in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., MB. hāriya < hāriya, hāriā > (still preserved in the < sādhu-bhāsā > or literary language of prose) > NB. छेरे < ḍherē > having lost; MB. कातिया < kātiya, kāriā > > NB. कैरे, कोरे < kōrē > having done. There was epenthesis of the vowel before this modification could take place (< *rāikhiā, *kāiriā >). This kind of epenthesis-cum-umlaut is found in a few instances in MIA. (p. 378), but it is but sporadic there. Among NIA. languages, Sinhalese shows umlaut to a very great extent (W. Geiger, ‘Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalesen,’ §§ 9, 10). It is noticed also in Lahndī and Sindhī, and to some extent in ‘Bihārī’ and in the Kōṅkaṇi form of Mārāṭha, as well as in Gujrātī. But in none of the above, except Sinhalese, has this process been carried on to such a regularity and to such an extent as in Bengali.

In Bengali again, the change is most favoured by the Standard Colloquial. The change of ə = [o, ə] to [o], when the next syllable has [i] or [u], the high vowels bringing in an anticipatory raising of [ə] to [o], is found in all the dialects of Bengali, as well as in Assamese: e.g., the Assamese कড़ < kālā > black from < kōkila- >, with original < i >, is pronounced [kola], whereas कड़ < kālā > plantain from < kadala- >, is pronounced [kola]; so मह < māha > buffalO (< māhiṣa) = [mōh], but मह < māha > gnat (< maṣṭ-ka-) = [mōh], and मत < māra > peacock (< maṣṭa-ko-, maṣṭa-) = [mōra], but मत < māra > dead (< maṣṭa, maṣṭa- = mṛta) = [mōra].

188. Epenthesis had become well-established in all the dialects of Bengali by the beginning of the 15th century, but it is difficult to ascertain when mutation started in the Eastern Rāḍha area. The ‘Dharma-maṅgala’ of Māṇika Gāṅguli (c. 1545), as published by the VSPd., gives the full umlauted forms of NB., like हयेहिला > had come, डेक < ḍēkē > having called, एल < ēlā > came, ठेक < thēkē > having been, मेरे < mērē > having struck, etc. So does the Vaṅgavāsi edition of the ‘Caṇḍi-kāvya’ of Kavikaṇṭha (c. 1580). MSS. of even earlier writers show mutated forms. But umlaut could hardly have been accomplished as early as the
middle of the 16th century. These are modernisations due to the later scribes, who often altered the original un-umlauted forms which had become archaic in their time; and modern editors have followed them in emending the language to something easily understandable. In MSS. of early and late 17th century, such as, for instance, of parts of Kṛttivāsa’s ‘Rāmāyaṇa’ from which the VSPd. texts have been printed, we find plentiful evidence of epenthesis, but none of umlaut. Umlaut does not seem to have been accomplished in the Standard Colloquial area even by the first half of the 18th century. Bhārata-candra (1st half of the 18th century) has forms like খাতি, এলি < খাষ্টি, এলি > to eat, thou hast come, as in an early edition of the ‘Annadā-mañgala’ printed in the thirties of the last century: words like the above would be emended to খেতি, এলি > in modern editions. Probably in Bhārata-candra’s pronunciation, in the West Central Bengali of Burdwan and Nadiya, the words were [khaṭi, khaṭe; aḷi], or [khaṭe, aḷi]: and this would be about the stage (as the spelling would also suggest) in the early 18th century in the transformation of eMB. [khaṭe, aḷi] through 1MB. [khaṭe, aḷi] to the 19th century NB. [khete, eli]. A typical early 19th century MS. (dated = 1804: VSP., pp. 743 ff.) shows spellings like পেঁজাচে < pēryāchē > has brought down, এতেছে < ēyāchē > has come, এনা < ēnyā > having brought, এলা < ēyā > having come, থেকা < thēkyā > having been, বেশাইল < bēsāilā > came out, beside খান্তি < khātyē > to eat, বায়া < bāyā > having rowed, কাঞ্চনা < kāndyā > having wept (respectively in the literary = পাটিয়াছে, আনিয়াছে, আনিয়া, আনিয়া, খাইয়া, বাইয়াইল or বাইয়াইল, খাইতে, বাহিয়া or বাইয়া, কাদিয়া or কাদিয়া, colloquial গেঁজেছে, এসেছে, এনে, এসে, থেকে, নেরেলো or বেরেল, থেকে, বেরে, কেঁদে). The spellings in এ < ēnyā > etc.) are contemporary phonetic spellings, [েন, েনে], while those in আ < bāyā > etc.) are archaic and conventional—the old < আ > having undoubtedly been altered to an [e] sound by the end of the 18th century. The pronunciation of the above forms in the Standard Colloquial area (Nadiya, Calcutta) at that time was in all likelihood as follows: [pēṝcēhe, ēṝcēhe, ēns, ēśe, thēke, bērolō, khēte, bēēs, kēde]. When the umlaut habit came in, or, rather, when there was the tendency towards contraction of epenthetic and other vowels in contact,
subscribed \(-y\) before \(\ddot{a}, \dddot{e}\), \(\dddot{i}\). \(\dddot{a}\) was employed to indicate the sound of \([\text{a}]\) or \([\text{e}]\). From an eMB group like \(\dddot{a}+i+a\) \([\text{a}+i+a]\), the change to NB. Standard Colloquial was somewhat along this line: \([\text{ai}+\text{ia}] > [\text{ai}+\text{ea}] > [\text{ai}+\text{ea}] > [\text{ai}+\text{ea}] > [\text{ai}+\text{e}] > [\text{e}+\text{e}] > [\text{e}+\text{e}]\). (See p. 133.) In the latter part of the 18th century, the form of Bengali along the Hugli river (which developed into the Standard Colloquial) was in the \([\ddot{s}+\ddot{e}]\) or \([\ddot{e}+\ddot{e}]\) stage, so far as this group is concerned; and the close pronunciation seems to have come in only during the first quarter of the 19th century. Care in his 'Bengali Dialogues' (1801), mainly on a Standard Colloquial basis, spells words like present-day Bengali челё пилё \(<\text{chēlē pile}>\) children \(<\text{chāliyā pīlā}>\) as чалля пилъ \(<\text{chāliyā pilyā}>\); these spellings undoubtedly are archaic for the time, but they are near enough to челё пилё], which seem to have been the pronunciation in Calcutta over a hundred years ago. Ram-Mohan Rāy in his Bengali grammar (1833) gives 

\[\text{gēchō} \quad \text{belonging to a tree (gāch-ūā)}\], 

\[\text{mētē} \quad \text{earthen (mātīā)}\], etc., which would indicate a pronunciation identical with the modern one in Calcutta; but it may be reasonably expected that in Ram-Mohan Rāy's time the articulation was slightly more open than at present.

Through the influence of the Standard Colloquial, umlaut is affecting other dialects. The Typical East Bengali pronunciation [thaïka, raïkha] etc. are heard, but [thaïka, raïkha] are quite common. The \(\ddot{s}ādhlu-bhāṣā\) is approximating more and more to the Calcutta Dialect, and many of the umlauted forms of the latter have been adopted and fully established in the literary language, \(e.g., \) थेके \(\text{thēkē} \quad \text{as an ablative post-position (instead of the full from \(\text{thākiyā}\)})\), बेने \(\ddot{b}ēnē \quad \text{beside a compromise सेनीया} \(\text{bēniyā} \quad \text{trader (for \(\text{bāniyā}\)})}\), छेले \(\text{chēlē} \quad \text{son}, \text{मेयेये} \(\text{mēyē} \quad \text{daughter, woman (instead of \(\text{chāliyā} \quad\text{and \(\text{māiyā}\)})}, \text{etc.}\]

189. The current orthography of Bengali is very lax and unsystematic in representing these recent changes in vowel-quality by both Umlaut and Vowel Harmony (see p. 383). Excepting an apostrophe, ('), which is frequently used now-a-days to indicate the loss of \(-i\) and modification of the vowel that is left, no diacritical marks are used, and there is no
established standard or usage in this matter. [ə] and [o] from [a], through the influence of [ɪ, û], are ordinarily represented by ə (t) and ə (c) ð a, o : e.g., রেখে «rēkhē», হেতু «hetō» (হেতুঃ), Final Ḧa «yā» for the open [ə] sound which was used in MB. e.g., রেখার, রাখার, is still used in writing East Bengali dialectal pronunciation: in the Standard Colloquial, however, subscribed Ḧa «yā» is employed for the sound of [ə]. And [æ] from MB [ə] < OB., MIA. [e], through reasons of Vowel Harmony, is ordinarily left to be expressed by the vowel a (t) but at the present day some writers employ the NB. devise of Ḧa «yā» : e.g., [dækhe] sees is written by some as দ্যাখে «dyākhē», beside the historical দেখে «dēkhē»; [æddin] from [æd din] so many days, such a long time is written সাদ্দিন «yyāddin» in the ‘Hutōm Pēncar Naksā’ (see p. 185). So we have সাদল «myālē», ক্যামন «kyāmāna» etc. for spellings with ə (c). The greatest hesitancy is felt about [o] from the mutation of ð a » [o]. Sometimes it is phonetically written ə (c) ð o »: occasionally the apostrophe (’), serves to indicate both the dropping of the i, u » and the modification of ð a » to [o] ; and frequently there is nothing to indicate the alteration. [koria ð kore] having done is thus written কোরে, ক'রে, করে (the last spelling is identical with করে, pronounced [kore], = does); [kōribō ð korbo] I shall do, = literary Bengali করিব «kāribā », is written কোরবা, কোরফ, কোরবং, কর্ব, কর্ব, কর্ব, কর্ব, etc. ; [fôeiça, fôia > fœče, fœ] having been is written as হেছে, হ'ছে, হছে; [fôala ð fôolo] as জোলা, জ'লা, জলে. The spelling with ə (c) is rigidly phonetic, the one in অ WITHOUT the (’), decidedly careless and slovenly. The spelling with the apostrophe indicating the loss of the vowel, is not wholly phonetic; but it seeks to represent the pronunciation by the convention that ð a » [o] followed by (’) is modified to [o] ; and, at the same time, it to a great extent embraces the dialects, and by a too lavish use of the letter ə (c) does not effect a violent break with the orthography of the standard language. The apostrophe, however, is not usually placed after the mutated ð Ḧ from original ð a », when there is an [u] sound in question, as the change in quality in the Standard Colloquial is too marked: e.g., [mâfûla ð mafūlo] second, lit. of the middle = মেজা, rarely মেজা; but never মেজা or মেজ.
but [kʰaɪa > kʰeɪe] having eaten is written খেয়ে, খেয়ে’ খেয়ে’ etc.,—with the apostrophe. The use of the symbol, (‘) = the top-loop of the letter ই, ঔ * i, u *, after «া», for the epenthetic and elided vowels, has been suggested by Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānīdhi (e.g., জলা, কোল), but this has not caught on, as it is a new symbol; and it is not suitable for representing the entire change in quality in a form like * mেঝো > from * mাউঝুা, *মাউঝুা, মাঝুা’.

Types of Mutation in Bengali.

(1) Mutation or Vowel-Modification by Contraction, after Epenthesis.

190. (i) ও + ই + অ [o + i (l) + a] > ও + o [o + o], written o (cl + o (cl)), ও + ও (cl), o (cl) + অ, ও + ও, ও + ও (cl).

হইল > হলো, হলো, হলো, হলো’ [千亿lo] > [千亿o] was; হইল, হইল > হলো, হলো[千亿o] > [千亿o] you will be (future indicative);
করিল; [千亿lo,千亿] > [千亿lo,千亿] he did; West Central Bengali করিছ > কোরছ, কোরছ, ক’রছ, কছ, কছ; etc. [千亿lo] > [千亿(h)o,千亿(h)o] = Typical East Bengali করিছে, করিতে আছ [千亿tesa,千亿te aso] you are doing; তত্যা = ‘ছোকে’ in pronunciation, [千亿to] > [千亿to], East Bengali [千亿to]; so লখ = ‘লাক্ষে’ in pronunciation, [千亿kkho > lokkhoh]; etc., etc.

(ii) ও + ই + অ [o + i (l) + a] > ও + e [o + e] : eMB. ও + ই, ও + ধ, NB. ও + এ, ও + এ, ও + এ, ও + এ, ও + এ, etc.

বলিয়া > বলা, বলা > বলে’, বলে’ বলা, etc. [bolia > bôle > bole] having said; করিয়া > করা, করা > করে’, কোরে’, etc. [千亿ia >千亿es >kore] having done; রাহিয়া > রায়া, রায়া > রায়ে’, রায়ে’, etc. [千亿ia >千亿es >roofe] having remained; < sādhu-bhāṣāa > forms like করিতাম, বলিতাম I used to do, I used to say, etc. become in the Standard Colloquial pronunciation ক’রেন, ব’লেন [千亿iam,千亿lam >千亿tem,千亿tem > korlem, boltem]; so করিলাম, বলিলাম I did, I said > করিলেম, ব’লেলেম [千亿ilam,千亿ilam > korlem, boltem]; but East Bengali has [千亿tem,千亿lam,千亿lam > boltem], etc.; stas. পরিক্ষার clear > Standard Coll. ‘পরেক্ষ’ [千亿ʃkar >千亿ʃker > poʃker];
The epenthetic stage is preserved in Typical East Bengali. In verbal noun forms in ইবা «িবা»—করিবা, চলিবা, হইবা < কহিবার, গালিবার, হোবার> etc.—the native speakers of the Standard Colloquial say [ɔ] rather than [o]—[করবার, গোলবার, হোবার] etc., instead of *[করবার, গোলবার, হোবার]. This is against the rule for mutation given above. Probably here we have an influence of the verbal nouns in আ «-ার»—করার, চলার, হওর [করা, গোলা, হও] etc., which have [ɔ] and not [o]; and it is also possible that the Old Bengali equivalent of this verbal noun in ইবা < ইবা > was «*াবা» or «*েবা», so that the <i> epenthesis and mutation were not possible here. (See under Morphology—‘The Verb: Verbal Nouns.’)

(iii) আ+ই+আ (or এ, in present participles in ইবে < -িতে > of roots ending in আ < আ >[া+ই+াচা] > এ+এ [e+e], written in 1MB. আ(ই) + ন, আ(ই)+এ, এ(ই) in NB. এ(ই)+এ(ই), এ(ই)+(ই), or এ(ই)+এ(ই)' e.g., রাখিবা > রাখে(ই)খা, রাখে(ই)খাবে > রেখে, রেখে' having kept [রাখিদা > রাখে(ই)খে > রেখে] ; বাছিয়া > বাছে(ই)ছ্যা, বাছে(ই)ছ্যাবে > বেছে having chosen [বাছিয়া > বাছেছে > বেছে] ; খাইতে > খাতে > খেতে eating, to eat [খাইতে > খাইতে > খেতে]; বাইতে > বাতে > বেতে going, to go [বাইতে > বাইতে > বেতে] (but not বাইতে > *বেতে, বাইতে > বাইতে > *ঘেতে, where we have roots ending in consonants—* রাখে, গান = keep, sing); পালিহাটি a village name > গেনেটি [পালিহাটি > পালিহাটি > পেনেটি] (also [পেনেটি] by Vowel Harmony); আজা > এজ্জে in folk-Bengali, in response to a command or address [আজা > এজ্জে > এজ্জে, এজ্জে] ; etc. Ts. words generally resist this sort of modification.

Typical East Bengali preserves the epenthesis, and does not change the final «া». The « স্বাভাবিক » forms রাখিলাম, রাখিতাম I kept, I used to keep etc. have their Standard Colloquial modification রাখেলাম, রাখেতাম [rakhilam, rakhitam > *raikhlem, *raikhtem > rakhlem, rakhtem]: compare East Bengali [raikhilam, raikhntam]: here the proper dialectal or native West Central Bengali forms like রাখিলাম, রাখিতাম > রাখলাম, রাখতাম [rakhilum, rakhitum > rakhilum, rakhtum], (which do not admit of the
epenthesis-cum-mutation scheme \([a + i + a > e + e]\), and preserve the root-vowel \(\tilde{a}\) unchanged), have prevented the change of राष्ट्रिय, राष्ट्रिय to *रेखलै, *रेखलै.

(iv) अ, आ, इ, उ, ए, ओ+अइ+अ > respectively ओ, आ, ई, उ, ई (or ए), ओ+ई+ई [०, आ, ई, उ, ए, ओ+अइ+अ] > [०, आ, ई, उ, ए]. The [०] in the mutated form, when it comes from [०], is written ओ or ओ in NB.; and the final *e = *[० - या] in 1MB., is written ए in NB. Examples: बলाइया > बोलिये, बोलिये, बोलिये having caused to say [बोल-अआ > bolie]; नाष्टाइया > नाश्तिये having made to dance नाष्ट-अआ > naise; डिनियाइया > डिनिये having stepped over (something lying on the ground) [ढिंग-अआ > ढिंगी]; गराइया > गरिये having dried or cured [फुक-अआ > fukie]; देखाइया > देखिये having caused to give [देख-अआ > diie]; देखाइया > देखिये having made to see [dekha-अआ > dekhi]; बोलाइया > बोलिये having made to sleep [बोल-अआ > bolie]; etc.

East Bengali uses the full forms of Middle Bengali, without contraction and mutation.

(v) अ + ई+आ [० + इ+आ] > ओ + ई+आ [० + इ+आ]—[०] written ओ, आ, आ’, and the [०] = 1MB. *E.g., करियाँ > करिये I have done [कर-इ+आ > करैइ+आ > koir+ia > koir+iai]; हपाइय > हपाइये immediately after having been [हप-इ+आ > हपै+आ > hapi+ia > hapi+i+iai], by Vowel Harmony [hapii]. Epenthesis is preserved in EB.: [koirasi; hoiiai, hoiisi].

(vi) अ, आ etc.+अ+इआ [०, आ+अ+इआ] > ओ, आ+उ+ए [०, आ+उ+ए]: नगौर नागौर, नागौर, नागौर belonging to the city नागौर > *नागौरिया > *नागौरिया > नागौर > नागौर: काउंडऩिया > काउंडऩीये prone to weeping [काउंडनिया > *काउंडनिया > kaudoni+e > kaudoni+e]; बाउंडनिया > बाउंडनिये belonging to the rainy season [बाउंडनिया > badule]; बाउंडनिया > बाउंडनिये pertaining to brinjals, brinjal-coloured, deep purple [बाउंडनिया > begume]; etc. Typical East Bengali forms are [नागौरिया, kaudinai, badulla, baugina].

(vii) अ + ई+आ [०+अ+ई+आ] > ओ+ई+ए [०+इ+ए]: *कहौस > कहौए a talker [*कहौस > koie]; so *बलौस > बलिये [bolia > bolie]. Cf. *नाष्टाइया > नाष्टिये dancer [*नाष्टिया > naise], *गाहौस > गाहौए, गाहौए singer [*गाहौस > gafio, gaie], etc.

(viii) अ+उ+आ [०+उ+आ] > ओ+उ [०+ो], written in NB. as अ+ो (०.१), अ+ो (०.१), अ+ो (०.१)’, ओ+ो. *E.g., जलूस > जलूस water [jalouia > jalouia],
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पट्टा > पौटा painter [poṭua > poṭo], etc. In Eastern Bengali, the epenthetic stage is found [dzōila, dzōila; poṭa, poṭa].

(ix) आ+उ+आ [a+u+a] > ए+ो [e+o] : साख्स > सेख्स comrade [sathua > satho]; गाँध्स > गेख्स arboreal [gaeshua > gētho]; भास्सृ > भेख्स, मेख्स of the middle, second [maesfhua > mek'o], etc. Typical East Bengali [saitha, saitha; gausa; maiza].

(2) Mutation without Epenthesis. Vowel Harmony.

191. There is one kind of vowel change in Bengali, by which the high or low quality of a vowel in a following syllable conduces to a similar modification in a preceding one. This is a kind of anticipatory Vowel Harmony. This Vowel Harmony characterises the NB. Standard Colloquial most, but there are some types of it which seem to have occurred in all the dialects of Bengali, and from a very early period in the history of the Bengali language. E.g., we have in Caryā 3 < suṇḍini>, with a pun=(i) a female wine-dealer, (ii) one possessing a trunk, where in the first sense the word is to be connected with a form like *ṣoṇḍi, *ṣrīni < suṇḍika>: the feminine form *suṇḍini would thus seem to allow a variant in OB. < suṇḍini>, in which the low vowel <o> is raised to <u> because of the following high vowel <i>; and similarly in Caryā 11, we have <muttiha>, also with a pun, connecting the word with both (i) Skt. < mukti> and (ii) OB. < mōṭi < mottia < māuktika>—in the second case there being a modification allowable, in OB. phonetics, of an <o>, to <u> when followed by <i>. But on the whole, these two cases are exceptional in OB.; and the rule that when there is a low vowel following, [e, o, a], the language prefers an [e, o] in the first syllable, or when there is a high vowel [i, u], the first syllable would have [i, u], which is so characteristic of Bengali, and is found also in Assamese, does not seem to have been established in OB. This characteristic is absent in most other NIA. Thus in Middle Bengali we have পোথা < pōthā > a big MS., but *গোথী > পুথী < *pōthī > putī as a diminutive (and this diminutive form only is found in NB.); Bengali দোলে < dōlē > he swings, but *দোলি > চুলি
*doli>duli I swing; čorā < cōrā > the thieving one, from čarā < cōrā > thief, but čarā > čurā < cōrā > curā > a woman thief; gōnē > he counts, but gūn < guni > I count; Skt. < rohitā > carp =*rohi > ruhi, rui >; the ts. name < rohitāsva occurs in MB. as a sts. ruhipās < ruhidās >. This habit is fairly established in Early Middle Bengali, and may have started in the OB. period e.g., ŠKK. forms like kūryīlī < kūyīlī >, feminine, from < kōkila >; gūṭi < guṭi > one piece (determinative), beside gōṭi < gōṭi >; čurā, čurī < curā, curī >, čūrī < curī > theft, beside čarā < cōrā > thief; čhulā < chulā > touched, beside čhō < chō >; čhānārī < chānārī > a wanton woman, beside čhānārī < chēnārī >; pūrī, pūrī, pūrī < puśi, puśi >, pūrī < puši > having burnt up, beside pōrē < pōre > burns; etc. This system of alternating between high and low vowels of the same class through influence of following ones is a remarkable thing in NB. phonology, especially in West Central Bengali e.g., [e] with [a, e, o] in the next syllable is lowered to [æ]: dēkhi > he sees is pronounced [dækhe], but dēkhi > dēkhi > having seen is [dekhe], the influence of the [i] preventing a lowering of [e] to [æ]; so dēkhi > you see = [dækho], but dēkhuk = [dekkhu], dēkhi > I see = [dekhʃi]; ēk < ēk > one is [ek], ēk < ēk > alone is [eka], ēkti < ēkti > one piece = [ektʃi], but ēkti < ēkti > one little thing is [ektʃi] and ēkti < ēkti > a little = [ektʃi].

Cases of Harmonic Vowel Mutation in Bengali.

(i) ṭ+ī [ṭ+i] > ṭ+i [ṭ+i]. The mutated [ṭ > o] is left unnoticed in spelling, being written ṭ. E.g., kārī < kāri > I do, ts. kārī < kāri > elephant [kori]; gharī < gharī > gong [gōrī]; nānī < nānī > nānī > cream of milk [nôni]; kārī > kāri > cowry shell [kori]; tss. pāṭi < pāṭi > [pɔti], yādi < yādi > [ɔɔdi], sāhitā < sāhitā > [ʃɔ̃ʃi], pāthikā < pāthikā > [pɔthik], etc., etc. This modification is found in foreign words as well: e.g., Persian gārib > gārīb > poor [gorib]; barfi > ice > barf < bāraph > [boroph], but barfī > barfī < bāraphī > a sweet-meat, sugar and cream ice = [borp(hi)]; majlis > an assembly > majlis > majlis = [moʃiʃ]; English guernsey > gānji > [gonʃi], permit > pormit, pormit [pormit], etc.
The diphthong अई < अी > becomes [oːi] through this rule.

(ii) अ + उ [ə + u] > Ṽ + उ [o + u]: The [o] is written as ो. e.g., बौ [bou] bride, wife (vadhū); करक [koruk] let him do; दूली [dulī] a surname < दालाई > (dalapati); tss. like मधु, बुध, लुढ़, मुढ़ [modhu, ṭodu, loghu, monu] etc., etc.

The privative affix अ < ə- > in ts. and stts. forms normally is not altered to [o], —it remains [ə] even when followed by [i] or [u]: e.g., अधीर [odhir] impatient, rarely [odhīr]; अस्थ [əʃuk] illness, never [oʃuk].

Because अ [ə] followed by ई, उ [i, u] in the next syllable is pronounced ओ [o], the careless habit of using ओ and not ओ (ə) in spelling, in some words, which historically ought to have ओ (ə), is found: e.g., मति < मति >, pron. [moti]: the genuine Bengali form मूति < muti > occurs in MB., and मति < मौति > is from the Hindīstān, wrongly spelt (māuktika- > mōti); so गरु < गरु > [goru] is for गोरु < गोरु > (go-rūpa); etc.

It is not impossible that in ts. and foreign words, this change of अ < ə > [ə] to [o], through the occurrence of an [i, u] in a following syllable, came in train of MB. epenthesis of [i, u], resulting in अ [ə] which was duly changed to [o]: witness a MB. spelling like ओरि [oiri] for ओरि [ori], NB. [ori] = Skt. ोरि (p. 380; see also p. 384).

(iii) इ + आ, ए, ओ, [i + a, e, o] > ऐ + आ, ए, ओ [e + a, e, o]: गिल < √gil > to swallow > गेल < gēl > swallowed (past. part.), गेलो < gēlo > you swallow:

(iv) ए + आ, ए, ओ, [e + a, e, o] > ऐ + आ, ए, ओ [e + a, e, o]: देख < देख > to see > देख < dēkha > seen, देख < dēkh > sees, देख, देखो < dēkho > you see, but देख < dēkhi > I see, देख < dēkhuk > let him see; etc.

(v) उ + आ, ए, ओ, [u + a, e, o] > ऐ + आ, ए, ओ [o + a, e, o]: शन < शन > to hear: शन < shan > शन < fona > heard, शन < shan > शन < fone > hears, शन, शन < shan > you hear, but शन < funi > I hear, शन < fūnuk > let him hear; etc.

(vi) ओ + इ, उ [o + i, u] > ऐ + इ, उ [u + i, u]: शो [ʃo] lie, sleep > शो [ʃu] I lie, शो तेत = जो तेत [ʃute] to lie down, शो < *शोटुक < fuk < ʃo(ʊ)uko> let him lie down: but शो [ʃo] one that has lain down, शो [ʃo] he lies
down, etc.; so stss. पृष्ठ [pūṭa] dependent, adopted (son), from पृष्ठ [pūṭa], ज्ञुर [jhuṛi] < योग [yog] >, etc.

(vii) ए + [i] > ई + [i] : this characterises the Standard Colloquial specially. देह > दिह, दि [dei > di, di:] I give; देश [deś] becomes दिश [diś] country-made, country-born; so बालि [bāli] > बालि [bāli] (see pp. 400-401) > बालि [bāli] foreign (= Persian विलयाती); similarly गिर् > गिर्छ > गिर्छ, गिर् [giśhi > giśhi > giśhi, giśhi] I have gone, नियं > नियं > नियं, नियं [niśhil > niśhil > niśhil, niśhil] he had given, etc.; so नेष्मी > नेश्मी [mejāmij > mejāmij], association (√miśri-); सन्नी > सन्नी > 'सन्नी' [jonnineji, jonnejij > jonnineji > jonnineji]; etc.

(viii) The raising of an interior -a-, -a- > -a- of Early Middle Bengali, to -u-, when there is a high vowel following, is a most noteworthy thing in the phonology of the NB. standard speech. This has been referred to before. This change also occurred in Early Middle Bengali: cf. ŠKK. forms एखूँ, -नी < एखूँ, -नी > immediately, beside एखूँ (ekhāṇi), and पहरी < pāhurī > watchman, beside पहरी < pāhāri >; and it would seem, from a form like OB. < pākhuḍi > petal (Caryā 10) (pakṣa-+-da-), that its beginnings go back to OB. times. This change obviously took place through an intermediate stage of [o]. E.g., आटुर [at-oure] < *आट-पहरि < *धात-पहरि > (aṣṭa-praha-rika-); अभूल < aju > (anjali-); अभूल < aju >, beside अभूल < aju > (gju); अभुल < aguni > (*agani, agni); उधुल < uruni > (*oudhania, ava-vestanika); कूल < kūrul > < kūrul, kūrul < kūrāli, kūrāli > (kuṭhārika); काकू < kākāi > < काकू < kākāi > (kanjakatika); स्त. पुष्प < gāpur < talkative (galpa > gappa+da+iyā); छूली < chāuni > (chādaniika); अनुसर < jwāluni > burning sensation (jvalana-); छूली < jiuli > a tree (jīva-la-); बारुल < jārul > a tree (jātali); ठाकुर < thākrun > < ठाकुर < thākura < thākura > (thākura+āni); तेतुल < tötul > < OB. < tentali >; देटुल < déṭuli > *diṭuli < dipa < varattika); धुनू < dhunuri > < dhunari < dhunari > cotton-carder (dhūna-kārīn); नरु < narun > (*naha-hara, *nakha-hara); नाथु < nācun > (nacea, nṛtya); बाल < pārul >, OB. < pārul > (pātali); पाल < pāsuli > an ornament (pārśva-); पिठुल < pithuli > < pithuli < pithāli >
(piśta-+āli); पुक्रू, पुक्रू < puk(h)ur >, OB. < pōkhiri > (cf. puṣhārint); पिल्लय < piuli > yellow colour (piṭa-la-); बिल्लय < biuli > cleaned pulse (vidalita); बिल्लय < biuni > (vyajankī); ताराइ < bhāru > a bird (bhārata-, bhārata-); मूल्य < māluni > churning-stick (mathanīkī); मिच-कुन्ञ < michr-kāunē > < kharīya > kāhariyā > (kathana-+ika-); माहल < māduli > drum-shaped amulet, cf. मादल < mādalā > drum (mardala); शिल्लय < śiuli > (śēphālikī); etc., etc. Tatsama and foreign words vary similarly: e.g., नाटकें < nātaka->, चंद्रें < cāndure > = चन्द्रिय < cāndāriyā >, a familiar form of the name Candra, शहरें < sāhure > urban (Pers. < sahr-), etc. There is mutation of [ɔ] to [o]: see § 190 (vi).

An original < ō > vowel is similarly changed to < u >: e.g., sīṣ. निली < nīigī, nēugī > (nīyōgī); अमृद < amudē > merry (amōda+iya); पुरुत < purut > > *purūgī < *purōītā > (purōhita); etc.

Through the analogy and influence of the above forms, which form a numerous class, we sometimes find cases of change of interior < -ा- > -ā- to < u >, even though there is no high vowel following: e.g., ठाहर > ठाउर < thāharā > thāurā > to ponder, deliberate: cf. Hind < thaharnā >; साज़ < sajāhāra > evening light > साज़ < sājhurā >. Here, again, a change to < ō > marked the intermediate stage. In some common words, even when there is quiescent < a > following, we have also change of < a > to < u >: e.g., बमुन < bāmunā > < bānum < bāmāna > (brāhmaṇa), बेगम < bēgam > < bāigānā > (vātingana), sīṣ. बाँट < bāstum > [boṣṭum] < ḍhūm, *bāiṭ < bāṣṭām, bāṣṭāwa > (vāṣṭava), etc., etc.

(ix) Change of quality from front to back, or vice versa, through the influence of a following vowel, is rather rare in Bengali. There are a few cases inherited from MIA.: e.g., मुनि < munisā > labourer, found already in Aśokan inscriptions (= manuṣya), whence we have NB. मिनस < minsā > a fellow (in contempt); cf. the sīṣ. मनिश < māṇisyi > [monisī] = < manuṣya>; and OB. < pōkhiri > has an analogous form in the ‘Divyāvadāna’ word < puṣkiriṇī >. NB. examples are श्यक < sēk > 4th, four-anna bit (=? sapādikā; so Platts derives Hindostān < sūkā, sūkt >). Cf. Oriyā < duhiṅkā > dihiṅkā > of two. Conversely, we have change of < i > to < u >: < bindu > *bundu > बुंद
192. The above are cases where Vowel Mutation results from the influence of a following vowel. The modification of a following vowel through the influence of a preceding one, which is the kind of Vowel Harmony that characterises the Dravidian and Ural-Altaic speeches (e.g., Telugu and Turkish), is also found in NB. It is the result apparently of a strong initial stress; and those families of speech in which we have it are agglutinating in nature, in which the root syllable is the initial one and possesses the dominant stress which influences the following syllables. The Standard Colloquial is specially characterised by this kind of Vowel Harmony, and East Bengali and most other dialects resist it: naturally enough, as the Standard Colloquial is a dialect of strong initial stress.

(x) অ, আ, ও+অ [ো, ঐ, ৊+ো] > অ, আ, ও+অ [ো, ঐ, ৊+ো]. This modification of [ো] to [৊] may be said to be optional. The resultant [৊] is often left unnoticed in spelling: e.g., রতন, পরব, বতন etc. = [রতন, গরব, ফরতন]; চন্দন = [চন্দন]; হতন>হওন [হোন > হুন]; similarly ভাবত [ভবত], পালঙ্গ [পালঙ্গ], কাদন [কাদন], মাদল [মাদল], etc.; মোহন [মোহন], ts. গোবর [গোবর], লোটন [লোতন], etc. So foreign borrowings: গাজল [গাজল] (= Pers. < gazal>, ডোবল [ডোবল] (= English double), ডজন [ডজন] (= English dozen), নম্বর [নম্বর] (English number), গার্ড [গার্ড] (English guard), বোটল [বোটল] (Portuguese < botelha>), মোরগ [মোরগ] (Persian < morg, murg>); etc., etc.

The group [ো+ো] is not preferred by the Standard Colloquial, the second or both must be altered to [৊]. The English group [৊: (ো)+৊: (ো)] in photo [ফোটো] becomes ফটো [ফোটো]; cf. otto = অটো [অটো].

(xi) আ+অ [ো+ো] > আ+অ [া+া] is found in the colloquial তাহালে [তাহালে] < তাহালে [তাহালে] < তাহা হইলে < তাহাহাইলে < তাহাহাইলে > then, that being so.

(xii) ই+অ [ি+া] > ই+এ [ি+ে] : very common, in lbb., as well as ts. and foreign forms. ইছঃ [ইছঃ] (ইছঃ); M.B. বিনে [বিনে] (বিনে); মিশেল [মিশেল] (মিশেল mixed < মিশরা); মিথে [মিথে] (মিথে); ভিক্ষে [ভিক্ষে] (ভিক্ষে); চিলে, বিলে, কর্তেম, সেতেম, etc., etc. [চিলেম dilem, kortem, বিলেম], Standard Coll. pronunciations of < chilām, dilām, kāritām,
MODIFICATIONS OF ‘ा’

jāitām», etc.=I was, I gave, I used to do, I used to go; so তুমি করেছে: [korbe] you will do < কারিভা>; dialectally also করি; [korber, diber], etc.=for doing, for giving < কারিভা, diবা;> ; চাইনে [চাইনে] I don’t want, চাইনে [korine] I don’t do < চাইনে « cāinā >, করিন < kārinā > ; চাইনে [চাইনে] I did not want<*চাইনেই, চাইনাহি « cāinei, cāhināhi >; so বলিস্নে [bolīn] thou won’t say = বলিসে না < bālisē uā >, বলিসন [bolīn] = *বলিস্নেই, বলিস্নাহি « bālis nei, -nāhi », etc.; নীলে [nile], folk-Bengali for নালা « līlā >; পিতে (pitemo), folk-Bengali for পিতামহ « pitāmāhā »; পিতামহ, পিতামহে ক্ষীরসাধ, নির্মাহসাধ, etc., commonly become [bīṣej, nīṣej ], and all similar forms; হিসেব [fīsēb] accounts (Perso-Arabic « hisāb »); হিসেব [fīsēb] ribbon (Portuguese « fīta »). Also in forms like একটার্টে [ačta] one piece, এটো [ačta] eight pieces, but তিনটে [tīnte] three pieces, MB. তিনটা < tini-tā >, চারটে [čaṛte] four pieces = MB. চারিট < cāri-tā > = East Bengali [cāri-tā], [cāri-tā].

(xiii) উ+অ [u+a] > u+ o [u+o]. This modification is also very common both in tāks. and tss.: গুল্লে [pūrlo] (pūjā); মুলো [mulo] radish (mula<mula>); খুঁজে [khurlo] weble (khura<kṣudra+tāta); গুলো [dīlō] (dhula< dhula>); উঁথোন, উঁথন [uṭhho] court-yard; (uṭhāna=ut-sthāpana-); ছুঁড়ে [quro] (cudā); মুরো [muro] (mura<munḍa-); হুরো [duor] (*duara =dwasra); চুলো [fuk(h)lo] dry=খুঁ〈 sukhā > (śuṣka-); etc., etc. Cf. Perso-Arabic « ḫuqqa» > हुक < hūkā > हुक < [fūko] hookah.

Also উ+অ [u+o] > u+ o [u+o]: শুঁওর [juor] (suarā < sū-kara); etc. See p. 398.

(xiv) ঐ+অ+ঐ [e+a+e] > e+e+e [e+ε+ε]: as in এখনে [ekhene] < এখনে < ekhānē > here; so এখনে [ekhene] there, এখনে [fekhene] where.

This Vowel Harmony habit of Bengali asserts itself exceedingly in the speech of women, and of the uneducated classes generally, and it works havoc with the tss. imported from Sanskrit: to give some remarkable examples, we have নিলিমিজ্জি [nilimijjī] in women’s speech = « nirāmisya »; পিতে, পিতে [pī(t)me] = « prātimā » (see p. 357 for change of « pra- » to « pi- »); উচ্চগ্রু [ucchhaggu] any offering before a deity = « utsarga »;
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

The general line of development of OIA. vowels into Bengali has been indicated above. The sources of the NB. vowels are now indicated origin below. The vowels of the Standard Colloquial are seven [i, e, a, o, u]; with the rare [ʌ] in foreign words, they are eight. They are taken below in the order of the Bengali Alphabet, viz., [o, a, i, u, e, æ, o]. For [ʌ], [æ, a, o] are normally substituted: and it will not be necessary to speak further about [ʌ].

New Bengali [o, ɔ:], written ओ, ऋ.

Bengali [o] occurs both as long and as short, as in জল [বল] water and জলা [লা] marsh respectively. In popular notion, ओ [o] is generally called the short of ओ [a], but the difference in quality between the two vowels is instinctively recognised by all Bengali speakers, and this is shown by the fact that when a Bengali child begins to learn the alphabet, he is taught to name the vowel letters as follows—अ = « svarā a » [sari ə:] among the vowels, a; आ = « svarē a » [sari ə:] among the vowels, ã; इ = « hrāsvā i » [hirə i:] short i; ई = « dīrghā i » long i; so ऊ = « hrāsva u », उ = « dīrgha ū », ख = « ri », ॐ = « dīrghā ri », द = « li », द = « dīrgha li », ए = « ē », ऐ = « āi » [oi], ओ = « ō », औ = « āu » [ou], अं = « ān » [ən], अ = « āh » [əh]: अ, आ are not called « hrāsvā ओ, dīrghā ओ ». Bengali ओ, आ do not inter-
THE SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'ə'

change now, but they did, up to the end of the eMB. period, when ā was a lower and an opener sound than at present (see pp. 260, 263). Bengali [ə] commonly represents OIA. short [a], through MIA. OB., eMB. [a]. Middle Bengali [o>ə] normally becomes [ə] in the MB. Standard Colloquial when followed by [i, u]: see ante, pp. 396, 397.

The sources of the NB. [ə]:
(i) OIA. short *ə* = [a]: करत [kərət] (karapatra); कह [kəh] (kahei, kathayati); चल [c̪əl] (calati); जल [jəl] (jala); etc., etc.
(ii) OIA. long <ə> = [a:], in a few cases through absence of stress in OB. and Early MB.: पोगर [pəgar] (prakāra), बनारसी [bənəraʃ] (vārāṣṭiṣya), etc.; see p. 321. Cf. also कोरला [kərola], कोरेला [kərela] (kăravēlā); बेह [thoi > tho] depth, bottom (*stāghikā); etc. Post-consonantal [wa:] of Skt. in initial syllables became [ə:] in Early Middle Bengali, in a few tss. and is found as [ə] in NB. (see p. 260): e.g., बद [bəd] = बद < svāda>; ‡ बही [bəm]i, a folk-pronunciation of बाही < svāmi >; सज [səʃə] imitation, mimicry, dramatic caricature, < सज < svāga >: cf. Hind. < swang >; cf. also ‡ दल [dəl], a folk pronunciation of दोल [dol] from the Perso-Arabic < dawāt > ink-pot.

In tss. compounds like < jalānjali, siddhānna, paramānna, pāyasānna madhyāhna>, etc., the [a:] is frequently turned into [ə, ə>o] in folk-pronunciation—e.g. [kələl]koli, liddhānno, pārmānno, pāsānno, moddfiṇnō]. Conversely, < mūrdhānā nā>, the name of the latter ə, commonly becomes [moddfiṇnō no, moddfiṇnā].

(iii) OIA. [i, i]: बलड़ा [bəra] (MIA. bahēda, OIA. vibhitaka); तोर [tərər] > तोर [tər] day before yesterday, day after tomorrow (tirah-śvah); परख [porkh] (parikē) ; etc.
(iv) OIA. [u] > eMB. [ə], altered to [ə] in NB.: MB. मुर < mūrā > (mukuta); cf. बल [bəl] (MIA. bollaï, OIA. braviti, √brū).

(v) OIA. [r]: बहर [mor] (mṛta-); etc.: see pp. 354, 355.
(vi) OIA. [e]: करल [kərola, kərola] (kăravēlā); [ʃʃəs] सज [ʃendo] (sandēha), नारकल [narkəl, -kol] (nārikēla), etc.
(vii) OIA. [o]: Calcutta Bengali गोरल [gəra] (gōpāla-), through influence of गोरल [moēra] (madaka-), and similar words with the group
[əʊ + a]; so कोला [kəl̪a] charcoal (« kōkila », creako-coloured; cf. Hind. kōlā); cf. मला [məla] dirty (MIA. maïlā-), see p. 334. See also under [əə].

For loss of interior [ə], see ante, pp. 330, 331.
[ə] forms diphthongs with [ē, ə] following: see below under [əe, əo].
[ə] in foreign words is noted later.

Bengali [a, aː], written আ, ঈ.

195. Sources of Bengali [a]:
(i) OIA. < ā > [aː] initial, and before one consonant: পাড়ে [pɔː]
(pātayati); চালায় [ṭalād] (*cālāpayati, cālayati); মা [maː] (mātā); সাগর [ʃaːɡə] (sāgara); শিবাল [ʃiːal] (ṣīgāla), etc. See pp. 320-321.
(ii) OIA. < ā > initial, through stress in eMB.: see p. 314.
(iii) OIA. < ā, ā > [a, aː] before two consonants: see pp. 316-317, 321.
(iv) From < ā, aː, ā > in contact in Late MIA. = OIA. < ā, ā > + consonant + < ā, ā >: see pp. 349-350.
(v) From OIA. < r > initial, through an earlier stage of < ā >: see pp. 354-355.
Post-consonantal < -yā > in ts. words is changed to [əe] in NB., for which see under [əə]; see also p. 260. The change of [ə] to [əe] in Bengali, in connection with a nasal, when the following syllable also has [ə], has been noticed at p. 322. See also under [əə].
Modification of [a] to [e, o] and [o > u] by Vowel Harmony: see pp. 400-401, 399; also dropping of [ə] through loss of stress, see pp. 331-332.

196. In some tbd. forms, there is alternation between [a] and [i]: ছাল [ɕhaːl] and ছিলক [ɕhilka > ɕhilke] skin of fruit (cf. Skt. chali); √শাদ [ʃaːd] enter and সিধ [ʃiːd] a passage through a wall (sandhi); √চাব [ɕaːb] and √চিব [ɕiːb] chew (√carv); √চাপ [ɕaːp] and √চিপ [ɕiːp] press (cf. Apabhṛṣṭa √camp); পাত [paːt] and পিছ [piːt] behind (Cf. J. Beames,
INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ‘A’ AND ‘O, U’

‘Comp. Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,’ II, p. 297); etc. This alternation is as old as MIA. Also alternation between [a] and [o, u] is found in some groups of words, mostly dēśī: e.g., डाघर [ḍagār] big, also, dialectally डाकर [ḍakār], beside डाकरा, डोक्ला [dokra, dokla] lout, clumsy fellow, spendthrift, huge and ungainly, डेकर [ḍekra] fool, ugly one; and डाख [ḍaṃga, ḍaṃga] high land, beside टेघरा [ṭeṃra] high land, Hindōstānī डाँगर, डोंगर hill; जाबड़, जोबड़ा [ḍabra, ḍobra] splash, blotch; जोड़ [ḍa:r] cold (Skt. jāḍya, lMIA. jāḍā) beside झुड़ा [jṭura] get cool; काक [phā:k] empty space, beside काफ़ [phā:k] hole, slit, probably connected with कघ [phā:p] swelling, कघरा [phōpra] hollow, कघप [phōpol] empty (cf.  $\sqrt{स्पह}$); डाघर [ḍabor] a capacious pot (of metal), डाब [ḍa:b] green coco-nut, beside डोबा [ḍoba] puddle, small tank; हाम [hāma] crawl on fours (cf.  $\sqrt{हममति}$ walks in the ancient speech of Surāṣṭra), beside हम्वड़ [hūmṛ] a fall on one’s face; etc. Compare काछ [kā:ḍ] cry, weep and कादल [kōḍol] women’s noisy quarrel (= kanda-la-,  $\sqrt{κράντε}$). The reasons of the above types of interchange of vowels are not clear.

The [a] in निरचर ह [niranabbui, niranoï], also changed to [e] by Vowel Harmony, [nirenobbui, nirenoi], is unusual. It is found in other NIA., together with the euphonic (?)  $\sqrt{र}$: e.g., Hind. निरनावाई, नवनावाई, Panjābī निरनावे, etc., and it probably comes from the MIA. stage. So also in some words like नयान [nayana], बाण [boṇa] (vadana); cf. MB. पड़ [paṛa] (pataha); NB. sst. slang पेलाह [pellaḥ] awful, excessive, thundering, huge (pralaya), etc.: see p. 336.

[a] in foreign words: see below.

New Bengali [i, i:], written ই, ঈ, ি, ব্য.

197. Bengali [i] is not a very close sound, and it easily passes into [e]. Thus, in the Calcutta Colloquial, words like बितर < bhitāra, छिल < chilā > are ordinarily pronounced [bhitar, qhelō]. The interchange of [i] and [e] is found in MB.

(i) OIA., MIA. [i, i:] : see pp. 308, 323-324, 336-337.

(ii) OIA. [r] > MIA. [i] : see p. 355. Also from Skt. [r] to [ri, ir] in  $\sqrt{स्त्र}$ and  $\sqrt{स्त्र}$, pp. 356-357.
(iii) OIA. <ä, ā > [a, a:] : see p. 335; cf. also चिंचे [pičhe] (=pacēt), शिं [śid(h)] (=sandhi); बिं [bi-] (=dvā-) in compounds—विभाजित [biśālīf] (=dvā-catvārināśat), etc.; छि [ćhi-] (=ṣat), as in छिन्तामिस [ćhīnālīf] (=ṣat-catvārināśat), etc.; देशि बिंडका [khirki] window, back-door (khaḍakkī); sts. फिछि [phīkiri] अलुम (sphatīka), etc.

The OIA. affix -ant- gave -it- in Bengali: see also p. 335.

(iv) OIA. <-yā > [Ya] after consonants: भिन्तर [bhītār] (abhyantara), बिङ्ग [bijēnī] (vyajanikā); मेन, नाइ [nei, nai] argument (nyāya). OIA. < -yā > for the indeclinable conjunctive＝OB. < -iā, -iā >, MB. इ, इ, इ, इ, <i, -i, -iā, -iā>, has been assimilated to ए < ē > in NB. Also from earlier MB. < -yu- > in the sts. खिद [khide] (khyudhā, kṣudhā).

In stss., < -yā- > after a consonant becomes [i], with the preceding consonant doubled: e.g., सत <ṣāt-yā > सत [jōtti], so आचार्य <ācāryā > आचार्य [ācjātā], पठय <pāthyā > पठि [pōṭhi], मध्य <mādhyā > मध्य [mōḍdhi], साध्य <sādhyā > साध्य [jaddhi], अक्ष <ākāthā > [okcōthi], भोज <bhōjyā > भोज [bhōjā] uncooked rice, pulses, vegetables, butter etc., in religious offering, etc. Similarly with क < kṣ = khy > and आ < jū = gy- >: e.g., संक्ष <sākṣyā > संक्ष [jākkhi], दक्ष <yākṣā = jākhyā > दक्ष [jōkkhi], दक्ष <yājū = jāgyā > दक्ष [jōggī], दक्ष <dāibājīā > दक्ष [dābogī], etc. The eMB. pronunciation was [ačjātīn, pōṭhīn, mōḍdīn, jākkhnīn, jōkkhnīn, jōggīn], etc.: it is the [i] which has resulted in the contracted [i] in NB., like < -iā > of Apabhraṇa to < i > in Bengali: see pp. 302, 303, 307, 352.

(v) OIA. [u]: मिनस, मिनस [minśa, minše] (manusya); सिकि [jikī] fourth, for सुकि [juki]. Early MB. [u] became [i], when epenthetic: examples have been given above, see p. 335; cf. आई [ai] (āu, āyuś), बाई [bāi] (bāu, vāyu); etc.

For interchange between [i] and [u] in dēši and tbh. forms, see under [u], p. 408.

(vi) OIA. [ai, e]: MIA. [e; e]: cf. MB. प्रेष [prēṣ] (pratīvēśīn); NB. ठाई [ṭhāi] (*ṭhāmē, sthāman); है [dui] (duvē, dvi); नेई [nei] indulgence (*nēhi, *ṇēhē, snēha); etc.
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘I’ ‘U’

198. Bengali [u], like [i], is not a close, high sound, but rather low, approaching [o]. It is drawn down to the [o] position through influence of a following low vowel. In Calcutta, and elsewhere in Bengal, we have pronunciations like [opor, jondor] = উপর, উদর « upār, sunār » etc.

Sources of [u]:
(i) OIA. [u, u] > MIA. [u, u]: See pp. 310, 311, 325, 326, 337.
(iii) OIA. [a, a]: in the interior of a word, when flanked by high vowels, we have change to [u] in NB.: see pp. 394, 398.

In initial syllables, through influence of a preceding labial, in a few cases in MB. and NB.: e.g., MB. বৃহিত [būhita] (vahitra); বৃহিনি [būhinī (bhagini); etc. The intermediate stage was [o]. See pp. 319, 320; cf. মহাশয় < mābhasya > sūr > মশয়, মশাই [mojā, mojai], East Bengali মুখ [muʃ].

(iv) OIA. [ŋa] after consonants > MIA. [-uw-]: হুর [ʃur] (*svāra, svara); পরশ [porʃu] (*paraśvā, paraśvah); ষ [ʃuʃ] (*śvaśa, śvas); ঘ [ʃuʃ] (suvav-, svap), etc. See pp. 329, 330, 352.

(v) OIA. [i]: বুদ [būd] (bindu); হুল [ʃolud] (haridrā); গুরু [gur] (gārīka, *gīrūka); ঘুষ [ʃuk] (cf. Skt. śisumāra, Pali suññumāra).
(vi) OIA. [aːu, oː] > MIA. [oː, oː] : through influence of a high vowel mainly. See pp. 398, 399. পুকুর [pukur] (MIA. pokkharā, pūskarini); রীন্দল [bhimrul] (*bṛṇḍa-rañikā); উড়ে [ure] (Oṛiā, Oḍḍiā, Ḍudṛiṣyakā), etc., etc.

(vii) Through contraction of MIA. contact vowels : see pp. 350, 352. Also cf. (iv) above. Cf. অলুনি [pəluni] burning sensation < *jālāuni, *jālāwani (*jvalāpanikā), etc.

For [uː] in foreign words, see below.

199. [i] and [u] as high vowels interchange in some tbbh. and dēśī forms (including onomatopoeics). This is apart from change of epenthetic [u] to [i], and from the cases of isolated modification of [u] to [i], and vice versa. E.g., গুমাঁ [gumāta] stuffiness beside MIA. * gimha → (grīśma); তিক্সি [tikkhi] sharp and তুক্তি [tukhti] clever (tikṣa); নাশ [nāś] silent, asleep, also মাশ [māś] sleep, beside মাস [maś] doze—a dēśī form, cf. মাসিছ [maśī] doze; তিক্সি [tikli] and তুক্তি [tukra] a piece, bit, fragment; বিদ্যা [divya] beside জ্যোতি < *জ্যোতি [dyota] a canoe, a boat; ধ্রুবক [drīvaka] skin of fruit, beside চুলা [cūlula, cūlola] to skin, চুলা [cūlula] skin-disease, also হাল [halā] skin; চিপ্সা, চুপ্সা [chīpsā, chūpsā] be dried up, contract, beside চুপ্সা [chūpsā] press; উক্ত [ukto] louse (*utkūṇa), beside ইক্ত [ikto] smell, sniff (*ṣanṣgh); cf. NIA. [uːkh, iːkh, aːkh] (≡ iksu). As can be easily seen, these alternances go back to the Early MIA. stage, and are probably earlier. The dēśī forms probably are based on dialectal variations in the original non-Aryan languages from which OIA. or MIA. borrowed the words. The IA. vowel alternance—< guṇa > and < vṛddhi >, and Early MIA. change of < r > to < i, u >, e.g., [ghūṭ, gūṭ, gūṭ] from < ghṛṣṭa >, in the same dialect, made the alternances in the dēśī and tbbh. forms appear quite natural, and in conformity with the spirit of IA.

Bengali [e, eː] = ে, এ.


(iii) OIA. [ᵢ]: দেখ [de:kh] \((\sqrt{dṛk-s}-)\); see p. 356. Also in stss.: p. 357.

(iv) OIA. [a, aː]: through influence of following [i, i] = MIA. [e]: শেল [ʃeːl] (śalya, sēlla); শেষ [ʃeːʃ] (śayyā, sejjā); সেজার [ʃeːʒaɾu > ʃeːʒaɾu], in South-eastern Bengali সেজা[ʃeːʒa], beside সঞ্জার [ʃaŋʒaɾu] (śalyaka, sayyaka, sejjaa + rūpa); এর [er] (kēra < kārya); etc. In সতের [ʃoter], পনের [poner] beside সতর, পনর [ʃoter, ponor], we have change of OIA. [a] to [e] in NB. (saptadaśa, pañcadaśa); also in the honorific verb forms in এন [en] (-anti): e.g., চলেন [c̥olen] (calanti).

(v) OIA. [i]: through a MIA. change to [e]: see p. 327. Also finally, in verb forms: প্রাপ্ত [khaː] (khā, khādāti), etc.

(vi) OIA. [uː]: নেওল [neur] (nūpura).

(vii) By contraction, in MIA., OB. and eMB. times, from various groups of OIA., with [a]: see pp. 343, 344, 350, 351, 352. নেওল [neul] (nakula); MB. নেওলি [neali] (*nayamallia, navamallikā); চলে [c̥ole] (calati); ঘরে [ghore] (gharabi, gṛha + dhi); etc.

OB. stss., with [iː] < post-consonantal Skt. eṣṭa -yā - [ia], as much as [Io] in tbd. words, is contracted to [e, e] in MB. > [ae] in NB.: see p. 351: also examples like বেঙ্গ, ব্যাঙ্গ [baŋ] (*bīaŋga, vyāŋga), বেঙ্গমা [baŋgama] (*bīaŋgamā, vihaŋgama-), জাত [ʃiʃento, ʃiʃento] (jianța, jîvant-), etc.

Early MB. final ইঞ্জ, ঈঞ্জ, etc. = [ia, ia] becomes [e] in NB.: e.g., eMB. *চাটুর্জিঞ্চা > MB. চাটুর্জিঞ্চা > NB. চাটুর্জিচ, চাটুর্জিচ, চাটুর্জিচ [ʃaʈur-ʃiia > ʃaʈurʃiia > ʃaʈurʃiia, ʃaʈurʃiie, ʃaʈurʃiie] a Brahman surname = the long-lived one, or son (jīva) of (the village of) Cātu (or Cāṭa; cf. the equivalent চাটু = eṣṭa + putra), Anglicised into Chatterji etc., Sanskritised into eṣṭoṣṭāpaḍhyāya’s; so MB. মুখরঞ্জ > মুখরঞ্জ > মুখরঞ্জ, মুক্ষরঞ্জ] Mukherji; উল্লুরিঞ্জ > উল্লুরী [uṭtoria > utture] northern; করিঞ্জ > করে [koria > kore] having done, etc., etc.: see pp. 393, 394.

(viii) By contraction from MB. eponymous [ai, au > a] < OIA. [aː+i, u]: see pp. 385, 386, 389.

(ix) By Vowel Harmony, from MB. [i] and MB. [a]: see pp. 400-401.
In *ss.* of NB., subscript *-yā* of Skt. gives [e], and this [e] remains when followed by a high vowel: otherwise the [e] becomes [æ]: e.g., বাক্তি [bekti] (vyakti), but বাক্ত [bæktə] (vyakta); so বাধ্যার বাধ্যী [bæthar bethi] a sympathiser in sorrow (vyathā, vyathin); বাষ্টি [beʃtə] (vyastiti); বাতীত [betitə] (vyatita); etc.

For [e] in foreign words: see *infra.*

**Bengali** [æ, æː]

201. [æ] is a comparatively recent sound in the NB. Standard Colloquial, and it originated from MB. [e] and groups like [sa, sa, ea], not earlier than towards the very end of the MB. period. In East Bengal dialects, [æ] is rare or unknown, and [e] and [a, a] are used for it. Long [eː] and [æː] of the Standard Colloquial commonly occur in Typical East Bengali as [ːː]; persons speaking East Bengal dialects find it difficult to distinguish between English [æ] and [ːː]—the latter, in the ordinary West Bengali pronunciation of English, becomes [e] (together with English [ə], which is a sound not found in Bengali). Thus, *admiral,* *appreciate,* *acquaintance* [ædˈmɪrəl, əˈprɪʃiət, ækwəˈɪntəns], in West Bengali pronunciation [ædˈmɪrəl, æprɪˈʃiːt, ækəˈɪntəns], become [səˈdɪmirl, spriˈʃiːt], [skəˈɪntəns] in East Bengali; and the following spellings of English words from examination scripts submitted by East Bengal students, are typical of East Bengali pronunciation: *matropolice,* *hendi-work,* *tendancy,* *perichone* (= parishioner), commender, intensionally, engels, harrased, marriment, edvice, emity, aminence, anemy, orientel, many (= many), etc.

Bengali [ æ ], when it comes from [e], is written as ə. The subscribed *-y.* followed by *-a* = 'অ', 'আ' โบราณ, is otherwise employed. In *sssts*., post-consonantal *-yā* of Skt., which became [sa] in MB., is written as *-yā*; also post consonantal *-yā* in initial syllables. The tendency in writing the NB. Standard Colloquial now is to employ lavishly the য়-ক্ষণ+অ= -yā = əː in MB. [dækhe] = MB. [dækhe], MIA. [dekkhōi].
Origin of [æ].

(i) In tibh. [æ] is found in initial syllables for a Late MIA. [e:, e], which is derived from various sources in OIA.—[e:, a:i, r] and [a+consonant +a, i+consonant +a], etc. In eMB., if not in Ob., the pronunciation certainly was [e:]. See pp. 327-328, 343, 351, 409.

[æ:] is found in tibh. monosyllables when they are closed by क, ख < k(h)>, त < c>, ढ < r>, or a nasal, or by य < y> from earlier ए < e>: e.g., एक [æ:k], MB. [s:k, sko], MIA. < ekka>; ले [lä:kh] write thou (in the old pronunciation in the Standard Colloquial, now through Skt. influence changed to [lä:kh]); देख [dæ:kh] look thou, MB. [dskho]; पेड़ [pæːdː] twist; छेड़ [cʰæːdː] pound thou; नेड़ [næːd] hard stools; फेन [phæ:n] froth; बेन [bæːn] frog; देन [dæːn] he gives, they give (honorable) (MIA. *denti); नेन [ʃæːn] a surname; नेस, नेश [dæːʃ, næːʃ] gives, takes, etc. In other cases, we have [eː]: e.g., नेत [net], an archaic word = fine cloth (nētra); हैट [hæːt] stooping, low (hōṭha, *adhistāt), etc. Cf. tss. देश, बेश, केश, मेश, प्रेत, लेत, देव etc. [deːʃ, beːʃ, keːʃ, meːʃ, pret, let, deːb]; etc.

Onomatopoetics have the [æ] pronunciation, irrespective of the consonant which follows: e.g., पेट [pet] belly, but पेट्पेट, पाट्पाट [paet paet]; पेट [khet] field (kṣetra), but खां पेट [khæːt khæːt], etc. Here East Bengali will employ [e] in all cases.

In disyllables (and polysyllables), when the second syllable is closed by a vowel other than [i] or [u], [æ] for [e] is the rule. Tss. words, however, sometimes resist the tendency to change to the opener sound. E.g., एक [aːk] alone; देख [dæːk] see you, MB. [dskho; dskhə]; नेश [næːs] opens up (eyes), spreads; फेन [phæːn] owl; हेला [hæːla]; बेला [bæːla]; भेष [tæːro] thirteen, MB. [tæːro; tæːro]; गेल [gaːlo] went; फेन [phæːn]; देख [dæːk] sees; फेश [phæː] throws, MB. [psle, phæle, pslo] (prærayati?); नेट [næːt] son; देव [dæːr] (dēvara); नेंटा, नेंटो [næːto>næːto] affectionate (suṇha-vṛttta-), beside नेह [nei] indulgence (=suṇha); फेन [kæːt] a caste (kōvāṭṭa, kāivarta); देबा [ʃebə], beside, in recent pronunciation, through Skt influence [ʃebə]; देबा [daebə] as in the phrase येन देबा तेन देबी [ʃiːmɔn daebə temni debi] as is the god, so the goddess = like husband, like wife; etc., etc.; एमन, येन, तेमन, केमन [əmon,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER IV

Greek, temum, kémon], adjectives or adverbs of manner, respectively from ἐ, σ, τ, κ [e, ë, te; ke] this, who, that, who?; but in ἐθα, σθα [etha, "there", curiously enough, the [æ] sound is resisted, and also in ἐθα [etha] here = ἐθα [etha] in OB. (cf. MIA. etha = OIA. itthā).

Where, however, the Bengali root has [i], derived forms with [a, e, o] vowels in the next syllable do not change the [i > e] of the root (through Vowel Harmony, see p. 397) to [æ]: e.g., [míle > melə [mele] is obtained, but [małe] spreads closes (mēlā-); [fērə > fērə [phere] turns, but [fērə] encloses, surrounds (cf. Hindustāni phirā, ghērā); etc.

(ii) [æ] occurs in onomatopoetic words which are reduplicated. In the earlier stages of the language, the sound was probably an [ə] or [a]: e.g., [gā gā], [ṭā ṭā], [kā kā], [phaṭ̂ phaṭ̂], etc., etc.

(iii) [æ, æ] comes from earlier [a] when the next syllable has [a]: see p. 322.

(iv) [æ] is derived from eMB. groups like [in] and [ia > ie] by Vowel-Harmony: e.g., जांत [j̥ānto] living = eMB. जांत [j̥ānto]; गहे [gāhte] has gone, from [gihāte] > gihāte]. See pp. 351, 400.

(v) MB. ए, ए [ēa, ëa] became [æ]; also ए, ए [ēn, ën] became [æ, æ] in NB. The [e, o] in [æe, æo] is an after-glide, which is optionally omitted. E.g., शेखला [šēkā], MB. *शेखल [šēkā], besides शेखला [šēkā] (*śāivā-, śāivā); बेखर [be̯r, bēr], MB. बेखर [be̯r], (vāivāhika) ‘देखर’ [dēkā], MB. देखर, देखर, देखर, देखर [dēkā, dēkā, dēkā, dēkā] a baby’s smile in sleep (dēva+?); तायना [tānā] clever, MB. तायना [tānā] (cf. Hind. śyānā).

Foreign words with [æa] in IMB. similarly change this group to [æ] or [æe]: e.g., Persian < pyālā cup > [psala] > पाल [pēla], also [pēla]; < ziyādah > much, excessive > [ziyāda] > ज्ञान, ज्ञान, ज्ञान <zāda, zāda: Portuguese < viola > violin > वियला [bīala] > वाल, वाल, वाल <bēla, bēla, bēla>; < pēra > pear > पेयर [psara] > पियर <περα: English < bearer > > बेयर, बेयर [be̯ar, be̯er], also [be̯er], etc., etc.

(vi) In तस्स: < -yā- > after a consonant in initial syllables, when the following syllable does not have an [i] or [u], becomes [æ]. In MB. the intermediate stage was [ɛ]. See p. 410.
(vii) Post-consonantal -ya- in tss. have become [æ]. One MB. stage was that of a low [æ] plus a fronted [a]. See page 260. কলাণ [kollæ]; পরিতাধ [porittæg]; হড়া [hotæ]; etc. ফা ক্বার > (k)khyā> and জা জিঃ > (g)gýa> similarly gave [æ]: e.g., রক্ষ [rokkhæ], also [rokkhe, < rokkhída]; জান [grá:n]; অবজ [ɔboggr̥]; etc.

Bengali [ɔ, o:], written ও, ও, ও, ও.

202. All final [ə] tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial. The more important sources of [o] are:

(i) OIA. [o]: see pp. 329, 337.

(ii) OIA. [u, u:] etc. > MIA. [o, o:]: pp. 327, 329.

(iii) OIA. [r]: pp. 356, 357. Cf. also গোচা [gočha] (guccha, *goeča, OIA. *gr̥pa).

(iv) (a) OIA. অা [a], through influence of preceding labial: ভোমর [bhomra] (bha̍mara-, bhamara-); see pp. 319-320.

(b) Change of eMB. অা to [o] through Epenthesis, Umlaut and Vowel Harmony has been discussed before. This MB. অা comes from OIA. [a, a:]

(v) Through contraction of various groups in OIA. and MIA.: OIA. অান, অবান, অ+stop+অা, অ+stop+ু, uv(অা)-, etc., etc. See pp. 344, 346, 347, 350, 352, 353. E.g., সোঃ, সোঃ [mo, to] (মা: mama, tava: this change of অাবা, ava to ০ is pre-Bengali); নতুন [notun] (nava-); ওল [ola] descend, as in ওল চোল রা ( avalabh + ut-sthā); সোঃ [jodo] as in সোঃ ভাসানে জোদা ভিজানো ‘launching on sea,’ the boat festival (= ? *sa̱vudduā, samudra + uka-); etc., etc.

(vi) (a) Through Vowel Harmony, from eMB. [u] from various sources in OIA.: বোঃ [bo̱fi] to understand (budhy-); সোঃ [jo̱fi] straight, easy, clear (shudhy-); etc. See p. 397.

(b) From MB. উ+অা [u+অা] > উ+ও [u+ও], we have NB. [o] by Vowel Harmony. See under [u, uo] below. সোর [ʃor] (ʃūrā, sūkara); কোঃ [ko:] (kūr, kūpa-); জোঃ [jɔo:] (jūr, dyūta-); etc.

For [o] in foreign words, see below.
Interchange between [i] and [e], and between [u] and [o] in Bengali.

203. This interchange characterises NB. phonology, and it originated in the following ways.

(i) In some words, the interchange is the result of Primitive Indo-European Vowel Alternance (Ablaut), as it had been modified in the OIA., *i: åi, ē* and *u: āu, ō* : e.g., *lip [lip] smear, leɔɔja [leóo] a smearing (lip-ya-, lēpa-)*; *tut [tut] be broken, tɔr [tɔr] break (trut-ya, trɔt-aya-)*; etc. This is paralleled out by the alternance between [ɔ] and [a] in *çale [çale] walks and çalæ [çale] moves (calati, cālayati), etc. In Bengali, the laws of Vowel Harmony have obscured to a very great extent the real nature of these alternances between [i] and [e], and [u] and [o] when they are of ablaut origin in OIA. The original ablaut relation has lost its significance, and it has become quite subsidiary to NB. phonetic habits. Thus, for instance, the root *dul* to swing has [u], but the verbal noun by *guṇa* in OIA. has [o]—*dol [dol] a swing,—also the causative *dolædr [doel] I cause to swing*; but *çul* *he swings (<*dulatı*) becomes *çole [doel], original [u] becoming [o] through influence of the following [e]; and *dolæpanikā* the act of swinging becomes, through the stages *çolæna, *çelanir *çelæna* < *dolæwani, *dolæoni, *dolæuni*, *dulæni* [dulæni], beside *Çelanæni [dolanæ]; and *dolikā>*dolía > palanquín, litter gives *çulæ [dolæ]. The original scheme of [u] for the active, and [o] for the causative and for noun formations, is in this way destroyed. So *çhur [çhut] run* and its causative derivative *çhor [çhor] throw, toss give *çhur > *çhur [çhote] he runs and *çhor > *çhor [çhore] I throw, beside *çhur [çhut] I run and *çhor [çhore] he throws, rendering the original [u, o] alternance ineffective for the purpose of distinguishing the causative form.

There is the MIA. change of OIA. [i: u, i, u] to [e, o], which gave Bengali [e, o]. (See Pischel, §§119, 125, 127, 212: ante, p. 327.) This of course is not a case of interchange so far as Bengali is concerned. In such alternations in MIA., there was probably the influence of the ablaut relations between *i: ē* and *u: ō*, which MIA. inherited from OIA.

(ii) Alternances of [i] and [u] with [e] and [o] through Vowel-Harmony is a most important thing in New Bengali phonology, and
NEW BENGALI DIPHTHONGS

this has been discussed before. This is due partly to the low position of the Bengali [i] and [u] vowels. Cf. MB. তেঁহ [tehɔ, təhɔ, təhɔ], he (honoriﬁc) (= *tenha), NB. তেনার [tenar] his (honoriﬁc) (= *tenha + -ara: *tenha = tėhā, tėhəm = tėsəm < tęsəm), but NB. nominative তিনি [tini] he (honoriﬁc) (= *tən-i = *təna, tənəm+i); ts. কেপ [ko:p] anger, but কুপিল [kupilo] he angered; ওড়না [orna] veil (oḍḍhaṇa-, ava-veśṭana-), but উড়ুনি [urni] sheet worn as cloak (oḍḍhaṇia, oḍḍhāwania, = *avavēṣṭanika, *avaveṣṭāpikā); etc., etc.

BENGALI DIPHTHONGS.

204. Of Bengali diphthongs, only two have special letters for them, namely [oi] = ৈ, and [ou] = ৌ. In the NB. Standard Colloquial, as many as 25 vowel combinations and diphthongs are found: [ie, ia, io, iu; ei, ea, eo, eu; ae, ao; ai, ae, ao, au; oe, oo, ou; oi, oe, oo, ou; ui, ue, ua, uo] (see ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §49). In OB., [oi] and [ou], sources partly of the NB. [oi, ou], were the only diphthongs. Early MB. probably developed some new combinations, [iə, iə, sə, sa] etc. and [uə, õa] etc. from subscribed < y, v > < a, ã > etc. in ts. words; and some fresh diphthongs, with the high vowels [i, u] forming the second element, accompanied epenthesis in MB. (See ante, p. 387). MB. diphthongs or vowel combinations have mostly been monophthongised in NB. in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., [sə] has given [æ], [õa] has resulted in [ə] in some cases, and [di > oi, du > ou, õi] have resulted in [o], and [ai], [au > ai] in [e] (see ante, p. 386). NB. diphthongs are in the main recent creations. Many of them have not as yet entirely passed through the stage between two syllables and a diphthongal monosyllable, especially when the group ends in the low vowel [a]. When the syllable is closed with a consonant, the disyllabic character is often retained: e.g., পোথা to wash, washed (pass. part.) is [dhoə = dhoɔ], almost riming with French < dois, doit > [dwa]; but পোথট wash-out, scourgings, is often more like [dhoɔat] than [dhoɔat = dhoɔat]; so ভাই brother is [b̥̃hai = b̥̃hai], but বাইশ [bəʃ] twenty-two is [bɛʃ, bəʃ]; and হু is, are = [ɦəo, ɦəə], but
व्यस्त [baːʃ] age is found as [baːʃɪ, bo-eʃ], besides [boʊʃ]. But the tendency to pronounce these groups as one syllable is no less strong, and in cases like the above, where we have [ai, œ] etc., closed by a consonant, there is frequently simplification or contraction of the diphthong to a monophthong: e.g., बाइस, व्यस्त occur as वांस, वाॅ, with a suggestion of the [i] in a fronted [a]—[baːʃ], and of the [e] in a little hesitation before the [ʃ], [bo-ʃ]; and हयेन, सहेन [boʃɪn, jʊʃɪ(ə)ʃɪ] he becomes, he is; he suffers (honourific) have been regularly transformed into [ʃo:n, ʃo:n] in the Colloquial Speech.

NB. diphthongs are generally the result of the loss of intervocal -h- of MB., of Epenthesis and Vowel Modification, and of Vowel Harmony. And above all, there is the influence of the strong initial stress which reduces two syllables into one. Brief notes on the origin of the NB. diphthongs are given below. They are taken in the order given in the preceding page.

205. Bengali [ie], in the Colloquial, written ইং, is derived from ইষ্য < -iyā of MB. (preserved in the literary language): নিয়ে [die] having given < বিষ্য < diyiā; বিয়ে [bie] marriage < বিয়ে < biyiā (vivaha); etc. Where the [i] in [ie] was anticipated by epenthesis, as in আনীয়া, aniyā < having brought > *আইনিয়া, অনীয়া < *aniyā, ainyā > এনে [ene], contraction took place generally during the transition from MB. to NB.; but a dialectal form like [snʃie] is still heard. So বাঁধিয়া < rākhiyā < having kept > রেখে [rekhe], beside রেখে [rakhe], etc. The tendency to shorten [ie] to [e] is quite a marked one in the Calcutta Colloquial: so that we have even forms like [de] having given, with (= instrumental post-position) beside [die]; টে as in ‘টেপাতী’ parrot [ṭe, ṭepakhi], beside টিয়ে [ṭie] < টিয়া [ṭia]; বে [be] marriage beside [bie] < [bia]; গেছে [geʃˈhə, gæʃˈhə] has gone beside গিয়েছে [giʃˈhə] < গিয়েছে [giʃˈhə], দেশলাই [deʃˈlai] matches beside দেশলাই [deʃˈlai] and দেশলাই [deʃˈlai, diaʃˈlai] (dip+a+saləkə); etc., etc.

[ie] also comes from contraction of আইয়া < aiyā of the causative conjunctive indeclinable: e.g., রাখিয়ে [rakhi] having caused to keep < রাখাইয়া < rākhāiyā. It is found also in contracted noun-forms: e.g., গাইয়ে [gaie] singer. See p. 394.
In a case like কিনে [kie], from কিছে [ki khe] what, O! = hallo, we have [ie] from dropping of «-h-».

In some archaic forms like পিনে [pie] drinks, MB. পিতা [pie, piē], (pibati), জিনে [jiie] lives, MB. জীনে [jiē] (jivati), we have original MB. [ie], with optional in-glide, derived from contraction of OB. and MIA. contact vowels. So in জিনে [jiie] by the daughter, as in মাতে জিনে [mae jieie] mother and daughter together, we have an OB. combination (jhi + -ē = dhita, duhitṛ + -ena).

206. Bengali [ia], written ইঁ, occurs mainly in 'ih' forms, and is rather archaic, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned: e.g., বাহিয়া [rakhia], করাইয়া [kɔɾaia], নগরিয়া [nogɔria], বিনহিয়া [binodia], উড়িয়া [uraia], etc., etc. ; also শিন্যাল [fial], হিয়া [hia], পিন্যাল [pial], বিন্যালিস [bialij], হিন্যাল্লাছ [chiattor], etc., which give instances of the [ia] group in the < sādhu-bhāṣā ». (ia) in verb forms is contracted to [e], with epenthesis, in NB.; and also [ia] in adjectives and nouns. In initial syllables, it frequently becomes [e]: e.g., [jeel] < শিন্যাল [fial], also [jeel], by vowel harmony; বিন্যালিস [bialij] becomes [beallij, beallij]; but ছিন্যাল্লাছ [chiattor] does not alter in the Standard Colloquial.

Some of the more important sources of [ia] may be noted.

In the conjunctive indeclinable, it comes apparently from an OB. strengthening of the MIA. affix «-iā» by the syllable «ā»: কারিয়া [koria, koria] < MIA. « kāriā + ā ». (See under Morphology: the Verb: 'Conjunctive Indeclinables'.)

The adjectival,—agentive, intensive, pejorative—affix [ia] is from OIA. « -ika, -iya » plus the affix « ā ». NB. has the [ia] forms only as archaic words, e.g., পূর্বিয়া [pʊrɔbía] or পূর্বিয়া [pubía] eastern: Standard Colloquial forms would be পূর্বে and পূর্বে [purube, pube]; দক্ষিন্যাল [ɗɔkʰinjia] > দক্ষিনে, দক্ষিনে [ɗɔkʰine > dɔkʰne] southern; কালিয়া [kɔljiɔna] talker > কালে [koun]; কালিয়া [kaliɔ] the black one > কালে [kele]; etc., etc.

In other cases, [ia] represents MIA. « udṛtta » vowels—the [a] = « ā » often representing cases of contraction of « udṛtta » « ā, ā + ā, ā » of MIA. The [ia] was preserved by means of the « y » glide in OB., and Early MB., and contraction came in only in the NB.—the
earlier full [ia], however, is quite a familiar group through influence of literature.

[ia] is found in foreign words: e.g., इयर [iar] friend, boon-companion < Persian < yār>; डुनिया [dunia] world < Perso-Arabic < dūnyā>; एशिया [ēśia] = English Asia; रूसिया [ufsia] = Russia, etc.; but cf. a naturalised Portuguese word like तोलाहा tola > तोलाही tola > toal > toal > toale.

207. Bengali [io], written ইও, ইও, ইও, ইও. In MB., this diphthong, in ṭhks., was [ifo, iə]. It is found in ṭh. forms like শিংর [jïor] (śihara, śikhara); তীব্র [tïör] a caste (tīvara); জীবন [jïon] as in জীবন-কাঠি jīvān-kāthi wand of life and wand of death (jivana); the OIA. source is thus < i, i > + consonant which has dropped off + < a >.

In the future precative 2nd person of the verb, [io] represents OB., MB. < ihā > [iə]: OIA. -išyatha: e.g., চলিও [cōilo] (calīha, *calīhaha, calisāyatha). In the Colloquial, this is reduced to [o]: e.g., চলো [cōlo], রেখা [rekho] (= rākhihā, *rākhhaha, rakhisāyatha) etc., except where contraction is not possible—e.g., দিও [dio] (dīhā, *dīhaha = dāsyatha); পিও, লীর [pio, lïio] are both ordinary imperative future or precative.

[io] occurs in the Standard Colloquial causative precative or imperative future, as a contraction of MB. < -aiah, -aīha > = -*āpayisāyatha > of OIA.: e.g., রাখিও [rakhio] (rākhaio, rākhai(h)ā, *rakkhaivaihaha = *rakṣapayisāyatha), etc.

Causative passive participles, or verbal nouns, in -ānā, of roots in -i in the Standard Colloquial show the [io] groups by mutation through Vowel Harmony: e.g., বিয়েনো [viyono] (i) kept alive, (ii) bringing back to life (MB. বিয়েন < jāhi < jañā > = (i) < √jīv- > + < māna- >, (ii) < *jivāpana- >); মিয়েনো [miyon] become cold or weak (MB. বিয়েন < miyānā >: OIA. < √mi >); etc.

In ts. words, Skt. < iyō, iyā > become [io] in Bengali: বিয়োগ [biog] (viyōga); নিয়োগ [niog] (nioga > niog; but নিয়োগী > নেউগী [niugi > neugi], [io > eu] through influence of [i] following); নিয়ন্ত্র [niom] (niyama); etc.
Some peculiar forms also show [io]: e.g., অবিভূষিত [obioto] unmarried (= *াবিভূষিত- < a- + vivāha + -vanta ?); দিওর [gfiior] a sweetmeat (Hind. ghēwar < ghṛta-); কেইও [feio] exclamation in pulling something.

[io] is found in foreign (European) names: ইয়েরোপ [iorop] Europe, ইয়রক [iork] York, etc.

208. Bengali [iu], written ইউ, ইউ, comes from the following: MB. "iu, ēu" in the imperative 3rd person of roots in "-i, -ē"="-atu, -antu" of OIA.: e.g., জীবক [jiuk] (jīvatu + ka); দিওন [diun] (*diyantu); দিউক [diuk] (MB. দেউ দেু = *detu). In NB., this [iu] is normally reduced to [i]: জীক (rare), দিন, দিক, etc. = [dik, din, dik], etc.

[iu] also comes from OB., MB. "-iā-, -ihā-, -iā- > -io-" through the influence of a following [i]: see p. 398. জীউলী [jiuli] a tree (jīva-la-); জীউলী [biuni] (*vyajanikā); জীউলী [jiuli] (MB. sīhāli < śeṣhālike); etc.

[iu] occurs in onomatopoetics: মিউমিউ [miu miu] mewing; কিউকিউ [kiu kiu] whine of a dog; etc.

It is found in some Hindi loan-words with a restricted use: e.g., পিউ [piu] (priya), জীউ [jiui] (jiva).

Foreign words also show this vowel-group: ইউনিভার্সিটি [iunibharišṭi] University, ইউনাইটেড স্টেট্স [iunaited stets] United States, etc.

209. Bengali [ei], written এই, এই, এই.

[eai] comes from OB., MB. "ē, ehi, e hi, -ē-hi": e.g., দেই [dei] I give, more usually দী (dēmi); তেই [tei] therefore, a poetic word (tē hi, tēna hi); সেই, সেই [seiei, sei] whoever, he indeed (MB. jē-hi, sē-hi); ঘরেই [ghorei] in the house indeed (ghāre hi); তেইস [teis] (trayōvinišati); also নেই [nei] indulgence (OB. *nēhi, nēha=snēha); সেই [khei], beside বে [kher] cue (OB. *khowi, khēwa = kśēpa); সেই [lei] gum-paste (lēpa); etc.

From "āi" of earlier Bengali: e.g., নেই [nei] does not exist < নাই < nāi>; নেই-অকুড়ে [nei-ākure] argumentative (MB. *nīyā-ākāriā < * nyāya); আই [aiei] immediately, as soon as < আই, বাই < jāi > (yadā hi). This sort of change of "āi" to [ei] is rather exceptional. In a few words we have [ei] through Vowel-Harmony: e.g.,


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diği[e] immediately on giving < dibha[i]e * diáí * (diá + [h]i); bêi [bei] father of son-in-law or daughter-in-law < bha[i]i, both occurring side by side with bêai [beai] < bëhài [behai] (vâivâhika); etc.

In some onomatopoeics: dêiðêi [dheîi dhi[i]e] = sound of wild romping. In foreign words, occasionally the English [ei] is represented by [ei], rather than the normal [e]: e.g., chëin [cëine] chain, tëin [têine] train, but more commonly in the Standard Colloquial [cëin, têin], etc.

210. Bengali [ea], written এ, from MB. [ea, eå, eia]: bëai [beai] (vâivâhika), kej [keà] (kêtaka-), etc.

Also from [ia], through lowering of the [i] to [e]: e.g., neïai [neai] (*nidhäpikä).


The [e] in [ea] is, so far as the tblh. forms are concerned, essentially a glide sound. Skt. * -yä- * in the middle of a word, when not after a consonant, becomes [eå] e.g., dasa [doåa], maa [maeåa], ha [hëa]; etc.

[ea] is found in foreign words also: peàj [pëaj] onion < Persian * pyâz *; jëar [jëar] = English chair, etc.

211. Bengali [eo] written ঐ, এয়. This is a recent diphthong, mostly through contraction of MB. * -i(h)â, ñuâ * by Umlaut: e.g., æo [eo] a woman whose husband is living (âiñhâ, avidhavâ); nêo [fëo] you will go (jàihâ); gëo [gëo] (ghâ-uá mangy, with wouns = ghâ < ghâta + uä); gëo [gëo] (gà-uà) rustic; etc.


From OB. * -ewu-, -ehu-*: deùul [deul] (dëvakula); nêul [neul] (nakula): nêur [neur] (nûpura); dësi dëu [dëeu]; keu [keu] any one, some one (*këvi? = kå+api; or këhu < *kë khu = kå khalu?); etc.


From OB. * iwa *: ñ èùu[teuri] oven (tri-vṛt-); deùu [deuti] (dîpa-varittikä); etc.
NEW BENGALI 'EU, ÆE, ÆO, AI'

In বেউড় [kheur] poetical 'flitting' > abuse (MB. বেড়ু khēru < khēla?), বেউড় [beur] a thin bamboo (cf. MIA. vēlu, Skt. vēnu), we have probably instances of [eu] in NB. through epenthesis.

Sts. নেউগী [neugi] (< niyōgi) a surname, is through lowering of [i] to [e] through influence of [o], and the [o] itself later became [u] through the presence of [i] in the following syllable.


213. Bengali [æe], written এ, আ, গায়.

From OB. < েi>েy >, through Vowel-Harmony: দেয় [dæe] (dei), নেয় [næe] (nei).

From OB. [æe] > MB. [æe], in ts. roots: খ্যায় [dhiæe], 1MB. নেয়ায় [dhiæe], OB. *[dhiæe] (dhyāyati).

From MB. < েa, েh >: see p. 412, under [æe].

Hindostani <ai>=[æ, æ, æe, æe] becomes [æ, æe] in NB., in borrowed forms: e.g., খাসাতে খাসাতে [fææsa ke tæesa] (= jaisā ke taïsā).

214. Bengali [æo], written এও, occasionally আও, comes from eMB. [eən, efn] followed by [n, a] in the next syllable: e.g., টেরোরা [tæora], MB. [teora] crumpled (*tēvaḍa-, trivṛtta-); কেরোরা [kēora] (kēvaḍa-, kētaka+da); শেরোলা [ʃeola] (*śeśvāla, śāśvāla); বেরোরা [bæora] affair (*bēvāra-, *viśvāra-, vyāpara); নেওতি [næoto], MB. [næhɔ:ta] (snēha-vṛttta-); etc. MB. দেহ, নেহ * dēhā, nēhā > give, take become in NB. দেও, নেও [dæo, næo], which are frequently heard, beside the more common দাও, নাও [dæo, næo] through influence of থাও, বাও [hæo, hæo] etc.

[æo] is found in onomatopoetics: মাও [mæo] meow of a tom-cat.

215. Bengali [ai], written আই, আই, আই, রাই, etc.

From OIA. group of <ā > or < ā > + consonant + < i, ర, -ikā- -atī > etc. > lMIA. < āi, ఎం, అం, ాం, ిం > etc. > OB., MB. < āi, āi, āi, āhī, āhī, āhī >, etc. See pp. 308, 309, 310. E.g., আই, আই [ai] grandmother (aṅyia, āryikā); বাই [bhai] (bhāṭṭ); গাই [gai] (gāvi); কাঙাই [kājai] name of a river (Kaṅsāvati); MB. ঢাঙাই [dhopai] name of a city (Campāvati); গাই [pai] pice, fourth of an anna (pādikā); রাই [raiz], eMB. রাই [rāi]
(rādhikā); वाइर [bair], beside बर, बेर [ba:r, be:r] (MIA. bāhirāṁ, OIA. bāhiś); नाई [nai] (nābhiḥ); राइ [rai] (rājikā); नाइ [jai] (svāmī); राइ [jai] (*sāmika, sām); गाई [gai] (grāmika); कौई [kai] tamarind (?: cf. Orijā kāyā green tamarind); etc. The suffix आइ [ai], as in बड़ाई [boraі] boast < बड़ा [bora] great, चाँदई [চাঁদাই] enquiry < चाँद [চাঁদ] demand, will come under this: see below, Morphology: ‘Formative Affixes.’ So [ai] as the affix for the verb first person present tense: आई [khai] (khādāmi), शाई [शाई] (yāmi), पाई [pái] (*prāpāmi = prāpāmi), चालै [chalai] (*calāpayāmi), खाओई [khaōai] (*khaḍāpayāmi), etc. In a few cases, NB. [ai] probably represents the Māgadhi Ap. nominative forms in -i < Māgadhī Prakrit -ē < OIA. -aḥ, -am: e.g., ठाई [thāi] (*thāwī, *thāmē, sthāman); ठाई [ṭhāi] (*ṭhārī, *ṭhārē, kṣāraḥ), with loss of -r- in Bengali?.

[ai] also comes from OB. < āu > in train of MB. epanthesis: e.g., बाई [bai] fad, ‘humor’ (vāyu); sts. अपाई [apai] (āpāyus); आइबुरो [aiburo] bachelor, maid < young person who will live long (āyur + vṛddha); etc. It is possibly found in the affix आई [ai] in names = < āyus >: e.g., बोलै [bolai] for बोलाम < bālārām>, दोनै [donai] for दोनर < jānārāndāna>, निमै [nimai] < निम < nim >, bitter as neem (name to avoid the evil eye); etc.

In onomatopoeics: गौंसाई [kai kai] whistling sound as of wind, पाईपाई [pái pái] rushing sound as of a swift runner, बाइबाई [bái bái] sound as of a top or wheel, etc.

[ai] is found in foreign words as well: see later.

216. Bengali [ae], written আই, আই.

[ae] in verb forms is derived from OB. < āi >, 3rd person present of verbs in -ā: e.g., बाय [khae], बाय [jīae], धाय [dēae] (dha-vati), MB. बाय [bae] plays (vādayati), etc.; from OB. < āwai >, 3rd person present of causatives: काराई [karārei] (*kārāvai, *kā/ārāpayati), etc.; and also from OB. < -āhai >, MB. आई < -āhe >: बाय [bae] (bāhē, vāhayati), गाय [gae] (gāhē, *gāthayati < gāthā); etc.

It occurs in the instrumental-locative of nouns in -ā = OB. < -ā-hā >: গোঠায় [ghoraе] = OB. < *ghōrāeh > (ghōtaka + -ēna); পায় [poe] (pādēna); गाय as in एक गाय [ek ghāe] with one blow (ghāta); नाय, नाय [nae] by boat (nāvēna); etc., etc.
In a few words, OB. « আয়া » gives [ae] in NB., through change of
the euphonic « য » + « আ » to « এ »: বায় [bae] wind, breeze (vāta); সায়ের
[jær] (sāyāra, sāgara), etc. (see p. 342). Cf. গায় [jæ] end (OIA. = sāyam
end of the day, evening); cf. also মাস [mojæ] Sir (mahāsaya > *māsāsaya, 
māsāy); etc.

217. Bengali [ao], written আও.
[ao] originates from OIA. « a+consonant+a » (MIA. a>a) »,
resulting in OB. « আও, আও »: e.g., imperative forms খাও, খাও, খাও [khao, 
fiño, gao] (khābā, jāhā, gāhaha = khādat(h)a, yāt(h)a, *gāthayat(h)a); 
MB. খাও, খাও, খাও [kha, maq, gao, fiño] (vāta, mātā, gātra, sāba); 
NB. বাওলা [baola] to fan, to winnow (vāta-); খাওলা > বাওলে [thaoka > 
-ko] detached amount, lump sum, cash (*sthāwakka- < *sthāpa-); আওড়া 
[agra] repeat (a-vṛt); আওটা [aota] stir milk etc.) (āvarta-); etc.

In দাও নাও [dao, nao], imperative forms, eMB. দেহ, নেহ « দেহা, 
নেহা », we have change from MIA. « েহা » through [æo] to [ao]. See 
§ 214. So কাওড়া [kora] a caste from « কেভত্তা »: cf. কেয়াত [kæot].

In the Calcutta 'Cockney' ছাও [fiño] (chāyā + -da-), we have [ao]
from the euphonic glide.

218. Bengali [au], written আউ.
From OB. « আও » < MIA. « আং » < OIA. « a+consonant+u- »;
বাউল [bau] (vātula, vyākula); বাউ [fiño] (jhabuka); বাউ [lau] (alabu);
MB. আউল [aul] (ākula-); MB. বাউ [bau] (vāyu); cf. বাউক, কাউক [fiño, 
khauk] (yātu, khādatu), etc.

In eMB., this group, when not epenthetic, probably was pronounced
as two syllables, with euphonic « ব » in between see pp. 310, 342, 345.

From OB. « আও » by Vowel-Harmony, through influence of
following « i »: ছাউনি [fiño] (chādana+ikā), etc., etc.: see p. 398; ছাউনি 
বাউনি [fiu nāuni] < *আনী বাউনি < *আনী (āwanī) bādhāni » harvest 
festival in the month of Pauṣa, when an earthen pot filled with new rice 
(« āmānī=Skt. āmānā », wrongply connected with « hēmanta » autumn,
to mean autumn rice) is covered and tied up with rope of new straw 
(« bādhani, bādhuni » < « bandhani », changed to « bāuni » through conta-
mination); etc., etc.
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MB. [au] by epenthesis is changed to [a, e] in NB.: see pp. 385-386. [au] occurs in onomatopoetic doublets; হাউ হাউ [হাউ হাউ], হাউহাউ [হাউ হাউ], etc. But cf. দাউ দাউ [dau dau] _the noise of a raging fire_ (_*dāwa dāwa,* < দায়, dāyānala).

In foreign words: see below.

219. Bengali [œ], written ও, ও, ও, ও.

OB. <-aωi, aha> in verbs > MB. <-e, ahē > NB. [œ]: হায [খোে] is (∗ahaî, ∗as-a-ti); সব [খোে] (∗sahati=sahate); কর [খোে] (kathayati); বহ [খোে] (vahati). In MB., OB. <-aωi > optionally occurs as <-eh > [œ]: করব < নহ, নহে, নহব [খোে] is not (aω + *ahaî). MB. medial <-h(e)> becomes the diphthong [œ]; _e.g._, ts. name মফোশ [mofʃʃ], in contempt মোশা [moeʃʃ]; বহুর [bɔerɔ] (MIA. bahdɔa=viβhitaka).

OB. <-i, ahi > in some words is found as [œ]: মল [moeʃʃ] (MIA. mailla-); পলল [poeʃʃ] (pahila-, MIA. pahilla); সবল [joelɔ], friend (among girls or women) (saω < sakhi + illa); ভ্যানা, ভ্যাধা [bhoeʃʃ, bhoeʃʃ] belonging to a buffalo, or buffalo's milk (∗mbhaînsa mahaînsa, mahaîsa); পলল [poelɔ] (paωa, pādɔ-); খামা [khoeɾɔ] catechu-coloured (khaînsa, khadiîra-); etc.

From MIA. <-aωa, aωa > aω > through < samprasāra >: ছাই [ʧhœe] sixth (chaωa=Early MIA. *eha + ka); নব [nœe] nine (nayωa, nāa, nava); পধ [pœe] as in the numerals for 35, 45, 65 (pāna-, paωa-, paωa-); মরা [moerɔ] confectioner (madaka-ra-), etc.

OB. <-i > becomes [œ] in কল [koelɔ] coal (< kōkila- cuckoo). In গমল [goelɔ] milkman, as in the Calcutta dialect, we have these stages presumably: <-gōpala > < gōalɔ, < *gōalɔ, *gɔy'la > [goelɔ]: there was also the influence of forms like কল, মল and মলো.

Skt. <-yā > in tss. becomes [œ]: জো [ʃʃeɔ], ভাত [bheɔe], আলো [alɔe], বহুর [bœʃʃ, bœʃʃ], etc.

In the Standard Colloquial, [œ] generally is contracted to [ə], in original disyllables with [ə]+[e]+consonant in the second syllable: _e.g._, the honorific verb forms in <-en >: লমেন > লন [lœn > lən], হমেন > হন [hœn > hən]; বহু=বৃষ্ট > *বৃষ [bœʃʃ > bɔʃʃ]; etc.

[œ] is found in foreign loan words: see later.
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220. Bengali [oa] is found through loss of glide [ə, ɐ], or [ʊ]: e.g.,

कहा, काबा > काब [kəba, koøa > kəa] spoken; होवा, हुआ [høøa > høa] been;
rarely ग्राली > ग्राली [ɡərali > ɡəali] Brāhman from Gayā; etc.

221. Bengali [oo], written ও, occasionally ওহ, ওহে, comes mainly

from OB. < -awā, -ahā >: e.g., হও [høo] you be (hha, *as-a-tha); নও [nøo] you are not (naha, na *as-a-tha); কও [køo] (kha, kathayatha); নোলা
[nøola] card of nine (nawa-la-); দোলা [døola] card of ten (daha-la, daša-la);
চৌড়া [çøorda] braid (*cavaḍā < catur four); মহো, মওলাক [moora] brunt of
attack (mahar = muha-da-); etc.

In Persian loan-words, [oo] is sometimes found: see below.

222. Bengali [oi], written এী, ওী, ওই, ওরী, ওরী

[oi] comes mainly from MB. < ী > [oi, oï], MB. ও, ওই > < OB.

ায়, ওই > MIA. < ী, ওই > < OIA. < a > + consonant + < i >: পাইতে

< পাইতা < poita (pavitra-); ছই [çœioi] (chadis); দই [doi] (dadhi);
সই [søi] (sakhi-); etc. See pp. 308, 509, 384-389.

From OB. < awāi, awai > MB. < ী, -ী > : কী [køi] a fish (kavayi);

চই [cœi] (cavayi): see pp. 317 ff. So OB. *-হী <*-ahiwi, *-ahami > gives

the NB. [oi]: সই [søi] (*sahimi = sahāmi); বই [boi] (*bahimi = vahāmi),

হই [høi] (*ahiwi < *ahami = *as-ə-mi = as-mi), etc. See p. 351.

OB. < awu >, ultimately from OIA. < a > + consonant + < u >, or from

Skt. < au > in ts. words, became < ী > in MB., after epenthesis. This

< ী > of MB. is normally contracted to [o] in the NB. Standard Colloquial,

but we have instances of [oi] as well: e.g., জোপির দিন [çœipoir din] all the
day long (see p. 385); etc.

In ts. words, ও < ী > becomes [oi]: টৈল [toilə], দৈহ [doinnə], বৈরী
[boiri], চৈত্য [çœitonano] , sts. চৈতন [čœiton], etc. Old sts. like টৈল, শৈল
are sometimes pronounced as disyllables, [to-il, jo-il], the second syllable
being emphasised by the final consonant; but the diphthongal monosyllabic
[toil, joil] are heard, beside the sts. [toilo, joilo], etc.

Sanskrit ও, ওই * ayi, ay1 >, especially in final positions, are pronounced
[oi], and written occasionally as ও, ওই: e.g., দৈম মৈ [dočmoi], occasionally
found as দ্যামে; কৌকৌকা [koikei] is vulgarly pronounced as [koikoi]; and
there are cases of Skt. < au > being changed to < ী > = [oi] in some ts.,
following the analogy of change of epenthetic əu to əi in M.B.: e.g., in folk-Bengali we have ৈনবে [fôirôb(î)], টিরবন [fôobôn], and even ৈবারিক [doibarik] = সৌরাভ, যাব্যান, দুবাঃ।

[oi] is found in onomatopoeics; টেখে [fôoi fôoi], used in calling ducks to feed them; পাইপাই [pôi pôi] in the sense of repeatedly (= < padé padé?); ৈচে [fôoi fôoi] shout and noise, etc.


223. Bengali [oe], written ও, ওয়, অ, অে, অে, অে, etc., is derived primarily from M.B. əe, əe, as well as M.B. əu, uə by Vowel Harmony, as in verb forms of the 3rd person: e.g., দোষ < দোষ < ছুহে < হঘই [dœ < dœf < duf < dufi] (*duhati=dɔgðhi); শোষ < শোঞ [ʃoe <ʃoʃeq] (suvaï, svapiti); রোয় [ʃoe] (rɔpayati); হোয় [ʃâhô] (chuvai = spɔʃəti), etc.

It is also derived from an earlier M.B. group əə, əə; e.g., হঘে [ʃoe] (< [hoi̯, hɔi̯a, hoia]) having been; so সে [ʃoe] having suffered < সহিষ্ণু < sâhiə >; etc.

In an extremely lax pronunciation in Calcutta, পনের [ponero] 15 becomes [pô pero] (and even [pô Øro]).

[oe] is found in foreign words, mainly English: see below.

224. Bengali [oa], written ও, ওয়, অ, comes from OB. groups like əwə, əwə, əwə, əhə, going back to various OIA. combinations with an intervocal consonant. The [oa] diphthong is frequently contracted to [a] in the NB. speech. The [o] in this group is essentially a glide sound so far as NB. is concerned, and [oa] of course is not much different from əwə [wa], only that the quality of the first element is very open. Examples: eM.B. রাখাল [rakhol] > NB. রাখাল [rakhal] herdsman (raksâpâla); কোটাল, কোটাল [kôtal, kôtal] (kotta-påla); গোলাল [gôal] yoke (yôga+âla); ওয়ার [oar] damage, destroy (apakâra); ওয়াড [oar] pillow-case (*ôhârha, ohaus=avârêta); গোলাল [goala] (gôpâla-); গোলাল > গোলাল [goal > goa] (gôsâla); বারোরি [baroari] (< bârâ = court, gate + < uâr > pavilion, public festival in a decorated bamboo pavilion)—wrongly derived
from Indian बार < bārā > 12 + ईयार < iyār > friend < Pers. < yār >; পোক [pok] a quarter (MIA. *pōka, *pāwha = pāda-); চোর [kho] brick-bat, broken bit (< kṣaya-?); মাঝ [mok] (modaka-); etc.

In দেওয়া, দেওয়া > দেয়া, নেয়া [deā, neā > doa, noa] to give, to take, we have change of [eoa], to [oa] through [*eoa, *aoa]. See pp. 421, 423.

In some old ts. and sts. words in MB., Skt. < -vā, -vā after a vowel or a consonant appeared as [oa], which is preserved in NB.: MB. অোড়স [aodj] (āvāsa); আোথাস [a-j] (āsvāsa); সোরাপ, সোরােষ্ঠ < jōth, jōasti > (svasti), besides < jōosti, jōsti >; সোরামী [jōami] (svāmi) < doadoj, doadoji > (dvādaśa, -st), etc. This [o] also has become [o] in NB.: see p. 403.

[oa] occurs in foreign words, for < wa >

225. Bengali [ou], written ও, ওড়, ওড়, ওড়, ওড়, etc. This diphthong originates from MB. < au, ā-u, āhu > < OB. < au, āw, ahu > < MIA. < au, ahu > < OIA. < a > + consonant + < u >: চো [chou] (catur-); ফো [fou] (jatu-); etc. See pp. 310, 344.

OB. < aham, aham > gave in 1MB. [ou], which is commonly contracted to [o] in NB.: ক'ক, কোক [kок] let him talk < ক'ক, ক'ক < kāuk, kāuk >; ব'ক [bo:k] < ব'ক, ব'ক < bāuk, bāuk > let him bear; etc.

In পোনে [poun] less by one-fourth, 1/4ths, from < pādona >, we have [ou] from OB. < *awō >, MIA. < aō >, through influence of a following < i > (pādona- < pāloha, pāño-; pāon-iā > pānē). In ফোন [dour], MB. কোর [kouri], we have [ou] from 1MIA. [ava]: see p. 348.

< aā > of Sanskrit becomes [ou] in tss.: ওষধ [oufod(f)], সৌর < jourob(f)], ফোন [foubon], ফোর [fourob], etc. In OB., < aō > became বাউ < a-ū > [du] in tss., e.g., গাউড়, মউন < gaurā, māunā >. These sometimes retain a disyllabic character in NB. [go-ur, mo-un], but a monosyllabic pronunciation [gour, moun] is heard as well. (See the parallel case of [oi] from < a >.)

In the sts. ফোর [mour], we have [ou] from Skt. < -ayū- > (mayūra).

[ou] occurs in Persian and other borrowings, and is also found in early 19th century borrowings from English: e.g., কৌশল < koushali < gooral > = counsel. See later, under 'Foreign Elements.'
226. Bengali [ui], written উই, উহি, etc.

It comes from OB. *uwi, utī, uhi, uhī, uhi, etc., in verb forms, and in nouns, representing contractions and modifications of various OIA.
groups: e.g., ডুই [dui] (*duwi, duvē, dvē); ডুই [dui] l milk (*duhi, *duhī, *duhi, *duhāmi, duhāmi); ডুই [dui] (jūhi, yūthikā); ঢুই [pūi] (pūtikā); etc. ঢুই [lui], dialectal, seems to be from Hindōstānī
*sūr* (sūcī, sūcikā).

From OB. *ōhi, ɔhi*, coming from various OIA. groups, through
influence of the following *i*: e.g., ঢুই [dhuui] I wash (√dhō); রুই [rui]
I plant (rōpayāmi); রুই [rui] carp-fish (rōhita); জুই [jūi] fire (jyōtīs,
*jōi*); লুই [nuī] I bend (*nōwi, namāmi); etc. লুই [lui] woollen stuff is
from Hind. *lōi* (< lōma + ıkā?).

OB. *aī, aį, aį, awī* > gave *oi* > [ui] in NB.; see under Vowel-
Harmony, p. 398. Similar in nature is the change of *tvay-ēna, *mav-
ēna* > OB. *taī, mai* > NB. ঢুই, ঢুই [tui, mui].

[ui] occurs in foreign words, mostly English. Cf. also রইতন [ruilton]
diamonds (in cards) < Dutch < ruiten >.

227. Bengali [ue], written উে. This has not wholly passed into
the monosyllabic stage. It commonly originates through vowel mutation
from *uĩa, ōĩa* of MB.: ঢুইয়া *suĩa* (from *শোইয়া *sōĩa*) gives
ঘুয়া [lue] having lain down; ঢুইয়া *dhuii* (< *dhōiĩa*) becomes ঢুয়ে [dhue]
having washed.

MB. *uhē* gives [ue]: মুহে [mue] in the face (muhē < muha,
mukha).

In rapid speech, original (MB.) *uie* > becomes [ue]: ঢুয়ে *duie* with
two becomes ঢুয়ে [due]. Standard Colloquial [ue] from earlier Bengali
*u+aĩ+aĩ* in causatives (see p. 394) does not, however, contract to [ue].

228. Bengali [ua], written উআ, উয়া, is a diphthong properly belonging
to the literary language, that is, to MB. It is found in East Bengali
to some extent. In the Standard Colloquial, it is normally mutated to
[o], through the stage [uo] resulting from Vowel-Harmony: *e.g., শুমার
[ʃuar] > শুওর, শোর [ʃuor,ʃoর] (sūkara); জলুলা [ʃiolo] > ঢ'লো [ʃiolo].
See ante, p. 413.
'UA, UO,' DOUBLE VOWELS, TRIPHTHONGS, ETC. 429

[ua] frequently changes to [oa]: चूहा, चूहा [dhuŀar, dhuar] > चूहा, चूहा [\u0905\u0915\u0940\u091f\u093e\u0928\u093e\u0902\u0930] a ruffian (see p. 71); सोहार, सोहार [do\u0916\u093e\u0902\u093e\u0902] singer in chorus (< dhrūva-kāra); etc. See p. 401, suprā.

[ua] figures in onomatopoeics: हुआ हुआ [\u0905\u09fe\u0920\u093e\u0902\u0930] the cry of the jackal.

229. Bengali [uo], written উও, উয়া, is a NB. formation from [ua] above by Vowel-Harmony; and [uo], as noted before, tends to become [o] in the Standard Colloquial: e.g., জুও, জুয়া, জো [dhuuo, dh\u00f8:] < জুহা, জুহা [\u0905\u09fe\u0920\u093e\u0902\u0930] (dūtas); কুও, কুয়া, কো [kuo, ko:] < কুহা, কুহা [ku] (kūpas); দুও, দুয়া, দো [dhuuo, dh\u00f8:] < দুহা [dhu\u0902\u093e\u0928\u093e\u0902\u093e\u0902] refrain (dhrūva-); দুও, দুয়া, দো [duor, dor:] < দুহার [duar] (*dūrā, dvāra); দুহাক [dhuok] < দুহাক [dhuak] < দুহাক < let him cause to wash; etc.

230. The double vowels ঈই [ii], এএ [ee], আআ [aa], ওও [oo] and উউ [uu], the second occurrence being pronounced as a distinct syllable, are found in New Bengali, and are the results of a similar dropping of intervening < h > or glide, and of Mutation and Vowel-Harmony: e.g., দিই [dii], also in a simplified form দি [di] I give; থের, pronounced [khee] also [kheē] having eaten; খাআ [kha\u0901\u093e\u0928] beside খায়া [kha\u0901\u093e\u0928] eaten, to eat; থেয়ে [dho, dho] you wash < MB. থেয়ে [dho:] (dhāvata); [uu] is rather rare: an example is in the onomatopoetic কুউ [knu] the cry of the cuckoo, which is found side by side with কুহ [kufu].

231. The following triphtongal and tetraphthongal groups are found in the NB. Standard Colloquial: [iei, ieo, iae, iei, eio, eoi, euo, aei, vai, vio, aoi, aei, aii, aei, aei, eoi, oei, oei, oai, oae, oui, uie, uie, ueo, uae, uae, uae, ooe] and [oei, eoe, aoe, oae, ooi]. The < sādhu-bhāṣā > has the groups [oaoio, ooio], which are really three syllables [a\u0902-a\u0915-o, a\u0902-a\u0902-o]. They can be traced to three or more syllables in MB. and OB., separated by < -h- > or < y, w >. In all cases their derivation is clear, and they need not be taken up for detailed study.

[I] VOWELS IN SANSKRIT WORDS.

232. Enough has been said incidentally about the way in which Skt. vowels are pronounced in Bengali. These always conform to the speech
habits of the various Bengali dialects. In the Standard Colloquial area they take up the following sounds, even in reading or chanting a Sanskrit passage:

«а» is pronounced as [ə], and as [o] when the next syllable has «i» or «u», or has «y» preceded by a consonant.

«ā, i, ɪ, u, ū» remain; «ṛ, ṛ, ḷ» become [ṛi, ṛi, ḷi]. «ē, ō» remain as in Sanskrit, i.e., as [e:, o:]; and initial [e:] as a rule is not pronounced as [æ].

«āi, āu» became [oi, ou].

The [æ] sound is given to post-consonantal «-yā», and often to «-yā». In East Bengali pronunciation, there is epenthesis in connection with post-consonantal «-y-».

The vowels are nasalised when they are preceded by a post-consonantal «-m-».

Below are given transcriptions, of the first two verses of the ‘Meghadūta’, (i) in the current pronunciation of the Standard Colloquial area and (ii) in a sort of Typical or Common East Bengali articulation.

(i) [kɔʃit kɔntɔ:birɔfɔgurunɔ: ʃɔ:ðika:rɔp:romɔtɔ:ɔh
ʃu:pe:na:stɔŋǥomitɔmɔfima: borphɔnɔg:ɛnɔ bʃɔrtuh (vɔrtuh) ʃ
snigdhoʃfhoʃa:toruʃu boʃɔtini ra:mɔgiriʃa:ʃome:ʃu || 1 ||
tɔʃinɔdːru kotiʃdiɔbola: bip:roʃɔktʃɔ kɔmi:
nitɔ: maʃan kɔŋɔkɔbɔlɔːb:ʃrɔŋʃɔrikɔr:roko:ʃtɔh ʃ
ɔ:ʃarʃɔː p:roθɔmɔdibıʃe: me:ɡhɔmas:liʃʃa:nun ʃ

(ii) [kəʃsit kau:tɔ:birɔfɔgurunɔ ʃa:d(f)iːkə:rɔp:romɔtɔ:ɔh
ʃu:pe:na:stɔŋǥɔmıtɔmɔfima: borphɔb(f)ɔɾɡ:ɛnɔ b(f)ɔrtuh ʃ
dɔːk:hoʃ tɔːk:re: dɔŋɔkɔtɔnɔɛa: sna:nɔpuːnɔ:doke:ʃu
snigd(f)ɔʃa:ːa: toruʃu boʃɔtini ra:mɔgirdzɔːʃome:ʃu || 1 ||
233. The vernacular Bengali habits of mutation and vowel harmony, bimorism and anaptyxis, haplogy and metathesis, and dropping and assimilation of consonants strive to have their way with ts. importations, and in the speech of the women and children and the uneducated, they refuse to be restrained by the influence of the classical tongue. The result is that in Bengali, in addition to the more correct approximations to the Sanskrit (according to the Bengali standard), there are folk-forms or *semi-tatsamas* widely aberrated from the Sanskrit. These *semi-tatsamas* often require to be spelt phonetically, so far they are removed from the Sanskrit; and with the present-day insistence on verisimilitude in literature, they are being recognised once more (as they always were in Middle Bengali times), and are being employed more and more in the novel and the drama. Some examples of folk forms have been given above, pp. 381, 382, 406. Some more are given below, but it is not worth while to illustrate the line of development from eMB. pronunciation of *ts*.: बाग्गता [bagotta] euger prayer (*beāgārā = vyāgratā); समार [samār] grown-up (samartha); समार, मर्मत [samanametto, -meru] holy water off an idol (caramāmṛta); बाज़ंस [baḏānus] hobby (vāyvanśa); पादोक्कल [padokkαl] washings of the feet of a revered person, treated as holy water (pādōdakajala); जोसेन [josten] an expiatory and benedictory ceremony (svastayana); मांगु [mangi] costly (*mārghē, mahārghya); अग्रहन, अग्रहन [aggrhan, agghan] (agrabhāya); ज्ञान [djān] (vyāśīthā); चुरितार [churittār] (śrōtriya); हनुमान [hanumān] (hanumān); चक्र [cakkr] a surname (cakravarti); बॊस [boś] a surname (vasu); चंद्र [muna] (mānjarī); अशुल [ašuli] (aṇjali); अप्राणित [apraṇite] a flower (aparājītā); हृष्टीनिद्धि [hrṣṭinidggh] sense of propriety (brasvadīrgha); कुल्न [kuln] (bhāṭṭAcārya); केंत [ketton] (kīrttana);
The general lines of development of the vowels in Bengali on the basis of the Standard Colloquial have been sought to be traced above. A study of the phonology of the different dialects of Bengali has not been possible. Only some general remarks have been made—e.g., about the East Bengali and North Bengali dialects being conservative in their vowel system, preserving a great deal of the MB. conditions of epenthesis and absence of mutation. For a thorough and detailed study of the development of Bengali, it will be necessary to compare the dialects. A survey of the phonetics and phonology of each special variation of Bengali will be the material indispensable for such a study. Intimate personal acquaintance with the dialects concerned, joined to a scientific training, is the qualification necessary for such work. But that is wanting at the present day. The specimens in the LSI. are invaluable, and articles in the VSPdP. and other Bengali journals on the dialects of Bengali are also very valuable material: but these have their limitations, specially from point of view of phonetics and phonology. The historical study of the Bengali dialects in their ensemble is therefore to be left for the future.
CHAPTER V

PHONOLOGY OF THE NATIVE ELEMENT: CONSONANTS

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

235. The history of the consonant sounds of IA. in its general outline has been given in Chapter I. The main points in the development of the OIA. consonants into those of (Old) Bengali may be recapitulated: examples will be found under each sound in indicating the origins of the Bengali consonants, infra.

[I] SINGLE CONSONANTS.

(1) Single initial consonants have generally remained unchanged. There have been, however, some cases of aspiration and desaspiration of stops, of change of a sibilant to a palatal <c(h)>, and of <bh-> to <h-> (see infra, under 'Aspiration', and under Bengali [c][h] and [h] respectively); OIA. <y-> and <v-> have changed to <j-> and <b->, and <r-> is found as <l, l>n> and also as <r>.

(2) Single intervocal consonants:

[a] the stops <k-, g-, t-, d-, p-, b-, y-, v-> have been dropped; <t-, d-> have been reduced to <r->; and in a number of Māgadhī inheritances, <pt- (<rt-)> have resulted in <r(t)> as well; intervocal <c-, j-> both remain as <c-, j-> (in original Māgadhī words), or are dropped (in non-Māgadhī forms).

[b] the aspirates <kh-, gh-, th-, dh-, ph-, bh-> have been reduced to <h->; <th-, dh-> occur as <rh->, in MB. and NB. deaspirated to <r- >.

[c] <m- > has become a mere nasalisation of contiguous vowels, through an intermediate stage of <w- >; <n-, n- > probably both occurred as the cerebral <n- >, to be changed to the dental <n- > in MB.

[d] an intervocal sibilant has transformed itself to <h- >, in some cases, besides normally occurring as <s >.

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[e] <-r-, -l-> interchange a little; <-h-> remained in OB., generally,
to be lost in NB. (whether original OIA., or MIA. <-h-> derived from
OIA. aspirates).

[II] CONSONANTAL GROUPS.

These, initial or medial, have been reduced to a single consonant in
Bengali, after having undergone assimilation in the Early MIA. stage.
The following were the main lines of treatment.

(1) [a] Stop+stop became a single stop; stop+aspirate became a
single aspirate. Where the first of these sounds differed in its point of
articulation from the second, the first assimilated itself to the second
in the MIA. (kt > tt, gdh > ddh, tk > kk, etc.) This kind of consonant
nexus occurred medially only.

[b] Stop+nasal: <-kn-, -tn-> became <-k-, -t->; <-gu-> became
<-g-, -ŋ(g)->; <-jā-> became <-n->; <-dn> had already become <-nν>
in OIA., and this gave <-n-> in Bengali; <-tn-> in áttman gave <-p->
(अपन < āpam >— a non-Māgadhī form), and <-dm-> seems to have
become <-d->.

[c] Stop or aspirate +<- y->.

(i) Gutturals, palatals, cerebrals and labials +<- y->: the <-y-> was
assimilated to the preceding consonant, which was doubled medially, in
MIA. (but the genuine Māgadhī change seems to have been to <-kiy-,
çi-y->, etc.). Bengali preserves a single stop or aspirate.

(ii) Dentals +<- y->: the group became <-cc(h)-, -jj(h)-> medially,
and <-c-, (ch)-, j-, jh-> initially. Bengali preserves a single <-c(h), j(h)->.
[This palatalisation of <t(h), d(h)>+<-y-> seems not to have been characteristic
of Old Māgadhī, which changed <-ty, dy, dhy-> to <-tiy-, -yy- (diy ?),
-dhiy->: the palatalised forms, evidently from other dialects in Second or
Late MIA., seem to have overwhelmed Māgadhī.]

[d] Stop or aspirate +<- r->. The <-r-> was assimilated to the preceed-
ing sound, which was doubled in a medial position, in MIA. Bengali has
one stop or aspirate. The group <-dr-> probably became <-*dl-> in the
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OIA. source dialect of Māgadhī, whence we have < -ll- > -l- in a few words in NIA.

[e] Stop or aspirate + < l > : assimilation of < l >.

[f] Stop or aspirate + < v > : assimilation of < v >. (In the groups < -tv-, -dv-, -dhv- >, the resultant form in some cases is < -p-, -b-, -bh- > in NB., as in other MIA.: this labialisation is non-Māgadhī: see infra, under the Labials.)

[g] Stop + sibilant:
(i) < ks > gives < kh > (through the Māgadhī), < ch > (through extra-Māgadhī MIA. forms).

(ii) < ts, ps > became < ech > in MIA., whence < ch > in Bengali.

(2) [a] Nasal + stop or aspirate: for treatment in Bengali, see §177, pp. 362-367, supra.

[b] Nasal + nasal: the OIA. groups were < -ηη-, -nn- > and < -mm- >: < -ηη-, -nn- > occur as < n >, and < -mm- > as < m- > in Bengali.

[c] Nasal (anusvāra) + < y, (r, l), v, ś, (s), s, h >: see above, §177.

(3) < -yy- > gave < j > in Bengali.

(4) [a] < r > + stop or aspirate:
(i) < r > before a guttural, palatal, or labial: the latter was doubled and the < r > was assimilated. In Bengali, these assimilated groups result in a single guttural, palatal or labial stop or aspirate.

(ii) < r > + dental stop or aspirate of OIA. show a two-fold treatment: the < r > cerebralised and doubled the dental, and was so assimilated, or it simply doubled the dental without cerebralising it. The former is the proper Māgadhī treatment: the latter non-Māgadhī. Bengali has < -t(h)-, -t(h)- > in Māgadhī inheritances, and < -t(h)-, -d(h)- > in apparently non-Māgadhī forms.

[b] < r > + nasal: < -rn-, -rn- > were assimilated to < -ηrn- > in MIA., which gave < -n- > in Bengali, and < -rm- > gave < -mm- > < -m- >.

[c] < -ry- >: the Early MIA. (non-Māgadhī) assimilation was to < -yy- >, which gave Second MIA. < -jj- >, whence Bengali < -j- >. Cases of < -ry- > > < -yy- > > < -y- > are known in Old Bengali. The genuine
Māgadhī change was to « -liy- », which is not preserved in Bengali, but « -ry- » also occurs as « -l- » in Bengali (through a stage « -ly- > -ll- »).

[e] « -rv- » is found as « -bb- » > « -b- ».
[f] « r » + sibilant : assimilation with the sibilant, which is doubled (-śś-, -ss- → -śś- in Māgadhī), and is reduced to a single sibilant pronounced « ś » in Bengali.

[g] « -rh- » became « -hl- » in Māgadhī, whence « l » in NB.

(5) [a] « -l- » + stop : assimilation of « l » , leading to single stop in Bengali.


[d] « -ll- » > MIA. « -ll- » > Bengali « -l- ».

(6) « -vy- » > MIA. « -vv-, -bb- » > Bengali « -b- ». This is a non-Māgadhī change : the original Māgadhī alteration of « -vy- » was to « -viy- », which is lost, and « -vy- » - « vv-, -bb- » forms have become established.

(7) [a] Groups with sibilant + stop or aspirate : « śc, śk, śṭ(h), sp, sk(h), st(h), sp(h) » became initially an aspirate, medially a stop + its aspirate, in MIA. In Bengali we have a single aspirate.

[b] Sibilant + nasal :
   « śn > MIA. ŋh > OB. ŋh > MB., NB. n » ;
   « sn > MIA. ŋh > OB. n, ŋh (?) > NB. n » ;
   « śm, śm, sm > MIA. ss (śś Māgadhī), mh > OB. s, mh(m) > NB. s, m ».

[c] Sibilant + « y » : normally, assimilated to double sibilant in MIA., whence Bengali single sibilant. There are cases of modification of this assimilated double sibilant to « h » , which are found in Bengali.


(8) « h » + nasal (ḥn, hn, hm) : this group underwent metathesis in MIA. (ṇh, nh, mh), and in Bengali, they have resulted in a simple nasal.
CONSONANT GROUPS, ASPIRATION

<hy> probably became <*-hiy-*> in Old Māgadhī. In other MIA. it became <*-jjh-*>. It is not represented in Bengali.

(9) *Visarga* + consonant simply doubled the latter, and Bengali has a single consonant representing the OIA. group.

Groups of more than two consonants (like <rdhv, rtm, tsy, ṣṭr, Ṯṭr, ndhy> etc., do not require any special remarks: it is the semivowels, liquids or sibilants in them that were assimilated, and then they behaved in MIA. like OIA. groups of two consonants. A post-consonantal <v> or <y> sometimes labialised or palatalised a preceding dental: e.g., འབྲ <ubbha> (MIA. ubbha- < *udhba, *uddhva = ūrdhva), ལྷི་ < bāice > boat race (MIA. *vāhicca < ? *vāhitrya < vahitra), etc.

Phonological changes of a more general character are discussed below.

[B] ASPIRATION AND DEASPIRATION.

236. The aspirates are a prominent class of sounds in IA., and they were passed on to all NIA., except Sinhalese, which quite early in its history (before the Ėlu stage: see p. 15) deaspirated them. Deaspiration of aspirates inherited from OIA. also occurs in NB.: this is discussed below (§§239 ff.). All NIA. languages possess some words in which there is aspiration, but their Sanskrit counterparts show absence of it. These words have aspiration in MIA.; and in certain cases the MIA. forms owe the aspiration conditions obtaining in OIA. itself.

Where it is a case of initial aspiration of an unvoiced stop, a possible explanation is to be sought in OIA. (and perhaps IE.) omission of <s-> before <k, c, t, p, n> at the head of the word (see Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ § 84; Pischel, §§ 205 ff.; cf. also Wackernagel, ‘Altindische Grammatik,’ I, § 230). OIA. groups of <sp, st, sk, šc> occurred without the <s-> as well: e.g., <paśyati: spaśaḥ; candraḥ: -śandraḥ; tārā: stṛ>, etc.; OIA. <*skarpa->, after loss of sibilant in pre-MIA. times, gave Skt. <karpara>, and <*skarpa> (with the <s->) in MIA. times would give <khappara>, whence Bengali খাপরার <khāpṭārā> sherd, tile. Later, <k happara> itself was Sanskritised as <kharpara>. So <skandha > > MIA.
« khandha » would be expected to give a Bengali *বীণ ➔ *khaḍha ➔ ; but the Bengali form is ভীণ < kāḍha ➔ , which seems to go back to an OIA. *kandha ➔ . (The Bengali কাঢ় in কাঢ়কাটা < kāḍha-kāṭa ➔ head-less (ghost) is a late sts. from the Sanskrit < kābandha ➔ .) But it is possible to explain only a few words showing alternation of initial voiceless stops and aspirates in OIA. and MIA. in this way. In most cases, however, the aspiration remains obscure: especially where we have aspiration of sonant stops, not attested in Sanskrit. Following Jacobi, Jules Bloch sees some connexion of an < s > or < r > in aspirating a stop (Bloch, op. cit., §86): but although in MIA. and NIA., forms in aspirated stops occur in certain words with < s > or < r >, as, e.g., ভুসি < bhusi > (busa-); Hindi < bhēṣ > (*bēṣa < vēṣa); শিশ < jhāṣa > fish (OIA. < jhaṣa > beside < jaṣa >); ফাস < phāṣ > (pāṣa); ধিচ্ছ > ধিচ্ছ < khicār > khicuṛ > mess of rice and pulses with butter (cf. Skt. kṣāra < kṣara); জাজর < jhājār > siere (? jarjara); জুনা < jhunā > old, experienced, dried up (as a coco-nut) (jūrna- ?), etc.; cf. also Skt. < śṛṅkā > chain (?) beside < śṛṅkhala ➔ ,—this is not a satisfactory explanation, as Bloch himself admits. It seems that contamination with other forms, plus a vague sense of onomatopoeia, which is so very strong as an indirect influence in Indian speech, had more to do in aspirating stops than the presence of any particular sound; especially in initial aspiration. The Dravidian articulation of the stops, in Tamil-Malayalam, in Kannada, in Telugu, is slightly aspirated: can the cases of initial aspiration in MIA. and NIA. be partly due to a Dravidian influence? Other instances of initial aspiration in Bengali (apart from cases of transferred aspiration, noted below, and besides those given above) are the following: থিল < khil > (Skt. kila, MIA. khila); খাবল < khabal > a handful, mouthful (? kaṭala); খেল < khel > (Skt. khela: √kriḍ); বৃষ্টি < gurit > paper kite (cf. Hindi guḍḍi); ঝাপান < jhāpāna > (*jāppāna, yāpya-yāna); পেলে < phēlē >, beside MB. পেলে < pēlē > throws (? pērayati, MIA. pēllaï); MB. ফুকর < phukārē > shouts (cf. Hindi pukār shout = phutkāra (?) ; ফুঁছ < phārin > grasshopper (patagga); etc.

1 ভীণ does not seem to be due to deaspiration of ভ ‘kh’ from an earlier ভীণ: Bengali is prone to drop the aspiration in a non-initial rather than in an initial aspirate.
(See under the various aspirates, *infra.*) Some *dēśi* and *ṭbh.* words seem to show alternation of aspirated and unaspirated forms: *e.g.*, गोड़ < गोळ > *foot, heel,* but गोड़तोल < गोळ-तोल > *high-heeled* (*boot*), रुट < रुटी > *ghuṇṭi,* रुटी > *heel;* झाल < झाल > *hot to taste,* connected with झाल < झाल > *burning sensation* (*?*); so झाल < झाल > *sparkle,* cf. झाल < झाल > *to burn;* झाल < झाल > *water mass, soup, saliva,* beside झाल, झूली < झूल > *channel, river* (*bed*), see pp. 65, 66; ठें < ठें > [ठें] *shin, leg,* beside ठाँत < ठाँत > *tēth;* ठाल < ठाल > *clot, piece of stone,* beside ठाल < ठाल > *clot, lump;* ठाल < ठाल (g)ā > *tall,* beside झाऊर < झाऊर > *big, huge;* ठाकूर < ठाकूर > *pounding or husking machine,* beside ढाक < ढाक > *gourd,* ढाकाली, ढाकाली, ढाकाली, ढाकाली, ढाकाली, ढाकाली > *orgy, riotousness,* besides ढाकाला < ढाकाला > *hubbub, hullaboo;* ठोल < ठोल > *drum,* beside ठोल < ठोल > *vessel shaped like a drum;* ठूळ < ठूळ > *forelock, crest,* beside ठूळ < ठूळ > *jūṭi, cūṭi (कूट) > queue,* connected with ठूल < ठूल > *curl, hair,* Skt. ठूल < ठूल > *čūlā,* (कू, कूत) < झाल > *quickly,* also ठूळ < ठूळ > *quick,* cf. Skt. ठूळ < झाल > *beside ठूळ < ठूळ > *quick* (*jhaṭ-īti* > connected with √ jhar by Wackernagel, I, § 114); etc., etc.

237. Aspiration in the interior of words is also found, and it is still more obscure. The Sanskrit pleonastic *-ka* is represented by *-h-* in Second MIA. (see Pischel, § 206). Is this *-h-* due to aspiration of OIA. *-k-* to *-kh-*? Cf. Pali *sunakha,* Second MIA. *sunahā* (*=*Skt. शुन-का, *)—otherwise explained as being *su + nakha*, and not as a case of *-kha* (*-ka*). Cases of aspiration of intervocal stops, however, are found in MIA. and in NIA.: *e.g.*, Āsokan Prakrit (DhauI) *akhambasē* (*akarkāsa,*) *kičhe (*=kičhe?*)*; Hāthigumpha Inscription *Bhāradha-* (*=Bhāradha*) *Second MIA.* *Bhārāha* (*< *Bhāratha= Bhārata*); Hind. *-hār* (*-kāra: or? *<* Skt. hāra, √ hṛ;* Kaṁrī and Panjābī *Vihār* (*Vitastā*) *=* Jhelum River; Bengali *bīnd̄ from *bīnd̄ < *bighāṭa* < *bīghāṭa* > *spau* (*=* vitasti?; possibly a case of transference of aspiration) (see also E. Müller, ‘Pali Grammar,’ p. 25). Aspiration of a voiced stop seems to have been favoured in some cases through the influence of a preceding nasal. Cases of alternation of *-mb-* and *-mbh-* occurred in OIA. (Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 100; Wackernagel, I,
Bengali instances are—অঘৰ, beside আন্দু < আঘৰ = আধু, আদু > (anduka); MB. জমির, জিরে, জি রে, < জমিরা, জমিরা, জমিরা > (jambilra); MB. সম- < সম্মৈ > enters (? samayati), beside সাধার, সাধার < সাম্ভার, সাম্ভার > sambhae, sambhae > (? through contamination with sambhalayati) > সাভ্রাণেলে, সাভ্রাণেলে < sambhaale > bears, holds, supports; হামির, হামির, হামির < হীমির (Perso-Arabic < amir >); eMB. (SKK.) খান্দান > khandhā > grain, corn (Persian < xand >); সন্ধুক, সন্ধুক < sind(h)uk > chest, box (Perso-Arabic < sindoq >); etc. In lMB., কাণ্ডারী < kandhari > (kandhagarin) and কণ্টারী < kandhāri > (karna-dhāra-), meaning helmsman, seemed to have occurred side by side, and were doubtless regarded as the same word. Bengali নিক < nibha >, beside নিবা < niba > to put out (a light) (nir-vā-) probably takes its aspiration from ¬vibha > (nir+vbā) ; and MB. সাধ > sābha > for সব < saba > (sabba, sarva) is probably through contamination with sabhā < (see p. 319).

238. Aspiration through metathesis of h is found in IA. from Late OIA. times. This kind of aspiration by transposition of the h in some cases was naturally accompanied by deaspiration within the same word. E.g., NB. sts. অঙ্কার < অঙ্কার (ahangkara); বোল < khos < , OB. < khas > (kach < ?); ঘাট < ghāṭ > (ghara = garha < gṛha); OIA. ¬ghaṭ = ¬ghath =¬ghath >: cf. ¬ghaṭa- > ঘাট < ghāṭ > water-jar, ¬ghath > MB. gath, NB. gath < gār > to build; MB. tbh. আদুন, অগান < aghāna, āghān >, NB. sts. অগান < āghāna > (aggahaṇa, agrāhaṇa); MB. পার্থа > (paṭha-); গাটা < gadha > (gaddaha-, gardabha); sts. কমি < phandí > scheme, stratagem (prabandhikā: cf. phād, p. 366); কৃষি < phupi > edge of dhōti with hanging threads like tassels, often gathered together in a bunch (phumpia, phuppa = pupphia, puṣpiḥ); ভঞ্জা, ভঞ্জা > bhāṣa > belonging to buffaloes (mhaśa-, mahiśa, mahiṣa); ডোঁডারা, ডোঁডারা > bhāṣa > (*mheṣa-, *mheṣa-da-, *mheṣa-da- < mēṣa-); তুই < bhukha > (bubhukha < bubhukṣa); ভোন < bāṇa > (bhappa, bappha < bāspa); MB. sts. বিভা < bibha > (*bibha = vivaha: cf. tbh. বিভা < biyā, biā > < *biha >; MB. sts. বোহারা < bōbhāra > (*biabahāra = vyavahāra: cf. MB. tbh. বোহারী < bōbhāri >, p. 345); etc. As examples of entire deaspiration, through transference of aspiration, may be given বোন, দূর, তুইন < bōn,

239. The aspirates, initial and intervocal, which Bengali inherited from OIA., were preserved intact in the OB., and to a very large extent in the eMB. period. But even from the eMB. period, from the latter part of the 15th century it would seem, (judging from the orthography of Early Bengali MSS., and from NB. history of the aspirates), the aspirates as well as « -h » grew rather feeble in an intervocal position—and also finally—although they do not suffer from any lax articulation initially. In Modern Bengali there has been entire loss of aspiration in final and intervocal aspirates in a very large number of cases; and where aspiration is found in writing, it is not always faithfully representative of the pronunciation, especially in the Standard Colloquial. The dialects of Western Rādhā are rather conservative in the matter of retaining aspiration intervocally and finally. Some forms of East Bengali also preserve an intervocal unvoiced aspirate, e.g., in words like আঁট « aṁhā » gum-paste, পাখ « pakhā » fan, মাথ « māthā » head, where the Standard Colloquial will normally use a « t, k, t ». Similarly, there has been a very wide loss of intervocal « -h » in New Bengali, leading to fresh groups of contact vowels which have been diphthongised: and final « -h », representing earlier Bengali « -hā », may be said to be lost in Bengali. But aspirates are not ordinarily disturbed when they occur initially in the Standard Colloquial and in West Bengali generally; although in most forms of East Bengali, initial voiced aspirates are either wholly deaspirated, or the aspiration becomes very weak. As has been said before, tendency to drop aspiration manifested itself towards the end of the 14th century, when intervocal « h » is found frequently to be dropped, leading to the assimilation of a group « ɑhɑ » to « ɑ »: e.g., ŠKK. বার « bārɑ » beside বারহ « bārhɑ » 12, খাস « khɑɑ » beside খায « khɑhɑ » you eat, গোঁঙার « goorɑ » beside গোঁহারী « goorrhî » petition, etc. (see p. 296). But aspirated stops as a rule, judging from the printed edition of the ŠKK., remained intact; although « mh, nh » seem to have been deaspirated, in spite of their being retained in writing. Absence of dated MSS. makes it difficult to determine when aspiration ceased to be a regular
thing in MB. It seems in the early 16th century, voiced aspirated forms like पढ़ पाठ-→ read (path), कार कारह snatch away (काड़हा, क्रष्टा), नार्हानुवह-→ shaven-head= New Bengali নাড়া, নেড়া [nør] , বাড়ে→ bāhrē→ increases (vṛddh), বুঢ় būṛhā→ (vṛddha) still obtained, although it is likely that the aspiration had become feeble. The voiced aspirates seem to have preserved the aspiration (in the West Central dialect) longer than the unvoiced ones, in both final and intervocal positions. Words like হাত hāt (hasta), হাতি hāṭī (hastin), আট aṭṭā (aṣṭa), কাট kāṭā, MB. জাট jāṭā (yaṣṭi), for OB. and eMB. hāṭha, hāṭhī, ṛṭhā, kāṭhā, jāṭhā→ etc., seem to have been established by the 16th century even though -ṛh-, -dh-, -bh-, -gh-→ retained the aspiration. The use of unaspirated stops is common in most MB. MSS. (excepting the ŚKK.).

240. Conditions in the present day Standard Colloquial are in the main the following (see 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§ 26, 26a):

(1) Initial aspirates remain, whether voiced or unvoiced (excepting in the case of -ph, bh→, for which see below).

(2) Final aspirates are deaspirated: but ts, forms tend to preserve them, though not so strongly as when initial.

(3) Pre-consonantal aspirates are normally deaspirated.

(4) Intervocal aspirates as a rule are deaspirated, but it is not uncommon to find aspiration in some cases. In formal discourse, and in singing, as well as in careful speech, the aspirates are retained; but they are deaspirated in quick conversation. No hard and fast rule can be laid down in this matter, but it seems that in less common words and forms, and in ts, where they are susceptible to the influence of the spelling, the aspiration commonly comes in.

Final aspiration, if uttered not strongly, can be tolerated in NB., as well as pre-consonantal aspiration, especially if it is of an unvoiced stop. So also intervocal aspiration. Intervocal -ch→ in verb forms commonly loses the aspiration, but a suggestion of aspiration is also heard.

In the pronunciation of the aspirates in NB., there is one point to consider, about ফ, ভ→ ph bh→. Within recent times, not much beyond half a century from now (i.e. the end of the first quarter of the 20th century),
these have developed spirant values, either bilabial [ɶ, ɭ] or denti-labial [ʃ, ʃ]. Bengali transcriptions of foreign names and words (Portuguese and English), using ʋ < b > for the sound of the denti-labial ʋ in the latter languages (and not ʋ < bh > = [v, v] as at present) right down to the middle of the 19th century, and later, show that this spirant pronunciation is a post-19th century affair. These are commonly substituted for the [ph, bʃ] aspirates, but the aspirates have not been entirely ousted. (See ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §30.) No other set of aspirates has developed a similar spirant pronunciation (in the Standard Bengali: the spirants [x, ɬ] for k, kh are found in dialectal East Bengali.)

241. Where loss of aspiration has become well-established from Late MB., the Bengali spelling frankly recognised it in some cases by using stops, e.g., হাৰ্ত < hāṭ >, মেঢো < mēṭjo > (< mājh, madhya), পড় < pār > read (< pār < pāṭh), হেই < hēî > (*adhistāt), গাঁট < gāṅṭ > (granthi), আঁচ < āchā > hazy (abhra), etc. But generally, the historical spelling obtains as the standard one, and this is helped by the absence of entire loss of aspiration: e.g., মাট < māt(h) > field, মাছ < māc(h) > fish, কাঠ < kāṭ(h) > wood, বাঘ < bāg(h) > tiger, বাং < bāṅ(h) > bunul, রাখ < rāk(h) > to keep, দেখ < dēk(h) > to see, শিখ < sīk(h) > to learn, লিখ < lik(h) > to write, পথ < pāṭ(h) > way, গোল < gōl > stick, মাঝ < mājh > helmsman, etc., etc. Purely phonetic spellings we find in Persian loan-words like শেখ, দেখ < sēk > (ṣayx), beside শেখ < sēk >, হেপ্তা < hāptā > week, for *হফ্তা < *haphtā > (haftah), তাক < tāktā > plank, for *তুর্খ < takhtā > (taxtah), etc. In the spelling of Bengalis not caring for the established orthography, and in the present-day works of drama and fiction, as well as in journalese employing the colloquial, the use of stops for aspirates is quite noteworthy: e.g., দেখে < dēktē > for দেখতে < dēktē > < দেখিতে < dēkhitē > to see, বুঝে < bujtē > to understand < বুঝিতে < bujhitē >, আদালা < āḍāla > for আধালা < āḍḥāla > half-pice, সাজ�ি < sādkhā > for সাজধান < sādhukhan > a surname, মাগ্গি < māggi > = mahārghya, হেলে < hōcē > is, is becoming =হেটেছে < hāṭetēche >, বদন < bādnā > water-pot with spout < বদন < bādhāṅnā >, etc., etc. The spellings with ɬ, ʃ < c-, ce- > for ʃ, ʃ < ch, ceh > in the progressive and perfect verb forms (√আঁচ < āch >),
found in the 'Hutom Pecar Naksā' (see p. 135), have obtained acceptance in the hands of a writer like Rabindra-nāth: e.g., विज्ञान < diśe > has given, विज्ञान < dice > is giving, कर्णच < koreci > I have done, कर्णच < koreci > I am doing, बेरुस्वच < bernucce > is coming out, etc., etc. (but rarely in the case of आच्छ < ache >, and never in the case of past perfect forms in छिल < -chil > etc.). Colloquial Oriyā agrees with the Bengali Standard Colloquial in changing the < -ch- > of verb forms to < -c- >.

242. Bengali in the matter of aspiration differs remarkably from its sisters and cousins of the West—from Maithili-Magahi, Bhōjpuriyā, Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi, and also from Panjabi (in the last, in the Eastern and North Central Panjabi region at least, however, the sonant aspirates become surd stops, with low tone marking loss of aspiration). The Northern Indian languages of the plains, from the Panjab to the borders of Bengal, in the main preserve aspiration as well as intervocal < -h- >: especially in the Gangetic plain. The weakening of final intervocal aspirates characterises Marathi almost as much as it does Bengali (cf. Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §§87 ff.). Gujarati final and intervocal aspiration also is weak, and is dropped in many cases, as well as intervocal < -h- >. R. L. Turner has observed that in Nepali (Khaskura) pre-consonantal aspirates become deaspirated, and intervocal < -h- > is entirely lost there ('Gujarati Phonology,' JRAS., 1921, pp. 509-510).

243. Loss of aspiration occurred in MIA, as well. (See W. Geiger, Pali Grammar, §40; Pischel, §§ 213, 214.) All NIA, obtained some of these deaspirated forms from MIA. Examples in Bengali are: भूत, भूत < uta, uta >, cf. Hind. < ita > (uṭṭa, *uṇṭa < *uṭṭha = uṣṭra); so इट, इट < ita, ita >, cf. Hind. < It, ita > (iṭṭa, *iṇṭa = iṣṭa-); डिट < dhita > (dhṛṣṭa); शिक्ष < sikh >, OB. (Sarvananda) < sīkala > (śṛṇkala: but cf. Sanskrit < śṛṇka > = chain?); पालट < palat > (pallāṭa, paryasta); and probably a few more. Sanskrit < visarga > in the middle of a word is changed to < ś, s, s > according as the consonant (stop or aspirate) following is a palatal, guttural or dental (< visarga > after < i, u > changing itself to < s, s >, which also cerebralises a following < t >). But it seems that in MIA, the < visarga > did not turn to a sibilant, but simply assimilated itself
‘VISARGA’ + CONSONANT; VOICING OF ‘K’ TO ‘G’

to the following stop. In such cases, we have in NIA. a normal simplification of the resultant double stop to a single stop, and not aspirate, which normally results from «śk, śc, śṭ»: e.g., «niḥ+karma, Skt. niśkarman», MIA. «*nikkamma», whence Bengali নিকাম < nikām, beside stts. নিকাম < nīkām < nīkām; «niḥ+kāśa, Skt. niś-kāśa > MIA. «*nīkāśa > নিকাশ < nikāś < clearing, finishing; so «niḥ+kālayati, Skt. niśkāl-» > নিকালে < nikāle » drives out, নিকালে < nikāle » comes out; <niḥ-calā, Skt. niścāla > MB. নিচল < nicāla >; so < niḥ-caya, niścaya > MB. নিচ্ছ < nicāya >; <catur+kāya, catuṣka > চক, চোক < cāk, cāuk>. The forms with geminated stops, without aspiration, occur in MIA. (Pali and ‘Prakrit’): see Pischel, § 329: cf. Pali forms like «nicāla, nikkantō >, Asōkan «dūkara (=dukkara)», etc. In the development of the NIA. forms there seems to have been but slight influence of Sanskrit in this matter. A MB. form like নট < nāṭa>, besides নট < nāṭha > (=naṣṭa) as in the ŚKK., is a stts.; the genuine tbh. is found in the NB. নট < nāṭa > < নট < nāṭha > crumpled.

[C] INTERCHANGE AMONG CONSONANTS.

VOICING AND UNVOICING.

244. In addition to interchange of aspirates and non-aspirates, voicing of unvoiced consonants, and the reverse process, as well as changes in the place of articulation, occur in Bengali. In some cases, the changes are quite normal, and in others, they are uncommon, and can be explained as being due to contamination with a form similar in sound or meaning, or to dialectal admixture, or again to the workings of folk-etymology.

Voicing of [k] to [g] is common enough, though not the rule, being found in some stts. words in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [k > g > ɡ] was the normal change in Transitional and Second MIA. This tendency to turn a voiceless stop to its voiced spirant form has continued down to the present day in NB. (see ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ § 31). Examples of NB. forms with the [ɡ] developed out of the [k] are: কাগ < kāg > (kāka), বাগ < bāg > (baka), শাগ < sāg > (sāka),
245. The more important changes which occur in Bengali are of
\( \text{<s> [ʃ]} \) to \( \text{<e, ch} [ɕ, ʃh] \), of \( [l] \) to \( [n] \), and vice-versa, in initial positions, and
final and preconsonantal \( [w] \) to \( [m] \). These are discussed later, while
treating the above sounds. Shifting of articulation from one point
to another is also found. The most important item in this connection is the cerebralisation of OIA. dentals—a change which Bengali has inherited from Māgadhi. The absence of cerebralisation in Bengali is perhaps due to the influence of non-Māgadhi dialects. This is discussed below, under the Cerebrals. Interchange between gutturals and palatals as well as cerebrals and palatal vowels seems to characterise some groups of dēśi words: see under Palatais. Change of OIA. dental stops and aspirates before « y » to palatal affricates is a phonological alteration which is derived from MIA.

« j » [ʃ] becomes « z » in a few cases in the Standard Colloquial (where the « z » sound is not the rule, unlike Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, which normally alter IA. « j » to « dz, z »). Foreign « z » normally becomes « j » in Bengali.

Some other changes in articulation, which are the result of assimilation in MIA., are treated below.

Besides the above, there are sporadic cases of other interchange, e.g., between a guttural and a labial, which are not characteristic, and which will be noted at their proper places.

[D] Doubling of Consonants.

246. Consonants in Bengali are doubled, or rather, lengthened, in ts. words, when they occur before « r, l, y, v »: e.g., চক্র [চোক:রা = চোক্রো], জক্র [জুক্রো = জুক্লো], দিবা, দিবি [দিব:০ = দিব্বা, দিব:ি = দিব্বি], অদ্দ [অদ্দ০ = অদ্দ০], বিশ্র [বিশ্র০ = বিশ্র০], etc. Doubling is found in Hindīstānī and other loan-words: e.g., পাত्र [পতা, পত্তা] address, শাও [চাও, চাও], etc. Through loss of intervening vowel, and through consequent assimilation as well, NB. has developed double consonants: e.g., আটা [াটা, আটা] eight pieces > < আটা(হ)া+ঠা >; পাত্তে [পট্টে] < পাতিতে < পাতিতে > to spread; মাতে [মাতে] < মাতে, মরিতে « mārtē, mārītē » to beat; ‘যাগ্গে’ [যাগ্গে] < যাকৃৎ, যাক্রিয়া « jāk gē, jāuk̪ giya » let it go! ; etc., etc.

In the above instances, doubling or lengthening is historical, or merely phonological. But there is another kind of lengthening in New Bengali
which is semantic. With a desire to emphasise, or to modify the
idea in other ways, a consonant is frequently doubled in NB. (This has
been noticed in the ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ § 53.) Thus,
একেবারে [ækkebare] at once, for good, entirely: একেবারে [ækkebare] for all
time, entirely (without hope of any alteration); গোপ [gɔːp] moustache:
চোগোপা [ʧoʊgɔpə] whiskers; হাত [hət] hand: হাতা [hatta] handful,
with full hand, right and left, line or thread drawn by the hand; ধাক্কা
[dhakka] push: ধুল [dhol] strain, and MB. চোকা [ʧoʊka] push; থাপড়
[thapɔr] slap: থাপড় [thapɔr] generally = slaps in quick succession; চোর
dice; চোকক [ʧoʊkə], beside চুকক [ʧuːkə] a ramshackle carriage (sakaṭa);
etc. This kind of doubling for emphasis seems to have been due to stress
—the consonant following the stressed vowel being lengthened through
accession in force of the whole syllable. It originated in Bengali
possibly during the OB. period.

[E] Changes of Consonants in Contact: Assimilation.

247. The behaviour of Bengali vowels under mutual influence with in
a word, in separation and in contact, has been described under Epenthesis
and Vowel-Mutation, etc. Contraction has taken place largely in MB.
and NB., by which vowels have been dropped, and consonants which were
separated in OB. and eMB. have been brought together. New consonant
groups have thus developed in NB. (see p. 251). These have in the main
retained their original character, in preserving their point of articulation,
but in the matter of breath or voice, there has been assimilation in most
cases.

[r] tends to be dropped within a word or sense group before palatais,
cerebrals and dentals: e.g., তার জন্য [tər jən̪y] > for him generally becomes
[taŋŋonno], কার্য [kəry] > becomes [kaŋŋo], গায়ের আলা [gaəɾ jələ] >
heat of the body > anger becomes [gəəjələ], সুর্নী [mʊɾɨɾ] > [muɾɨɾ],
বলের তব [jələɾ təb] > water tub becomes [ʃuəleʃəb], পাখীর জন্য [pakhiɾ]
[ʔanə] > bird’s wing > [pakʰiɾənə], কার তবে [kəɾ təɾ] > for whose sake
> [kattore], sardar * sardar * chief, from the Persian < sardar > [saddar], etc. Also [r] is dropped before gutturals and labials, in tss., e.g., स्वर्य > स्वर्ग < swarg > [swaggo], तर्क > तरक < tarka > [takko], सर = सप < sarpa > [sappa], पर > पर < garva > [gabbo], धर्म > धर < dharm > [dhammo], but not in tbs. or foreign words and sense-groups: e.g., तन्त्र रौथि रौथि < with him, चरण, चरण = cark(h)a > spinning wheel < Pers. < carxah >, बरग < barga > rifter. < Portuguese < verga >, कब्र = करवार < kurbār < kāribār > to do, etc.: see under [r], infra.

In the NB. dissimilar groups like < kt(h), tk(h), pt(h), tp(h), kt(h), tk(h), tt(h), tp(h), gb(h), gd(h), bd > br, db > rb > etc., the stops (and the flap sound of < r >) are fully exploded. In such groups, where we have breathed stop + breathed stop or aspirate, or voiced stop + voiced stop or aspirate, there is no modification: e.g., ठाकुर [thakte] to remain, सुकटा < juktara > the planet Venus, अटंक < atke > having sustained a shock of fright, अप्टो < apto > self, हातप < hatpa > hand and foot, अटक < atka > fixed, हातसेट < hatsete > to walk, गोपा < gopta > embracing all, बागदी < bagdi > a caste, etc.; हातखोला < hatkhola > a murti, पातकीर < pathkir > condensed-milk paste spread out on a leaf, साधन < sadhan > careful, अद्भुत < adbhut > strange, हट्ट < dugdho > milk, उद्दैतन < udgati> opening, etc.

In the case of aspirate (stop, or affricate) + aspirate or stop, voiced or unvoiced, there is deaspiration of the first aspirate. In deliberate and careful pronunciation, however, the aspirate may be retained (so far as it can be retained in a final position in a syllable) where we have a sound of a different class. Examples: रौशन < rotho > [rotho] car-festival common; ठूंढै < dudhodi > [dudho] milk and curds; अद्धाम < adhi + than > adthan, atthan] half a piece (of cloth) (not [adthian]); मुखभानी < mukkhani > [mukhkhani] that face; बाघबंडी < baghbondi > bagbondi] capturing the tiger (a game); मुक्कपड़ा < mukkopara > [mukpora] burnt-face (a term of abuse) ([mukhpors] is also heard); so काठबंदी [katphata > katphata] wood-splitting (said of sunshine); आदपोटा < adphota > adphota] half-open (as a flower); and Persian < haftah, taxtah > *hafta, *takht < haptta, takhtta > हप्ता < haptta] week, तक्ता [tekta] a plank; पठाट < potghat > potghat] roads and ferries; मुखभानी < baghi > [baghi > baghi] tiger
and bears, etc., which can have the aspirate retained in the first consonant of the group.

There is Regressive Assimilation when stops (or affricates) and aspirates of the same class occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it: and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration; e.g., एक-गाड़ी [एक-गाड़ी] one wagon-load < [एँ:क + गाड़ी]; एक बृह [एँ:क + ग्लुम > एँग्लुम] one (long) sleep; डाक-बर [डाक + ग्लुर > डाक्ग्लुर] post-office; राग करा [राग + कोर > राक्कोर] to be angry; मेद करें [मेद:त(ह) + कोरें > मेक्कोरें(ह)े] it is cloudy; पांच [पाँच > पाँच] (five) people; काज-चालाने [काज + चालान > काचालान] carrying on work, just useful; बड़-ठाकर [बड़(ो) + ठाकर > बोंठाकर] husband's elder brother (among women); चट-ठाक [चट + ठाक + ठाक > चोटाडाक] covered with gunny cloth; एतमि [एटो + डिन > एडिन] such a long time; MB. साड़िना < साड़िना [फ़ात + डिन > फ़ादिना, फ़ादिना] seventh-day celebration (after birth of a child); धात-देखा [फ़ात + डेखा > फ़ादेखा] seeing one's palm, feeling one's pulse; धात-डरा [फ़ात + डोरा > फ़ादडोरा] catching one's hand, under one's control; धूर-डोला [डूड़ + डोला > डूढ़ोला] vomiting milk (as a baby); सब-पाड़ [बब + पाड़ > बोपाड़ा] get all; पाप-डर [पाप + डोड़ > पापडोड़] fear of sin; बाप-बेटा [बाप + बेटा > बाप्पेटा] father and son; etc. But when there are stops or aspirates, voiced and unvoiced, of different classes, ordinarily there is absence of assimilation to voice or breath of the first sound. It is, however, not unlikely that there is a certain amount of unavoidable unvoicing of a voiced consonant before an unvoiced one, and vice-versa, and there is no full assimilation in this case. Entire assimilation to voice or breath is generally absent because of the full explosion given to the first stop or aspirate: e.g., आदफोट [एँडफोट + डोटा > एँडफोटा] half-open (flower) does not become [एँडफोटा]; so चाँदपाल [चाँदपाल] a personal name is never [चाँदपाल], हाटबाजार [हाटबाजार] mart and fair is not [हाटबाजार, हाटबाजार], nor is आज्ञाकाल [आज्ञाकाल] to-day and morrow, nowadays assimilated to [आज्ञाकाल]; so we have सान्भाक [सान्भाक] seven calls, calling one for a long time, शिबकल [शिबकल] शिव कल (Shiva's spot (temple of Shiva), इड़काड़ from हिड़काड़ [हिड़काड़(h) > हिड़काड़(h)] sacrificial stake, राजपुत-वीर [राजपुतवीर] a Rajput
CONSONANT ASSIMILATION IN NB.

warrior, সর-কিছু [টেকিয়াহু] everything, ইট-গালা [টুগাদা] brick-stack, এক-দম [আক্দাম] at one breath, entirely, মোট-বহা [মোথব্রামা] load-carrying, etc., etc. There are a few exceptions, however: e.g., লোকজন [লোকজন] people is heard frequently as [লোগিয়ন], and ছোটদাদা [ছোটদাদা] little elder brother (= fourth elder brother, generally) becomes ছোর্দা [ছোর্দা]; বুঝিতে > বুঝিতে « bujhite > bujhite » to understand becomes [buzte, buste]; but a case like উপকার [উপকার > উপ্যার] is through a MB. and NB. tendency to voice intervocal breathed stops [বংগার].

Before the (unvoiced) sibilant, there is no unvoicing of a voiced stop or affricate, or aspirate: e.g., আহ-দের [আহ-দিয়া] of half a see weight, সিক্স-স্কাল [সিক্স-স্কাল] evening and morning, সোড়-শাল [সোড়-শাল] stable, দেব-জো [দেবজো, -জোনা] gods' gathering, etc.

Assimilation of consonants of different groups, also a regressive assimilation, is found in some cases. Here, however the points of articulation are not very much removed from each other. [t, d], and occasionally [t], become assimilated to a following [f], [f], and sometimes to [f]; and [f] is assimilated to a [f]: e.g., হাত ণিনি [হাটেফিনিন > হাটেফিনিন] having jerked away the hand; বাড় বাড় [বাড়েীফিনিন > বাড়েীফিনিন] it will be deducted; গোঁড়চার > গোঁড়চার [গোঁড়চার > গোঁড়চার] some four, a few; পাটান [পাটান ফোটোী > পাটান ফোটোী] five hundred; পাটানীত [পাটানীত > পাটানীত] five and seven, a few; পাটানীত [পাটানীত > পাটানীত] school becomes [পাটানীত]; সাইটেডিতে [সাইটেডিতে] damp becomes [সাইটেডিতে], and পঞ্চাশেরো [পঞ্চাশেরো > পঞ্চাশেরো] five shaeers probably gave *[পাঞ্চাশেরো > পাঞ্চাশেরো] seven pieaces, 7 o'clock.

The dialect of Chittagong is most advanced in the matter of assimilation, both by shifting the point of articulation and by voicing or unvoicing. Assimilation in Chittagong Bengali is both progressive (in the case of stops and affricates and the sibilant and [l]), and regressive (in the case of the nasal): e.g., পাঁচশোলী [পাঁচশোলী] five pieces > [পাঁচশোলী], দাতগোলী (dātgun) teeth = Standard Bengali দাতগোলী (dātgun) or দাতগুলী (dātgun) > [dātgun]; বোঝকার [বোঝকার] daily wages, income, from Persian *রোকার*, > [রোকার]; দাইতে পারি [দাইতে পারি] I can go = [দাইতে পারি];
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[dite pari] I can give > [dittari]; उपकार [upokar] benefit, > [*upkar > uppar]; নবাব [n命名kar, নামকর] obeisance > [n命名kar]; বৃহস্পতি [ব্রহ্মপতি] > [ব্রহ্মপতি]; শিমালগোর [শিমালগোর] the jackal > [বিশিলোগোর]; মোড় +নী < গোড়া+নী > mure [*गुर्नी > *घुर्नी > gunni]; দেখিতে না পারি [dekhite nu pari] I can not see <[deinmari]. (See Basanta-Kumār Chatterji, VSPdP., 1326, No. 2, p. 108ff.). The dialect of Chittagong thus stands apart from most Bengali dialects, and from MIA., in which assimilation is generally regressive.

Progressive Assimilation, however, is found in a few cases in Bengali (e.g., জব্ব [জুব্বদা] punishment from Persian [zabt] < Arabic [ذببت]); also in MIA. (cf. लग्न, bhagna > lagga, bhagga), beside *lanna *bhanna: cf. Bengali হিলন < hilānā > = abhilagna, and ভান < bhānā > to pound, as rice = ভাঙ্গা >.


248. Aspiration and deaspiration by metathesis of *h, e.g., < bhaginī > bahin, mahiśa > mahiśa > bhaś, have been noticed before. Metathesis is found occasionally in OIA. and MIA. (cf. Wackernagel, I, 239; Pischel, § 354; Geiger, Pali Grammar, § 47). Some Bengali words are the result of this early metathesis: e.g., বং *ghāra < *garha, grha >; বহি, বোন < bāhin, bōn < bhaṇī < bhaginī >; দ, দহ < dā, dāhā > daha > hada < hrada > lake, tank; হালক < hālkā >, cf. MIA. < halukka = laghuka > light, etc. Instances in Bengali: স্তুকো [ফুকি] dried fish (*sukhaṭi < সুষ্কা); গজরা < গাজৰা > to fret and fume, to be filled with rage (ts.√গৰ্জ); পর < √পার > to put on, MB. পাহ < pāhrā >, < pāhirā > (pari + dhā); চট্ট < √চাট্ট > knead with the fingers < kāṭā > (? √ক্ষ > √ট্ট); কানী < kanui = [konui] elbow (< *kaṇāḥ < kaḥñi < kaphoñi >); ফাল < phāl > leap, cf. লাফ < lāph > leap (Skt. lampha); MB. পিনহে < pinahē > puts on < pahinē > (apinah-); MB. পাহাঁক < pāhāk > knowledge, acquaintance, recognition (paccahañña, pratyabhijnā); মার্বরী < mārwāri > man from Marwar (মার্বরি); etc., etc. In ts. words, we find metathesis in a few cases: e.g., পিচাপ < picasa > (piśāca);
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249. Loss of consonant through haplogy is found in some instances in Bengali, mainly in stss: e.g., সমিভ্যাঙ্গ (sāmibhyāṅga) (samabhivyāhara-); সাব্যাঙ্গ (savyāvaṅga) arranged (savyavastha); পাল্ডাঙ্গ (pālḍāvaṅga) (pālḍaka-jala); আন (ān) as a name (ānanda); নোংকাঙ্গ (nāukāvaṅga) social courtesies (lāukikāvaṅga); নারু (nāruvaṅga) nail-cutting instrument (nahaharaṇa, nakha-haraṇika), etc. Also -শ, -ধ, -ঝ, -ঞ, for শাশ (śāśa), ধার (dār) or জান (jan). Cf. the Anglo-Indian spellings Krishnagar, Krishnath (for Krishna-nagar, Krishna-nāth), which are apparently based on not uncommon colloquial forms.

250. Intervocal stops tend to be lazily pronounced in NB., leading frequently to 'under-articulation,' or open or spirant articulation with very little audible friction. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §31.) In the Standard Colloquial, intervocal [k, g] of NB. is found to be dropped in a few cases: e.g., ঠাকুর > ঠাউর [ṭhakur > ṭhaur], ঠাকুরানী > ঠাকুরানী [ṭhakurani > ṭakurun, ṭhaurn > ṭhaurn]. The elision in the above words has been noted in the ordinary orthography. But voiced and open articulation of [k] is not infrequently heard, though not in careful speech. But it has not become sufficiently prominent to attract the attention of Bengali speakers, although here and there in stss. and foreign words, we see the [g] fully established: e.g., -গুলা
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[-gula], plural affix (-kula); ছেগোচা [ćeηgoucča] ramsackle carriage (śakaṭa-); MB. স্তালাদ < ságallād > (Perso-Arabic < saqalāt >), etc.: see supra, p. 145.

Final [-k] in some tib. verb and other forms has become [g] in the Standard Colloquial, e.g., দিক, নিক < dik, nik > let him give, let him take frequently become [dig, nig].

This voicing of non-initial [k] is a MIA. speech-habit which has thus continued down to the present day. It is found occasionally in OB. as well: e.g., < ságuna >→ sakuni > in Cāryā 50.

Elision of intervocal [k, g] has almost become the rule in the Chittagong dialect—e.g. [fiol, fiol]=সকল (sakala); [ciç, ciç]=আকাশ (ākāśa); [doon]=দোকান (Perso-Arabic < dukān >); [fioun]=শুক্তু s.ts. (śakuni); [fiol]=শিকড় < śikārḍ > root; [fiol]=শিকাল < śikāla > chain; [dūbā]=Standard Bengali ডুবি< dūbī > will call; etc., etc.

In some East Bengali dialects, intervocal [k, kh] take the spirant sound of [x]: this [x] seems to have had its origin in the unvoicing of [g > ɣ]. We also find [fi]. The [x], and the [ɣ] where it is heard, do not have a strong friction: it is a mere open consonant, that is all. Thus we have, in the western and south-western Vanga dialects especially, টাকা [tukā] rupee, money as [tāga, tōsā, tōxā]; ঢাকা Dacca town is heard as [ḍākā, ḍōsā, ḍōxā]; Perso-Arabic < muqaddamah > মুকদ্দমী, মোক্কাদ্দমান, মোকর্দমা = Standard Colloquial [mokkādaṃ] = lau-snil becomes [mokkādaṃ, mokkādoṃ] = Standard Colloquial [mok̄kād̄ma]; Perso-Arabic ḡākim > হাকিম < hākim < judge is found as [ofim]; < mulluk > মুলুক < mulluk > country becomes, in the locative মুলুক < mulluke >, [mulluke, mulluge, mulluxe]; Skt. < nārikēla > is transformed to [nairixēl, nairxēl]. This fricative pronunciation is sometimes indicated by h < h >.

Initial [k, kh] becomes the spirant [x] regularly in Eastern and South Eastern Vanga (Sylhet, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong): e.g., কালী [koli] < [xoli], কিছু [kībhu] a little = [xisu], কথা [kōtha] = [xata], কেন [kanō] why? > [xən], কল্প [kōl̄p] > [xōl̄p], কোথা [kōbhu] even at times = [xōvu, xobu], কোটা [kōta, kōta] coat = [xōtā], খোলাইতে [kholait] to put off = [xolait], etc. Final [k] also is found as [x] commonly enough: e.g., গলক [tilok] > [tilox], এক [æ:k] > [sx, hɛx, æ:x],
etc. This spirantisation is not found in the other Vāṇga dialects, but initial [k] when it becomes intervocal within connected speech can become [x] or [ʁ]. The Chittagong and Eastern Bengali habit of turning initial [k] sounds to [x] also affects foreign words, and Bengali manlavīs from Chittagong, which is one of the predominantly Muhammadan districts of Bengal, often pronounce Arabic and Persian with [x] for [k, q]; and this has given rise to this Persian saying among Bihārī and Hindōstāni manlavīs in Calcutta and elsewhere: « agar cātgāmī šavaḍ manlavī, 'xiblah' u 'xabah' u 'xuzā' mi-ravi » if the Manlavī is a Chittagongese, then you go to xiblah, xabah and xuzā (for qiblah direction faced in praying, qaḇah shrine at Mecca, kuṭṭā [Persian] where).

In the 'Crepar Xaxtrr Orthbhed,' Bengali [k] is transcribed <c> before <a, o, u>, <qu> before <e, i>, and <q> when final: e.g., <crepā> купа (kṛpa); <coina> кън (kānā); <cotha> къθ (kātha); <xocol> съкъл (sākāl); <ttacur> тъку (thākur); <thacuq> тъкук (thākuk) let it remain; <quono> фен (kēnā) why'; <eq> ék (ek); <quissu> ки́ш (kiehu) a little; <eque> экъ (ekē) by one; <thaquia> фаткия (thākiyā) having remained; <honq> хънк (hānk) let it be; <naroq> нърак (nārakā); etc. There is no representation of a spirant pronunciation in the 'Crepar Xaxtrr Orthbhed.'

251. Bengali [k] in भ. and दै. words comes from MIA. <k,-kk- >. Initially, Bengali [k] is derived ultimately from—

OIA. <k->: कर <kār> (κ/kr); कम <kām> (karma); कल <kāl> (kala-); काज <kāj> (kāya); काल, कल <kāl(i)> (kalya); कन <kān> (kāna); कु <ku> (ku-); कानाइ, कान <kānāi, kānu > (kṛṣṇa-); कछ <kāchā> (kaccha, kasā); केक <kē> (ka-); कय <kày > (kathyati); etc., etc.

OIA. <kr-, kr->: कन, केन <kīn, kēn> (kṛṇāti); कोश <kosh> (krośa); काल <kāl> (kroḍa); कादे (krandati); MB. कैल <kālā > (kṛṭa+illa-); etc.

OIA. <kv->: काि <kai > paste (kvātha); कोश <kōthā > where? (kva+tra); कोनकন <kōnkān>, an onomatopoetic, based on «√kva».
OIA. < sk- > k- >; काँधा < kādha > (skandha): see p. 438.
Intervocally (and finally in NB., through dropping of vowels at the
end of the word), NB. [k] comes from —
MIA. < k > after < ġ > < OIA. < -ṅē-, -kr-, -ṅkr- -rk- >: कांकण
< kākāṇā > (kaṅkana); पाक < pākā > (paṅka); या < bā <
(vaṅka-, vakra); साङ्क < sāṅkō > (saṅkrama); कांक < kākāṅ <
(kaṅkara, karkara); कांकड़ < kākāṅ < (kaṅka-ṭa-, karka-); etc.;
from MIA. < -kk- > from the following OIA. groups:
< -k- >, doubled in old lss. in MIA.: एक < १क > (ॆक, ेक); also अकू < ēkus >, etc.;
< -kk- >: चिक < cikāṅ > fine (ekkaṇa); cf. तेल-चुकुक < tēla
cukeukē > glistening with oil = MIA. < tēlā-ekkaṇā >; नाकार,
नेकर, नाकार [nēkur > nēkur] (ṇakkāra, nyakkāra); कुक <
kukur > (kukkura); हाक beside हाक < hākā, kākā > (MIA.
hakka);
< -kn- >: MB. मुकल < mukalā > (mukka < *mukna = Skt. mukta);
निक < nikā > to wipe (nīkka < *nikna <√niṇj, ni);
< -ky- >: शिक < sikā > (śikya-); मानिक < mānikā > (mānīkya);
< -kr- >: चाक < cākā > (cakra); शुक-तारा < śuka-tāra > Venus (śukra);
टक < takā > sour, acid (< takra > sour-milk, whey; or onomatopoeic?);
बिक < biki > sale as in बिक-किन < biki-kini >
transaction, buy and sell (vi-krī-); etc.;
< -kv- >: पाक < pākā > (pakva);
< -ks- >: निक < niki > (cf. Skt. nikṣā);
< -š- >: छक < chākā > (ṣaṭka);
< -tk- >: चुक < cukā > (cukka, eyut-kṛ); उक < ukunā > louse (utkunā);
< -rk- >: पाकड़ < pākur > (parakṣa); माकड़ < mākār < (markaṭa);
ताक, ताकार < tāk, tākā > (tarkayati); आक < āk <
(akka-manda = arka-mandāra); etc.;
< -lk- >: तुक < ukā > (ulkā);
< -hk- >: Skt. < -sk-, -sk- >: चक < cāk-, चोक < cāukā > (catuḥ +
ka: catuska); निक, निकाल, < nīkā, nikāl >, see p. 445; नाक
< nākā > (nas, *nāh + ka > nakka); छक < dukāla > (duḥkāla);
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'K'

«-g-» through transference of voice in MIA : ছাকে • ṍākā • covers (ধাক্কাই, *ṭhagati < stbagati?).

From MIA. «-ŋgh-» from OIA. «-ŋgh-» > «-k-» in NB.: শিকনি • śiknī (śinghaṇa); দক্ষ • sūk, sōk (śungk, sīgh); etc.

From MIA. «-kk-» from Semito-Iranian «-kk-», written «-ky-» in Late Sanskrit: দেকর • sekāra (sekka-āra; see pp. 194-195).

Some isolated cases are ুভি • kūci (guṇjā), and শ্বকর • śikara, OB. (Sarvananda) • sīhāda (śīphā-); cf. শিকল • śikāla (MIA. sīṇkala), Skt. • śṛṇkhala, beside • śṛṇkā).

< k > occurs in a few words of probable dōśi origin: e.g., কুকু • bukā • chest, বক • bākā • chatter, ঝক • jākā • talk, jungle (dōśi jhakka), ঝক • jākā • shout, call, হাক • hākā • shout (dōśi hakkko), etc.

< k > also found as an affix in numerous nouns and derived verbs: e.g., মোরকাড • mōrakaːd • packet (< √ muṛ roll, fold); চড়ক • cāḍakaː • hook-swinging, 'Churruc' festival (cāḍakka, √ cāḍ ride); টাক • tākā • shine, brightness; ঝাক • jhālakā • flame; জলিক • jhilikā • spark, shine; ঝাক • cāmākā • flash, startle; মড়ক • mārakā • pestilence; বাংক • bāṅkā • seat, stand for anything, assembly, session; আটক • aṭakā • restraint; আলক • hālakā • light; ছোকর • chō-kā-rā • lal; ছোটক • chōt-kā • little one, cf. Hindi • lār-kā • boy beside Assamese • lārā • [loara] (*laḷ-i-a-); ঝর • thāk • remain; দ্রক • thāk • be at stand still; মাণকার • māṇkāy • sprains, cruckles, breaks; ছোকার • hōcakāy • drugs; ঝাকার • tāpākāy • leaps; etc. The NB. «-ka-, -k» is derived from a MIA. «-kka-». Hoennele traces this «-kka-» to the OIA. root «-k̥-»: cf. «camakka» , «*cyut-k̥» > MIA. «eukka», etc. ('Gauḍian Grammar,' § 204; JASB., 1880, 1, p. 37). Jules Bloch thinks that this «-k» < «-kk-» goes back in part at least to an OIA. «-kya- < -akiya», as in «pārakya < pārakīya», but also suggests a Dravidian affinity ('Langue Marathe,' p. 105). (See infra, under Morphology: Origin of the Formative Affixes: «-k-».

Final «-kā» as a verbal person affix (3rd person) occurs in Bengali: e.g., করিলেক • kār-il-e-kā • he did, বাইবেক • jā-ib-e-kā • he will go, ঢাইক • di-u-kā • let him give, etc.: the origin of this «-kā» is obscure, but
it is possibly the OIA. pleonastic « -k- », present in MIA. as « -kk- ».
(See later, under Morphology : the Verb : 'Personal Affixes.')

Interchange between « -k- » and « -g- » has been noticed above. In one case, « -k- » occurs for « -p- » in the Calcutta dialect:  হুকু র » dukur] for হুকুর < dupur] » mid-day (dvi-prahara); for  « t », in the phrase পারক্ষ-পক্ষে for the eventuality of one being able. In MB. (ŚKK.), we have the sts. কুক্কুল < kukuḥälā (= kutūhala).

In ts. words, « -k- » occurs long (or double) in interior groups with « y, r, l, v, m »; also in « -khy- »: e.g., শাকা [ʃakko], চক্র [ʃokkro], শকর [ʃukklo], পক [pakko], ক্রিমী [rakini], বাখা [bakkhe, bakkha]. In ক « -kṣ- », pronounced [kkh], we have a similar doubling of « k ».

[k] is commonly found through deaspiration of intervocal, final and preconsonantal [kh] in NB.

[ka] in foreign words, Persian, Portuguese, English, is noted below.

252. [kh], intervocally and finally, has a tendency to be deaspirated in the Standard Colloquial. Intervocal [kh] in Typical East Bengali often becomes the spirant [x], with very little audible friction, and is reduced to the glottal spirant [h]: e.g., দেখেন [dekhen] sees, you see (honorific) = [dxe, desien]; রাখী » rakhio » you will keep, Standard Colloquial [rekho], becomes [raifi]; এখানে [ekhane] here = [efane]. In certain cases, the spirant is dropped: e.g., Chittagong Bengali [təν, tən] = তখন [tokhon] then.

In the 'Crepar Xaxttrer Orthbhed,' « qh » is used for [kh]: e.g., « qhaiber » = খাইবার to eat, « xaqbi » = সাক্ষী witness, « duqh » = দুখ pain. The spirant pronunciation is probably indicated in an occasional case like « rahoał » = রাখোলাল < rakhōala], NB. রাখাল < rakhāl ] herdsman—unless it is a typographical error for « qh ». Initially in some cases we have « c » for « qh »—e.g., « calax » = কালাস (Perso-Arabic « xalās ») freeing, « coraq » = খোরাখ meal (Pers. « xurāk »), « cadowa » = খোদাই ইর ইর ইর driving away, « cazauite » = খাইসাই, খাইসাই to scratch, etc., which may be due to the mistake of the transcriber.
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[kh], initially, comes from MIA. *kh-*, derived from—

OIA. *kh-*: খান *khāy* (khādati); খাঙা *khāja* (khādyā-);
খাজুর, খেজুর *khā/ćjurā* (kharjura); খাড়ারা *khāoja*<khaļu-ā> scratch (kharju, √kharj); খাট *khāta* (khatva); খাটা
*khāntā* (khāntira-); খোড় *khaṛā* (khanda); খারে *khaṛā* (khadira);
খোড় √/khūṛ ādig (khudāa: <?); খাদ *khā* (khatā-); etc.

*ks-*: কেত, খেত *khētā* (kṣētra); খড় *khāri* (khāṭikā); খুদ
*khuda* (kṣudra); খীর *kherā* (kṣēra); খেরা *khēyā* ferry (kṣēpa-);
MB. খুপ, খুং (kšuma-); খণ *khaṇḍa* (kṣaṇa),
also খণ = [khien]; sls. খেলান *khēmā* [khaṇma] (ksamā); খুড়
*khura* (*kṣudra-tāta*).

The change of *ks* to *khh* seems to have been the Magadhi change. The *ch* development of *ks* characterised the North-western IA. dialect of the Early MIA. period. Bengali has some *ch* words as well, which apparently were later additions into the Eastern speech.

OIA. *k-*, by aspiration: e.g., খুচি *khūci* basket (kuniikā);
খিল *khilā* (kila, khila); খেল *khēla* (khola); খিচুরা *khicuri* (kṛṣara,
*kṛṣarikā*); খাল, খাল্লা *khar(ā)tāla, khāṭatalā* cymbals (kara-tāla);
খাল *khalā*, sls. (kavala: tā. = kāld, see p. 347); খাল skin (cf. Skt.
*khalla*), beside *kptti*; MB. (ŚKK.) sls. খারাল *khāśārī* (kastūrī),
খরাল *kharāla* < *kārala* garala poison; MB. খোলাঙ্গ *khōlagā*, beside
কুলঙ্গ, কুলঙ্গী *kulungī* niche (= dēṣ? ?); MB. কুলিনাঠি *kutināṭi* up details,
bickering = NB. খুলিনাঠি *khūtināṭin* (kutṭa-); etc.

*sk-*: খাঙা *khāmā-ra* barn < house with posts (skambhāgāra);
খাঙা *khāra* standing, erect (MIA. khaḍḍha = OIA. *skabda*).

The word *khaṇḍ* খান place, piece, is probably a blend of *khaṇḍa* +
*sthāna* : see page 365. *kh-* is found in some dēṣ words: e.g.,
খড়কী *khirāki* (khaḍākki), খড় *khaṛ * straw, খাপার *khākhāra* abuse,
insult, cf. Assamese খাপ *khaṛ * anger (*khaṅkha*).

Medially and finally, [kh] is from—

OIA. *-khy-* > MIA. *-khh-*: বাঙ্গা *bākhānd* (vyākhyāna);
OIA. *-ŋkh-* > MIA. *-ŋkh-*: পাথ *sākhā* (ṣaṅkha);
OIA. « -k- » > MIA. « -kk- », by aspiration: শালিখ beside শালিক
« শালিখ, শালিক » (শালিক). Cf. বাঢ়ুর as in বৈলপাটং বাঢ়ুর « বৈলপাটং » short, dwarfish (ঝান্টুয়া, ঝান্টুয়া);
OIA. « -kṣ- » > MIA. « -kṣh-, -ṇkh- »: কাখ « kākhā » (কাখাস); 
পাহী « pākṣa » (পাক্ষীন); রাখী « rākṣa » (রাক্ষাত); অথং<
« kṣaṣṭa » (ক্ষষ্ট্যী-); রাখ « রাখ » (রাখী); MB. পেঁকু « pēkṣa »
(পেঁকু); মাখ « mākṣa » (মাক্ষাত); লাখ « lākṣa » (লাখা); 
চাখ « cākṣa » (চাক্ষী; চাক্ষী); etc.;
OIA. « -kṣ- > MIA. « -kṣh- »: MB. তীখ « tīkha » (তীক্ষা); but
cf. Oriya « sānā » small from « śalakṣa » (MIA. saṅha);
OIA. « -kṣm- », in the old sts. লক্ষ্য = লক্ষ্যী [lōkkhi] (লক্ষ্যী); MB.
sts. লক্ষ্যী = লক্ষ্যী (lakṣmīnдра);
OIA. « -tkh-, *-dkh- » > MIA. « -kkh- »: উথুঢ় « ukhāṛi » (उठ्ठाः)
(उठ्ठा); 
মুখী « ukkhā » (*udkhal-, udūkhala-);
OIA. « -sk(h)-, -skh- » > MIA. « -kkh- »: পুকৃহ « pukhāṛi » (পুকৃহ
carini); লুথ « sukhā » (সুখা-); পাখাল « pakhāle » (প্রা-ক্ষালa-
yati);

In one or two words, in the Apabhraśa or Old Bengali stage,
medial « -kkh- » has been reduced to « -h- »: লাহা, লা « lāhā > lā » (লাখা); 
and কে « -k- », from « *kahi » (locative of « *kakha = kakṣa »: or < « kā<
< kaē < kītē »?). In বৈলপ « bākhā » to go astray, from earlier বহল
« bāhakā » (বহকাক,বহকাক), cf. Hind. « bahaknā », « kh » originates through
transposition of the aspirate.

« kh » occurs in sts. words: ধুঢ় « [dukh], লুথ [līkh, লুথ], ব্যাতি [কাহর],
চুথ [dūkhā], লুথ [līkh], etc. ; sts. থিড় « khidā » (ক্ষীড়া); রঞ্জ
[rokkhā, rokkha] (রাক্ষাত), etc.

In the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit, « s » was [kh] in
Northern India. See p. 243. This value of « s » was unknown to
Bengal. But some lss. and sts. from Northern India (Western and Eastern
Hind and 'Bihār' areas) with [kh] for « s », have come to Bengali also,
mainly through the Brajabuli dialect: e.g., MB. লুথ « dōkhā » (দোখা);
NB. লুথ « rōkhā » (রোখা); ঝুথ in ঝুঢ় « jhaṅkha-māri » evil deed < the
work of a fisherman, cf. খাসা * jhāṣa > fish (jhaṣa) (?); MB. হক্ক * hārikhā > (harṣa); বর্ধন্ম, বর্ধনি * bārikhānā, bārikhē > (varṣāṇa, varṣati); জুখ, জুখ * √ jākh, jukh > weigh, compute (jaṣ, as in the ‘Dhātu-pātha’ = paritar-kaṇam, uhaḥ: 'jōṣayati kāntam anyāsaktam bālā,' tarkayati ity arthaḥ = NIA. √ jōh > watch, see, want (probably another derivation).


253. [g] is spirantised and dropped intervocally in the Chittagong dialect: e.g., [aoin] = aśān, aśāni > (agni); [bhaiina] = bāgina > bhāginā > (bhāginīya); [sool] = gālā > ehāgalā > goat; [kaots] = kāghā > kāgāj > paper (Persian < kāga); [fau] = Sāgu > sāgu > sago (< Portuguese), etc.

But on the whole, [g] derived from OB is preserved in the NB. dialects.

Initial [g] comes ultimately from—

OIA. « g- »: gān > gānd; gā > gā (gātra: see p. 255); gēl > gēlā > (gata + illa); gōr > gōru > (gō-rūpa); gōth > gōthā > (gōtha); gōn > gōnd > quality, rope; gōn, gōn > √ gun > count (gun); gōn > guna > gunny (gōna); gāli > gāli > (garha-); gōrā > (gāura-); gāle > gāle > (galati); gērā > gērā > (gērika-); gālā > gālā > (gala-); gāl > gālā > cheek (MIA. gālla = ganda); gōlā > gōlā > ball (gōlaka-); etc.;

OIA. « gr- »: gī > gā > (grāna); gīt > gīt > (granthi); MB. gāthā; gāthā-ghāra > (granthha + grha); gūpā > gumātā > for *gimātā > (grīśma-); MB. gim > gimā > (grīvā); gān, gān > gāhānā, gāynā > ornaments (grahāna-); etc.;

Medial and final [g]:

OIA. «-gu- » > MIA. «-gg- »: Agi, Agi > āg(i) > (agni-); gāg > (lagna); bāg > bhāg > run away, flee (bhāngra);

OIA «-gy- » > NIA «-gg- »: MB. jōg > jōgā > (yōgya);

OIA. «-gr- » > MIA. «-gg- »: Agi > āgā > (agra-); pāg > pāgā > turban (pragraha); MB. āgan, āgān > āgānā, āghānā > (agra- hānā);

OIA. «-ng- »: this «-g- » is frequently nasalised to «-ng > n » (see pp. 363-364): MB. dāg > √ bhāg- > (bhānga);

OIA. «-dg- » > NIA. «-gg- »: dāg > dāgā > khāgā-ra > reed (khaḍga);
OIA. < -dg- > MIA. < -gg- >: .mutex < mugā >, beside mutex < mugō(g) > (mudga); .mutex  < mugurā (mudgara);  mutex  < māgurā > a fish (madgura);

OIA. < -rg- > MIA. < -gg- >: आगल < āgālā > (argala);  माग,  माग < māgu > māng > (*mārguka);  OB. < mā(ṇ)ga >, NB. < māŋ > (marga);  माग, माण < mā(ṇ)gō > (mārgayati);  बाग  < bāgā > (varga);  हुगो < dugā > contemptuous form of the name Durgā (*durgikā);

OIA. < -lg- > MIA. < -gg- >: फाग, फाग < phāgā, phāgunā > (phalgu, phālguna);  वाग < bāgā > rein (valgā).

OIA. < -k- > is represented by < -g- > in the numeral ēgarā > [ēgaro], which is a sts. in Late MIA. Similar < -g- > for < -k- > is found in a few other sts., e.g., विगड़ा < big(ā)yā > to get vicious (vikāta-), beside the thbh. बेराड़ा < bera > bad, ugly, vicious;  पागर < pāgār > (prākāra);  MB. मगर < māgarā > (makara), etc. See ante, pp. 445, 446.

[g] stands for Skt. < g > in tss. and stss.:  जग < jāgā > (jagat),  युग < jugā > (yuga),  आगमन < āgamānā > (OB. thbh. < avaṇā >, NB. आना < ānā >),  बाग [bāggo] (vyāgra);  etc. [g] also occurs in the pronunciation of the Skt. groups < -ghr-, -ghv- >: बाग [bāgghro] (vyāghra);  श्री [jīgghro], (şīghra), with a sts. श्रीगिर < jīggr >;  MB. लग्धि, लग्धि < āgghi, nāgghī > (lagghī) = lesser (call), passing water. [gh] > [g] is found in final and intervocal positions, and sometimes the spelling notes it:  e.g., stss. बाग < bāgārā > (vyāghāta + -a-);  हागर < hāgār̥ > hāghār̥ = hā-ghāriyā > homeless, vagrant (cf. हाताहिया > हाताहिया = छुट्टिया > beggar, cryer for rice).

Tss. < jō > is pronounced < gō-, -ggō- >; and sometimes in MB. and NB. we find the tss. orthography ēgar < gēy- >:  e.g., गेयान, अगेयान < gēyānā, āgēyānā > (jīnā, ajīnā);  आग < āgē >, as in the phrase कार्यालगेह < kārjavāni-cāgē > as a preliminary in formal or official letters and legal documents (= Skt. < kārjavāna ajīnāpayati >: see Rāmendra-sundar Trivedī, ‘Śabdakathā,’ San 1324, pp. 93, 94).

In South-eastern Bengali of Chittagong, there is a euphonic [g] originating in consonant groups with the semivowel < -y- >:  e.g., सिन्धुया
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<sindūriyā> vermilion-coloured, Typical East Bengali [<i>śindūriya</i>] -> [<i>śindūriya</i>]; कुर्जिन <kuriyā> lazy, Typical East Bengali [<i>kuriya</i>, ku‘riya], -> [<i>xurīga</i>]; Standard Beng. পারিবয় <pāribā>, East Bengali পারিবার <pāribām, pāribām> পারিবয় <pārimu> I shall be able = Chittagong *পারিয়ম্প <pāriyām> -> [*phairīom > pāirīom]; Standard কাহিল +ই+ওই <kāhila+i+oi> he said indeed, he said > [*koillioi > xoiligoi, xoilgoi]. Cf. Sinhalese <I>st.</I> <sūrya> = Skt. <sūrya>, beside <I>tbb</I> <ira>.

In foreign words, Persian <g, ğ>, and sometimes <q>, are represented by [g] in Bengali. See <I>infra</I>.

254. [ḡ] medial and final tends to be deaspirated in NB. Medial [gh], however, is very rare in <I>tbb</I>. See under ‘Nasalisation,’ <I>supra</I>, p. 364.

Initially, NB. [ḡ] comes from:

OIA. <gh->: গর <ghanā> thick (<ghanaka>); গাঢ় <ghāri> bell, watch (<ghāṭika>); গাছ <ghāma> sreol (gharma); গাঁ <ghā> wound (ghāta); গাঁ <ghī> (ghīta); গাঁট <ghāṭā> ('ghatā <?}); গিন <ghinā> (ghīnā); গাছ <ghāsā> (ghāsa); গাঁটি, গাঁটি, গুট <ghāt, ghūt, gūt> (ghūsta); গুঝ <√ghās> (<√ghṛs); গোল <ghōl> churned milk, whey; making <turbid> (ghūrṇa); গোড়া <ghōrā> (ghōta-, <ōdi>.

OIA. <ghr- > MIA. <gh->: গৃহী <ghānī > oil-mill (<ghānīkā>);


Medially: from OIA. <ghr- > MIA. <ghgh->: গৃহ <bāghā> (vyāghra).

In <ghārā > <ghha>, we have [ḡ] by transposition of [ń] and [r] in the Late OIA. or Early MIA. period (<ghha> *garha). Cf. NB. <I>st.</I> অগ্রণী <āgrāṇī> (agrahāyaṇa), beside the folk form [gṛgeran]: the <I>tbb</I>. is found in MB., আপন, আনন <āgh(h)āna>. So Oriya <ghēnäi > = <gṛṇāti>.

In বিষৎ <bighāt> span=« vitasti », in MIA. <vihatthi> (Pischel, § 207), we have [ḡ] for MIA. <h>, which itself is obscure. The word
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विषा < bighā > a Lund measure, is similarly unexplained, although it has been connected with < varga >. The following [ gh ] words also are among the obscure ones: some of them seem to be of dēśī origin. E.g., OB. घाट < ghāṭa >, NB. घाड < ghāḍ > neck cf. Hind. < ghāṭ >; घाड़ < ghāḍā > to be confused, cf. Hind. < ghahāna >; घोड < ghūḍ < ghūḍa > whooping cough (probably onomatopoetic, but cf. Hind. < ghumar > vertigo); घुड्डी, घुडळी < ghūḍa, ghūḍā > boiled peas with spices and oil (Hind. also = ghūḍga); घोडळी < ghōḍā > veil, cf. Hind. < ghūḍghaṭ >; घोंड < g(h)ongā > dumb; घूट < ghucā > be finished; बूटा बूटा बूटा कठि < ghūcikāri > knotted cowry-shell; connected with the last probably is बिंबी < ghījā > close, narrow, crowded; बेर < ghīrā > circumference; युंक < ghuṇgurā > tiny bells worn round feet in dancing, morris-bells = Hind. < ghuṇgru >; युंक, युंकी < ghumā, ghuṃsci > thread ornament for the waist (cf. Hind. < ghumā > to turn round); युंकी, युंकी < ghuṃci, ghuṃdi > tiny buttons (also in Hind.); युंक < ghuṣ < secret, bribe, as in < ghuṃkā > a secret harlot, युंकूर < jhāna > slight refer not easily noticed; OB. < ghāla > throw (also in Rājasthānī); युं < ghumā > sleep, cf. िमान < jhimāna > doze, Marāṭhi < jhōpūna > sleep; युंकी < ghuṃci > paper kite, Hind. < guḍḍa >.

For gutturals interchanging with palatals, see below, under Palatals.

(2) The Palatal Affricates [ ḍ, ḍh, ḍs, ḍṅ ].

255. The OIA. palatal stops [c, ch, j, jh] became palatal affricates in Eastern India as early as the First MIA. period (see §132). This value is preserved in West Bengali; but in North and East Bengali, they have been further modified to the dental affricates and sibilants [ts, s, dz, z]. There are class dialects in the [ts]-areas, however, in which the West Bengali [ ḍ ]-pronunciation is occasionally heard. The 'Crepar Xaxtrrer Orthbhed' employs both < ch > (= ḍ ) in Modern Portuguese, but earlier [ ḍ ] and < s > for the sound of 5 < c > in Dacca Bengali: e.g., < chair > = chāir, chāir < cāir > four, also < sair >; < xancha, xansa > = sāchā < sācā > true; < pane > = pān < pācē > jīfthly; < chinio, sinio > = chīk < cihnā >, etc. Probably both the sounds of [ts] and [ ḍ ] were heard. But Padre
Assumpção writes « s, ss » invariably for ฆ < eh >: < asse > = xAAch ฆ < aechë > is, < quissu > = k ICT < kichu > a little, < soe > = ฆข < chay > six, < saol > = ฆตvaal < ehâdal > child, etc., which would demonstrate that [s] was the only value of ฆ. The letters ฆ ฆ < j, jh > are both transliterated by « z »: it seems it was due more to the absence in the Portuguese-Roman script of a symbol for the sound of [ʃ] rather than to that sound being not heard in Dacea Bengali: for the [ʃ] sound is not yet entirely suppressed by [dz] there.

256. The dental affricate and sibilant pronunciation does not seem to have developed in West Bengali, and in the 'Bihari' speech. As it has been suggested before (p. 79), the dental affricates (i.e., tongue-tip alveolar or dental, instead of tongue-middle supra-alveolar sounds) probably originated in North-eastern Bengal and Kāma-ropa, whence they advanced south and west, and affected the East Bengali (Vajga) dialects to a considerable extent. The Tibetan values of the letters च, ह, ज as « ts, tsh, dz » in the transliteration of Sanskrit words (cf. Sarat Chandra Das, 'Tibetan-English Dictionary,' Calcutta, 1902, p. xviii) would perhaps indicate some influence from North and East Bengal in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium and beginning of the second millennium A. D., when Bengal scholars had a great deal to do with the religious organisation of Tibet. The [ts] values were probably established in Kāma-ropa as early as the 7th century, whence they spread to East Bengal and North Bengal. In West Bengali (Rātha), « c, ch » never shifted their palatal or supra-dental articulation, as we see from a frequent change of ढ, ฐ, । < Reducers, s, s » = [ʃ] to ɕ, छ [ʃ, ɕʰ], and from an occasional change of ढ, ɕ [ʃ, ɕʰ] to ढ, ɕ [ʃ]. This alternation of [ʃ, ɕʰ] and [ʃ] means simply the introduction or removal of the stop element: cf. the derivation of [ʃ] in French from earlier [tʃ] : Late Latin « caballus » [kabal:us] > [kavala:us] > [cevall:u] > [tʃewalu] > [ʃewal]. As there is no reason to doubt that the sibilant in Old Bengali, at least in the west, was anything but [ʃ], this interchange would be a strong evidence that « c, ch », etc., never altered their palatal affricate character (whatever might have been the change in East and North Bengali, and in the old Kāma-ropa dialect).
257. The interchange between «c, ch» and the sibilants is quite old in IA. (see Jules Bloch, ‘Langue Marathe,’ p. 111). In OIA. «t, ñ, +ś», i.e. [t, ñ, +ç], optionally results in [c, ñch]: here only the stop [t] shifts its position back to the palatal region, and the spirant [ç] is turned to the aspirate stop [ch], or the nasal [ñ] alters the spirant to a stop aspirate [ch]: e.g., [tät +çrutwa: > tæcχrutwa:, swapāṇ çe:te: > swapāṇçhette:]. In some rare cases, alternation of «ś» and «ch» in OIA. and MIA. forms is due to Indo-European phonetic conditions: e.g., IE. «*koipo-, *skoipo-» (k = ‘palatal’) > Skt. «śe:pa-», MIA. «chēpa» respectively (Wackernagel, I, §230b). In other cases, interchange between «c, ch» and the sibilants «ś, s» are due to OIA. and MIA. dialectal pronunciation. Skt. forms like «Vaśiṣṭha, kīśalaya, kēsara, kalaśa, śūkara, Köśala, Kaṇṣa», etc., side by side with the earlier «Vasīṣṭha, kīsala, kēśara, kalaśa, kūkara, Köśala, Kaṇṣa» in all probability originated in the dialect with «ś» pronunciation (Māgadhī); and similarly «śūrpa» for «sūrpa» was an imposition from an «s» dialect in Early MIA. In Aśokan Prakrit, and in Pali, as well as in the Second MIA., we have cases of original OIA. or derived MIA. «cc, cch» occurring as sibilants: e.g., «eikisā» (Dhauli, Jaugada and Kalsi) beside «eikiehā, eikiehā» (Girnar) (= eikitsā); «usapāpītē» (Rumindei, «uechrapāpita = ucehrāpita); «usāhena» (Pillar edicts: utsāhena); «usaṭhēna» by the best (Rock edict X: a Māgadhī form = «utsṛta + ucehrīta»); Pali «ussisaka» (uceshrīsaka), «ussussati» (ucesha:sa-), «ussaṛkī» (uceshaṛkī), «ussa» (ucea), «Kaku-sanda» (Krakucehanda), «kasira» (kṛceha); Second MIA. «ūsavēha» (uceshrayata), «ūsaa» (ucesha), etc. (cf. Pischel, §327a). The change, at least for the Eastern speech of Aśoka and for the Pali forms (which can reasonably be expected to have been on a Māgadhī basis), was that of the palatal affricates of Māgadhī to palatal sibilants: these palatal sibilants would be indifferently written «ś», or «s» (through the influence of the orthography of the Western Prācya court dialect, presumably), in the Māgadhī or the Eastern Prācya area; and the «s» spellings would establish the dental sibilant pronunciation in the Midland speech, Pali, as representing Late OIA. «cch»: thus, OIA. [eikitsa:] > [*eikiecha:] >
pre-Asokan Pracya [*cikiecha:] > Asokan Magadhi [*diki[i:]], written « eikisa » (but in Girnar probably pronounced [eikiecha:]), with stop sounds, and written « eikich, eikich »); so OIA. « uchrapipita (= uchharga) > gave [u[chapa:pita]] > [u[ftapa:pita]], written « usapipit- »), and OIA. [utsita] possibly through influence of « uchrita », in Pracya Magadhi [*c[hi]ha] > [ufta], written « uasa »). The Pali forms may similarly expected to have been based on eastern forms in « ss » for « ce, ch », written « s » or « ss »; and Skt. « kacakapa » seems to be from a Magadhi « kassapa » = OIA. « kaśyapa ». Is the Later Magadhi (Second MIA.) orthography « se » for the derived « ech » connected with a « ss » pronunciation which originated at least as early as the time of Asoka? Cases of « s » for the affricate « ch » in Bengali are given below, under the treatment of [Ĵ]. This « s, ss » in the orthography of the Asokan inscriptions and of Pali does not by itself warrant the conclusion that the « s, ss » is the result of a [ts, ss] pronunciation of [c, ch] in the Early MIA. period. Change of « ech » > « ss » in the Second MIA. period (Pischel, §327a), may, however, be partly due to the pronunciation of « c » as « ts » and of « ch » as « s » which in all likelihood characterised the source forms of Marathi (and Rajasthani), at least dialectally, during the middle of the first millennium A. C.¹ And MIA. change of « s, s » to « ch » (Pischel, §211), savours of being in its origin Magadhan: but so great has been the intermixture among the IA. dialects, that the original threads in the texture have been overlapped, and are now almost impossible to trace. Hindi, for example has « lalae » = Skt. « lalasa », and « muskurana » = smile, but cf. Bengali « mouchikana » = « mouchikiyana » = « hasa »; and it is difficult to unravel the « c : s » relation. That Asoka and Pali « ss = ceh » is on the basis of [Ĵ] modification of Eastern IA. [c[hi]] only can be legitimately inferred.

¹ in Marathi, MIA. « c » has become the dental affricate « ts » before the back vowels, and remains a palatal affricate before the front vowels; and MIA. « ch » has become « s », which changed to « s » before front vowels. In Sinhalese tbhs., MIA. « c, ce, ch, ceh » changed to « s » in the Elu stage (W. Geiger, 'Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhalelsen,' pp. 40, 46). The South-Western IE. speech, the source of Marathi, and possibly also of Sinhalese, can well be assumed to have developed the « ts » value for « c » (= cí, tå) early.
258. According to the Prakrit grammarians, Māgadhi did not drop the intervocal palatals, while the other groups of MIA. did. This would be quite in accordance with the theory that the palatals become affricates in Māgadhi earlier than in Śaurāśṭra and Mahārāṣṭra, in which they were voiced and elided, like the guttural and the dental stops. As a descendant of Māgadhi, Bengali ought to preserve the intervocal palatals in tḥḥs. words. We have a few words, which are tḥḥs., showing [-c-, -j-] (page 247); but there are quite a number of other words with elided palatal; e.g., MB. राजुत (raja-putra); राजुल (raja-kula); सुजु (sucanikan); MB. राज़नी (rajanī), and श्रृ (suci), in addition to the words noted above at p. 247. The words with elided palatal can very well be borrowings from the Śaurāśṭra and Ardhamāgadhī. Bengali does not show long a list of words with the elided palatal, as Hindī for instance: words like बी (bijā), आ (ajagara), लोयना (lōcana), भोयना (bhōjana), बाई (vacana), गयावर, गावर (gajavara), गाङडा (gajendra), बना (vyajanaka), etc., are absent in Bengali; and if the ŚKK., which preserves a larger percentage of old tḥḥs. than any MB. work, employs the form राजनी (rajanī) once, रजनी (rajanī) is employed 5 times; and बात (bātā) is found 21 times, but a form with elided च, never. And side by side with बिजनी (bijāni), we have what may be regarded as the genuine Bengali बिजनी (bijāni) (vyajanikan). The OB. of the 'Caryā-padas' shows a few forms with elision, like निय (nija) (Caryā 13, 32, 39, 49), बीस (vicasa-) (Caryā 20), बाणा (vacana) (Caryā 38, 39, 45); but these have never taken root in the language, and look like being borrowings from Śaurāśṭra Apabhraṃśa. On the other hand, the Caryās have a form like आचार (acārya) which seems to have been a living form in Eastern Magadhan, as it is attested in an Oriya Inscription of the 13th century. Dropping of च occurs in the names of the numerals in Bengali: e.g., बिलिस (bailis) (dvācatvārīnṣat). But the numerals are exceptional words in most NIA., they represent a mix-up of forms from diverse MIA. dialects which were standardised possibly in the Midland during the Transitional MIA.
period, and they do not represent in all cases the genuine Māgadhī forms.

259. OIA. « kṣ » had a two-fold development in Early MIA., « (k)kh » and « (c)ch »: the former characterised the dialects of the East and the Midland, and the latter those of the North-west and South-west, as can be judged from the early epigraphical and other evidence. (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' §104, p. 112). But there has been through an early inter-influence among the MIA. dialects a mingling of « kh » and « ch » forms in all NIA. speeches. Marāṭhī, as Bloch shows (op. cit., p. 114), is in its origin a « (c)ch » dialect, being derived from a South-western IA. speech; and so are Sinhalese, and Gujarātī, in their basic stratum. « (c)ch » words seem to have been imposed upon Śaurāṣṭrī (and Pali) by its western neighbour, the North-western speech; and Bengali and Oriyā, and other Māgadhī dialects, reasonably be regarded as having obtained the « (c)ch » words they possess, side by side with the older « (k)kh » forms in some cases, as loan words through Śaurāṣṭrī. The western or « cch » tradition in the pronunciation of « kṣ » seems to have become thoroughly naturalised in the Midland, and from thence into Eastern India excluding the Oriyā-Bengali-Assamese tracts; so much so that in the Western Hindi, and Eastern Hindi, and partly in the 'Bihāri' areas, the compound consonant त« kṣ » normally has come to acquire the value of « cch », except in the present-day educated pronunciation, in which the « kṣ » sound seems to be a revival. Early and Medieval Hindi stss. are based on the « cch » pronunciation. Thus, in the 'Prithvirāja-Rāsaṁ', we have « lacchana » (lakṣaṇa), « paceha » (pakṣa), « dacchina » (dakṣiṇa), « nachatra » (nakṣatra), « chana » (kṣaṇa), etc.; and we find « kṣ » used in old Hindi MSS. and inscriptions even for a « cch » which is not connected with « kṣ »: e.g., पुष्प for « pacchima » (<pāṣeima). The North-western tradition thus overshadowed the original « (k)kh » change from OIA. in the Midland. And the « (k)kh » value, in its turn, is not absent in the Panjābī and Lahndī (i.e. North-Western) areas. But the « (c)ch » pronunciation never established itself in Bengali, despite a number of « ch » words imposed on it. The « (k)kh(y) » sound alone is
the basis for the alteration of *kṣ* in *ts* and *stś* words. (See pp. 226, 227, 228).

260. Quite a number of cases of the palatal affricate in NIA. go back to OIA. groups of a dental + *y*: thus *ty* > [tʰj] > palatalised *t′* + *y* > [tj] > [tʃ, te] > *ce* > [cc], later [cçj]; *dy* > [dɪj] > [dj] > *dj* > *jj* > [ʃj, ʃʃj]; *thy* > [thj] > *thj* > *ech* > [ech, ççh]; *dhy* > [dçj] > [dçj] > *jhh* > [ççj, çççj]. (See p. 250.) The intermediate stage of [cc, ʃj], etc., is heard in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words in parts of Western and Southern India.

In the Māgadhī or Prācyā speech of the First MIA. stage, as illustrated in the inscriptions of Asoka, there was no palatalising tendency: *ty, dhy* etc. became *tiy, dhiy*, and *dy* occurs as *yy*. The dialects of the West changed these groups to double palatals. Words with the palatalised sounds thus were introduced into Māgadhī, and later Māgadhī fell in line with other MIA. in this matter, giving up the vocalised forms native to it.

261. NB. [ççj] = [ts] in East and North Bengal, in initial positions comes from—

OIA. *c- > MIA., OB., MB. *c- > *c- : *ča- *čau- *čatur- ; *čad- (candra); *čak- *čak- (cakra); *čakhe- *čakhe- lastes (cakkha = caṣṭe < √caks); *čaka- *čaka- (cakravāka); *čāllīs- (catvāriṇīṣat); *cīk- *cīk- (cikkanā); *cīt- *cīt- (citta); *cīr- *cīr- (cīrātati); *cītā- *cītā- (citra); *cūci- *cūci- (cucuka); *cin- *cin- (cina); *cumē- *cumē- (cumbati); *cōc- *cōc- (caucu); etc.;

OIA. *cy- > MIA., OB., MB. *c- : chūre *cūre* leaks (cyavati).

Medial and final [ççj] is from—

OIA. *c-, *cc- > MIA. *c- (?), *cc-, *c- : *ṭa- *ṭa- (*uṇca-, ucca-); *kčh, kah- *kāc-, *kāc- (*kāna, kāca); *tš- *tš- also *ṣ- *sūc- [ʃūçj] (*stuñci, *suci, *suci); *chēc- *chēc- [ʃeʃeʃj] (*cheñcei, secaiyati); *pāc- *pāc- (*pañca-, pañca-); *pēc- *pēc- [pəçj]; *bāc- *bāc- (vacana); etc.;
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘C’

OIA. "-νc-" > MIA. "-νc-": অচল "শাচলা" (aścala); কৌচ "কৌচ্" pleat (√kuć); ঘাট "চাকুচ" (saṇca); পাল "পালি" (pālca);
মাল "মালি" (maṅca-); etc.;

OIA. "-εy-" > MIA. "-εc-": রুচি "রুচি" (ruceti, or rucati ?);

OIA. "-ty-" > MIA. "-tc-": আইচ "দাঙি" a surname (āditya);
*Kচহী "কাটারী" *kacahari > কাটারী > office (kṛtya-grha-);
MB. কাচ "কাচ" (kṛtya); কোনাচ "কোনাচ" at an angle (kūnata-);
*খিসাচ > জীআচ > *jiyāca > jīāca (jīvatapatiyā);

OIA. "-try-" > MIA. "-tce-": বাইচ "বাইচ" , also বাইচ "বাইচ" boat (vāhice, vāhitya ?).

By unvoicing of "j", we have [ʧ] in a few instances: e.g., পাচঁ "পাচি" < *pācān > "cowherd's stick" (prajana: cf. Pali pāceti = OIA. prajayati); বেচ "বেচ" sells (beccai < *bejjai = vyayati ?); কুচ "kūc" (guṇj); কুলি "kulae, kule" for কুলি "kula" (kulapāñjakā).

By palatalisation: a solitary instance in IA. is চিরাতা "cīrata", OB. "cīrīyota-" (cilā, cīla+ītta=kārā-tikta); চাউল "cāul", OB. ঠাউল, ঠাঁড় "tāul, tārula" (taṇḍula ?).

By deaspiration: OB. "cātipanna", but MB. চাটিণ, চাটিঞ্চ "chātāna, chañča", NB. চাঃ "chā" (chattavāna, saptaparna);
OB. "cill" cricket (jhilla); বিচল "বিচার" straw (? *bichali: cf. বিচার < bichhānā "bed < vicchādana-"); sts. চান "cān" beside চুন "chān" (snāna); দেশি চোলা, চেওলা "cēgrā, cēgrā" beside চেওলা "čēmra", চোলা "čhōlā" urchin, lad.

In ts. words, [ʧ] is regular for Skt. "c". The group "t+s", now pronounced as [t+f], used to be [ceh] in the earlier pronunciation with a Prakrit tradition which is now disappearing: e.g., the sts. forms বছ "bhaccha" (bhartsa-), কুচ "kuccha" (kutsa), বছ "bacebara" (vatsara),
কুচিত "kuchhit" (kutsita), মছ "maceha" (matsya), হচ্ছন "joechana" (jyoṭsana); etc., etc.

[ʧ] is also the result of assimilation: *গোটি + চিতার > গোটচার, *গোটচার গোচার, ঘোচার "*gōṭa-ciñra > *gōteśr, göteer > goceśr, guceer > some four,
some; হৈতেভে > হ'জে, হংফে < हैतेचे > *होिते < होचेह, होचेए is taking place, is happening (?).

[ʧ] in foreign words, represents Persian < c >, also < s, ʃ >; Portuguese [tʃ (?), [ʃ]], and English ch = [tʃ]: see infra.

262. Bengali [ʧh]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < ch- >: ছই < châi > (chadîs); চিনাল < chināla > woman of bad character (chinna-); ছাত(া) < châta(а) > (chatra-); ছে, ছেন্দি < chê, chêni > (chêda, chêdanika); ছাল < châla (challi); ছাপ < châpār > (chatbara); ছেলি < chêli > (*chinda-, chidra-); ছড়ি < chārdi > (chardati); ছাউল < chāula > (châula-); MB. ছেলি < chelî > (châyala- chagala-); ছিঙে < chîre > (chîndati); etc., etc.;

OIA. < ks- >: in words which apparently did not belong to the Old Māgadhī dialect. E.g., ছার, ছার < châra, châri > ashes (ksâra); sts. ছেপ < chêp > juice spat out after chewing (a betel-leaf) (ksêpa); ছিন < chin > thin (ksîna-); ছুট < chût > OB. chûdha > pollution, untouchability (kṣubdha); ছুরি < churi > (kṣura-); ছিপ < chip > a swift boat; an angling rod (kṣipra);

OIA. < s-, ʃ- > > probably < ch- > in Late MIA.: e.g., ছো < chô > (sâbaka); ছেল < chêlā > (sic); ছু < chûc > (sûcî); ছুচি < chûci > ceremonial cleanliness (sāucika; sêci ?); ছুট < chût > as in ছেটাই < dō-chûta > two pieces of cloth, dhoti and châdar (sûtra); ছুটার < chûtâr > (sûtra-dhâra, -kâra); ছতু < chatu > (saktu-); MB. ছামু < châmû > (sanmukha); ছুলি < chuli > skin disease, OB. (Sarvânanda) < sihuli > (cf. Skt. sidhma); ছী < chi > (śrî); sts. ছুরি < churî > (MIA. *śî, sî < śrî); sts. ছুতর < chattarā > (satra); etc.

In some obscure words, Aryan and dēsî, we have also < ch- >: ছোর ছোর < chôre > (chuvaî, *chuvaîvaî = spîsati); ছি < chi > fie (< ?); ছোট < chôtā > small (< ?); etc.

Medially, [ʧh] represents—

OIA. < ech- > (from Indo-European < *-sko- >) > MIA. < ceh >: e.g., আছে < ačhe > is (acchaî < achatii < *es-skoti); গাছ < gâchā > tree (gaccha progression, line, race, tree < *g̐m-sko-); পছেছে
"pahucchë" reaches (*pahuyin[haï], pahuechaï < *prabhuechati < *pro + bhru-skoi-ti); 

OIA. -ech- = -ks-. Kach < kachi hawser (kacechikã = *kaksikã ?); chëc < chëchë < cëchë (*cañehaï, tacehaï, /taks); mëc < mâchi (makïkã); MB. pàriça < pâriha attendant (prâkṣaka-);

OIA. -ech-, -ech-: bichan < bichanã bed (vichâdana-); mêc < mëch < name of a Tibet-Burman tribe (? mlëchha = *mëlikça);

OIA. -tsw- > -ech-: MB. tsw-as < uchëñ (uchëna < ut-ësa);

OIA. -ts-: ochal < uchëñ (uchëna < utsala); bëc < bëc < calf (vatsa-rupa). Also stts. mëchë < mëchëb < mahotsava, etc. See supra.

OIA. -tsy-: mëc < mëch < (matsyà);

OIA. -thi-: bëch < michë < (mithyà); MB. lëch, nàc < lëchë, nàchë, OB. (Sarvânanda) lëccha < rathyà;

OIA. -ps- > -ech-: gëc < goëc < gëccha < goccha, *grp-sa-); MB. stts. aparçchë < apacchharà, a blend of a tbb. in ch < ch-, *accharà + the ts. apsaràs.

OIA. -så-: têchë, têchë < (tirascà-); pàchë < pëchë (paścat-); bëc < bëcë < (cf. vpskeka); stts. bëcchë < bëcchë < (vrasca-); stts. pëcchë < pëcchë <, also pëcchë < parchimë <, also pëcchimë < (paścima);

OIA. -sy- > -ech-: këcchë < këchimë (kacechàpa, kasyàpa: see p. 385);

OIA. -sr-, -sr-: mëch < mëchë < (mhaechu, smàsrû); stts. aprçchë < aipâchala < (ajasra); stts. pëchimë < pëcchimë < (prasrāva); etc.

Interchange of [e] and [ê] is very noticeable. It occurs in the naturalised forms of foreign words: e.g., ákaçhë < akëhár continuously (Persian < akšar, < Arabic < akther-), pëchë < pëchëndà liking (Persian < pasand), chëylë < chàylë) inundation (Pers. sayl-ëb), etc.; Western Hindi < jaisà, taïsà, jaisan, taïsan>, etc., were written (and
possibly pronounced also) « ch» in MB.; e.g., जीचे « jāchē », तेछन « tāchānā» « jaisē, taisan »; so the archaic Western Hindi (=Avahattha) forms like एक « yacqu » (= jasū, yasa), छु « tachu » (= tasu, tasya), etc. For change of [e̞h] to [j], see infra, under the latter sound.

In parts of Central Bengal (Jessore, Nadiya, 24-Parganas, Hugli), intervocal [e̞h] is dropped: e.g., गोिले « gēlē » for गोिलिले « gēcilē » = गिलालीले « giyačilē » you went, you had gone; होिले « höyēlō » for हौरैलीले « höyēcilō » = हौया« biyalā » did happen. This elision is recent: [e̞h > j > ɾ > j > i]; the spirant [j] is at times faintly audible.

In Chittagong and Noakhalı, similarly, the « ch » > « s » of verb forms is altered and voiced, and the spirant which takes its place becomes transformed to a full guttural « g »: e.g., करियाचचि « kāriyāchi » > कहे « koirsi > *[koirzi] > *[koirji] > [koirgji] > [koirgi], written कोि. The « z » pronunciation also is heard.

263. Bengali [j] is written ज « j », or ब « y » when connected etymologically with Skt. य « y »: the ब « y » spellings are recent (see Introduction, p. 226). Initially, [j] comes from—

OIA. « j- »: जीच « jiē » (jivati); जल « jālē » (jala); जाग « jāgē » (jāgarī); अन « jānē » (jana); जान « jāne » (jānati); जाम « jāmā » (jāma); जिब, जिबत « jib(h)ā » (jibbā < jihvā);

OIA. « jy- »: MB. जेठ « jēṭhā » (jyēṣṭhaka); जोठ « jēṭhā » (jyēṣṭhata); जून, जोनकी « jūni, jōnaki » moonlight> fire-ly (jyōtsna-);

OIA. « jv- »: हल, हल « j(w)alē » [jōla] (jvalati); जल, अजल « j(w)alē » [jōla] (jvalayati); अर « j(w)arē » (jvara);

OIA. « dy- »: जुड, जुड « jūē » (dyūta-); जुि « jūi » fire (jyōtiṣ, √dyut-);

OIA. « y- »: यज, MB. जज « jāy » (yāti); जेह, MB. जेह « jē » (yah);

when, जब « jābē » when (yad-); य « jā » husband’s brother’s wife, sister-in-law (yātā); जेह, जेह « jō » opportunity (yōga); जुड़ा,
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI 'J'

OIA. "-j-": রাজ < rāj > (rājan); OB. < uju >, MB., NB. আজল < ājāl > (ājana); MB. জাত < jāth > stick, weapon (cf. yaṣṭi); জাতি, জাতি < jātā > grinding mill (yantra-); জুর, জুর < jujhē > (yudhāti); জুর < jujhār < jujhā+ar < yudh+ + kāra). In sts. forms also:

e.g., গতন < jātān > (yatna), যুগ < jug > (yuga), যব < jāb > (yava), etc.

Medially and finally, the sources of [ Resolve are

OIA. "-jj-": কাজ < kājā > (kajala) = < kad-yāla?: cf. H. Petersen in the 'Indogermanische Forschungen,' 1914, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223); ভাজ < bhāj > to try (bhrajj-); সাজ < sāj > (sajjā); লায় < laj > (lajjā); মায় < māj-kāthā > heart of wood or timber (maggā); etc.

OIA. "-jjv-": উজল < ujal > (ujjvala);

OIA. "-jy-": MB. বাজিয়ার < bānjyārā > (vānjya-kāra); রাজ < rāj > (rājya); ভোজ < bhējāc > is shut, shuts (abhyajyate);

OIA. "-jr-": বাজ < bāj > (vajra);

OIA. "-nj-": গাজ < gāj > (cf. gaṇjikā); পাজর < pājār > (pañjara);

OIA. "-nj-": পিজর < pījār > (piñjara-); ভাজ < bhāj > (bhañja); ভিজ < √bhij (abhyanij);

OIA. "-dj-": পাজি < vili fellow, wedge pāj > (padja-; or < pāyya-);

OIA. "-dy-": আত < āt > (adya); আনাজ < anāj > (annādyā); সাজ < sāj > fresh (sadya-); বাজ < bāj > (vādyā-); বাজ < khājā > (khādya-); উপজ < upāj > (upadvatē); উজার < ujāy > goes upstream (udyāti); বিজল, বিজলী < bijāl, bijāl > (vidyut-); OB.

OIA. "-bj-": কুজো < kujā < kūjā > (kujja-, kujja- < kubja);

OIA. "-yy-": শেষ < sēj > (sayyā);

OIA. "-rj-": তাজওজ < khājojā > (kharj-); বাজুর, বাজুর < khājur, khājur > (kharjura); গাজু < gāj > (garjati); বাজুপাত < bhōjd-patā > (bhūrja-patra-); মাজ < māj > (mārjita-); etc.
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

OIA. -ry- > काज < काज़ा > (kārya); अजिम < अजी-मां > grandma (āryikā mātā); sts. हज़ुँ < दुज्जुग़ > (duryōga);

OIA. -ly- > साज़ा < साज़ा >, सेज़ा < सेज़ा >, East Bengali হেজা [fāza], OB. (Sarvānanda) < sejja-ka > (Sanskritised) (OIA. *salyaka- + rūpa*: *salyaka* gave in Old Magadhi *śayyaka, *śeyyaka*, in Aśokan orthography *sayē, sēyē*); the Bengali form *seja- > is derived from the Magadhi form. This < -ly- > -yy- > of Magadhi is absent in other dialects of Aśoka.

Cf. the French modification of [lj, ñ] to [j, i]).

OIA. -yā- of passive forms became -ia-, -iya-, -i- > in MB, where not assimilated with a preceding consonant. (See under Morphology: the Verb, 'Passive Voice'). The Western Apabhraṅsa dialects turned this -yā- of OIA. to both -i(y)a- and -i(ja-) -i(ja-). The adjectival -ij- > affix similarly became -ia-, -i(ja-). Bengali has some obsolete -ij- > forms, which look like having been introduced from the West: e.g., লিঙ্কে, লিঙ্কে < li(j)jē > is taken (as in the arithmetical rules of Śubhāṅkara, in the old Indian system) (=lahijjaī, labhyatē); the MB. ordinals হস্ত, নিঃসর < duajā, tiājā >, NB. দোষ, দেশ, only in compounds like দোষ-বিশ্র, তেজ-বিশ্র < dōjā-bāriyā, tējā-bāriyā > a bridegroom for the second time, for the third time (*duajja, *tiijja = dvitiyā; tiija, tiijja = ṭṛtiyā) (dōsar-, tēsar- > are the genuine Magadhan forms; see under Morphology: 'the Numerals'). Bengali কলিজা, কলিজা < kālijā, kālejā > (kālejā) seems similarly to be a Western form with -j- > for -yā- >.

[ʃ] occurs in Bengali through deaspiration of [ʃ], medially and finally: e.g., মাজখানে [maʃkhan] in the middle (mājха, madhya); সারবতি < sārabuti < ʃaʃrəbuti] evening lamp (sājha-: sandhyā-vartti-): etc.

[ʃ] occurs in ts. words: in the groups -jy-, -jv-, -jr-, [ʃ] is 'doubled' in Bengali. In the groups -hy- > in sts., pronounced [ʃ], we have the [ʃ] sound. E.g., জাতি, জাত < jati, jat >; বাজা [raʃjdo] (rājya); উজ্জল [uʃjdo] (ujjvala); বজ [boʃjdo] (vajra); সহ [ʃoʃjdo] (sahya); etc.

Sanskrit -y- > in ts. words is pronounced as -j- > in most cases in Northern India, and Bengali also has the -j- pronunciation generally, except when the -y- is subscribed. The following rule laid down in
the 'Yājñavalkya Śikṣā' is obviously indicative of the medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Northern India, which some Yajur-veda schools still follow in the North, but not in the South:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\small \text{\textit{pādādān ca, padādān ca, saṁyogāvagrahēṣu ca}} | \\
\text{\small \textit{jaḥ} \ sābdā iti viṁjñeyō, yō \ nyāḥ sa \ \textit{ya} \ iti smṛtaḥ ||}
\end{align*}
\]

At the beginning of a foot, and at the beginning of a word, as well as when compounded or analysed, the sound of \textit{dj} is to be known, and elsewhere, \textit{y} is enjoined. (Śloka 150, 'Yājñavalkya-śikṣā' in the 'Śikṣā-saṅgṛaha,' Benares, 1889.)

The above rule holds good for Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit, and for tss. in Bengali. Thus, 

\textit{ṣṛg} \ [ṣṛg] (yōga), \textit{uṣk} \ [uṣk] (yukti), Skt. \textit{uṣm} \ [uṣm] (yasmin); 
\textit{duṣyog} \ [duṣyog] (duryōga); \textit{stis}, \textit{duṣyog} \ [duṣyog]; \textit{kārya} \ [kārya]; \textit{saṁyukt} \ [saṁyukt], etc.

In a few instances, were the \textit{avagraha} or breaking up the word is not present in the mind of the speaker, we have \textit{y}: \textit{e.g.,} \textit{viṣṇog} \ [biog], not \textit{biṣog}, but \textit{ṣu-ṣṛg} \ [ṣuṣṛg], \textit{ṣu-ṣk} \ [ṣuṣk], etc.

\[ [f] \] is pronounced \[ dz, z \] in the Eastern and Northern Bengali dialects, and this is not found in the Standard Colloquial. But in the latter, however, in the groups \textit{-jhd-}, \textit{-jht-} -jd-, -jt- , \[ [f] \] has developed a \[ z \] pronunciation, which is frequently unvoiced to \[ s \]: \textit{e.g.,} \textit{maṛūcā sādā} > \textit{maṛuca-dada} > \textit{maṛudada} > \textit{meṣda} > \textit{mezda} second elder brother; so \textit{buzte} > \textit{buzte} > \textit{buste} to understand; \textit{aṣṭe} > \textit{aṣṭe} to adorn oneself. \textit{e.g.}, \textit{aḍhita} > \textit{aḍhita} > \textit{naste} > \textit{aste} to dance; \textit{baḍhita} > \textit{baḍhita} > \textit{bāste} to live; \textit{kastheke} \ [kaṣṭheke] from the neighbourhood = from, etc.: cf. also \textit{viṣṭa} > \textit{viṣṭa} = \textit{biṣṭha} bed.

In foreign loan words, Persian \textit{\textit{j}}, \textit{z} \ ([z] = \textit{Arabic} \textit{z}, ā, ā, z) and \textit{\textit{z}} \ = \textit{[z]} are changed to \[ [f] \] in Bengali; also Portuguese \textit{\textit{z}}, English \textit{z}, \textit{dz}, \textit{z}. See infra.

264. \textit{\textit{jh}}, = Standard Bengali \[ [f] \], Marāṭhī Gujarātī \[ z \], is a very rare sound in OIA., but it became quite prominent in MIA., both
in some taddhāca forms and in a number of non-Aryan words, and in onomatopoetic formations. <jh> words in MIA. show some relationship with the <kṣ> of Sanskrit, and with the other palatals, <e, ch, j, ś>, and sometimes with the dentsals. The exact derivation and affiliation of most of the <jh> words has not been settled.

The following are the typical groups of <jh> words in Bengali: they are also to be found in most other NIA. languages and dialects.

बक, बकङ, बकङक <jhak, jhāk-jhak, jhāk-māk > listen, be bright, shine: from a MIA. *jha(va)kka >.
बहकः, बहकः <jhakāra, jhagāra > quarrel, cf.ङकः in ङकारकः <bāka-jhākā > reprimand, rebuke, speak sharp words (cf. dēśi jhakkia= vacana).

बट <jhāṭ >, MB. बट <jhāṭa > quick (cf. Skt. jhatiti); डट <jhāṭa > storm, high wind (cf. Skt. jhatikā, dēśī jhadī=niranāra-vṛṣṭih); derivatives—टक <jhāṭākā >, डटक <jhāṭākā > jerk, clash; बटपट <jhāṭ-pat > flutter (cf. Sāurasēni Ap. <jhadappada > quick).
This group is probably connected with धर <√jhār > flow, drip, see below: an OIA. passive participle <*jheta, *jherta > would become in MIA. <*jhaṭa, *jhatta, jhāḍa >. Cf. चट <cāṭ > quick, connected probably with <√ear > *erta, *erta >.

बप <jhāp > splash, dash, quick; a modification बप <jhap>, and extensions बपक, बपां, बपास <jhāpāk, jhāpāt, jhāpās >; probably connected with धप <jhāp > plunge, see below.

बन बन <jhān-jhān > metallic sound, sound of gong: onomatopoetic.
बन बन <jhām-jhām > ring, patter like heavy rain; onomatopoetic.

बर <jhār > drip, fall (as water), flow: बरा <jhārnā > water-fall: बरबरि <jhar-jhāriyā > clear, fine (like running-water); a modification बर जिर <jhir-jhār > gentle, fine, slow (as breeze);

बरबरक, बरक <jhārōkha, jhārākā > lustive (<? jāla-gavākṣa-).
'JH.' WORDS IN BENGALI

ঝল < jhāl > (1) hang, dangle; ঝূল < jhul > dangle > festoon; ঝুলন, ঝুলানী > swing; ঝোলা < jholā > swing, bag, ঝুলী < jhuli > bag; ঝিলিমিল < jhilimili > lattice, shutters; ঝাল < jhālārā > lace-end. (Cf. dēśi jhullurī = gulma).

ঝল < jhāl > (2) burn, be bright; ঝলমল < jhāl-māl > sparkle; ঝল < jhāla > to clean (as a well), to clear, to polish, to repair (as a pot by soldering); ঝলস < jhālāsā > to roast (cf. dēśi jhalusia = burnt); ঝলক < jhalākā > scorching flame (cf. Saur. Ap. jhalakka burn: < Skt. jival ?).

ঝউ < jhau > pine-tree (Skt. jhābuka: < ?).

ঝুরি < jhār > quick, with speed of wind, as it were: connected with Skt. < dhmā, dham > blow (?); or onomatopoeic; cf. ঝুরি < sā > quick.

ঝুরি ঝুরি < jhā-jhār > shimmer of sun-shine; ? connected with < jhāmā >.

ঝাঁক < jhāk > shake: extended to ঝাঁকা, ঝাঁকড়া, ঝাঁকড় ঝাঁকারা, ঝাঁকারা, ঝাঁকারা > dishevelled, loose, easily shakeable (as long hair); ঝাঁক < jhāk > flight of birds, swarm, scattered band; ঝাঁক < jhākā > basket (to hold loose articles). (Cf. dēśi jhaṅkharia = avacayana).

ঝাঁঝাঁ < jhājha > flavour, strong flavour; cymbals with very loud noise (cf. Skt. jhaṅjha); ঝাঁকর < jhājhārā > (1) cymbals, (2) perforated ladle [(1) = jarjara? (2) = jharjhara < < jhar?]. [(2) also found as ঝাঁঝাঁ, ঝাঁঝাঁ < jhājha, jhājhārī >].

ঝাড় < jhāṛ > tree (Skt. jhāta); ঝাড়টি, ঝাড় < jhāṛa, jhāṛu > broom; ঝাড় < jhāṛa > to dust, to clear, ঝাড়ন < jhāṛanā > duster; ঝাড় < jhāṛa > hair, tuft of hair, also ঝাড়টি, ঝাড়টি, ঝাড়ন < jhōṭānā > tuft of hair (cf. dēśi jhanṭi = laghürdhva-kēśāh; but eonn. with ঝুল < cula > hair=Skt. < cūḍā > ?). Also ঝাড়টি < jhāṭi >, ঝাড়টি < jhānti > a plant.

ঝঙ্গ, ঝঙ্গ < jhānda, jhānda > standard, flag (derivation suggested from < dhvaja >, also from < jayanta >: but probably connected with ঝঙ্গ < jhāṛ > tree above).

ঝাঙ্গ < jhānu > clever (< ?).
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ঝাপ ∼ jhāpā ∼ jump, plunge (Skt. jhampa: cf. dēśī jhampaī=bhramati); ঝাপটা ∼ jhāpāṭa ∼ throwing, struggling; ঝাপ ∼ jhāpā ∼ covering, matted shutter; ঝাপী ∼ jhāpī ∼ basket with lid: cf. also ঝাপসা ∼ jhāpśā ∼ hazy, 'covered-like' (cf. dēśī jhampanī eyelash, connected with √kṣap ∼ throw ?).

ঝাপান ∼ jhāpāṅā ∼ litter (=Skt. yāpyayāna).

ঝাম ∼ jhāmā ∼ burnt brick, pumice stone; ঝামরা ∼ jhāmārā ∼ ill, ill through fever, pale (cf. Skt. kṣāma).

ঝামেলা ∼ jhāmēlā ∼ crowd, noisy gathering; an intricate business (cf. dēśī jamāla=magie).

ঝাল ∼ jhālā ∼ hot to taste; ঝালাপালা ∼ jhālā-pālā ∼ burning and scorching, said of ear-grating noise or chatter (<OIA. √jval, jvālā?; or =Skt. kṣāra?).

ঝাসা ∼ jhāsā ∼ flattery (<?).

ঝী, ঝি ∼ jhi, jhi ∼ daughter > maid-servant (*dhitā < duhitā).


ঝিঁঝিঁট ∼ jhījhitā ∼ a tune (Hindi jhinjhauṭi = jējākabhuktika).

ঝিঙ্ঙ ∼ jhīng(g)ā ∼ a vegetable: cf. also ঝিঙ্ঙা ∼ ciciṅ(g)ā ∼ another vegetable of the same sort (dēśī).

ঝিমঝিম ∼ jhim-jhim ∼ feeling of dizziness <to hear a tinkling or singing sound: a variant of jhām-jhām?: but cf. ঝিমা doze below.

ঝিমা ∼ jhimā ∼ sleep, doze: connected with ঝুম ∼ ghum ∼ sleep etc.: see § 199, 265.

ঝিল, ঝুল ∼ jhīlā, jhīlā ∼ a lake, channel of water: conn. with ঝোল ∼ jhōlā?: see below.

ঝিস্তুক ∼ jhinukā ∼ pearl shell: cf. ঝোঙ্ডা ∼ jhīndā ∼: Skt. ∼ sambuka ∼.

ঝঝা ∼ jhūjha ∼ ooze, drip, exude (as blood from a wound): cf. Skt. √kṣud—kṣundatē āplavanē ∼.

ঝটা, ঝুটা ∼ jhūṭ(h)ā ∼ orts, leavings of meal; false, lying (dēśī jhūṭṭha, =Skt. juṣṭa).

ঝুনা ∼ jhūnā ∼ seasoned, old (< jūrna-?)

ঝূম ঝূম ∼ jhum-jhum ∼ tinkling noise: ঝুমুর ∼ jhumūrā ∼ bells; a kind of song and dance; ঝুনকা লতা ∼ jhumakā latā ∼ a creeper with
flowers in hanging clusters, like bells worn on the toes: onomatopoetic, apparently a variant of "jhâm-jhâm".

जुरी « jhurā » powdered stuff, loose stuff: cf. चुर « cūr » powder, Skt. « cūrna ».

बूरी « jhuri » twig: cf. कुलबूरी from बूर « phul-jhuri » -jhâri » golden rain (fire-work), < « √ jhâr ».

बुरे « jhure » weeps: MB. अङ्क « âjhâru », NB. अङ्क « âjerne » tears, flood of tears: ? conn. with a MIA. form «*aŋjh(h)u=aśru », attested in Sindhi; or connected with « √ jhâr »?

बोँक, बोँक « jhôk(h)ā » leaning, बुँक « kūṭhe » « jhûk(h)â » leans, बूक « jhûki » a leaning; बूकी « *kâkâ › jhâkki « *jñâkkhi » responsibility; रिक « jhâk » support for pot in the oven: ?


बौँला « jhêtâlā » moss, scum, beside छेला « chêtâlā » (« ?: cf. Skt. सैवला, सावला).

बोँड « jhôrā » bush, scrub jungle; बोँडा « jhôrâ » basket: conn. with बूँड « jhûrā »?

बोँल « jhôlâ » soup; बोँल « jhôlâ » moist, watery: cf. जोळ, जूली « jólâ, juli » etc., pp. 65, 66.

The above are some of the more important words in Bengali with initial « jh- ». It will be seen that in most cases, no sure OIA. affinity can be found. In a certain number of cases, we find the « jh- » is obviously the result of aspiration of original « j- ». In other cases, as in « √ jhâr », we have inheritances from an OIA. dialect which altered Indo-Iranian « *gâ(h) », « *zh » to « jh- », and not to « kṣ- » as in Sanskrit. Possibly a large proportion of the « jh- » words will be explained from this point of view. Some, again, are dêśi, and others obviously onomatopoetic.

Medial and final « -jh- » in Bengali is found mainly in Ibh. words:

OIA. « -dhy- » is the source commonly of this « -jh- »: e.g., द्वा « ojâ » (upâdhyâya); माख « mâjhâ » (madhya); साढ़ « sâjhâ » (sandhya); बुँख « bujhê » (budhyati); समुख « sâmujhê »
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(sambudhyati); खुंड़ « jujhē » (yudhyati); सिज़ « sijhē » isoiled, boils (sijjhaï, sidhyaté); दांक « bājhē » (vandhyā).

In ts. words, « -hy- » is pronounced « -jih- »: सहय [jōjjhīd] (sahya), बाह्य [bājjhīd] (bāhya), ग्राहय [grajjhīd] (grāhya), etc. In Skt. words, it is always written र « hy »: but often in the sts. words as phonetically written, we find र « jj », e.g.,
गोराज [gerājjhī-] (< grāhya).

Interchange between Palatals and Gutturals, and Palatals and Cerebrals and Dentals.

265. In a small number of words, connected in meaning and probably also in etymology, we note interchange between palatals and gutturals. These words seem to be mainly देश in origin. The gutturals are of course the older sounds. Examples are given below.

कोप « kōp » blow with a sword (connected by some with « √k]p »):
चोप, चोप « cōp, cōb » ibid., cf. छोब » chōbā » snake-bite, bite; छोप, छुळी
< khōg(g)a, khan(g)i > box of bamboo or cane: छोप, छुळी « cōn(g)a, cnu(g)i »
bamboo-cylinder used as vessel, cylinder; कांड « kāmārā » bite: चिम्म, चिम्टा
< cmārā, cmātā > pinch; छुळ « ghumā » sleep: जिम « jhimā » doze, nírum
< ni-jhumā » silence of sleep; गमक « gāmākā » elegance: गमक « jāmākā »,
ज़ाक « jākā » pomp; खाल « khālā » skin: छाल « chālā » skin, छिलका
< chilākā » skin of fruit, छोला « chōlā » to skin, छळी « chuli » skin-disease
(an Aryan group, apparently); छोलड़ « khōlā » lame, ef. Oriyā « chotā »
lame; लोह « lehā », लेहूड़, लेहूड़ी « le(n)jur(l) » Oriyā « lajā » tail: but ef.
Skt. « lāgula »; धास « dhān(g)ā »; beside धास « dhājā », धाँचि « dhācā »
manner, form, style, fashion; दृष्टि « dūṣi », Skt. « sueuika » nipple, teat:
Skt. « kucia » breast; OB. « bāhēnī », NB. बइर, बीच « bāeci, bōe » a fruit
= Skt. « vikaṅkata ». Cf. also Bengali चिनाताः = Skt. किरातासः: किराता = M1A. cīlā-, cīrā- ».

Palatals, and cerebrals and dentals: टाक, टक « tāk(h) »: ताख « cākh »
taste (cakṣ-); टंग « gand » foot, टंगसी « gand(g)ārī » leg (of meat), connected
with जंग « jāŋ » = जंगङ्गहाः (?) ; MB. चेढली « cāṇḍhālī » viciousness,
connected with နာ < ကြည် >, ပန် < ကြည် > beside NB. စိုး, သနာ သနာ, သနာ > wildness, opposition, persverity (?); သင်္ဃား < သင်္ဃား >, OB. သီတာ၊ သီတာ > tamarind, Skt. သင်္ဃား, beside Skt. စော, Telugu စေား: compare also Bengali ৮ দই as in দই-বিচি < ৮ই-বিচি > tamarind-seed, Oriya ৮ কে গ্রীন tamarind (=*কাঁঠা, *কাঁঠা-?); NB. စိုး < စိုး, MB. စိုး < စိုး > beside စိုး, စိုး < စိုး, စိုး > = Skt. စိုး, စိုး. threshed and winnowed grain > rice (? Aryan: < *tandula, cf. /tandr/; Bengali ত < কাল কাল > cultivate, নাগ < কাল > farmer, cf. OIA. নাগ: নাগ < নাগ > cultivating (?), < কাল >: Oriya তাসা > cultivate; MB. নাগ < নাগ >, a pet form of the name জানারুনা, for জান < *জান >; কাল < কাল > to rinse, beside কাল < কাল >; etc.

(3) The Retroflex or Cerebral Stops and Aspirates [t, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh], and the Retroflex Flapped and its Aspirate, [ṛ, ṛh].

Cerebralisation in OIA. and in the Eastern Dialect:
Resultant Cerebralisation.

266. The cerebrals had originated in the Aryan language in India already in the earliest period. The conditions under which the cerebral stops and aspirates (and sibilant as well as lateral) came into being are various. Thus, for example, Indo-European dental < s > under certain conditions became < s > (an sh sound) in Indo-Iranian, and this < s > changed to < s > in OIA.; and a < t(h) > following it was duly cerebralised: e.g., IE. *sthithami > Indo-Iran. *tiṣṭhāmi > OIA. *tiṣṭhāmi >; IE. *ustto > Indo-Iran. *usta > OIA. *usta >; OIA. superlative affix *istho > Indo-Iran. *iṣṭhā > OIA. *iṣṭhā >; etc. Similarly, IE. < z > became < ź >, and this < ź > was changed to < z > (or [ʒ]) in the oldest IA., to be cerebralised and assimilated with a following < d(h) >: e.g., *ni-uds, *nizdos > *nizdas > *nizdas, *nizdas > niža. >; *mizdha > *mizdha, *mizdhas > mižha. >. Indo-European groups of palatal < k, g > + t, d(h) > respectively became < ṣt, ḍ(h) > in OIA.: e.g., *oktou > *aštā, *aštā > *aštā >; *mŋdīko > *mŋdika > *mŋdika, *mŋdika > mŋdika >; *līgh-to, *ligdho > *ližha >,

Through analogy, we get < t, ḍ > in certain nominal and verbal forms in OIA. (Skt.): < viṣ < *vik < *vikṣ < *viṣṣ, = IE. *wik-s >; < dvit < *dvik < *dvikṣ < *dvīṣ-s, = IE. *dwis-s >; < viṣbhiḥ < *vijbhis < *viṣbhis < IE. *wigbhis, *wig = wik >; so < rāṭ < √rāj >; < avāṭ < < √vah >; etc. In addition to the above changes, the dentals were cerebralised in OIA when they occurred in connection with the liquid < l > (and < r >). In the earliest stage of IA, the Indo-European (and Indo-Iranian) group of < l > + dental (stop, aspirate nasal, or sibilant), became cerebralised, with assimilation of the < l >: thus IE. *sphelto > gave OIA. (Skt.) < sphaṭā-mi >; < *gōltō- > through I-Ir. *zhāltā- > gave Skt. < hāta(-ka) >; IE. *kulth- > gave < kuṭh-āra >, < *pelnos > gave < paṇāḥ >, and < √lals > gave < √laṣ >. But while < l > + dental was thus cerebralised, IE. < r > + dental was retained intact (except in the case of < *rn, *rs >, which changed to < rṇ, rṣ > in OIA.): e.g., IE. *werto > OIA. < vartā-mi >, < *merdō > > < mardāmi >, < *wornos > > < varṇāḥ >, < dherśō > > < dharsā-mi >, etc. This kind of cerebralisation (generalised into a law by Fortunatov, cf. Uhlenbeck, op. cit, § 44) seems thus to have characterised the oldest Indo-Aryan, which as a whole distinguished between IE. < r > and < l >. But already as early as the time of the Vedic hymns, the earlier < r, l > were confused in the various dialects of OIA. In one dialect, that of the west, on which the speech of the Rig-Veda seems to have been based, all original < l > became < r >, apparently after the change of < l > + dental groups to cerebrals (see ante, p. 34), and it maintained the OIA. speech habit in not allowing cerebralisation of the group < r > + dental. In another dialect, apparently that of the extreme east (the speech of the Pāṇḍya tracts and and the source of the eastern dialect of Aśoka—of Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī) all original < r > sound seems to have become < l >: so that the < r > sound was absent in this dialect. What happened in the central dialect, or dialects, in the OIA. period, to which the later Midland speech (Śaurusānti) is to be
affiliated, is not known; but it seems there was no tendency to use exclusively one sound in it. (Cf. A. A. Macdonell, 'Vedic Grammar for Students,' Oxford, 1916, p. 11.) It is not impossible that these three groups of Aryan speakers formed originally three separate bodies, the easternmost coming into India first, and being followed by the others, and the western-most having certain Iranian affinities. However, Sanskrit in the matter of its r, l sounds agrees mainly with Vedic speech, and it does not normally change a r to l when occurring with a dental. The normal OIA. vikṛta, artha, vardhita etc., as in Vedic and Sanskrit, can be expected to have become *altha, *vikṣta, *valdhita in the OIA. source-dialect of Māgadhī etc.; so that Early Eastern MIA. forms like aṭṭha, vikṣa, vaḍḍhita can very well be regarded as the result of the continuation of the l + dental > cerebral tradition in the East. It is very likely that the cerebralisation in connection with this 1+t(h), etc. came into being, giving rise first to forms like *alṭha, *vaḍḍhita, in the OIA. period. A form like vikṣa, found in the Rig-Veda, is an indication of its existence in the Late OIA. stage at least. It is not necessary, however, to assume stages like lt, lṭ, lṭ in the development of rt (ṛt) to lṭ: in dialectal Norwegian and Swedish, there is change of r + dental stop to a cerebral stop without an l stage. But the case in the Prāṣya speech seems to have been through the l stage, which characterised that dialect in the Brāhmaṇa period and possibly also in the Late Vedic period: witness a form like OIA. kṣulla, from *kṣudla (= kṣudra), found in the 'Atharva-Veda,' the 'Ṭaittirīya Samhita' and the 'Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa' (see p. 82).

When the r followed a dental stop, as in the groups tr, dr, we find cerebralisation from Late OIA. times. (Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit., I, § 147.) Such cases, however, are not so very common, and although they might be Māgadhī or Prāṣya in origin, nothing can be asserted about them.

1 Compare the case of the Germanic name 'Hildaz (Xildaz) > Ciṭa' (see ante, pp. 245-246). This change of -ld, -lt, to -ṭ, however, is late, and occurs as a sporadic case apparently in the South-western MIA. of the Transitional period.
Be it as it may, the nett result is that in Early MIA. of the East the OIA. \(\text{<rt, rd>}\), etc. became cerebralised to \(\text{<\text-serif{t}}\text{t}, \text{-d}\text{-}\) by the 3rd century B.C., but \(\text{<rt, rd>}\) remained intact in the North-west in the same period. In other dialects, of the Midland and of the South-west, they were assimilated to \(\text{<tt, dd}>\), without cerebralisation. The Western speeches\(^1\) resisted the cerebralising tendency of the East for quite a long time. But as we can see from the Aśoka inscriptions, and the Kuśāna and other inscriptions in the Western areas, Eastern or Magadhan forms with cerebrals had imposed themselves on the former. This was due both to political influence of Magadh and to social and other relations between the eastern and the western tracts. Non-cerebralising dialects of the Midland, West and North-west thus gradually came to acquire and naturalise from the Early MIA. period quite a number of cerebralised forms. And the Eastern cerebralising speech, in its turn, through the strong influence exerted on it by the Midland and the Western dialects, received a number of non-cerebralised forms which have largely overlaid the original cerebralised ones. Thus Māgadhī or Eastern forms like \(\text{<mta> (=mpta)}, \text{<\text-serif{m}}\text{\text{-tik}}\text{a> (mpttikā)}, \text{<\text-serif{v}}\text{\text{-d}}\text{h> (vptdh, vardh)}, \text{<bhta> (bhpta)}, \text{<vta> (vartman)}, \text{etc.}, are found not only in the Magadhan languages, but also in other non-Māgadhī IA., like Western Hindi, Rājasthānī-Gujarāti, Marāṭhi and Panjābī. And non-Māgadhī forms like \(\text{<addha> (ardha)}, \text{<sattta> (sārtha)}, \text{<vattikā> (vartikā)}, \text{etc. are equally found in Bengali etc. <bharta > bhaṭṭa, bhaṭṭa > भट्ट, a bard, originally = a Brahman, is a genuine Māgadhī form in Bengali, and <bharta > bhatta, bhatta >, extended to <bhattāra >, whence Bengali भाई <bhāṭar > husband, is a later and a non-Māgadhī form. Further examples will be found under the treatment of the cerebral and dental stops and aspirates individually. The Magadhan dialects became subject to greater and still greater influence of the Midland speech after

\(^1\) Sindhi, alone, however, among the Western IA. tongues, developed a tendency to cerebralisation, but this seems to have been very late: e.g., 'putru' = 'putra,' 'candru' = 'cendra,' 'tre' = 'tri,' etc.
a brief period of suzerainty which it seems to have exercised in the few centuries before the Christian era over the whole of Indo-Aryandom; so much so, that from the Second MIA. period, it borrowed numerous forms from the latter, and adopted them, to the restriction or suppression of its native forms: and these later Western borrowings have been inherited by the Modern Magadhan languages: thus < mṛta = maṭa > maḍa > gave মৃঢ় < mārā > to Bengali, which is no longer used to indicate the past tense, but has only a restricted meaning, namely, of a dead body; and a Western form < maa, maṭa > (< mṛta) was adopted in the Second MIA., which, strengthened with the < -ilā > -illa - affiliate, gave the Māg. Ap. past base < mailla- >, whence Old and Middle Bengali মৈল < maila >, as well as the forms in other Magadhan. Cf. the case of করব < kārib > as non-Māgadhī form, which has ousted the native Māgadhī < *kattaviya >: see p. 375. The habit of cerebralisation, which once marked off the Eastern Aryan dialect from the dialects of the Midland and the West, has thus from the Transitional or Second MIA. period ceased to be a distinctive trait.

Spontaneous Cerebralisation.

267. Apart from the 'resultant' cerebralisation (through the influence of < -s-, -z- > -ṣ-, -z- and < -l- > in the proto-Indian stage, and of < r >, or < r > l in the eastern dialect, in the OIA. stage) which has been described above, original IA. dentals have in a number of cases been cerebralised without any explicable cause. There is no neighbouring < r > or < l > which can account for the change. A few instances of this spontaneous cerebralisation are found in OIA.: e.g., Skt. < ṛdi, ud + ḍi > uḍḍi > from < ṛdi > to fly; < ṛdi, ṛṭi > from earlier < āṭi > a water-bird; < atati > < < atati >; and a few others. But the number of such forms is on the increase from the MIA. period. (Cf. Wackernagel, I, § 148b; Jules Bloch, op. cit., §§ 117-119). It cannot be ascertained which form of OIA. or MIA. was characterised specially by this tendency. But judging from South-western and North-western Asōkan forms, like < dbādasa- > (Girnar), < badaya- > (= < badaža >, Shahbazgarhi: the Mansehra form < duvāḍasa- > is a
‘Magadhiism’), as contrasted with the cerebralised form *duvāḍasa- (Kalsi; also Pillar Edict VI, Delhi-Siwalik, Allahabad, Radhia and Mathia and the Barabar Caves); and Panjābī and Sindhi *paṃe, paṛ (<*paṛi, *pāḍaći = patati), as compared with Eastern and Midland (Bengali, Bihārī, Hindi, etc.) cerebralised *paṛi, falls (<paṛa, *pāḍa, *patati = patati); it may be surmised that the spontaneous cerebralisation characterised the Eastern (and possibly also the Midland) dialects, rather than those of the North-west and the South-west. In a few instances, the same Aryan word occurs in two forms in NIA.: e.g., गाड़ी * khāi = trench, beside गाड़ी = khārī = channel, gulf (=kāta, *khaṭa-), found also in Western Hindi. Intervocal -n- and -l- became cerebralised in all dialects in the Second MIA., but curiously enough, only the speeches of the West (Western and Eastern Panjābī, Rājasthān-Gujarāt and Marāthī, and partly Sindhi) have preserved the -n, -l inherited from MIA., and not the Midland dialects and the dialects of the East (except Oṛiṣya). In the development of spontaneous cerebralisation, analogy and contamination certainly played some part: e.g., *sūs-daśa > *ṣaḍaśa > certainly gave *sūdaśa >, and the *r in *trayōdaśa may have influenced the cerebralisation of the *d which gave *teḍaśa > tēraḥ: and through analogy, *ekādaśa > *eśgādaḥ > ēgāraḥ, dvādaśa > duvādaśa >, etc., may have originated; so Māgadhi *gaḍ < gata < gata > through the analogy of *kaḍa, maḍa < kaṭa, maṭa < kṛta, mṛta >, and Bengali ড়ড় > ḍāṛ > from *daṇḍa >, through influence of the following *r. But analogy and contamination do not explain cases like *paṭati > *paṭatī, paḍai > *sattati, *sattādi, sattari >, *dakṣina > ḍāhinī >, *dānī > MIA. daṇsa>Bengali ড় ডাঁস (=% gnat >, *patangga > ফংং phāṛ > grasshopper, etc. Such interchange between cerebrials and dentals is unknown to Dravidian, in which each type of sound has its nett value.

1 Dhauli and Jangada (Rock Edict III), however, show ‘duvāḍasa,’ with the dental, rather than ‘duvāḍasa’: this is curious, but it cannot be doubted that the ‘d’ forms characterised the Eastern IA speech as contrasted with the Western dialects: cf. ‘paṃna-daśa’ = ‘paṃcadaśa’ in Pillar Edict V. But the equivalents of ‘caturdaśa’ all show ‘d’ and not ‘r.’ The numerals are a puzzle, and show cross influences.
A great many NIA. words with initial cerebral are evidently देसी in origin. But it is noteworthy that the cerebral as an initial sound does not occur in Dravidian, at least in Modern Dravidian. Köl, or 'Old Köl,' possibly had cerebrales initially. It is also possible that the non-Aryan sources of the NIA. देसी words with initial (and medial) cerebral, whether in Primitive Dravidian, or Primitive Köl, partly had dental + *r* , for the NIA. cerebral: so that the change in this matter, in Indo-Aryan at least, has been uniform for a number of words of both Aryan and non-Aryan origin. In any case, the words with initial cerebral (as well as initial palatal, in some cases) present a possible pre-Aryan substratum, and quite a numerous and characteristic one too, in MIA. and NIA.

In देसी words, [t̪̊ th d̪̊ dh] seem to interchange with each other. The cerebrales occur largely in onomatopoetics as well.

268. Bengali [t̪]. Initially, it is from—

MIA. *t̪-,* from OIA. *t̪-,* and from देसी sources: e.g., टले *tālē* (talati); टाका *tākā* rupee < coined money (tānka-); and the following words, among others, are apparently of देसी origin: e.g., तङ *tān* foot, टंगो *tān(g)angā* leg (of meat); टांग *tān(g)angā* high land, also a fish; टाँग *tān(g)angā* to hang; टङ *tān* high ground, loft; टुकर, टुक्रा *tākkārā, tēkkā* striking, competition; टुक *tukā* strike gently, note down (cf. ठुक *thuk*); टुकरा *tukārā* a tiny bit, टिकली *tikalī* a slice, a piece; टेकरा, टेक्री *tēkkārā, tēkāri* basket; टुनी *tuni* little one, a little girl; टाँगी *tān(g)i* axe (< तांका ?); टिक *tiki* tuft of hair, top-knot, queue; टिप *tipā* press with the fingers, a point; टिक, टेक *tēk, tōk* endure, टेका, टाका *tēkā, tākā* repair, sew (= तांका ?); टोपार *tōparā* helmet, crown of tinsel worn by bridegrooms, टुपी *tūpi* helmet > hat; टोन टोना *tōna* charm, sorcery; टोल *tōlā* depression (opp. to swelling); टोला, टूली *tōlā, tūli* quarter in a town, टोल *tōlā* university or college quarter > Sanskrit school; टिला *tīlā* hillock, high land; टाहल *tāhalā* walk, wander; टिळा
< tiyā > parrot; < tūti > < tūti > throat; < tērā > < tērā > knowledge, consciousness; etc., etc.

MIA. < ṭ- > from OIA. dental < t- >, through spontaneous cerebrali-
sation: e.g., ṭān < √ tan > draw, make tight (√ tan, tānayati),
connected with which are ṭān ṭān < ṭān ṭān > pain with feeling of
tightness, ṭāṇk < ṭānāk > tight, memory, consciousness; ṭip < ṭip >
drop (cf. √ tip = kṣarānca); ṭas < √ tas > drip, fall as a drop of
water (cf. √ taṁs draw to and fro, decorate, pour out), whence
Ṭasak < ṭasākā > drop off; ṭas < √ tas > to be all over with any
thing (cf. √ taṁs be distressed, √ tas = upakṣayē, vastu-bhānir iti);
sts. ṭṛga < ṭṛgāṛa > a flower (tagara); etc.

MIA. < ṭ- > from OIA. < t- >, in connection with < r (l) > either
immediately following or in a following syllable: e.g., ṭūṛt<
< ṭūṛt > (trūtyati); ṭāt < ṭāt > plate of metal, ṭāt < ṭāt > mat
(ṭrātra plate); ṭīka < ṭīka > sect-mark on forehead, point, patch-
work (*tilka-, tilaka-); ṭūṛ, ṭūṛ < ṭūṛ(t)tu > pony (tārīka?);
ṭīktīki < ṭīktīki > wooden triangle for whipping (tri-kāṣṭha-?);
Ṭap < ṭapā > jumping, stamping of foot, ṭapak < ṭapākā > cross
over at one bound (cf. √ ṭap = hiṁsāyām); ṭak < ṭakā > acid or sour
to taste (takra-?); ṭaku < ṭaκu > (tarku-); ṭāk, ṭāk < ṭaκ(h)ē >
taste (< ? tarka-? ? cakka=cakṣ), cf. ṭākara < ṭakārā > palate;
ṭera < ṭera > squint-eyed (= Late Skt. tagara-), beside ṭera < ṭera >
avry, Hind. < ṭera > (conn. with < tīrya > ?); ṭaṛa < ṭaṛā >, an
ornament for the arm beside ṭāḍ < ṭāḍ > (tāṭa, tāḍa); ṭēn < ṭēnā >
beside ṭēn rag; etc., etc.

Medially and finally, [t] is from—

MIA. < ṭ--, -ṛ- > < OIA. < ṭ-, ṭy-, ṭr-, ṭv-, ṭr-, ṭr(-)t-, -ṛm-, -ṛth-, -ṛst- >; also < déśi < ṭ- > : e.g., ṭaṭṛ < ṭaṭā > flour (*aṭṭa- <
OIA. *arta-); pāṭ < pāṭa > silk > jute (paṭṭa); lāṅgu < lāṅgatā >
(*liṅga-paṭṭa); kōṭ < kōṭa > fort, final demand (kōṭa, kōṣṭha)
kōṭāla < kōṭāla > (kōṭa-paṭāla, kōṣṭha-paṭāla); mōṭ < mōṭ > load
(moṭta : déśi ?); ṭaṭ < ṭaṭa > (ghaṭta, ghāṭā : déśi ?); haṭṭ < haṭṭa > (haṭṭa : déśi ?); pēṭ < pēṭa > (déśi *pēṭa, pōṭa); OB.
Sources of New Bengali ' -t-

*pitā*, NB. ṛpeṭa * pēṭā* earthen pot, pail, probably conn. with the preceding; vọṭa, ụṭa * ọṭa, lutā* roll on the ground, scatter (ḷoṭa, < ?,) ọṭa * ọṭh > lick, back-kick (*caṭa : caṭa? < √ *caś as in *caṣaka* cup, wine); bīṭhala * bīṭhāla* a term of abuse (for a Bṛāhmaṇa generally) (cf. viṭa; MIA. viṭṭ(h)āla- polluter: < viṣṭhā ?) ṛūṭa * ṛuṭē* (truṭyati); ṛaṭa * ṛaṭē* (khaṭvā); ṛaṭa * ṛaṭē* works, labours, ṛaṭa * ṛaṭē* puts money in business (Late Skt. khaṭṭayati, < ?); ṛaṭa * ṛaṭē* (trātra); ṛaṭa * ṛaṭē* style, manner (? sthā+tra); ṛeta * ṛeta* son (? vētra; cf. vaṇā family); ṛaṭa * kāṭē* cuts, ṛuto * kūṭē* pounds (kaṭṭai, kuṭṭai < √ kṛt-: karttati, kuṭṭati); ṛaṭa phaṭē cracks, ṛuṭa * phuṭē* bursts, pricks (*phaṭṭai, phuṭṭai < √ sphat(t), spuṭ(t) < *spit(t);) ṛeta * chōṭā* small, conn. with ćuṭa * chūṭē* run, scatter? (chūt = √ chṛt ?); vṛata * kāṭēri* (kartarikā); vṛata * nāṭa* (natta < narta, √ nṛt); ćaṭa * bhāṭē* (bharta); ṛeta * nēṭa* (snēha-vṛttā-); ćaṭa * keṭē* (kāvṛatta); MB. ćibhṛa * nibāṛē* (mir + √ ṛṛt); ćaṭa * nāṅ(g)-kāṭa* naked (*naṅga-vatta-, naṅga-vṛttā-); ćaṭa * aṣṭē* smelling of rank flesh or fish (*aṃśaṭi, aṃśa-vṛttā-, aṃśa-vṛttā-); ćaṭa * deuṭē* (dīpa-vṛttikā) the affix ṛī < -ṭē, ṛī < ṛī (? vṛttā-); ćaṭa * māṭi* (mṛttikā); ćaṭa * bāṭula* ball, stīng-stone (vṛttula); ṛaṭa * bōṭa* stirring (as milk) (avṛttā-); ćaṭa * mōṭa* fūt (? mūrtaka); ćaṭa * bāṭē* (vṛttva), ćaṭa as in vṛttva; bōṭa * bēṭō ghōṛā* hack (bāṭuā < bāṭē-, vṛttva-); ṛuṭa * itā* (iṣṭa); ṛuṭa * utā* (uṣtra); ćaṭa * ghāṭē* (grṣṭa); pāṣta * pāṭe* (parysta) etc., etc.

MIA. < -nt- > from OIA. < -nt-, -nt- >; ćaṭa * kāṭa* (kaṅṭaka-); kāṭala * kāṭalā* jack-fruit (kaṅṭala-); ṛuṭe * bāṭe* divides, distributes, shares (vaṇṭati); ćaṭa * bōṭē* teat, vṛttva * bōṭa* foot-stalk of leaf or flower (*vaṇṭa-, *vṛṇta- = vṛnta).

By despiration of < -th- >, we get < -t- > in MB. and NB. e.g., shīṭa * śiṭa* dregs (MIA. šiṭha, *śiṭha- śiṭā-); ṛaṭa * aṭhē* (aṭha, aṭṭha, a.,ta-); ćaṭa * gīṭa* from ṛuṭa, ṛīṭa * ṛīṭ(h)ā* (dhrṣṭa-).
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काठ, काठ < काठ(ह)ठ > (काठः); लूठ < लूठ < लूठ > (Skt. लूठ); ठाठ < ठाठा, from the Hind. ठाठा > (< ?); etc. Cf. कोट < कोट >, धट < धाट > etc., above.

Through unvoicing of < ठ >, ठट < ठट > stalk, ठट < ठट > pestle, little stick (दाँतिका); ठेटिण < ठेठेण > proclamation by beat of drum, cf. Hind. < ठहाठ(ह)ोरा >.

In the word पाकाठ < पाकाठ > dried jute-stalk used as fuel, also पाकाठ < पाकाठ >, we have a MB. or NB. case of assimilation of < ठ > to a following < k >, from पाट-काठ < पाट-काठ > (or is it from पाट-काठ < पाट-काठ >, from the jute stalks being soaked in river or tank beds, पाँका > ?).

NB. < ठ > in a few cases comes from OIA. < ठ > in OB. and Early MB. <srs.: e.g., केठ < कृष्टा > < क्रिष्णा >, तेठ < तृष्णा > < त्र्युष्णा >, etc. See infra, under the Nasals.

In the printed text of the Caryāpadas, ठ < ठ > is found consistently for ठ < ठह(र) >: e.g., दिट < दित > for दिट < दिठ >, गटह < गटह > for गटह < गटह >, etc. This ठ is certainly a variant form of the letter ठ in the alphabet of the Caryā MS., as the ठ < ठ > sound remains a voiced aspirate in Early MB.

[ṭ̪] in foreign words commonly represents the alveolar [θ] of English. See infra, under Phonology of the English Element.

269. Bengali [ṭ̪h].

Initial [ṭ̪h] is from MIA. < ठ- > derived from—

OIA. < st-, sth- >: ठि < ठि > (<√ ठि); ठहो < ठहो > (sthaman); ठक < ठक > leaning, also ठक < ठक > (cf. stakati strike against); ठक < ठक > standing, correct, fixed, right (<√ ठक >); ठाठ < ठाठ > ठाठ (ठाठा, *ठाठा = stabdha ?); ठट < ठट > style (sthātra ?); etc.

< ठ- > is unexplained in a number of words, possibly of देव origin: e.g., ठक, ठग < ठक, ठग > cheat; ठहर < ठहर > cognisation of something solid and standing (by one of weak eye-sight), cf. Hind. < ठहारण > to stand still; ठाकूर < ठाकूर > god, respected being; ठाठी, ठाठी < ठाठ(ह)ा > thunder; ठार < ठार > looking
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askance, gesture, speech; ঠাস > thās > knead, press; ঠসক  
ঠসাক্য > conjecture; ঠুক > thuk, ঠোক > thōk > strike  
gently, as with a rod; ঠুলি > thuli > blinkers for horses or oxen;  
ঠোর > thōra > stick; ঠেল > thēl > push; ঠেস > thēsa > leaning;  
ঠোন > thōn > a blow under the chin;  
ঠুটি > thūtī > armless; etc.

< th- > is through unvoicing, in ঠটি > thōtī (= ḍhiṭṭha, ḍhrṣṭa),  
feminine ঠটি > thētī (also = a white sāri worn by widows:  
< ?; cf.  টনা, তোনা > tēnā, tēnā > rags).

< th- > seems to be intrusive in ঠট > thōt (< oṭṭha, oṣṭha). In  
ঠং, ঠং > thēg > leg, beside ঠং > tāṅ, < th- > is probably  
due to the aspiration of ঠ > (through influence of ঠ ঠ < thēg(g)ā > stick ?).

Medially and finally, [ṭh] is from—

OIA. < -ṭh- >: MB. কঠি > kāṭhi > (kaṇṭhikā); টু সুঠ (śuṭh) > (śuṇṭhi);  
OIA. < -thren > through influence of < ṛ >: ঠাঠ > gāṭh > (granthi);  
OIA. < -ṛ-th- > < -ṭṭh- > in Old Māgadhi: eMB. (ŚKK.)  
ঠুঠত >, 1MB. আউট > auta > = 3½ (MIA. adhūṭha < ardha-  
caturtha); ঠেট > cāntā (caturtha-), with cerebralisation  
absent in < caṇth > in Hindi etc.; পাঠ > pāṭh > hilly-goat < young  
of animal, fattling (pṛthuka, *parthu- ?).

OIA. < -ṣṭ(h)- >: আস্ঠি > aṣṭi > aṣṭi > ring (aṅguṣṭhikā);  
κুট > κυθα > chamber (koṣṭhāgārikā); κাঠ > kāṭha > (kaṇṭha);  
গোঠ > gōṭhā > (goṣṭha); হাঠ > jāṭhā > (yaṣṭi);  
চৌট > jēṭhā > (jvesṭhata); টীট > dhiṭhā > (dhṛṣṭa);  
নিত > niṭhura > (niṣṭhura);  
পাঠ > pithā > (prṣṭha); পুঠ > pūṭ(h)i > a fish (prṣṭhikā);  
মুঠ > muṭhā > (muṣṭı-);  
বীট > rīṭhā > (ariṣṭa-); মাঠ > māṭhā > cream  
(? mṛṣṭa-); মি > mithā > sweet (mīṣṭa-);  
পাঠ > sēṭhā > (arıṣṭhīn);  
ইঠ > sāṭhā > (saṣṭhi); লাঠ > lāṭhī > (laṭṭhī = OIA. yaṣṭi); MB.  
বেঠান > bēṭhānā > turban (as in the ‘Caitanya-Bhāgavata’;  
< vsēṭana-); etc.

OIA. < st(h)- >: আস্ঠি > aṣṭhi > stone of fruit (asthi);  
পা > pāṭhāy > sends (pāṭhāvei, prasthāpayati); উঠান > utṭhānā > court-yard (*ut-
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sthāna, Skt. utthāna); चेठ * हेथां low (*adhiṣṭāt = adhaṭṭat: cf. upariṣṭāt).

270. Bengali [ḍ,ḍ̌; ṛ, ṛ̌].

Intervocal * ḍ, ḍh > have a ‘liquid’ pronunciation—that of the so-called cerebral * ɾ > in all Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian. In the northern languages (Bengali, ‘Bihāri,’ Hindūstānī, Panjābī, Sindhi), the * ɾ > pronunciation is indicated in orthography (ṛ,ṝ,ṝ etc.); in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, the script does not recognise the * ɾ > modification, any more than the Dravidian alphabets. The * ɾ > pronunciation is at least as old as the Transitional MIA. period (see supra, p. 249), and it is a sort of link in the change of * -ḍ-, -ṝ-, -ṝ- to * -r- > and vice-versa, in MIA. and NIA. (cf. Pischel, §§ 238, 240, 241, 258). The liquid pronunciation of * ɾ > never occurs initially; and the stop * ḍ > occurs in the interior of words only when it is doubled (except in loan-words, like those from English, where we find single intervocal stop * -ḍ- > ). In East and North Bengali, in Assamese, and even in portions of West Bengal (in Murshidabad district, for instance), * ḍ > ṛ > is reduced to * ɾ >; and * ṛ, ṛ > are confused in some class dialects in different parts of Bengal.

* -ḍh- > -ṛh- > became deaspirated to * ɾ > in Late MB. (see p. 442).

271. Bengali [ḍ], initially, is from MIA. * ḍ- > (except where the cerebralisation is a late phenomenon in Bengali), mainly in dēṣī words, and in some cases from OIA. * ḍ- >, with or without influence of * ɾ >: e.g.,

डर < ḍār > fear (dara); डाब < ḍābā > , डाबर < ḍābā-rā > a round vessel (darvi ?); डुल < ḍuli > (dōlikā); डोंग < ḍōngā > (? drōnti: probably dēṣī); डल < √ḍāl > press, rub (√dal); डाल < ḍālā > lump (dalaka- ?); डाल < ḍāḷ > branch (*ḍalla = dru, dāru ?); डाळ, डाळिल < ḍāl, ḍālil >, beside earlier डाळ, डाळिल < ḍāil, ḍāli > split pulse (dālīta); डालिम < ḍālimā >, beside डालिम < ḍārima > (dālimba); डोर < ḍōr > string (cf. dōraka, ḍōraka); डेर < ḍēr > beside देड < ḍēr > (*dēḍa, dāḍa = dvyardha); NB. डाडढ > ḍār < beside डढढ < ḍār > oar (daṇḍa); डाण < ḍāṇ > gnat (daṇṣa); डाहक < ḍāhukā > (cf. Skt. dātyūha); त्सुष
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<ḍumura> (udumbara); ছাছিন্ন, ছাছিন্ন, ছাছন <ḍ(h)inā, ḍānā> (dakṣiṇa); OB. <ḍāḍhi-> burnt rice (*daḍḍhia, dagdhikā); MB. sts. ভাড়ারা <ḍārka> fellers (ṛārka), etc.

Initial <ḍ- > is found in বেং <ḍomā> (in Sanskrit ṃomba), ভিন <ḍimā> (dimba), OB. <ḍāuḍhā>, NB. হোড়া <ḍhārā> a water-snake (by transference of aspirate) (*ḍuṇḍuha, ṃuṇḍubha, duṇḍubha), ভাগেণ <ḍāmāḍā> tumult (cf. ṃāmara), etc.; but these seem to be of dēśī origin, like the following, which are some of the typical <ḍ- > words of Bengali: e.g., ভাড়া <√ḍak> shout; ভুব <√ḍub> sink (cf. MIA. buḍḍa=Beng. বুড়া); ভাগর <ḍāgārā> big, ভেরা <ḍekeṛa> unguinly, loutish; ভাঙর <ḍāhārā> deep; ভোর <ḍābaḵā> box, cf. ভবরে <ḍābaḵā>buxom, etc. ভোরে > ভোর <ḍāhu > ḍo> a fruit, custard-apple; ভোর <ḍukrā> to blubber out; ভোর, খের <ḍeṃā, ḍeṇā> sprout, young of snake; ভালি, ভোর <ḍoḷā, ḍaulā> shape; ভোর <ḍeṅgārā> house; ভোর <ḍāsā> house; ভোর <ḍāsā> a basket; pour, throw (cf. চা <ḍhālā> pour); ভোর <ḍiṅ(g)ā> boat, to step or cross over something (conn. with ভোর <ḍiṅ(g)ā> above ?); ভোর, ভোর <ḍiṃa, ḍiṃa> small round box (conn. with ভোর above ?);

Medially and finally, [ḍṛ] is from—

OIA. <-ṭ->, commonly from <-ṛ->, or dēśī sources, >MIA <ṭ->:

আঁটা <ākhaṛa> (akṣa-vāṭa-); ভৌর <kāṛa> ring, bracelet (kaṭa, kṛta); MB. ভৌর(ী) <kāṅṭā> (karnāṭaka-); ভৌর <cārṛ (caḍai, caṭati); ভৌর <citṛa> (cīpiṭaka-); ভৌর <√jū<√yu> (<hu>); ভৌর
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< jhārṇ > (jhāṭa); pūḍ > purē > burns (puṭati); kuḍḍa, kuḍḍiṣa, kūṛē, kūriyā > hūt (kuṭt-); ḍhūḍa > khāṛī > chalk (khāṭīkā); ḍhūḍa > gharā > vāse (ghāṭa-); bōḍha > ghōṛā > (ghōṭaka-); ḍhūḍa > dhāṛī > (dhaṭa: dhṛta); ḍnāṛa > nārd > dancer > a caste (nāṭa: nṛtu); MB. niṣṣāṛa > niyāṛa > (nikāṭa); ḍēḍa > pīṛē > (pēṭaka-); bēṛāda > bēṛā > (vīkāṭa-); bāḍi > bāṛī > (vāṭikā: vṛt); bōḍha > bāṛī > (vāṭikā); bōṛa > bāḥure > returns (vyāghūṭati); ḍnāṛa > bhāṛī > soldier, servant > a surname; a kind of boat (bhaṭa, < bhṛta); MB. ṇōḍa > māuṛē > (mukūṭa); sāḍi > sāṛi > (sāṭikā); ḍōṛa > tūṛē > (trōṭayati); ḍōṛa > phōṛē > (spōṭayati); ḍōṛa > phāṛē > (spāṭayati); etc., etc.

OIA. < -d > : ḍōṛa > ṇōṛē > (guḍa<?); ḍōṛa as in ḍōṛānān < ehōrān > key (cf. ehōṭayati splits, opens < vṛt); niṛē > niṛē > (nīḍa); ḍōṛa > khōṛē > digs (kṣōḍa-); nāṭi > nāṛi > (nāḍikā); bōṛē > bāṛā > fish-hook (bāḍiṣa-);

OIA. < ḍy > : jāḍa > jāṛa > cold (jaḍḍa, jaḍya);

OIA. < ḍr > : ḍṛḍha, ḍṛḍhi < urē < uriyā > (Oḍḍīa-, Āḍrīyaka-);

OIA. < -n > : kuḍḍa > kūṛa > (kuṇḍa); ḍōṛa > kāṛa > arrow (kāṇḍa);

OIA. < -nd > : kuḍḍa > kūṛa > (kuṇḍa); ḍōṛa > kāṛa > arrow (kāṇḍa);

OIA. < -ndr > : pūṛa > purē > sugar-cane, a tribe (pūṇḍra);

OIA. < -t > , mainly in connection with < r, r > : pāṛi, pāṛi < pāṛ(i)si > (prativēśin); MB. pāṛiṣa < pāṛīchā > (pratilśaka-);
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so ḫārī << prati- > in MB. pūḍīhār < pāṛihārā (pratibhāti),
pūḍīhās < pāṛihāsā- > (pratibhāsa-), etc.; pāḍ < pāṛ < (paḍāi,
*paṭati, paṭati); ḫārīn < pāṛin > (Pali paṭāpta, patarga); ḫārd, ḫāṛā ḫāṛū < bhāṛū > (MIA. bahēḍaa= vibhīṭaka); also ḫārd < aṁāṛā < āṁrātaka), śiṅgba < śiṅ(g)aṛā > (śiṅgātaka, -ṭaka), etc.; ḫārd Pkt. gāḍa > (gata) is on the model of kaḍā, maḍa > (*kuṭa, maṭa=kuṭa, mṛṭa): this gāḍa > is found in the MB. of the ŚKK. (see p. 343, footnote). Cf. sāṛa < sāṛākā > round (spta, √spt to go). The OIA. -t- > MIA., NIA. -ṛ- > words should properly come under this heading. The common MIA. and NIA. pleonastic affix << ḫ- > ḫ- >, = eMIA. -t-, seems to have been -ta- in OIA. : see infra, under ‘Formative Affixes.’


OIA. -dr- > MIA. *-ddā- : ḫudā < khurṛā > (*kuṭḍā, kṣudra-
*tāta); pāṛā < pāṛā > village quarter (padra village, cf. Vaṭa-padra-
> Vaṭāvadā > Vaṭād- = Baroda in Gujarāl);

OIA. -nd- : sāṛāṅi < sāṛāṣi > (MIA. *saṅḍauśia, Skt. saṁdaṇḍikā);

OIA. -rt- (-ṛt-) : see under -t-, -ṛ- above.

OIA. -rdā- > MIA. -ddā- : ḫudā < kāṛā > (kaparda-); ḫude < chāṛe >
(chardatī); ḫāṛ < māṛe > pounds (as in an apothecary’s mortar)
(mardatī);

OIA. -l- > -ḷ- > -dā- : tāḍi < tāṛī > fermented date-palm
juice, ‘toddy’ (tāla, *tālikā).

Through deaspiration, intervocal and final [ṛi] has in all cases become [ṛ] in NB. : see under [ṛi], below.

The following are some of the unexplained words with interior [d > ḫ]: they are probably of dēśī origin: ḫud < ḫer > give up, ḫud < ḫāṛ > move, ḫud < ḫur > fold: all these three roots are found in Dravidian (Tamil); ḫud < ḫur > cross-wise, screen, whence MB. ḫudāṅi < ḫudāṅi > umbrella,
NB. ḫudāā < ḫalā > obstruction; ḫudā < ḫalā > club, rendezvous; ḫudā < ḫalā > stables; ḫud < ḫāṛā > straw, fuel, ḫudāṅka
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<khaṛ̥kiyā> tooth-pick of rushes; <khiṛ̥ki> window, back-door (MIA. khaṛ̥akkt); <khaṛu> bracelet (khaṛ̥du-); <gāru> water-pot with spout; <gāru> √<gār> to roll, whence <gāṛ̥> <gāṛ̥i> carriage, gāṛ̥iyān sloping ground (= MIA. gāṛ̥la: see p. 66); <gāṛ̥> <gāṛ̥i> sprout; <gōṛ̥> <gōṛ̥a> foot (MIA. gōṛ̥a), gōṛ̥a <gōṛ̥a> beginning; <gōṛ̥> <gōṛ̥a> fleshy navel (see p. 67): gōṛ̥a <gōṛ̥a> bigot, bigoted partisan; ġāṛ̥ <ḡāṛ̥>, OB. <ḡāṛ̥a> neck; <cōṛ̥a> <cōṛ̥a> ruffian (see p. 71); ġaṛ̥i <nāṛ̥i> stick; M.B. nāṛ̥i, nāṛ̥i <nāṛ̥i(h)a>, NB. nāṛ̥i <nāṛ̥a> shaven-head; ġaṛ̥a <pāṛ̥a> chief, excessive; ġaṛ̥a <pāṛ̥a> buffalo; ġaṛ̥a <phāṛ̥a> impending danger, lucky escape; bhīṛ̥ <bhiṛ̥a> crowd; lāṛ̥ <√lāṛ̥> fight; lāṛ̥u <lāṛ̥u> sweet-meat (MIA. lāṛ̥u-); hōṛ̥ <hōṛ̥a> competition, slippery (cf. ġhāṛ̥a <ghāṛ̥a> hūṛ̥āhuri shaking and pushing); ġaṛ̥ <bāṛ̥a> bone (= Late Skt. haṛ̥a-); etc., etc.

[d-, [d-] in foreign words represents the alveolar [d] of English; also the Persian dental <d> in दिहिन दिहि district, area (dih count y), hēg <dēg> caldron (dēg).

272. Bengali [চ্য]. Initially, it is from——

OIA. <d̪h̪- >: ġūk̪e, ġōk̪e > <d̪h̪uk̪e, d̪h̪ok̪e> enters (√d̪h̪uṅk > MIA. d̪h̪ok̪kaï approaches): but cf. r̪, r̪̰ next page;

OIA. <d̪hr̪- > in ġōk̪e <d̪h̪r̪st̪a>;

OIA. *-r̪th̪- >: ġāl̪a > <d̪h̪ila> (MIA. d̪h̪illa- = *ṣid̪hila-, *ṣiṭhila > beside Skt. śiṭhila < *śrıṭhila>: but this derivation is very doubtful);

OIA. <sth̪- >: ġak̪e <d̪h̪āk̪e> (<d̪h̪ak̪kāi < *ṭhagati < sthagati >: very doubtful).

In ġoṛ̥a <d̪h̪ōṛ̥a> a water snake, we have <d̪h̪> through aspiration: see ante, p. 425.

In most <d̪h̪- >, however, as in those given above, the etymology is doubtful: <d̪h̪- > words are mostly dēśi. Typical Bengali words: ġāṛ̥ <d̪h̪āṛ̥> style, manner, gallantry, coquetry; ġāmālī <d̪h̪āmālī> revelry, orgy, also ġāmālī <d̪h̪āmālī>; ġāńā <d̪h̪ānā> pale, weak; ġal <√d̪h̪āl̪ > to slope, to lean, to flow; ġak̪ <d̪h̪āk̪a > (Skt. ġhāka <? >); ġaṅga <d̪h̪āṅ(g)a> tall; ġaṅga <d̪h̪āl̪a> shield; ġaṅga <d̪h̪āl̪e> pours, ġaṅga <d̪h̪āl̪u> sloping, conn. with ġal;
Firstly, "dh"; SOURCES OF "Rh, R."

Medially, [dr] = [r] of OB., reduced to [dr] > [r], comes from—

OIA. < -th- > (generally < -rth- >) > MIA. < -dh- >: Padora > padora

< pārhe > pāre > (pāthati < /prath/); Kūtāli > Koutali, Koutul

< *kurhal > kurāla, kūral > (kuṭhāra- < *kulthāra, cf. Latin culter); gaṛ > gaṛh > gaṛh > /gaṛh, gār > make, build, shape (/gaṭh, /grath/).

OIA. < -dh- >: MB. Gaṛha > gāṛha > (gāḍha-); dāṛa > dāṛha > dārā > (dṛāha-); Āḍī > Āḍa > āṛla > āṛa > a grain measure (āḍhaka-); *ṣeṭtī > ṣeṭṭī < *ṣēṛhi > ṣiṛi > steps > (śrēḍhi-);

OIA. < -ṣṭ(h)- > Early MIA. < -ṭh-, -th-> > Second and Late MIA.

< -dh- >: Kāḍa > kaḍa > /kāṛla > /kāṛa > snatch away, raise (a shout) (kr-ṭ1-); *kūḍi > kūḍi > *kūrhi > kūri > (kuṭha-); Dāḍa > Dāḍa > dāṛha > dārā > (daṇṭrā-); Dāḍi > Dāḍa > dāṛhi > dāri > beard (daṇṭrikā); Bēṛa > Bēṛa > bēṛha > bēṛa > (vēṭha-); Ṣaḍ > Ṣāṛa > māṛha > márha > water in which rice is boiled (mṛṭa-); Ṣaḍī, Kūṭāli > luri, nuri > pebble (lō-ta-: see p. 307); etc.

OIA. < -ṛdh-, -ṛdh- > Magadhi MIA. < -ṛh- >: Āḍha > Āḍhā

< āṛ(h)āṭha > store, magazine (āḍhā-: cf. āḍhya); Bāḍa > Bāḍe
The \(-t\)h- in रङ रङ (69) is obscure: a connection with रङ (69) does not seem convincing. ठ ठ (69) ride, is found in Hindi, and seems to be due to aspiration of ठ (69) (attested in the Saurasenī Apabhraṃśa fragments in Śrīma-candra’s grammar) = ठ (69) in Skt. (< čta ?).

273. The dentals do not present any difficulty. Barring cases of cerebralisation (which was native Māgadhī), and palatalisation in connexion with \(-y-\) (which was non-Māgadhī), and a few instances of labialisation in connexion with a labial or denti-labial (which also was non-Māgadhī), the dentals have had a uniform history. The non-cerebralised forms in
cases where we have preceding “r” in OIA. are apparently old loan-words from the Midland and Western dialects.

Bengali [t].

Initially, [t] is from MIA. “t-”, coming from—

OIA. “-t-”: MB. তড় “tāḍ” (tāḍa, *t̪̄pta); তল “tāl” (tala);
তরক “tār̥kṣu” (tirah̥-svaḥ); তা “tā” (tāpā), also তাও “tāo”;
তাত “tātā” (tātra, tāntu); তৃত “tṛt̪” (taptā); তাণ “tāṇā”
(tarkayati); তাজ “tājē” (tarjati); তাত্ত “tāt” *t̪̄dīy (tāla-);
তির “tirā” (tikta-); তিল “til” (tila); তিল “tilā” (tāla); তোলে
“tölē” raises (tōlayati), etc.;

OIA. “tr-”: তিন “tin” = tīn (tiṇṇi, trīṇi); তে “tē” (tri-, tray-);
তেড় “tēdē” (trōtayati); তেড়ী also টেড়া “tērī, tōrī” a Rāginī (trōtikā, tōtikā);

OIA. “tv-”: তুই “tui” (tvāy-, tvā-); তুরিত “turita” (tvarant-);
OIA. “y-”, by analogy changed to “t-” in MIA.: তমী “tumi”
(tumē, *tumahi = yuṣma-, yuṣmābhīḥ).

In the interior of words, [t] is from—

OIA. “-nykt-” > MIA. “-nt-”: পাতি “pāti” row, a line, an
opinion (paṇkti);

OIA. “-nt-”: উতর “utarē” (uttarati); মাত “matrā”’s, মাতাল
“matālā” (matta); তীত, তিত “bhit, bhīt” (bhitti);

OIA. “-tt-” with accent following > MIA. “-tt-”: জিত “jitā”
victory, also জিত “jīt” to win (jita, jītā); cf. পিতাল “pitāla”
(pitālā > pitā);

OIA. “-t-” with spontaneous nasalisation > MIA. “-nt-”: সোতা
“sōtā” current, OB. “sonta” (sōnta, sōtas); পূতি “pūtī”
finely beaded stringed in ornament (?? pōnti = *pṛotikā, pṛota);

OIA. “-tr-” > MIA. “-tt-”: অরতি “ārāti” (ārātrike); করাত
“kārātā” (karapatra); কাহা “kāhā” (k-etrā); খন্তা
“khāntā” (khanitra); MB. গাত “gātā” (gātra); চাতা, চিতা
“cītā, cītā” leopard (cītā-patra); চরিত “cārītā” (cārītra); চাতুর্থত
“cātūtā” a surname (cātā-patra); চাতা, চাতা “cātā” (chattra-); MB.
জাতী “jātāti” a horoscope (jātā-patrīkā); চাতা, জাত “jātā” quern
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(yantra-); MB. छूटवर < चुतांग (sutra-dhāra); नेत < नेठा (nētra); फैत < पाइता (pavitra-); पत < पता (patra); पूत < पुता (putra); बेत < बेटा (veṭra); MB. बूहित, बोहित < बुहिता, बोहिता (vahitra); माहळ < महूसा < elephant-driver (mahāmātra); भूत, मूू < मूत्ता (mūtra); रात, रात < रात (rātri); दीस < दिस (triṇśat); etc., etc.; OIA. < -kt > > MIA. < -tt- >: आलत < आलता (alakta-); छात < छातः (śaktu-); तित < तिता (tikta-); भात < भाता (bhakta); मात < MB. मूता < मूता > muti > muti (māuktika); बात < रात (raktikā), from the Hind. < राता >; बात < राता >, रात < रात (rātu); रातल < pink, red (rakta-); देतान < सूतान (sūtanā) moistened (sikta-); OIA. < -kt > > MIA. < -tt- >: गोत < जोता > farm, जुता < जुता > shoe (yōktra-); OIA. < -tt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: छातिस < छातिस (ṣāṭtriṇśat), beside the stts. छातिरिल, छातिर < छात (ṛiṇśat); OIA. < -nt-, -nr- > > MIA. < -nt- >: अत < अता (antra); उत < urut < thigh (p. 325); MB. कातिः < काती (kānti); तत < तता (tātā) (tantra, tantu); दात < दाता (danta); वहत < वहू (bahu-), excessive, many (bahu-vant-); MB. भातिः < भाती (bhranti); सातिल < सातल, साता < Santal = border-tribe (śamanta-pāla); ग्यातर < सातार < a surname (śamanta-rāja); ग्यातिः < सीता (śīmanta-); etc. The locative affix ते, ते < -tà, -tā, -tē > (< anta, anta + hi); the dative post-position ते < तारें (antara + hi); etc. The MIA. affix < -anta > of the present participle has given इत < -it > in Bengali: see pp. 132, 335. Cf. माहिति < माहिति < माहिति < a surname (mahanta- + -ika: Oriya māhiti); OIA. < -pt- > > MIA. < -pt- >: नाति < नाती (*naptrika = napti); निवृति < निवृति (nisupta-); बिनति < बिनति (vijnapti-); सत < सतां (sapta); देतर < सतेरा (sapatadā); (in the सतां (sapta-adā), etc., we have < -tt- > in NB. for OIA. < -pt- >); स्वत < √sut to sleep (supta); etc. OIA. < -rt- > > MIA. < -tt- >: MB. काति < काति (kārtika); OB. 'gāti (garta-); बाति < बाति (varāti).
In হংত - chūta - pollution, untouchability, we have [t] through unvoicing and deaspiration of -dh-, from OB. হুই - chudha - (ksudha), with influence of √হু - হূ - chū, chō - touch.

In রোম্যা - bōlā - wasp, it seems we have [t] from -t- or -l- (skt. varaṭā, varalā; Hind. bārā).

[t] is intrusive in অজুতা, হোতালি, পিভুতালি, মাঝুতা, মাঝুটা - jāṭh-t-utā, khur-t-utā, pis-t-utā, mās-t-utā, māmā-t-utā - cousins, children of father's elder brother, younger brother, and sister, and of mother's sister, and brother respectively, side by side with জুতা, হুতা, পিভুতা etc. jēṭh-utā, khur-utā, pisu-tā etc. (<* jēṭhāutā, khurāutā, piusīutā: jyēṣṭha-tāta-putra, ksudrātāta-putra, pīṭr-śvasrikā-putra, etc.)

[t] is found for *st* in a few MB. stss.: তিরি - tiri - (stri), তন - tānā - (stana).

[t] occurs in stss. forms. e.g., স্ত্রী - jugāti, also সার্কা - jugita - (yukti); বাহাস - bātās - (vāta-); MB. পতিযা - ṣ/pātiyā - (pratyaya-).

It is found also in some ts. affixes, like ইত - -itā -: e.g., থাকিত - thāk-itā - (√thāk to be at stand-still!). In ts. words, there is ('doubling' of the [t] in the groups -tm-, -ty-, -tr-, -tv-, also in -th-: e.g., আত্তা [āttāa], 

হুতাস [hottā], রাত্রি [rattri], দিত [ditto], মিথ্যা [mitthā].

In the word বিতৃতিকিচ্ছি - bitikicchi - baal, ugly (= viekitsa-), we have an uncommon change of -c- to [t], to avoid repetition of the -c- sound; cf. also folk-Bengali তিকিচ - tikicchē - (= eikitsa).

Intervocal [th] tends to deaspirate, and a number of tth. forms like হাত - hātā - (for eMB. হাত - hātha-) have dropped the aspiration quite early.

The English alveolar [t] is normally represented by the cerebral [ṭ] in Bengali, but we find the dental in a few cases: e.g., ডাক্তার - caktār - doctor; হাসপাতাল - hāspatal - hospital; তারাপিন - tārin - turpentine, etc.

For [t] in loan-words from the Persian, Portuguese, French, English, see infra.

274. Bengali [th]. Initially, [th] is from—

OIA. *st-, sth-*: পঁচ - thāṭṭā - (stara); MB. থাহ - thāhā - (stāgha); MB. থন - thānā - (stana); থান - thānā - (stāna-); থান - thānā - (stambha); থাকে - thākē - remains, arrests oneself (√sthā ?);
In the word धर्षरक्ष - tremblor, shaking, cf. MIA. धर्षरक्ष, the origin of the [th] is not clear. In घुक़ - thuk, घुप़, घुफ़ - thut(h)u - spittle, it is clearly onomatopoetic. [th] is of unknown origin in the following (probably देशी) words: धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष माता - taken aback (conn. with धर्षरक्ष); धल - thal, धल - thal, the idea of flabbiness (prob. onomatopoetic); धर्षरक्ष - पूर्व, with which are connected धर्षरक्ष, धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - slap, etc.; धर्षरक्ष - thik - the idea of teeming, as of maggots (onomatopoetic ?); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - मुन्द (as meat); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - to tumble down face forward, tottering old person; धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - extended to धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - to pound, to mash; धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - inner part of the plantain tree, etc.

In the interior of words, [th] is from—

OIA. < -th- >: धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (asvattha); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (itthā-);
    धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (kapittha); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (kulattha-);
    धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (tūṭhiyā-);

OIA. < -tr- >: धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (atra-), धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (yatra-) (?).

    धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (bhanathi).

OIA. < -rth- >: धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (sārtha-);
    धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (eauttha) - (caturtha), a non-Māgadhi form.

OIA. < -st(h)- >: धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (nastā); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (avasthāntara); MB. sths. धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (avasthā); करेर्ष, करेर्ष - (kāyāṭhā) - (kāyaṣṭha); पाथर - पाथर - (prasthāna);
    पुष्तिका - (pustikā; see p. 191); MB. पाथर - पाथर - पाथर - (pada-sthāna);
    धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (vaśasthāna); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (maśṭaka-); धर्षरक्ष - धर्षरक्ष - (musta-);
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MB. হাথ < ṭhāṭa > > NB. হাত < ṭāṭ > (hasta); শিথান < sithāā > (śiras-sthāna): etc.

[th] occurs in ts. words: কথা < kāthā >, প্রথম < prāthām >, বথ < yāṭhā > [j̥ṭoṭhā], etc.

In foreign words: the English spirant sound of [θ] regularly becomes [th] in Bengali.

275. Bengali [d]. Initially, it is from—

OIA. < d- >: MB. দে < dē > (dēva, dēha); ৰীত < ṭāṭa > (danta);
 দাপ < đāpā > (darpa); দাঙ্গ < đāṛ > (daṅḍa); MB. দিতি < diṭhī >
 (dṛṣṭi); দাহ < đāha > (daša): MB. দেশ < đēṣ > sky, cloud (dēva-);
 ছুছ < dukhā > (duḥkha); দাঙ্গ < đāṛ > (daṅstrā-); দেৰী<
 dēutī > (dīpa-vartikā): দেখ < √dēk < ṭāṭ- >; দীয়ব < dīghāṭā >
 (dirgha-la-); ছুছ < dudhā > (dugdha); দোঙা < donā > leaf-packet
 (damana'ka-); etc.

OIA. < dū- >: দোড় < ṭāṛ > (drava-ṛa: see
 pp. 345, 348); দান < đāmι > (dramya < Greek drakhme);

OIA. < dv- >: ছুছ < du- > (dvi-); ছুছি, ছুছে < ṭūdiā,
 dūde > quarrelsome, masterful, strong (dvandva-); ছুছি < dunā >
 (dviguna-); - দোঙা, -ছুছে < ṭiā > dē > (dvipa-).

In the interior of words, [d] is from—

OIA. < -dd-, -dr- >: কোদাণ < ṭāḍalā >
 (kuddāla < ?); আদাল < ṭāḍā > (ardraka-); উড়ে উড়-বিড়াল < ṭaḍa-
 birāṭ > otter, lit. 'otter-cat' (udra); দু নীল, দুনি < nīla, nindā >
 (nidrā); OB. বুধ (bhāda) (bhādra); MB. মুদ্য়া < mudāri > ring
 (mudrā-); হালুদ < haluddā > (haridrā); দূলি, দূলি < duḍā > (sāndhā)।

OIA. < -dm-, -dw- >: ছাদ < chāḍā > roof (chadma? see
 infra, next page).

OIA. < -dv- >: ছাদলা, ছেলা < chāḍalā, chēṭāla > moss, slide
 (? sādvala-: see under ছেলা, p. 181).
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OIA. «-nd-»: छाद «chāḍā» (chanda); नाद «nāṇḍā» (nandā);
सदुर «sīḍūr» (sindra);
OIA. «-ndr-» > MIA. «-nd-»: चाद «chāḍā» (candra);
OIA. «-rd-» > MIA. «-dd-», a non-Magadhi change: अदा «ādā» (ārdra);
काद, कादो «kādā, kādō» (kardama); कूडे «kūdē» jumps (kūrdati < ?); चोढ «cāuddā» (caturdaśa);
पाद «pāḍā» (pada); बादल «bāḍāḷa» (vardala < ?); नादल «māḍāḷa» (mardala); etc.

[d] is intrusive and euphonic in बादल «bāḍāḷa», probably borrowed from the Hind. «bandar» (vānara); cf. जादुई «jādrēl» huge, big = Hind. «jandrāl» < English general.

[d] for [f] we get in दानाई «dānāī» for जानाई «jānāī» (= janardana); गाजल «gāḍāḷa», probably for गाजल «gāḍāḷa» scam, froth; Chittagong बाजहस «rāḍā-hās» for राजहस «rājā-hās» swan; and probably दान «dānā» fight, brawl is a variant of Persian «jang» battle.

Through voicing of [t(b)], we get [d] in a number of words: e.g., अदु «ādū» = अश «āśāthā» (āsvattha); कदविल «kāḍā-bēḷā» for कविल «kavil» (kapittha-bilva), through progressive assimilation; छाद «chāḍā» roof seems rather to be from the voicing of the dental in छात «chāṭā» (chatra), rather than from a form like OIA. «chadma» (see above, under «-dm-»). NB. [d] through deaspiration of final and intervocal [dī] is exceedingly common.

In tss., [d] is retained: and in «-dm-, -dy-, -dr-, -dh-, -dhy-, -dhv-», the stop is lengthened in tss.

[d] in foreign words: see infra. English spirant [θ] becomes [d].

276. Bengali [dʱ]. Initially, from—

OIA. «dh-»: धन «dhāṇā» (dhana); धन «dhāṇā» (dhānya-); MB.
धर «dhārē» (√dhṛ); धुन «dhūnē» (dhūnōti); धो «dhō»
lady, woman (*dhānikā); OB. «dhām» (dharma); धय «dhāvati» (dhavati); धोय «dhōy» (dhāvayati); धु «dhū» (dhūma-);
धल «dhāḷa» (dhavala-); धोळ, धोळा «dhōkha > dhōkā» to be weary, to pant (√dhukr); धोड < dhādr «torso (dhōτa-); धोसा «dhōsa» a grey woollen stuff (dhūsa-); धूति «dhutī» (dhōtra-);
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\[ \text{dhātha} \sim \text{dhādhā} \] (dhandhā- < ?); \[ \text{dhūna} \sim \text{dhūnā} \] (dhūpana-);
\[ \text{dhūla} \sim \text{dhūlā} \] (dhūli-) etc.;

OIA. \(< \text{dhr-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{dh-}: \) dhūla \sim \text{dhūnā} \text{refrain (dhṛūva-)};

OIA. \(< \text{dhv-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{dh-}: \) dhūla \sim \text{dhūnā} ∨ \text{dhās} \text{ (dhvas); MB.} \text{dhūnā} \sim \text{dhuni} \text{ (dvhani).}

Medially—

OIA. \(< \text{-gdh-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{-ddh-}: \) dūth \sim \text{dudhā} \text{ (dugdha)};

OIA. \(< \text{-ddh-}: \) MB. ābuddhā \sim \text{abudhā} \text{ (abuddhī)}; MB. budihi \sim \text{budhi} \text{ (buddhi)}; udāha \sim \text{udhō} \text{ (uddhava)}; dhārā \sim \text{dhārā} \text{ loan (uddhāra)};

OIA. \(< \text{-dhr-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{-ddh-}: \) MB. gīdhā, gīdhini \sim \text{gīdhā, gīdhini} \text{ (gṛdhra, gṛdhriti);}

OIA. \(< \text{-ndh-}: \) ānghārā \sim \text{āndhārā} \text{ (āndhā-kāra); ānghāō} \sim \text{ānghāō} \text{ dust-storm (āndhikā); kandha, kandha; viādh} \sim \text{vādhā} \text{ (vindh, vyadh); viādh \sim \text{vādhā} \text{ (bandh); OB.}}

OIA. \(< \text{-bdh-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{-ddh-} \text{; OB.} \sim \text{labdha-}; \text{OB.} \sim \text{chudha impure NB. ārdhā} \sim \text{chudhā} \text{ (kṣubdha-)};

OIA. \(< \text{-rādh-} > \text{MIA.} \sim \text{-ddh-}: \) ārādhā \sim \text{ārdhā} \text{ (ardhā); vādhā \sim \text{vādhā} \text{ water-pot with spout (vardhana-)};

[dh] through transfer of aspiration is not uncommon: e.g., gādhā \sim \text{gādhā} \text{ (gaddhā-)} \text{ (gardabha-); s. sāndhā beside sāndhā \sim \text{sāndhā (sandhā)}; dialectally ṭīṣṭha [ḍiōddhā] = ṭīṣṭha \sim \text{cāuddhā} < \sim \text{cauddhā} \text{ (caturdāsā).}

[dh] interchanges with the cerebral [ḍh] initially in some cases: e.g., dhāla, dhāla \sim \text{dhācā, dhācā} \text{ = style, also dhācā \sim \text{dhācā}; ṭīṣṭha \sim \text{ḍhiṭṭha} \text{ beside ṭīṣṭha \sim \text{ḍhiṭṭha} \text{ (dhṛṣṭha); ṭīṣṭha, ṭīṣṭha \sim \text{ḍhiṭṭha, dhṛṣṭha} \text{ a vegetable; ṭāmā, ṭāmā \sim \text{ḍhāmsā, ṭāmsā} \text{ huge (=} xễnb-u-sā < ṭāmbā, ṭāmbi mound, hillock ?); etc. A number of \(< \text{dh-} \text{ words in Bengali (as in other NIA.) are obscure: e.g., dhūma \sim \text{pomp, splendour, hue} < \text{dhūma-sā} \text{ fat}; dhūkā \sim \text{dhūkā} \text{, push, dhūkālā} \text{ strain, beside MB. dhūkā} \sim \text{dhūkā} \text{ push; dhūma \sim \text{dhūma} \text{ basket; dhūma} \sim \text{dhūma-sā} \text{ squeeze, beat, press, cf. dhūmālo}}}

\]
"dhamāli" > sport, orgy, revelry; dhäri > grown-up animal, leader; 
dhingi > wanton, full of spirits, bad; dhucānī > basket to wash 
grain; dhokārī > rags; dhokārī > a Sweeper < aboriginal 
or low-caste man from the Kol and Oraon land; dhēṅ, dēṅ > dh(h)ēt > an 
exclamation of disgust, etc., etc.


(5) The Labial Stops and Aspirates [p, ph, b, hφ], and the Bilabial 
and Denti-labial Spirants [ɾ, v; f, v].

277. Labialisation of the OIA. groups of dental stops (or aspirates) 
+ "m" or "v" is a phonological development which is quite noteworthy 
in MIA. (see Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' § 139). Two kinds of 
treatment are found in MIA.: (i) assimilation of the labial nasal or 
semi-vowel to the preceding dental (e.g., ātmā > attā); (ii) labialisation 
(e.g., ātmā > atpā > appā). Judging from the evidence of Aśoka MIA. (in 
which the dialect of Girnar normally uses "-tp-" for "-tv-", "-tm-" and 
"-db-" for "-dv-"), from a Greek transcription like "Barakhē" = 
"Dvārakā", and from Modern Gujarātī and Sindhi (e.g., "bē, bbē" > two) 
it can be very well inferred that the labialisation with "v, m" characterised 
the dialects of the Gujarat side in the First MIA. period. Labialisation 
was absent in the East (and possibly also in the Midland) in the Early 
MIA. period, but it was found in the North-western speech: e.g., the 
equivalents of "dvādaśa" in the Early MIA. dialects were, as can be 
inferred from the Aśoka inscriptions, "duvādaśa, duvādaśa" in the 
East and the Midland, "dvādaśa" in the South-west, and "badaya, 
bādaza" in the North-west; and those of "atman" were, respectively 
in the East and the Midland, in the South-west and the North-west, 
"atta-", "atpa-", and "ātma" (as in Mansehra: the Shahbazgarhi "ata-=
atta" seems to be a 'Māgadhisim'). The North-western speech also shows 
change of "m, v" to "p" after a sibilant: e.g., "pravasaśpi = *prava-
sasmin = pravāṣe", "spasuna(m) = svasṛgam", "spamikēna = svāmikēna" 
etc. This is a change which is not found in other parts of India, but it has
a parallel in the Iranian change of śv to sp, as in spa-ka, aspa = śvan, aśva.

The labialised forms are very few in Bengali and in other Magadhan (see below). These forms can very well have come to the Eastern dialects (and to those of the Midland) from the dialects of the West where they seem to have originated. They were early established in the Northern Indian koiné based on the Midland speech, which became the Pali language: and their acceptance in the various forms of MIA. was due to the influence of this koiné.

278. Bengali [p].

[p] is a sound which tends very easily to be pronounced without contact of the lips, and in Old Bengali, some groups like na+√pār not to be able became nār in MB. through a stage *na vrou-. which is preserved in Assamese as nōwā-. Apart from the spirant pronunciation of the aspirates [ph, bh], the stop [p] is pronounced as a bilabial open consonant or spirant, [f], in the Eastern Vanga dialects; and in Noakhali and Chittagong, the lips are frequently so far apart as to reduce the [f] into a sound almost like a voiceless [h]: e.g., Sylhet Bengali pāpā = [fau:k], puja pujā = [fuza], pāsa pāsā pice = [fo:j]. Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong put putā son = [fu:t, hu:t], pōla pōlā child = [fola, hola], pūt-māchā a fish = [fu:li:as, hu:li:as], pētā pēṭā = [fet, heta], pāiyāchā I have received = [haisi], palaīyačē has run away = [halaise], etc. One can compare the change of [p] to [f, h] in Japanese, in Modern Kannada, and in other languages.

Initially, [p] is from MIA. *p-*, from—

OIA. *p-* : pātrē (patati); pā pā (pāda); pān pān̄, pān, pān̄ pān̄, pān̄ (pāna; parṇa); piē piē (pibati); put putā (putra); pisi pisi (pitr-śvasākā); pučē pučē (pṛchati); puṇha puṇ puṇ (pūpa-); pōnā pōnā (pānē; pādōna-); pārē pārē, MB. pāhe, pāhe rē pāhē rē (paridhiyāta); pukur pukurū tank (puṣkarin); pāitā pāitā (pavitra-); MB. pāh pāhē pāhē pāhū (prabhu); pāvādī pāvādī petal
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(parva-); परख < पार्क्ष > (पार्क्ष); गूढ़ < पर > burns (पुष्टी); MB. पानई; पान < पान, पान > (पान); etc., etc.

Also in देशी words, e.g., पैठ < पेट > belly, पाक, पाक < पौक > worm, पाक < पाक > twist, whirl, पाक < पाक > entrails, exudation from nose, पाक < पाक > a vegetable, etc.

OIA. < pr- >: पृति < पृति > beads (*ponta-, prōta-); पिया < पिया > (priya-); पियाल < पियाल > (priyal); पर < पार < पार > (prahara);

OIA. < pr- >: पाहुल < पाहुल > (prahara); पाहुल, पाहुल < पाहुल > (prahara-la); MB. पेख < पेख > (prēka-);

OIA. < pr- >: पाहुल > (prēka-); पाहुल > (prēka-); पृति < पृति > pūtī < pūti < pūthi > (prōsthikā); पृति < पृति > pūtī < pūthi >

OIA. < pr- >: पृति < पृति > (prōsthikā); पृति < पृति > (prōsthikā); MB. पेख < पेख > (prēka-); पाहुल > (prēka-);

OIA. < pr- >: पृति < पृति > (prēka-); पाहुल > (prēka-); पाहुल > (prēka-); MB. पेख < पेख > (prēka-); पाहुल > (prēka-);

In the interior of words, [p] is from—

OIA. < -tp- > MIA. < -pp- >: उपजे < उपजे > (utpadayat); उपजे < उपजे > (utpadayat);

OIA. < -mp- > MIA. < -mp- >: पिपूल, पिपूल > (pip(i)ra), OB. < pipiḍa > (cf. Skt. pipilikā); शाप < शाप > curse (*sampa =

OIA. < -pp- >: पिलूल < पिलूल > (pippali); जलपिली < जलपिली > a kind of bird (pippaka, pippika);

OIA. < -py- > MIA. < -py- >: कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya-); कृपा,

OIA. < -py- > MIA. < -py- >: कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya-); कृपा,

OIA. < -py- > MIA. < -py- >: कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya); कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya); NB. कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya); कृपा < कृपा > (kṛpya);

Also in देशी words: ठोप > ठोप > crown, helmet, ठोप < ठोप > hat;

Also in देशी words: ठोप > ठोप > crown, helmet, ठोप < ठोप > hat;

Also in देशी words: ठोप > ठोप > crown, helmet, ठोप < ठोप > hat;
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<√chāp> to print; হর্ডী <hārāp< basket, snake-charmer's basket; শিপ <cip> libation-pot (dēsi sippa = shell, oyster shell), etc.;

OIA. <-rp-> > MIA. <-pp->: কাপ, খাপ <kāp, khāp> sheath (*karpa, karpa > MIA. khappa, kappa); কাপড় <kāpan> (karpa-τα); খাপ্পা <kāpurpa> tile (khappara-); কাপাস <kāparasa> (kārpasa); OB. <kāpur> (karppūra); দাপ <dāp> (darpa); সাপ <sāp> (sarpa); সাপে <sāpē> (samarpayati); etc.;


OIA. <-tm-, -tv->: অপান <āpan> (appan-, cf. Girnar Aśoṅ an atpa- = ātman); the affix -পন, -পনা <-pan, -pāna> (MIA. -pāna- < -tvana »); ছাপর <chāpura> bedstead with frame for curtains (chatvarā).

Cases of [p] by deaspiration of [ph] are rare initially in Bengali, but quite common intervocally and finally. Through unvoicing of [b] we get [p] in a few cases: e.g., পাপড়া <pāparā> petal beside পাপড়া <pāparā> (parva-); the curious s/s. অনেকে <ādōpē> at all, in the least < *অনেকে <ādōbē «ādōvē > for Sanskrit <ādīv > [adou] + loc. aff. < -ē >; etc.

[p] in ts. words is doubled in the groups <-pr-, -pl-, -py->. In some s/s., <-sp-> has given [p]: e.g., পরশ <pārās> (sparśa), পাহ <pāstā> (spaśta).

In foreign words, intervocal [p] frequently is from [f] of Persian, Portuguese, English: see infra.

279. Bengali ফ [ph, f, f].

Initially, it is from OIA., MIA. <ph->: ফল <phal> (phala); ফলার <phalāra> feast (phalabhāra); ফলা <phala> (phalaka-); ফল <phal> (phalgu); ফলান <phalāna> (phalguna); ফল <phal> (phala); ফেনা <phēna> (phēna-); ফু <phu> sound of blowing with the mouth (cf. phutkāra); ফুল <phula> flower (phulla); ফাকি <phāki> emptiness, laziness, <negligence (phakkikā <?); ফাড় <phāda> circumference <belly (phanda <?), etc.
Also from OIA. *p-*, by aspiration: ফাড়া  ফাড়া  float of quill in angling line (♀ patra-); ফাসা  ফাসা  (pasa); ফড়া  ফড়া  grasshopper (patagga); MB. ফলাক  ফলাক  jump, leap (♀ plavanga: stx.); ফেল  ফেল  MB. ফেল  ফেল  ফেল  (pellaï, přerayati); ফাউঁড়া  ফাউঁড়া  (bamboo) stick with big joints (♀ parva); etc.

OIA. *sp-, sph-* > MIA. *ph-* > Bengali [ph]: ফাল as in ফালকা  ফালকা  to slip away, to lose touch with (conn. with /spś?/); ফুট  ফুট  (sphutyati); ফাট  ফাট  (sphatuati); ফাট  ফাট  ফাট  (sphatayati); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (sphota-); ফাল  ফাল  ফাল  jump (sphala); ফরশা, ফরশা  ফরশা, ফরশা  clearing of darkness, dawning (♀ spher, /sphur/); ফার্দ  ফার্দ  excess, addition, extra on little articles sold (sphati—♀ sphautuka); stss. ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (sphati), ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (sphurti) (sphurti), etc.

[ph] in the middle of words is from—

OIA. *-mph-*: ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (gumpha); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (lumpha);
OIA. *-mph-*: MB. ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (nāphāc) for ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (lāphāc) coquettes (cf. /rāph, raphati, raphati, raphati = goes, moves);
OIA. *-tuph-* > *-tph-* > MIA. *-pph-*: OB. ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (kāphala) (kaphala, *kāphala, kaṭuphala);
OIA. *-sp-* > MIA. *-pph-*: MB. ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (āphāle) (āphālayati).

Some words in [ph] are obscure in Bengali: e.g., ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  goblet, water-pot (originally = with a broad brim? cf. /sphāra/); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  pale; ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  sudden pain in the chest, side or stomach (< pakṣa?); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  cave, also ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (cf. guhā); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  to turn; ফার্ড  ফার্ড  excess; ফার্ড  ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (conn. with /anśṛ/ ?); ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  < ফার্ড  ফার্ড  (cf. OB. bhābhāri-, Skt. bharbharā); etc., etc.
In the dialectal word লাপ্পখালা < lāphārā >, beside লাবা < lābā > vegetable hotch-potch with pumpkin, there is [ph] from < -p- < -b- < -u- > (alābu, lāu, lāu + dā > lābrā : cf. আচরে < ādōbē > from < ādān + ē >, p. 511). [ph] occurs in foreign words, for < f >.

280. Bengali [b]. Initially, it is derived from—

OIA. < dv- > MIA. (non-Māgadhi) < b- > OB. < b- >: বার < bārā > (dvālaśa), বাইশ < bāiśa > (dvāvinśati), etc.;

OIA. < -p- > Second MIA. < -v- > OB. < b- >: বইসে, বিশ < bāiśa, bāśe > (*uvaśa, upaviśati); বাইছা < bāiṭa > to sit down, a paddle for rowing, বাইছ > বিছ < bāiṭi > bāṭī > large knife with a wooden seat-handle for slicing vegetables (upaviśta-);

OIA. < b- >: MB. বাহ < bāhā > (bāhu); বকরা < bākārā > (barkara-); বুঝ < bujhee > (budhyati); MB. বুদী < budhi > (buddhi-); বেল < bēl > (bilva); বুদ < būd > (bindu); বাহীর < bāhirā > (cf. bāhyā); MB. বালা < bālā > youth, boy (bāla-); বিচ < bici > (bija?; vṛtya-?); বিল < bil > beel, marshy hollow (bila); বাণ < bāṇ > (bāṇa); বাঁল, বালা < bābul, bābulā > acacia tree (barbula); বাহ < bādhā > (bandha); OB. < bāhira > (badhira); বেলু < bāhērā > (MIA. bahēḍa, OIA. bibhīṭaka); etc.;

OIA. < br- >: বামন, বামন < bāmān, bāmnā > (brāhmaṇa); বোল, বোল < bōl > (braviti, MIA. bollaī);

OIA. < m- >: বোল < bōl > (mukula); বুঝ, বুঝ < būj, buj > close (as eyes), fill up (√mudr-y- ?);

OIA. < v- >: বহ < bāu > (vadhū); বহ, বহ < bāy < bāhē > (vahati); বা < bā > (vāta); বা < bā > (vāma); বাক < bākā > (vakra); বাজ < bājā > (vajra); বাণ < bānā > (vanyā); বাঁল < bāulā > (vātula); বিয়া, বে < biyā, bē > (vivāha); বিশ < bīś > (vinśati); MB. বিসের < bīsārē > (vismarati); বেজ < bēṣ > (vēṣa); বানার < bānārā > (vārānasīya); etc., etc. Also in sts. and ts. words, Skt. < v- > becomes [b].

OIA. < vy- >: বি, বীর < bā, bāo > (vyāma); বাখান < bākānā > (vyākhyāna); বাখ < bāghā > (vyāghra); বেশ < bērā > (vyāpāra-); MB. বোহাতী < bāuhāri > wife (vyavahārikā slave-
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

woman), see pp. 345, 384; बेव < bēgh > frog (vyāṅga); sts. बागङ्गा < bāgāṅga > (vyāṅghata-).

Interior [b] represents—

OIA. < -dv- > MIA. < -bb- >: छाब्रिक, छाब्रिक < chā(b)biṣṭ > (śaḍviṁśati);

OIA. < -mb- >, mainly in stss.: नेबु < nēbu > (nimbuka), (see pp. 366, 367);

OIA. < -mr- > MIA. < -mb- >: तान < ābā > (āmra); तातात < tābā > (tāmra-);

OIA. < -rb- > MIA. < -bb- >: दुबल < dubāl(ā) > (durbala-);

OIA. < -rv- > MIA. < -bb- >: गाबन < gābānā > to vaunt, to boast (garva); चाबन, चिबन < cābānā, cibāna > to chew (वर्च); दब < ābā > round pot, green coco-nut (cf. darvī); सब < sābā > (sarva);

OIA. < -v- > in stss.: नाबब < nābbai, nābbui > (navati); MB. जोबन < jābānā > (jēbāna, yāvāna); etc.

Euphonic [b] from < ṻ >: आदोब < ādōb > at all (ādōbē = ādāu + -ē >: see p. 511).

[b] through deaspiration of [b̥] is common in medial and final positions in NB.

By transference of aspiration, we have बोन, बोन < bōnā, bōhin > (bhaginī).

In a few cases, there is an intrusive [b] after < m > in OB. and MB.: see p. 367.

Intervocal and final [b] in a few words has become vocalised to < u >: e.g., फुटव < phāurā > a big stick (< pāurā < parva-); बाहोर as in बाहोर चूल < bāuri culḥ > long hair in curls (Pers. babr > lion, babri > lion-like = with wavy mane).

In tss. and stss., [b] occurs for both < b > and < v >; and the sound as usual is lengthened (or doubled) before < r >, and in the groups < -bh-, -bhr- >.

For [b] in foreign words, see infra.
281. Bengali [bf].
Initially, [bf] represents—

OIA. "b-", by aspiration, spontaneous or transferred: e.g., ভূপি
* bhūsi > (busa-); ভূতজ, ভূতুী < bhut(u)ṛi > entrails, contents (as
of the jack fruit) (busta, MIA. buttha); ভুপ < bhukha > (MIA.
buhukkha < buhukṣa); ভুপ < bhāpa > (bāspa); cf. ভৃষ্টি < bhīṣṭi >
water-carrier, from Persian < biṣṭi >;

OIA. "bh-": ভাত < bhāta > boiled rice (bhakta); ভাল < bhāla >
(bhadra-); ভিন < bhīna > separate (bhinna); ভাঙ < bhāng >
(bhaṅja); ভিখ < bhikhā > (bhikṣa); ভাঙা < bhāra > rent, hire
(bhāṭaka, √bhṛ); ভাড < bhāḍa > (bhādga); ভৃই < bhūi >
(bbūmi); ভূঁ < bhārāśa > hope, reliance (bharavaśa-); ভুঁকী<
bhālāki > magic (cf. Skt. √bhāl see, त्वेच √bhēl see) etc., etc.;

OIA. "bh-": ভিত্তর < bhitār > (abhyantara); ভিজ < √bhy > be
drenched (abhyaṇj); ভুঁ < bhū < crowd (? abhyat-);

OIA. "bh-, bhr-": ভুল, ভুল < bhola, bhulā > mistake, confusion
(bhrama+MIA. -alla, -ulla); ভূমণ্ড < bhūmaṇḍ > for *ভূমि
*bhāora > (bhramara-); ভাই < bhāī > (bhrāṭ-); ভাঙ < √bhāj >
to fry (√bharaj); ভাঙ < bhāja > (bhrāṭ-jaẏā); etc.;

OIA. "m-", through the transposition of following < h >: ভৃঁ
bhāṣa, ভৃঁ < bhāyas > (*mhaīsa, mahuṣa, mahīṣa); ভুঁড়া<
bhēra > (*mheṣa-:, mēha-:, mēṣa-), beside ভুঁড়া < mēṣa > ram.

In the interior of a word [bf] is derived from—

OIA. "bh-": সাভার < sābhāra > place-name in Dacca district
(sabhyāgaṇa); আভাস < ābhāṣ > smearing all over the body, as oil
(abhyanga);

OIA. "bhr-": আভাস < abhā > light cloud, mica, আভাস < abhāchā >
for *আভাস < abhā-chā > hazy (abhra);

OIA. "rdhv-": MB. উইভা < ubhā > erect, standing (ubbha, non-
Māgadhī, < urdhva);

OIA. "rbh-": উইভা, উইভা < ubhīyā jāwa > disappear, as camphor
when left in the air (ubhīya, udbhīta); উইভা < √ubhar > be in
excess; descend (ud+√bhṛ, bhar); গাভূর < gūbrā > youth,
young man (garbha-rūpa);  

OIA. «-rv-» > MIA. «-bb-» > «-bh-» in निभार in निभाय beside निभाय (*nibbāvei, nirvāpayati); MB. सभ «sabhā» beside सब «sābā, sarva» > «sabba» (influence of ts. «sabhā»: see p. 319);

OIA. «-hv-» > MIA. «-bbh-»: *जिभ, जिब «jibhā, jibhā»; बिभ «bibhāl» (bibhāla, vihvala). The old traditional pronunciation of Skt. «-hv-» in Bengal was [bhī], e.g., [abbhā] = «ābhāna», now = [ādhān], and [jibhā] as a ts. word is now yielding to [jījuśa].

OIA. «-mbh-» is reduced to [m] in Bengali; but an intrusive [bh] after [m] is found in some cases in Bengali (see p. 367): cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) «bambhāna-» = NB. बामन, बामन «bāmnā, bāmnā» (brāhmaṇa); eMB. (ŚK.) चामली «cāmēla» a flower, Hind. «cāmēla»; Orīya «āmbhē, tumbhē» = आमि, तूमि «āmi, tumī» (amha-, tumha-).

In हित «bhitā» homestead, mound, ruin-mound, from «*bhitā», beside OB. «hitā, hitī, viśi», etc. (see p. 66), the «bh» seems to be falsely restored, on the analogy of «√bhū», «√hō», «-bhāṃda-» -hāṇḍi», etc., also probably influenced by the word «bhiti». The word «bhāṇji» sneezing in OB. (Sarvānanda), = NB. हीत «hēt» (from an earlier «*hānti», cf. Skt. «haṇi», which is onomatopoetic), also seems to show a falsely ‘restored’ «bh».

A number of «bh-» words in Bengali remain unexplained: e.g., भौल «bhōla» a lumbering fellow, fat and foolish; भूरि «bhūri» fat in the belly; भेकट, भेकट «bhēkāta, bhēkāta» a fish; भड़ «bhārā» beside भेकट, भौल «bhōrā» trumpet; OB. «bhābhārī» coquetry, cf. Skt. «bharbhāra» confusion = NB. भोलान «bhōlānā» to get confused; भोली «bhōli» wine-still; भोली «bhōla» a ball, the egg-fruit (*baṭṭa-, vṛtta-?); भोली, भोली «bhōla, bhōla», beside भोली, भोली «bhōla, bhōla» ebb-tide, low land, down country (√bhṛ?); भुलिया «bhūliyā» a kind of boat; भुर «bhūra» powder; भेकट «bhēkāta» mix-up, etc., etc.
LOSS OF INTERVOCAL 'ὅ'

[bh] occurs in ts. words; and in foreign words, it commonly represents the [v] of Portuguese, and occasionally of English.

(6) Dropping of OIA. Intervocal Stops in MIA.

282. This has been described before, pp. 83-85, 252-253, 338-345, 433. In a very large number of cases, the genuine tḥks, with elision have been replaced by lss. and stss., so that in most NIA., and especially in Bengali, the elision as a characteristic thing in the phonology of the native element is generally lost sight of. Examples need not be given here: they will be found in the pages referred to, and passim.

Loss of intervocal -p- in a case like नारे - nārē - is not able, Assamese - noṅwārē - (na pārayati), is Old Bengali, the -p- being changed to -v- or -w- in Late MIA. Sporadic cases of loss of stops occur in MB. In a few words in MB., [d>r] is lost: e.g., ताउल, चाउल - tāul, cāul - < earlier ताल - tālā - (in the 'Sūnya-Purāṇa') (=taṃḍula); MB. পাইলা - pāilā - fell for পাইলা - (paḍia + illa, patita-), through the analogy of फैल - faillā, kāilā - , and cf. also ' Bihāri ' - dhail - caught (dhrta + alla); and अतीलाल - hārisūla - room for cooling-pots, kitchen > Late MB. হাস্যাল = hāisālā - > NB. হেসেল - hēsēl - kitchen.

Elision of intervocal consonants of NB. in the Chittagong dialect has been noted before, e.g., at p. 454.

The reduction of the single intervocal aspirates to [ʰ] in Bengali is illustrated below: see under [ʰ].

[II] The Nasals: New Bengali [ŋ, n, m]; Old and Middle Bengali [n, ŋ, ñ].

283. The five class nasals of Skt., -ṇ ṇ, n, m, -, as well as anusvāra -, figure in Bengali orthography, but in the language they have passed through many vicissitudes. OIA. and MIA. anusvāra - has disappeared from Bengali or has resulted in a mere nasalisation (see pp. 358-359). In tss. and stss., Skt. anusvāra - figures, but it has taken up a [ŋ] pronunciation now: probably in Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa it had
become [ʕ] (see p. 244). This [ŋ] or [ʕ] pronunciation was current in Bengal in the 7th century: witness, for example, the spelling "sāṃśāla" for "sāṃśāla" in the Tipperah inscription of Lōkanātha, and also "vaṃśē" for "vaṃśē" in the inscription of Mādhava-varman of Kōṇgōda. The use of [ŋ] for the " anusvāra" occasionally crops up in inscriptions in other parts of India, but it seems that there it was only sporadic, and the [ŋ] value was the one which early became established in Bengal, and in Eastern India generally. The "anusvāra" thus having developed the [ŋ] pronunciation in the East, it ceased to be used in Bengali-Assamese and Oriyā orthography for class nasals, a practice which is continued elsewhere in India. A Bengali will read দন্ত = দং as [ndaŋdo] and not as [nondo], পতিত = পতিত as [paŋdit] and not as [pondit], কর্ণ = কর্ণ as [kɔŋbo] rather than [kɔmbol]; and a recent attempt at spelling-reform in Bengali by simplifying compound consonants like ক, ন, ত, ঃ, ত, ঃ etc. to ত, ত, ত, ত, ত, ত, according to the pan-Indian usage, has failed.

284. "-ŋ-, -n-" occurred only before their corresponding class consonants in OI \\, and "-ŋg-" is also found. MIA. "-n-" initial, "-ŋn-" intervocal occur (e.g., Pali mainwindow = jūna, aūna = anya), but initial "ŋ-" and intervocal single "-n-, -ŋ-" as well as "-ŋg-" are not found. In Old Bengali, the sound of [ŋ] occurred only before the guttural stops and aspirates, and probably also for "anusvāra" in tss.; and "n" [ŋ] was found, only as a reduced nasal before the palatals in ṭhān, and as a full sound in tss. In New Bengali, [ŋ] occurs in final and intervocal positions only: it is derived from MIA. "-ŋg-", and is written intervocally as ধ, ॥, "-ŋng-, -ŋ-" and finally as ধ, ॥, ॥ "-ŋg-, ४, -n-". What is ० [ŋ] in New Bengali was "ŋ, ० [ŋ], [ŋg-] or [ŋg] in Middle Bengali (see pp. 360, 361, 363, 364).

The modern value of the letter ो is [ŋ]. But in MB., the value was that of a nasalised bilabial semi-vowel or spirant—of [ʕ] or [v]. The Modern Bengali name for the letter ো, which is [ū, u, o], is on the basis of this old pronunciation. In Musalmaṇi Bengali (see pp. 210-212), "wān > wān" in Persian words, and "wā" of Hindōstānī, are written ো, following the MB. usage: e.g., নাশের ও = নাশের ও, Persian
OIA. INTERVOCAL ‘M’ > ‘-w, -y’

< Nāśerwān >; पाठ < pāmA = pāw > = Hind. < pāw, pāw >. This intervocal < w > of OB. originated from a single intervocal < -m- > of MIA., in the Late MIA. period, and it is a development to be noticed in all NIA. languages except Sinhalese. In MB., this < w > became a nasalisation of the contiguous vowel, and the glide element remained in Early MB. —a < w > as before, when the contiguous vowel was a back sound, and a < -y > sound when it was a front one. Possibly this palatal modification of the glide, from [w] to [j, “j] or [ŋ], took place as early as OB. times. The [w] pronunciation was not indicated by the historical spelling with m < m > in OB.: e.g., OB. सङ्खम < sāṅkama > = [sāṅko], whence NB. सांके [sāko], and OB. सांम < sām > = [sāwī, sānī?], whence NB. साई [sāi].

In Early MB., as in the ŚKK., either the < candra-bindu > was used, e.g., कोशरी, कोशर | kōśāri (for न, see p. 341), kōśāri = kōśāri > (kumāri), कोशर, कोशल < kōśāli, kōśāli = kōśāli > (kōmāla-), सोढर < sōḍār = sōḍāra > (sumara, /smar), beside a Sanskritised झर | smārī >, and पोषार < pōṣār < pāwāra > (prabāla); or m < m > was used, following the old spelling, e.g., सांम < sām = sāw = sān > (svāmī); or the ए < n, “n > was introduced, as in गोशार < sōḍār > (sumara, /smar), गोसार | gōsārī > (gōsvāmī).

As yet there is no use of ṣ < η > for the < w > sound in the ŚKK. In MB. orthography from the 15th century, ṣ < η > and ए < n > became established for the sounds of < w > and < w > “y > respectively, in addition to the < candra-bindu >, and the employ of m < m > fell into desuetude. NB. has lost the glides entirely, and uses ए and ए no more, and simply employs the < candra-bindu >. Cf. Middle Oriyā of the 15th century, as in the inscriptions, < sāṁta > (sāṁanta >: also New Oriyā < sāṁtāni > title of respect for ladies), < cārā > (cāmara).

Examples of change of OIA. single intervocal < -m- > to nasalisation, with or without the glide element, in Bengali:

आওला < োলা >, beside আলা < ṁlā > (āmalaka-); অষ্ট, অস্ত < োষ, ṁṣ > (āmīṣa); অচাল < োচায় > sips water > washes mouth after eating (ācāmati); MB. (ŚKK.) ওনা < োদার > (uddāma); the affix ṣ < -s >, as in MB. and dialectal Bengali (North), 1st person, present tense, < MIA.
< -ama, -amu = āwa, -āwu = OIA. *-āmāḥ : e.g., kere< * kārō (karama, kārāmah = kurmaḥ), cale < cālō (calāmāḥ), etc. (there may be some influence of kā, in *hō, *haū < *ahām in this); MB. kuṭr, koṭr < kuṭrār, koṭrār = prince, NB. koṭrā, koṭrār < kōṇār, kāṇār = a surname (kumāra); MB. koṭrāl, koṭrāl < kōḷālā- (kōmāla); MB. kaṭr < kaṭr, OB. kaṭr < kāmaru = kāmarū (Kāma-rūpa); kōḷā, kōḷā, kāmālā < kāmarula = kāmula < kāōla, kāōla, kāmālā < kāmarula = kāmarula = kāmarula (kāmarula); MB. kuṇā, NB. kuṇa < khuṇā, khuṇā < a coarse silk stuff (kṣūmā, ksāuma-); gā < gā < (grāma); gāhī < gāhī (grāmika); MB. gōtā < gōṁā < passes (time) (*gamāpayati); gōtā < gōṁā < lord, master, a Vaiṣṇava guru (gōṁvāmin); MB. chak, chak, chak, NB. chak < caṭāka, caṭāka (p. 348), caṭāka < (cf. Skt. cāmata-); jāmā < jāmāi, commonly pronounced [jjaʊa] (jāmāṛ); jōna < jōṇā = jōṇā < (jāmāi); MB. (SKK.) jōṇā < jhōṇā with a pumice-stone, cf. NB. jāma < jāmā, p. 480; thāi < thāi < (sthāma); dhā < a surname beside dām < dāma < -dāman < in personal names like Rudra-dāman, Indradāman, etc.); nū, nū, nū < dhōa > dhōa > (dhōma-); nā < nā = nā indeed (nāma), e.g., as in kē nā dānī, bānī dānī nā kē nā (p. 260), nā < ēsō nā do come in (= āvisata nāma); nā, nā, nā < √nā, nōwa > to bend (nāmaya-); MB. nēlāli < nēli = nēlāli (navamallikā); OB. pūga < pāuā = pāuā (Second MIA. pāuma < paduma = padma); pāni, pāni, pāni = pā(i)n = pāni, pā(i)n = a surname, beside the Sanskrit form prāmāṇika; bā < bā < (vāma); dhā < bā, bād < (vyāma); bā < bhāi < (bhūmi); MB. bōti, NB. būti < bhūṇā, bhūṁyā < (bhūṃika-); mō < mō < (mama); rō < rō < (lōma, rōma), beside rōr < rō <; nēpe < sāpī < (samarpayati); MB. nōtara < sōṭrā < (sumaraī, smaratai); MB. sōṅgala < sōṅālā < (śyāmala); nākē < sākō < *sākō, OB. sāngkama < (saṅkrama); sātā, sātā < sāth(i) < (śimanta-); sātā < sātāra < a surname (śimanta-rāya); sātārā < sātalā < a Santal (śimanta-pāla); sāi < sāi < lord, God (svāmin); MB. (SKK.) sōtā < sōtā < (sama-) as in kānāsōtā < kānā-sōtā > touching the edge; sōtā < hēt < hēt < (hēmanta); etc., etc. The *candra-bindu is normally omitted when the word has a nasal : see p. 362.

There is loss of this nasalisation from *-m- in some words. The reason for this cannot be determined, and the language is rather capricious:
INTERVOCAL ‘-व-’ IN BENGALI

\textit{e.g.}, काना, कङ्काले • कड़ा, कड़ो (kardama); the affix \textit{ि} • \textit{-i} of the verb 1st person (\textbf{\textit{ि} | ि-ि = अिम, अिम} • चलि • कृि • < \textit{ि} • कलि, कलिम, 
भलिम > ; see p. 351); अनागोन्ना • अनाग-गोन्ना • coming and going, OB. 
< अवनाग-गवनाना > (अगमाना + गमाना-); पाँच, दश, एक > पच, दश, 
अडु > (see p. 372). Cf. बनवारी, बनवारी • बनवारी > a name 
(vanamalli), from the Hindi.

The reverse process of nasalising spontaneously a \textit{• -w-} sound,
either original (\textit{i.e.} = \textit{• -v-} in Skt.) or derived (\textit{e.g.}, from \textit{• -p-} of OIA.)
is also found, in both \textit{ths.} and \textit{sts.} This trait is one inherited from MIA. 
by NIA: see p. 368 ff. Examples: \textbf{कचिम} • कचिम ा (kachapa); MB. 
गिम • गिम (गिम); \textbf{चातिम} • चातिम (सप्तपार्ण); an intermediate 
stage is found in MB. \textbf{चाकश} ा, \textbf{चाकनिम} • चाकनिम, चाकनिम • (as in the 
ŚKK.); \textbf{चु}-, \textbf{चौम} • चु, चौम • \textit{touch} (\textit{*chūravai, chuvai} = 
स्पष्टि); MB. \textbf{चौमिन} • चौमिन, चौमिन • beside NB. \textbf{चौमिन} • चौमिन • 
awning (< \textit{chāwānī, chātāpanikā}; \textit{ठोड़ा • cīh • flattened rice (*cīviḍaa-}, 
cipiṭaka-); OB. (Sarvananda) • जमाला • for \textit{*jōwāla} = jōwāla >, NB. 
जे र्रा, जोल, खोल • जोल, जोल, जोल • yoke (yug + āla); MB. (ŚKK.) 
गोला • गोला (prabāla); \textit{sts. पिठम} • पिठम • (pradīpa: p. 357); \textit{sts बन} • 
बान्धुम (वृक्ष) • (śrāvanā); MB. शाम • शाम • (śrāvanā); etc., etc. Cf. 
Western Hindi • \textbf{पुहाम} • पुहाम = \textit{nēpam} • \textit{nēpam} • \textit{adorament}, etc.

Intervocal \textit{• -m-} of NB., from MIA. \textit{• -mb-, -mm-, -mh-}, even 
tends to be pronounced as \textit{• -w-} in NB., and the \textit{• -w-} sound is actually 
arrived at in a few instances (\textit{cf. ‘Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,’ §31}):
\textit{e.g.}, कू, कू • beside उपन • उपन, उपन • उपन, उपन • \textit{heating, warming} 
(*umhāvāna, = Skt. uṣma). The Chittagong dialect characterises itself by 
changing the derived \textit{• -m-} of Common Bengali to a nasalisation: \textit{e.g.}, 
आई [āi] = अिम • I, तू • [tū] = \textit{tumi • you, को|रा • kōra} = \textit{kumāra • pumpkin}; etc.

In MB. there was also change of intervocal \textit{• -b-} to \textit{• -m-}, for 
which see below, § 288.

\textit{० < ट > is used for \textit{• w} • \textit{• m} in MB.}: this fact brings about the 
terechange between \textit{०, ० [ट]} and \textit{म [m]} in some cases in NB. Generally,
where an [m] or [ŋ] closes a syllable, one can be used for the other in
NB., or a nasalised vowel can be used for either. Thus, আমলা, আঁলা
[āmla, ālā] beside a rather rare আঁলা [ālā] (=āmalaka); আঁচকা, আঁচকা
Hind. गहुगहा; ঘোম, ঘোম [ghumī, ghumī] coloured thread worn
round the waist; কুরী, কুরী [kumī, kumī] a kind of melody; আপিম,
আপিম [āpim, apīm] opium (Perso-Arab. « afyūm »); OB. কামনী [kāmanī
> a grain, NB. কামনী, কামী [kāmi, kāmi] (Skt. kaṃgu); ঢেঙ্গা,
[ḍénga, ḍēnga] a drum (also with θ < dh- »); ভিঙ্গুল [bhīngul] hornet,
for *ভিঙ্গুল [bhīṅgul] (= bhīṅgarāla); etc. Cf. বোতাম, বোতাডং [botam,
botā] button (Portuguese « botað » [buta], etc).


Just as ও < ো > denoted the sound of < ো > in MB., so এ < ৆ > [ŋ] was
used for the nasalised palatal glide, « y », which, after all, is acoustically
not very much different from the palatal nasal < ূ >. নি < ূ > would stand
for « i », or « y », as well as for « ূ > when fronted to « y » in connec-
tion with « e » or « i »: words like মূঢ় < muḍi >, ভুঢ় < bhūdi >, সাই < sāi >,
সাই < sāi >, < khāyiya >, গাই < gāi >, would be written মূঢ় < muḍi >, ভুঢ়, সাই,
সাই, সাই, সাই, গাই, গাই, as well as মূঢ় < muḍi >, ভুঢ়, সাই, সাই, গাই, গাই, etc. গায়োন < gāyen >
singer is also found spelt as গায়োন < gāyan >. Even initially, we find,
in rare cases no doubt, এ for ও, ই < ৈ-, ৈ- >: e.g., in a 17th cen. MS.
(VSP, p. 665), occur ইহারে, for ইহারে = NB. ইহারে < ibāxe > to
him, he (honorific); ডাঁজ [daṇa] forms its adjective ডেঞ্জো [deṇo], and
the [ŋ] is first changed to the palatal [ŋ] through the influence of the
preceding [e] to ডেঞ্জো, which is now written ডেঞ্জো and pronounced
[deṇo], e.g., ডেঞ্জো পিঁড়া < ḍīyō pīpra > big black ants. ভাইযো < bhāyō >
made of buffalo-milk, from ভাই < bhāś > « mahisa », is found as ভাইযো
« bhānāśa »; and we get even মিযো < miyā > beside মিয। < miyā > a
title of respect, a common term of address for Mohammedans from the Persian
« miyān, miyā » a title of respect. The conjunctive participle ঈ < -i >,
ঈযো < -iyā > is nasalised in West Bengali; and one way of writing this < -i,
-iyā » is with এ—ইঃ, ঈঃ, এ, which spelling is plentiful in MB. MSS.:
e.g., হাইযো = having eaten, করিয়া = having done, etc. The use
of ः is a noticeable thing in the graphic system of the ŚKK., as of most MSS. from West Bengal; and we even find the candra-bindu superscribed on ः—e.g., ফ্রণ্কিস্কি kānhaṇī for kānhái (krṣṇa), where the syllable ः gets its nasalisation merely through the preceding ः. सমে sānē > *sānē > संक सानी instrumental post-position = with, now occurs as समें sānē [Jone] in NB.; and ठाइये ठाइये > ठेसे ठेसे ठेसे in the place near-by = with, has become, by the reverse process, ठेसे ठेसे ठेसे in the Calcutta Colloquial.

In eMB., as it is clear, ः had lost its [n] value, and had become a mere nasalised frontal vowel, or a nasalised frontal semi-vowel [e, i]. The name which the letter ः has in NB., namely i[i], preserves its old value. The use of ः has all but disappeared in NB., being found only in a few words like নিং, and in some old-fashioned spellings like গোসানী; and in the ts. word রাণী, the unique and unfamiliar group রাণী, রাণী রানী is pronounced as -cīṇa for -cīṇa [cīṇa].

286. [n] in Bengali.

The letter for [n], ः, is freely used in Bengali orthography, not only in tss. but also in tbl. and foreign words, although no Bengali can pronounce the sound properly without training. Its occurrence in tbl. words is due to two things. Firstly, it occurs as a relic of an earlier state of things when the [n] pronunciation obtained in MIA., and probably also in Old Bengali; and secondly, where the ः has been restored, with an eye to the spelling obtaining in the Skt. prototypes—e.g., in words like কাকাপুর kākāpa, কানু, sūnā, বাণী bāṇā and spelling (=kaṅkaṇa, kaṇa, svarṇa, varṇa); and in a few instances, it is purely arbitrary, as in রানী rāṇi > queen (but cf. Opiyā rāṇā, rāṇi, Marāṭhi rāṇi), beside রানী rāṇi (rāṇī) (see pp. 226-227). In foreign words, supposed affinity or actual resemblance in form with native or ts. words having ः is responsible for spellings like হায়রান hāyraṇ > troubled, ফার্মান fārmān > royal order, কোরান kōrān > the Koran (=Persian hāyraṇ, fārmān >, Arabic quṣraḥ), নারাম nārmān > (English Norman), etc. The fact that Bengali orthography is modelled on that of Skt., which allows only groups like -n, -r, and not -nd-, -rn- (and -st-, but not
(<-ṣṭ-, -ṣṝ-) is responsible for our writing गृह(व)र्मेंट < gāb(h)āṃṛmēntā > government, इङ्गलू, इङ्लू < in(g)āṃland > England etc. with < n >.

In Late MB., there is always confusion between ṇ and ṇ, as in NB., which indicates that the cerebral sound was lost. [ṇ] has been dentalised in the Bihārī dialects, as well as in Eastern Hindī and Typical Western Hindī (Braj-bhākhā, Hindīstāṇī); also in Assamese. The use of [vṛ] for [ṇ] is confined among scholars and Sanskritists in the Bihārī and Hindī tracts, and [vṛ] with the audible flap is the result of an attempt to pronounce [ṇ] through Sanskrit influence. Oriyā alone of the Magadhan languages preserves this sound. It seems likely that Bengali possessed it in the Early MB. period. The Oriyā name for the letter < ṇ > is < āṇā > and the Bengali < āṇā > [ano]: the prothetic < ā, ā > indicates the glide sound that came initially in pronouncing < ṇ >. The name < ānā > is now getting to be old-fashioned in Bengal, the schools now teach the learned name < mūrdhāṇyā ṇā > which the Bengali-speaker ordinarily reduces to [modfianno no:] or [modfian(ː)ō].

It is difficult to determine when the [ṇ] pronunciation became obsolete in Bengali. There is no regularity in the matter of < ṇ > and < n > in the Caryāpadas; nor, again, in the ŚKK. But the MSS. of these works use < ṇ > with a persistence which is quite remarkable. The ŚKK., for instance, writes the Bengali equivalent of the √jiṇā with < ṇ >—जाण < jāṇ >, 124 times, and with < n >, जान < jān >, only 7 times. The Caryāpadas have the same root with < ṇ > 8 times, with < n > 3 times. Oriyā has the cerebral, < jāṇ >. Can it be taken to mean that in OB. and MB., to the end of the 14th century, the [ṇ] sound existed, but there was a general confusion in its employment, as a preliminary to its disappearance from speech? Doubtless there was some established phonetic habit in the matter of the use of [ṇ] and [n] in OB. and MB., but the irregularity of the orthography in the MSS. misleads us. Sarvānanda spells a number of words with < ṇ >: this, as Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānīdhi suggests (VSPdP., 1326, pp. 87-88), most probably is in accordance with Old Bengali pronunciation. But no law regarding the occurrence of < ṇ > can be deduced from it: e.g., < upalaṇī = udvartana >;
-N- > -N-’ IN INDO-ARYAN

śāmana = *śāmanā = kaṃgu’; jhampana = yāpya-yāna’; tēlāvani’, but pīthāvani’; trimana’ = NB. dialectal ठिसन < tiṣy(g)vāṇa’; bābhāṃkara-āṭhi = bāhmanikya-yaṣṭī’; rasānu = Skt. laśvaua’; tiṣa = tīnu; biyaṇa = NB. vīnā bēnā = Skt. vīraṇa’; besides a few other words.

In the absence of other evidence, Oriya cerebralisation should suggest for us some clue as to the habits of OB. and MB., and certainly of Māg. Ap. But although Modern Oriya is pretty definite, Middle Oriya spelling, as in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions (see p. 107), is not fixed in this matter. Thus, for example, the word māṇa = plural affix (<mānava), is mostly spelt with dental n, but occurs with n in the inscriptions of 1342; we have śuni having heard in inscr. of 1485, but śuni in one of 1499; and both māṇiki, māniki’ in that of 1466. Judging from Modern Oriya, the principle of cerebralisation appears to have been this: intervocal -n-, -n- of OIA. (in bhks.) occur as -n- in Oriya; but where a double nasal of MIA. (from earlier consonant groups) results in a single intervocal nasal in Oriya, it is a dental nasal, except in a few words like rāṇa, rāṇi’ king, queen, where the cerebralisation appears to be irregular and obscure. Māgadhī Apabhraṅga may reasonably be expected to have had the cerebral intervocally only. There is no indication of cerebralisation of OIA. -n- in Aśokan Prakrit, or in Pali, or again in the Brāhmī and Kharosthī inscriptions. The cerebralisation of single -n- took place during the Second MIA. period when there seems to have been manifest a tendency towards it (as well as towards cerebralisation of -l-) in all Indo-Aryan. This tendency has died out now in Western and Eastern Hindi, in the Pahari speeches, in the ‘Bihārī’ dialects, in Bengali-Assamese; but it is still present in Lahndi and Panjābī, Sindhī, Rājasthānī-Gujaratī, Mārāṭhī and Oriya. According to the grammarians of literary Prakrit, n’ in all positions became n’ in most of the Pkts. But in the Apabhraṅga stage, it would seem that initial n- was once more dentalised, but intervocal -n- remained. In some cases, through Sanskrit influence, bhk. forms of inherited words like maṇa (manas), jaṇa (jana), dāṇa (dāna), diṇa (dīna), thāṇa (sthāna), pāṇi (pāṇiya), etc.,
would tend to have the <n> 'corrected' to the dental, at least in spelling, and in later times even in pronunciation, as it seems to have happened in the case of the Oriya <mānā>. But so long as the cerebral normally continued to be the intervocal sound, popular speech would certainly treat tss. with intervocal <n- > in the tth. way; just as at the present day, in Oriya, in Marathi, in Gujarati-Rajasthani, and in Panjabi, intervocal [n] in Sanskrit, Persian and even English borrowings frequently becomes [ŋ] in the speech of the uneducated masses (at least according to the observation of the present writer). Similar conditions can reasonably be expected to have prevailed in Early NIA.

It seems that cerebralisation as in Oriya prevailed in OB. and Early MB. But this is a mere assumption; and it cannot be said to have held good for all the forms of Early MB. It is very likely that only the Western Bengal area, including West Bengali and Oriya, preserved cerebralisation in NIA. times. The genuine cerebral [ŋ] (and not its Upper Ganges Valley substitute [r]) seems to be still found intervocally in the dialects of extreme West Bengal (cf. LS1, V, Part I, pp. 91 ff.: in the transcriptions of specimens from this dialect, by Bengalis in the Bengali character, ṭ <r> has been used for [ŋ], just as ṭ <r> has been used for [r]—a common mistake found also in the Bengali attempt at representing phonetically the Oriya [ŋ] and [l]: e.g., মুরিয়া <muriya> [muni] man-servant, সুরি <suri> [sun] having heard, জিরিয়া <jiriya> [jiri] article (= Persian <jins>), অজর <ajra> [ana] anna, নান্দু৷, নান্দ৷ <marna > [man] man, আপনার <apnar > [apnar] of self, তৎকাল <takkal > [tokkal] then, জার <jara > [jani] person, শুন্তলৈক <suntalek> [sunleak] heard, নিকাল <nikal > [nikal] having brought, etc.; so সাপর <sakar > [sakal] all, আকাল <akal > [akal] fume, নিকাল <nikal > [nikal] having come out, etc.).

In parts of Bengal, in the Proto-Bengali and OB. periods, [ŋ] seems to have developed a [ŋt] pronunciation. A form like <dronta> for <draña> in the Lokenatha Inscription from Tipperah probably indicates the presence of this pronunciation as early as the 7th century. The occurrence in NB. of [t, ~t] for [ŋ] in some s/s. words seems also to show
that: e.g., sītī < kipātā > miser (kṛpana-); chitāt, as in chitāt mațī < eikātā mātī > (eikāna maṭtikā); fātī < phātā > (phana-); keśī < kēṣṭā > kālā-kīstā > deep black, (also as a name kūṭī < krtī(y)a > (kṛṣṇa); tētī < tēstā > (tṛṣṇā); vṛtā [brājum] < *brājī总公司 > (vaiśānava); viṇī < biṣṭū, biṣṭu > (viśnu). In the pronunciation of tss., the < n > in < ṣṇ > becomes [tšṇ] in the old-fashioned pronunciation, e.g., tuṣṭī [tuʃtʃi] (tuṣṭi), uṣ्म [uʃʃi] (uṣṇa), etc.; and this leads to confusion between ṣ < ṣṭ > and < ṣ > in writing—e.g., the common enough inscription in tobacco-dealers' shops in Calcutta—bhūtī purer uṭkṛṣṇā tāmākt for bhūtī purer uṭkṛṣṭa the best tobacco from Vishnupur. The school is now changing the Old Bengali pronunciation [ʃʃi, ʃʃe, ʃʃi] to a new [ʃʃi]. (Cf. the common pronunciation of nēh < snēha>, nān < snāna > as [stəʃə, stəːn]). Possibly [n] is the source of the [r] in sārā > consciousness = OB. sāna = sāna > (samjūnā, MIA. saṃānā) (but cf. NB. sān < sān > gesture), and anānī < anāri > foolish, ignorant (anānā, ajnānā) (but cf. anānā < anārī > infrequent, unknown, as a place, which is probably from anānā-ḍa-, ajnāta-).

Taking all these facts into consideration, it would be allowable to think that [n] existed as a phoneme in the Bengali language up to the middle of the eMB. period, at least in parts of West Bengal. From the beginning of the 15th century, probably, it ceased to exist as a cerebral.

287. Bengali ‘dental’ [n] is really an alveolar sound. The cerebrals in Bengali are rather advanced: they are retroflex palato-alveolar sounds, i.e. sounds produced with the curled tongue-tip on the hard palate slightly above the teeth-ridge, and not exactly on the dome or arch of the palate: so that the change of the nasal [n] to alveolar [n] was a matter of course.

Initially, Bengali [n] comes from—

OIA. < n- >: nario (na); nino < nā = nā > (nāma expletive, see p. 519); nī < nāi > I am not (na+ /n/) : MB. nāktil < nākhāta > (nakṣatras-); nīṣ < nāstā > (naṭṭa sa, naśta); nātī < nāti > (napṛ-); nātā < nātā > (napreta); nātā, nātā < nāg(g)ā > (nagga-< nagna-); nāṣ < nād < niddā > (nirṛta); sītī, nātā, nātā < nōtōnā > < MB. nōtīn < nātunā > (*nava-tana, nūtana); nās < nāyā > (nava-); etc., etc.
The OB. and eMB. spellings with initial Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ seem only to be a practice taken over from MIA. orthography: the pronunciation was that of [n].

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: dialectal Beng. নাইহার, নাইহার, নাইহার, নাইহার Ʞ, nā(y)āṛṇ, nāyēṛṇ > (also নাইহোর, নাইহোর Ʞ lāi(h)ōṛṇ) married woman’s father’s house (jūṭi-grha);

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ > MIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: না, নাহা Ʞ, nāhā Ʞ (Ʞ nāhā, Ʞ snā), cf. sts. নাপিত Ʞ nāpítā Ʞ (ultimately from Ʞ snā, cf. Pali Ʞ nāhāpita); MB. নেহ Ʞ nēhā, NB. নেহ Ʞ uē Ʞ affection, indulgence (snēha);

Initial [n] in Bengali interchanges very frequently with [l], and occasionally intervocal [l], for which see under [l], below.

In the interior of a word, [n] is from—

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ > MIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: আনাড় Ʞ aṇāṛd > (aṇṇā-ḍa, ajñāta-ṭa); বিনতি Ʞ bināti Ʞ petition (vīṇā-ttia, vījñapti); সান as in হাত সান Ʞ hāṭa-sān Ʞ gesture with the hand (saṇḍa, saṃjña);

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: often written Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: নারাণ, নারাণ [naraṇ] (nārayaṇa); কিনে Ʞ kīnē Ʞ krīnāti; কাণ Ʞ kāṇā Ʞ (kāṇa-); কণ, কণ Ʞ kṣaṇ Ʞ kṣaṇa Ʞ (kṣaṇa); গুণ Ʞ guṇē Ʞ (gaṇayati); পণ Ʞ pāṇ Ʞ (pāṇa); লুণ, হুণ Ʞ lūṇa Ʞ, nūṇ Ʞ (lavaṇa); ফণ Ʞ phāṇa Ʞ (phana-); শণ Ʞ śaṇ Ʞ (śaṇa); শণ Ʞ śaṇ Ʞ (śaṇa); অন Ʞ sūn Ʞ (śpūtī); শাণ, শান Ʞ śāṇa Ʞ, sā- Ʞ, sts. চুবন, চাবন Ʞ ch(r)ābāṇa Ʞ (śrāvana); etc., etc. ;

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: see p. 365;

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ: Ʞ পুন Ʞ puṇa Ʞ (puṇya);

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ > MIA., OB. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ > MB. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ : আণম Ʞ aṇ(g)ā

nā Ʞ (aṅgana); অন Ʞ aṇē Ʞ (āṇayati); অন Ʞ jāṇē Ʞ (jānāti);

পাণ Ʞ pāṇ Ʞ (pāṇya); পাণ Ʞ pāṇ Ʞ (pāṇa); নান Ʞ nāṇ Ʞ (navaṇita); Ʞ পাণ Ʞ (upānāh); মণ Ʞ māṇ Ʞ (manas); মাণ মুনিস Ʞ māṇuṣ, munis Ʞ (manuṣya); হেন Ʞ hēṇa Ʞ (*aśaṇa, aśaṇa Ʞ tāśaṇa); নুন Ʞ nāṇa Ʞ (nandanta); etc., etc.;

OIA. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ > Late MB. Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ (through influence of pronominal forms in Ʞ Ʞ Ʞ): করণ Ʞ kārṇa Ʞ, চলেন Ʞ cālēṇa Ʞ, যান Ʞ jāna Ʞ
etc. (= MIA. karanti, यांति); एमन् «əmənə» beside एमता «əmatə»; so, such, thus, cf. Orijya «əmānta»;

OIA. «-nd-, -ndh-»: modern reduction, see p. 366;

OIA. «-nn-»: অনাজ < «ənəj» greens < grain (annādyahr); ছুই, উনি < unī < unāi < spring (unna-); ছিনাল < «chinəl» woman of loose character (chinna-); বিন < «bhina» separate (bhinnā); MB. সানি < «sāna» corset (sannāha);

OIA. «-ny-»: আন < «ən» (annya); বান < dhān < (dhān̄ya); বান < bān < (vanyā); মানে < «mān» honours, obeys (manyatā); MB. শুনি < «sūna» (sūnya-);

OIA. «-m-» > MIA. OB. «-w-» > OB. «-u-»: সন < «sān» with, OB. < same > = [Jo油腻] (sama);

OIA. «-r-» > MIA. «-rn-», often written ৰ < r: কান, কাণ [kān] (karṇa); কানড় < «kānərd» (karnāta); চুন, চুন [cūn] (cūna); পান, পাণ [pa:n] betel-leaf (parṇa); OB., MB. কারিচার, কলাব < «kārīča, kālācca» (kārnīkāra); বানান, বাণান < «bānān» bānān < «spelling» (varṇana); বিনান < «binān» to make a plait of hair, to spin out a long tale (*varṇāpana + vīnyāsa), বিনান < «binunī» plait (*varṇāpanikā + vīnyāsa); বো, বোগ < [Ju] (svarṇa-); etc.

OIA. «-r-», -sn-» > MIA. «-nh-»: কান, কান্ত, কান্তি < «kāna», kān-u, kān-ñi < (kṛṣṇa); উনান < «unān», উনান < unān < oven (*unḥāṇaṇa, *unpāṇikā); জোন, জোনকী < jūni, jūna-kī moonlight > fire-fly (jyōtsṇā-); পানান < «pānān» to cause milk to flow into the udder (prasana)- etc., etc.

OIA. «-hn-» > MIA. «-nh-»: চিন < «cina» (cibha); and denominative চিৰ < cīrā to know, recognise, adjectives চিন্দ, চিন্দ < অচিন্দ «ācina» unknown.

For the reduction of intervocal «-n-» to a nasalisation, see p. 373. ছুনী < dhunī fire place (of a yogi) (*-dhūpanikā) has a form ছুই < dhūi (= *dhūmikā?). OIA. «-n-» is lost before «-t-» in «-ant-» of the present participle. Loss of «-n-» is noticed in পাৰী < «pāsuri» < *pāsuri < *pāsēri five seers, and পাৰী < «pāsuri» shop-keeper, cf. Hind,
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< pansāri > (< panya-śālika >) : dropping of < -n- > possibly through influence of < prasāra > a spreading-out).

In some unexplained words, we find < -n- > e.g., nāḍa, nēḍa < nārä, nēḍa > shaven-head; tēnā, tēnā < tēnā, tēnā > rags; ṭhāna < ṭhōna > a blow under the chin (cf. ṭhōk, ṭhūk < ṭhōk, ṭhūk > to strike gently); nāḍa < nāḍi > stick; nēna, nēna < nēna < nāliyānā > fresh date-molasses (navala- ?); nāḍa < nāna > small, tiny, cf. Hind. < manhā >; nāžina < nāžina > = नाजिना < नाजिना > a tree (śobhāṁjana-); ṭaḷa < nulā > forearm, paw, hand-less; etc., etc.

Final < -n, -ṇ > occasionally interchange in foreign words: e.g., sābān, sābān < sābān, sābāṇ > soap (Portuguese sabaô); ṭīķina < ṭīķin > = stocking, ṭīķina < ṭīķin > a kind of stont cloth = ticking; ṭapṣi, ṭapṣi, ṭapṣa < ṭapṣa, ṭapṣa, ṭapṣa > opium (Perso-Arabic afyūm >); etc.

[n] in foreign loan-words: see below.

288. Bengali [m].

Initially, [m] comes from—

OIA. < m- > : m < mā > (mātā); me < mēu > (madhu); m < māṇ̄ > (manas); mitā < mitā > frieul (mitra-); mōḍa < mōḍa > (mṛta-); māḥ < māḥ > (madhya); mīcha < mīcha > (mithyā-); mūnis < mūnis > (manusya-); mūṣ < mūṣ > (mukha); mūḍ < mūḍ > (mudga); etc., etc.;

OIA. < mr- > : māḍa < mākhē > smears (mrakṣati); māḍa < mākhan > butter (mrakṣana);

OIA. < sm- > : MIA. < bm- > : māṣa < māsāṇḍ > (māsāṇa); mōṣ < mōṣ > (mōṣa).

In the root mūḍ < √much > wipe, [m] is probably from < pr- > (beside √pōṣh < pōch > « pra-uńch »). Initial < b- > has become [m] in mīni < mini > = binī < bīn > without (< bihīna- = vihīna-; or binā=vinā). In mūṣ kīyā hāṣa < mūṣkīyā hāṣa > to smile, probably we have the [m] from < sm- > in OIA. < √smi >.

In the middle of a word, [m] represents—

OIA. < -nm- >: MB. udra < umāra > (umarda); MB. udān < umāna > to weigh (unmāna, unmāpāna).
SOURCES OF NEW BENGALI ‘M’

OIA. «-p-» > MIA. «-v-» > lMIA., OB. «-ψ-, -ϝ-»: কাছিম্ব কাছিম্ব (কেছেপা); হাতিহ হাতিহ (সপ্তপার্ণা); sts. পিলুম্ব পিলুম্ব (প্রাদিপা).

OIA. «-mb-»: OB. «kāmāli» a name (= Kambalāmbara-pāda); নিম্ন নিম্ন (নিম্ব); জাম জাম (জাম্বু); চুমু চুমু (চুম্বতি); sts. কৃথ কৃথ (কদাম্বা); etc., etc.;

OIA. «-mbh-»; কুমার কুমার (কুম্ভাকারা); কুমার কুমার (কুম্ভিকা); পামার পামার (কৃম্ভিকা);

OIA. «-mm-»: MB. চামুচামু (সাম্মুক্খা), whence NB. sts. স্বুখ স্বুখ in front of.

OIA. «-mr-» > MIA. «-mb-»: আম আম (আম্বা) (amba-, আম্বা); তামার, তামার, tāmā, tāmā (tāmra-).

OIA. «-mr-» > MIA. «-mm-»: কাম কাম (কর্মা); শাম শাম (শাম্ভা); খামড়ি খামড়ি (মামটি); OMS. dhāma (dharma); etc.;

OIA. «-sm-, -sm-» > MIA. «-mh-»: গুমাটা গুমাটা (গ্রিসমা); উমান উমান (উমানা); অম অম (অম, তুমি)

OIA. «-hm-» > MIA. «-mh-, -mbh-»: বঞ্চন, বঞ্চন (বঞ্চনা, বঞ্চন),

OIA. «-v-»: see p. 521.

Intervocal «-m-» -«-w-» when turned preconsonantal in NB., became «-m-» optionally, beside «-p-, -w-»: this has been noticed at pp. 521-522.

In MB., there are cases of change of intervocal «-b-» to [m], through an open nasal [w] stage. Thus, in East and North Bengali, the affix বু, বুঁ «-bū, -bō», for the 1st person future of the verb, regularly becomes মু, মু, «-mu, -mō, -mā»: e.g., Sādhu-bhāṣā করিব < kāribā I shall do, earlier Bengali করিব will, will, will do, כורב < kāribō I shall do = East Bengali כורב will, will, will do, כורוב כורוב, כורב, כורב, כורב כוריב < kārimu, kārumā, kārima, kāruma, kārim; sts. বাহুম বাহুম বাহুম < vaiśnavā, MB. form [bājit3b(ə)]; MB. বাহুম বাহুম beside সাহেবানী, সাহেবানী «সাধারণ, সাধারণ, সাহেবানী» canopy, umbrella < Persian < sāyāh-bān; সব < sābā সব (sarva) is found as সব < sāmā, সব < sāmā in MB. This change of «-b-» > «-m-» is found in Early Oṛiya:
e.g., in the 15th and 16th century inscriptions, we have \(< nēmā = nēbā >\) to take, \(< bāṁṣāmā < bāṁṣābā >\); and Modern Oriya has \(< - mi > for \(< - bi >\) in verb forms, e.g., \(< dēkhimi = dēkhibi > I shall see. The Bihārī dialects also know this change: e.g. Magahi \(< cālmā = cālbā >\), lemā = lēbā > you will go, you will take, etc.

\[ m \] occurs in \( ts. \) and \( st s. \) forms: e.g., पेलाम \(< pēnāmā >\) (pranāma), M.B. पुनिम, पुनिव \(< punivā, punamī >\) (pūṣīmā), etc. For \[ m \] in \( ts. \) consonant groups, see p. 373. The nasalisation in which this \[ m \] results is frequently dropped.

In some compounds, there is an intrusive \[ m \], which is euphonie in origin: e.g., খোলাম-কুচি \(< khōlām-kucī >\) a pot-sherd (\(< খোলা = tile, কুচি = piece >\); সুল-ম-পেড়ে \(< surol-m-peṛe >\) a dhoti with floral (phulā) border (phulā); মুট-ম-হাত \(< mut(h)u-m-hāt >\) with closed fist; ম্রুত, ম্রুতে \(< mṛutū-n-ce, mṛutū-n-ce >\) < *māṭa-m-ciya < *māṭa-m-avaccia- > (mṛta + m + atāya + -ī) a woman whose children always die; English \(< bat + ball >\) becomes বাটকাল \(< byāṭ-bāl >\) [baṭbāl], beside বাটবল \(< byāṭa-m-bāl >\) [baṭbomāl] (probably here the \[ m \] originates from English itself—\(< bat and ball >\) [baṭ and bo:l, baṭ ŋ bo:l, baṭ ŋ bo:l]) ; Skt. \(< jalamaya >\) becomes জলমাদ্য < jālā-m-māya > all covered with water (here the ‘doubling’ may be through emphasis: see p. 445). In পাত্রকি, পাত্রকি \(< pāṭa-m-ci, pāṭa-ū-ci > mat, we have influence of সতর্পকি > sāṭarāṇci > carpet, cotton rug = Pers. \(< sātranjī >\) chequered rug. In reading multiplication tables in Bengali, \[ m, ŋ \] is used, instead of the locutive-instrumental \[ e \]: e.g., বার \(< bār >\) once 12 × 1 is 12, বার \(< bār >\) twice 12 are twenty-four, but তিন \(< tīn >\) three \(< bārām (bārān) >\) three- \(< tīnā bārām (bārān) >\) chāttīrīśa > 3 × 12 are 36, beside, rarely, তিন \(< tīn >\) three- \(< tīnā bārām (bārān) >\) ekā śa cuāliśa > 12 × 12 = 144. This \[ m \] recalls the euphonic \(< - n - >\) of Dravidian; and a similar euphonie \[ m \] is noted in MIA.: e.g., Pali \(< ēkka-m-ēkka >\), \(< ēkāāca jēyya-m-altənaṃ > may conquer self alone, Jaina Ardha-māgadhī \(< gīnā-m-aśi >\) ox etc., \(< aṅgā-m-aṅga >\) reciprocally, āhara-m-aṁti > food etc., \(< diha-m-addha >\) distant, lit. with a long way, etc.
For [m] in foreign words, see below.

[III] The Semi-vowels [ə, ʌ].

289. OIA. « y » = [j, i] and « v » = [ũ, w, v, v] when initial became respectively [ã] and [b] in Bengali, and medially between vowels they were dropped in Second MIA. Later they originated as glide sounds intervocally, to avoid hiatus: in Bengali the OIA. and MIA. values of semivowel [i, ũ] and of spirant [j, ɾ; v, v] were replaced by those of semivowel [ə, ʌ]. These sounds did not have any phonemic value: their nature and origin between « udyṛtta » vowels has been discussed in pp. 335-342. The letter व (v) « y » is much used in Bengali orthography, but it does not often indicate any sound, and व (v) in MB. MSS. is only a vowel-bearing consonant in words like अङ्क = अङ्क « adaş », अनुस्त = अनुस्त « अनन्ता », अनी = अनी « अमि » ।, बृज = उद्घि = उद्घि « उत्तामा », ईहार = ईहार « ईहार » इत्यादि. व « य » in the middle or end of words normally stands for the sound of [e] in NB.: e.g., उपार beside उपाए [upae] (upāya), कर = कर [kore] (kara), करो = करो [kore] (kara), मनोवाति = मनोवाति [momanati] a name (Mananā = Madanāvatī), etc.; the locative समय [sāmaya] is written समय [sāmaya], and ब्रह्म, ब्रह्म = ब्रह्म = ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मā = ब्रह्मā = ब्रह्मā commonly become [b重组, p重组]. Final postvocalic [e] in tth. words is ordinarily written ० in MB. : e.g., कहा [khae] eats, चाल = चाल [chala] causes to go, देह [dhe] gives, घोर [ghore] with, on or by a horse, etc.

In NB., with a preceding or following [i] sound, the front glide व [ə] is not audible, unless a distinct syllable is uttered. [ə] occurs in NB. finally after [o, a, e, ə, ʊ], and in the interior of a word between [ə] and [a] only: e.g., ह्य [hoə] iks, ह्य [khae] eats, शही [sọhə] help, नीचें [niçchə] downstairs, देश [dəch] gives, शों [sọh] sleeps ; द्वादश [dades] mercy, ब्रह्म [brah] age, छाया [maчa] illusion, नाव [nαv] leader. These are really diphthongs in NB.: see supra, under New Bengali Diphthongs.

The English or Persian sound of [j], as in York [jərk, jə:k], yes [jes]; Europe [jərap], Persian « yar » [jar, jə:r], etc. is unknown to Bengali, and the Bengali substitute is [i]: इंग्लिश [iork], इंस [iesz], इंग्रोप, इंग्रोप
[iorop, iurop], ইরার [iar] etc.: the Skt. spelling with য = য, as যোর্ক, যেস, যোবাপ, যার would not emphasise the initial semivowel.

The modification of post-consonantal -yā, -yā - in ts. words has been discussed before: see under ‘Epenthesis,’ pp. 381 ff., and under ‘Bengali [o, æ:],' pp. 410 ff. A spelling like <prattarthi> for <pratyarthi> in the Manahali Grant of Madana-pāla (see p. 185) shows that the dropping the subscribed <y>- in pronunciation of Skt. was the way in the beginning of the 12th century: but in the 7th century the <y>- was fully pronounced: witness the spellings অর্য্য, বিয়া <aryya, vīrya> [ar:ɔ, vi:r:ɔ] in the Lōkanātha inscription of Tipperah, and not, as in MB. and NB., অর্য্য, বিয়া <aryya, vīrya> = [a:ɾ̥i ri(1)ɔ, bi:r̥i(1)ɔ].

290. [ɔ] has also been discussed before, side by side with [ø]. In MB., Skt. subscribed <vā-, vā- > was pronounced as [ɔ, oː], and this pronunciation came to be written as ও, ‘ও’; but [ɔ, oː > ø:] and [ɔː] became to some extent interchangeable: e.g., sts. সোরাঘ [ʃoath], beside ts. সোরাস্তি, বস্তি [ʃoasti, şoasti, şoasti] peace (svasti); সোরাদ, শদ [ʃoad, šo:d] (svāda), see p. 403; সোরামী [ʃoami] (svāmi); সোরাদনী [ʃoaddi] (dvādaśi); অন্তেয় অর্য্য [ʃoqː] (āvāsa), etc. These pronunciations are now old-fashioned and are getting out of use. Subscribed <v- > in initial syllables is now ignored, e.g., শাদ [ʃa:d] (svāda), গাও [da:r] (dvāra), বকায় [ʃɔkiɔ] (svakiya), etc.; and mediately it becomes a simple consonant-doubler, in Skt. as well as in the spelling of Perso-Arabic borrowings: e.g., অোব [ʃɔṭṭa] (svatva), পহ্ল [pɔkɔ] (pakva), অোব [ʃɔl] (aśva), etc.; মাফখব, মাফখব <মাফখব> (svālə) = [mɔphəʃəl] country-side, away from head-quarters = Perso-Arabic <mufassil- >.

Skt. influence has restored the ব <v- > subscribed to some tbhs. in Bengali orthography, which lost it in pronunciation long ago in the First MIA. Period. e.g., হল = হল <√jval> = [ʃʃɔl] to burn. There has even been some scholastic attempt to restore the OIA. value of ব = *-v- * both inscribed and isolated, but it has proved a failure: e.g., খানেক, খানেক <Švānvēka > = the German name Schwanbeck, which the uninitiated would read as [ʃənək] or [ʃənbek]; হিউ সাকে < Hvēnthā-sāngā > = Hven Thsang the Chinese pilgrim; বেরেব <Vēvār> = Weber; বল্নিকু ভুবল < Vālāntinā...
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[3] glide often in intervocal positions lost the vowel following it, and formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel: e.g., आँक [a'ota] shade from MB. [a'ota] (*āvātā < āavatta- < ātapatra-); sometimes it was changed to [u] through influence of following [i] (see p. 398); sometimes it was assimilated with a preceding vowel, e.g., आनगोना [anagona] < [a(n)ona ga(n)ona] coming and going; and in a few cases, it changed to [b]; e.g., अदोबे [adobe] (see p. 511), हाओड़ा beside हाओड़ा [hābra, hāora] the town of Howrah, etc. [3a] in the affix -वाल - became [o] in Bengali: গাড়িওয়ালা [gariōala] > গাড়িওলা [gariola] cabman, beside native Bengali গাড়িওলা [gariola].

The glides in foreign loan-words: see infra.

[IV] THE BENGALI ALVEOLAR FLAPPED OR TRILLED SOUND [r], AND ALVEOLAR LATERAL [l].

291. In has been surmised that the OIA. dialects fell into three groups in their treatment of [r] and [l] sounds, and that ‘Præya’ or Eastern OIA., the source of Māgadhī and the modern Magadhan speeches, was an [l] dialect. (See p. 34, pp. 484-485.) Sanskrit shows its composite character as a literary language in its [r] and [l] words occurring side by side: e.g., रोहिता: lōhita; śrī-la: śī-lā; rōman: lōman; rēkhā: lēkhā; kṣudra: kṣulla; rōcana: lōcana; raghu: laghu; rabh: labh. This occurrence in Sanskrit of the same word in two forms is at the basis of the Indian grammarians, रा-ला योर abhēdaḥ there is no distinction between < r > and < l >.

This line of isogloss was present in OIA. and First, Transitional and Second MIA. periods, at least so far as the Māgadhī dialect is concerned, as it can be seen from the evidence of the inscriptions and of Vararuci. We can see from the inscriptions how the North-western dialect (which in the Vedic period was an < r > dialect) fared during the First MIA. period: it took up the < l > sound, apparently through ‘down-country’ influence. The Midland dialect (the source of Śaurāṣeṇī), and the South-western dialects
(the sources of the ancient speeches of Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat, and of Mahārāṣṭrī), seem to have always had both \( r \) and \( l \). The modern representatives of all MIA. dialects show disagreement with Sanskrit at times; and developments in them in Second and Late MIA., and Early NIA. times, as well as the influence of sister and cousin speeches and of standard languages, have made it impossible to trace the continuity of the history in the matter of \( r, l \).

Bengali as a Magadhan language ought to have only one sound representing the Māgadhī single liquid \( l \). But Bengali has both \( r \) and \( l \) in \( t b h \) words as well. Bengali has \( r \) words, e.g., \( \sqrt{bhr} \) \( dhār \), \( \sqrt{kār} \), \( \sqrt{mār} \) etc., in addition to what may be called its inherited Māgadhī forms in \( l \) and in \( l > n \) initially (= Skt. \( r \)), like शालिक \( śālikā \) (= sārikā, Māgadhī Pkt. \( *śālikka \)), पाचील \( pāchīla \) (*pācīla = Skt. prācīra), and MB. नाच \( nācā \), OB. (Sarvānanda) लाचिल \( lācīla \) (Māgadhī lācchā = rathyā).

The predominance of \( r \) forms over \( l, l > n \) ones in the Eastern Magadhan speeches would belie their Māgadhī origin. What are these \( r \) forms due to in Eastern Magadhan? Either it was the result of a tendency in East Magadhan, in the Apabhraṃśa and Early NIA. periods, (a tendency which characterised Central and West Magadhan also, and West as well), to change at a later time, Early Braj-bhākhā in the original, inherited \( l \) to \( r \); or it was due to the presence in Bengal, during the formative period of Bengali, of speakers of \( r \) dialects from Northern India, who had a great influence in the evolution of the language. Both the factors may have been present together; but the \( l > r \) tendency does not seem to have been so wide-spread, as a number of original \( l \) words have survived: in any case, it had received a check quite early. Bengal had received settlements of Brāhmans from Northern India from the time of the Imperial Guptas, and probably even earlier, as we can see from inscriptions (see pp. 76-77). These Brāhmans, it may be expected, brought their own Prakritic speeches with the \( r \) sound, before they accepted the Māgadhī Ap. of the land where they settled: and their class dialects would certainly have the \( r \) sound. Above all, with the
Brāhmans came the tremendous influence of Sanskrit. The speech of the Brāhmans, as that of the aristocracy of culture, would certainly modify the language of those communities which accepted their lead. The influence of Skt. grew greater and greater. The result was that the <r> words from Skt., as the forms employed by the most intellectual classes, were largely established in Bengali at the time of its differentiation from the Central and West Māgadhi groups, i.e. before the 10th century. By that time, what may be called the 'lambdacism' of early Māgadhi, i.e. the habit of changing <r> to <l>, which characterised it in the 6th or 3rd century B.C., or 4th century A.C., had worn itself out. <r> words are found in Old Bengali toponymy, as in the inscriptions, and in the remains of OB. prior to 1200 A.C., just the same as in NB. Initial <l>, whether tbr. or ts., tended to be pronounced <n-> in all Magadhan, probably at this juncture.

The 'Bihārī' speeches, however, although they possess both <r> and <l>, are more faithful to their Māgadhi origin in preferring one sound only. The single <l> sound of Māgadhi (in non-initial positions generally) seems to have become an <r> in the Central and Western forms of Māgadhi Apabhraṅga (see p. 96; Hoernle, 'Gaudian Grammar,' pp. ix, 13, 14, 63). Western Hindi (Braj-bhākhā), as well as the literary form of Eastern Hindi—the latter coming between Western Hindi and 'Bihārī'—also changed <l> (and <r>) to <r> (see p. 156). Bengali-Assamese and Oṛiyā, on the other hand, never developed as a characteristic this tendency to confuse <r> and <l>, or to have a special preference for <r>. Change of intervocal <q>- > -<r>- to <r> in Western Hindi occurred in late times; the change of intervocal <l>- to <r>- seems to have been through a <l>- stage--<l>- > *<l>- > <r>- > -<r>- . This <l>- is not found in the Old Western Hindi of Canda Bārdā, nor is it much noticeable in Kabīr; but in the Braj-bhākhā of Sūra-dāsa and Bihārī-lāla, and the rest, it is very much in evidence. Modern Hindōstāni is not characterised by this, although it has some words with <r> for <l>, mostly borrowed from Braj-bhākhā. It seems that intervocal <l> which became <l>- in most MIA., changed to <r> and then this <r>- and <q> <r> both became the <r> in the Braj-bhākhā, Bundēli and Kanauji tracts (Upper Gangetic Doab,
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excepting the Hindōstānī area): in Panjābī, Rājasthānī-Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, this remained <ṅ>. In the West and Central Magadhan area, this <ṅ->, or <ṅ-ḥ->, became <ṛ>. Eastern Māgadhān kept the dental <ṅ>, but probably through Skt. influence, <ṛ> was frequently brought in.

292. The <ṅ> sound is now absent in the Upper Ganges Valley; it is not found in any of the Magadhan speeches, except Oṛiyā. In most Second MIA., single intervocal <ṅ> of Early MIA., whether original (i.e., found in the oldest IA.) or derived (i.e., developed out of <ṛ>, as in Māgadhī) was cerebralised to <ṅ>. Māgadhī of the Second and Third MIA. periods probably had this <ṅ>. But it became a dental or alveolar <ṅ> once more in all Magadhan of the NIA. period, excepting in Oṛiyā. Oṛiyā has cerebral <ṅ-ḥ- > which corresponds to OIA. single <ṅ-ḥ- > (and <ṛ-ḥ- >), and alveolar <ṅ-ḥ- >, which corresponds to MIA. <ṅ-ḥ- >. In the eastern alphabet which was current in the present-day Magadhan tracts prior to the 13th century, there was no separate letter for <ṅ>. Oṛiyā used the ordinary alus for the <ṅ> which occurred intervocally, and developed as early as the 13th century a letter ṣ with a diacritical mark, for the intervocal alveolar <ṅ-ḥ-<ṅ-ḥ- >. It seems that in the Māgadhī Ap. stage, alveolar <ṅ> occurred initially, and medially only when doubled; and cerebral <ṅ> occurred singly intervocally only: the same letter apparently could do for both, as their position in speech was fixed, and together, they formed one phoneme. The same thing seems to have been the case in Early Marāṭhī (Jules Bloch, 'Langue Marathe,' p. 148). One can recall the usage in the orthography of Second and Transitional MIA. with regard to the representation of both the voiced stops and spirants by the same letter (see pp. 252-253). Bengali (as well as other NIA.) shows ṭ <ṛ > for <ṅ> in a few words, e.g., ṭāṅrī <tāṛī > <fermented palm-juice (=tāla, ṭāla), বিনি <মির্নি > ( vé mil): this <ṛ > is undoubtedly derived from the cerebralised <ṅ >, and the <ṛ > formations can be called sporadic relics from the Māg. Ap. stage with the <ṅ>. In any case, judging from the evidence of other NIA. like Panjābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, as well as from Oṛiyā, the presence of <ṅ> in Māgadhī Apabhraṅśa can very well be assumed. One need not ascribe the <ṅ> sound in Oṛiyā to Dravidian
influences exclusively, as Beames has done in his Comparative Grammar (I, p. 245).

In Old Māgadhī, before the Aṣōkan period, <l> before <y> was palatalised [lī, lj > l > jj], which gave <yy> in Aṣōkan Prakrit. There is no trace of it in Later Māgadhī: the resultant <yy> has become <j> in Bengali in a solitary example (see p. 476) A slightly palatalised <l> [li] is found in dialectal NB. in cases where an original <i> is dropped (see p. 380): e.g., कोल [kali] < काली [kali] (kalya), गोल [gali] < गाली [gali] (garha-). In dialectal (West Bengali) forms like होर [hair, hari] loss, बोर [mair, mari] a beating < हाँरि, माँरि [hari, mari], there is similarly a slightly palatalised [rī].

The cerebral <l> is now absolutely a foreign sound in Bengali, so much so that a Bengali speaker confuses the Oriya <l> with his own ड <r>. To make fun of Oriya articulation, especially on the stage, झड़, गोपाड़, बड़राम, कड़कता < jārā, gōpārā, bārārā, kārākātā>, etc., are used for the correct Oriya forms with <l>; and this <r> is further extended to words which do not have []—e.g., जगन्नाथ < jāgār(ā)nāthā > (Jagannātha), अबंधर < ābādharā > (avadhāna), श्वस्तूर < subharā> (Subhadrā), etc.

293. Sources of Bengali [r].

Initially, Bengali [r] represents Skt. <r> which probably ousted Māgadhī <l> in most cases: राति < rāti > (rātri) beside the dialectal sts. नात्तिर < nāttirā > = बांधिर < bāṅdirā >—nāttirā being for < *lāttirā >, influenced no doubt by a Māgadhī *latti > tāh. *lāti >; रां < rān > (raṅga); रुप | rūpā > silver (rūpya-); कुई < rui > a fish (rōhita); रेड़ < rārā > (raṅḍā); रा | rā > (rāva): रेण्डे > (ṛīṣayati); राणी < rānī > (rājñī); रिठी < rithā > (ariṣṭha-); रोय < rōy > (rōpayati); रेड़ी < rērī > (ṛēṇḍa-); etc., etc.

The words रौ, रौर < rō, rōr >, cf. Skt. लोम | lōmā >, NB. लोम | lōmā >; रजसन | rāsunē >, OB. (Sarvānanda) * rasāṇa >, beside Skt. lasuna >; राज | rāj > Rāṛ(ḥ) > |, beside Jaina Ardha-māgadhī < Lāṛha >,

1 The Skt. 'Rāṛha' is probably based on a vernacular form with 'r' occurring side by side with the from in 'l' (attested from the Ardha-māgadhī and Tamil) in the Second MIA. period.
Tamil (Tirumalai inscription, 1034 A.C.) « Ilāḍam »; and a few others, probably seem to be due to an « r- » tendency in some tracts at least of West Bengal.

In the middle of a word, [r] corresponds to——

Skt. « r- », either through the influence of Skt., or through spontaneous change within the language itself: e.g., अखर « ākhar » (akṣara); अर « ār » and (Māg. avala=apara); अरसी « ārasī » (*āalasi, *āarasī = *ādaraśa, ādaraśa-); इदुर « īdur » (indura); MB. उर « √ur » come down, descend (ava-tar-, √tṛ); उतर « utar » (uttarati); the affix र, एर « -rā, -ērā » for the genitive (-kara, -kēra=kārya); फ़ेर « kērā » clerk (kīraka-); केराणी « kērāni » clerk (kīraka+karaṇika); कर « kārē » (karoti); केराणी « kērāni » bed round a plant (kēdrakā); खर « khērā » (khadira); MB. गुहर « gāhirat » (gabhīra); गुर « gūrā » (gūrika); गोर « gōrā » (gōura-); घर « ghārā » (ghṭha); चर « cārē » (caratī); चुर « cūr » (cf. cūrṇa); चोर « cōrā » (cōura); चूंब « čumur » (ćumbara); तेर « tērachā » (tirasca-); नाग « nāgār » (nāgara); पर « pārē » (paridhyatē); पूर « pūrā » (cf. pūrṇa); बीर « bīrā » (vīra); साह « sāyārā » (sāgara); etc., etc.

Skt. « l- »: लंग, लंग « nāṅgārā, lāṅgārā » anchor (=lāṅgala); निहार, नेहार « √nihār, nēhār » to see (ni+√bhāl); MB. पौआर « pōāra » (prabāla); फरक « phārkā » blade, shield (phalaka-); मेहार, मेहारी « mēhār(1) » a palace, a place-name (mahālaya-); etc.

It represents also——

OIA. « -t- » > MIA. « -d- »: पारल « pārl », OB. « pāralī » (pātalī); जारल « jārul », OB. « jāralī » (jātali); जारल « jārul », jārul « jatula »;

OIA. « -d- »: बेरल « bērāl » (vidāla);

OIA. « -t-, -d- » > Second MIA. « -d- », in the numerals esp.: बार « bārā » (dvādana); सत्तर « sattār » (saptati); सारेष « sāreṣ » best, good (*śaliṣa, *śaḍiṣa, sarisa=sadṛṣa).
DROPPING OF PRE-CONSONANTAL ‘R’

Change of [d > r] to [r] is characteristic of East and North Bengali, and also of forms of West Bengali. The standard dialect has a few words showing interchange of [r] and [r]: e.g., লাবড়া, লাফরা -লাবড়া, লাফরা (see p. 513); কাঠড়া, কাঠিরা -কাঠড়া, -রা -lumber (কাঠপা); টুকরা - টুক্রা - piece, beside Hind. - টুক্রা; পেটড়া, পেটিরা - পেটড়া, -রা -box (*পেট্তা, *পেটা-=[পেটা-কা]; OB. -কাঠকা- কাঠকা, NB. করক্ত - কর্ক্ত - rock salt; কড়া, কর্তা - কর্ক্তা, কর্ক্তা - biographical notes (cf. Hindi -কারক - war-song, song of heroism: কারক্কাম-কাতাক্সা); MB., West Bengali মার্লু - মার্লু - mopping the front of the house-door (? মার্লু - <√মান্দ); etc.

294. Bengali phonetics is still Prakritic enough to drop a pre-consonantal [r] and double the following consonant by way of compensation, in both tāh. and ts. words (see pp. 448-449). This habit is present throughout the history of the language: e.g., in the OB. period, in the Kamauli grant of Vaidya-dēva (p. 184), we have the stas. and tāh. spelling -নিন্যায়া for -নিন্যায়া (= nirṇaya). These modified stas. occur principally in the speech of the masses, and frequently they are written as pronounced, especially in the drama and in the conversational passages in fiction: e.g., কাম্য - কাম্য - beside ts. কার্ম - কার্ম - stas. করম - করম and tāh. কাম - কাম - ; সমুদ, সোম্ভ - সোম্ভ - সোম্ভ - grown-up (as of a girl) (? sāmartha); কতরা - কাতরা - master, ‘governor’ (কাতরা); গিদি - গিদি - (*গিদি=গিদিন); চার্ম - চার্ম - চাম - (কার্ম - কাস্ম - কাস্ম); MB. নাত্র - নাত্র - < נ-יו - נ-יו - festival on the 9th day after birth of child; পুক্তা - পুক্তা - (পুক্তা, পুক্তা); উত্তরা - উত্তরা - (উত্তরা); পক্ষের [পশ্চাষ্ট] clear (পোর্ষাষ্ট পোর্ষাষ্ট < পুর্ষাষ্ট < পুর্ষাষ্ট); বন্ধ - ভান্নানা - (বান্নানা); মালে [মালে] beside মালে [মালে] = Standard Bengali মারিলাল - he struck; কেছে [কেছে] besides কেছে [কেছে] is doing = Standard কেছে - (কেছে) - Persia - সিংহি - সিংহি - sweets offered to a saint; etc., etc. Cf. the assimilation of [r] in MB. stas., p. 357. Exceptions, where the [r] resists assimilation, have been indicated at p. 449.

This dropping of [r] characterises the speech of the uneducated classes, of women and of children; and for common words, educated
speech is not unaffected by it. As there is the impression that the [r] forms are the learned ones, we find, in the attempt to be learned, forms like साहाय्य [jaññaro] (sāhāyya), चिन्तनित [cintānīt] (cintānvita), चिन्ता [chinta] (cīna), etc., in both writing and speech. MB. has a false restoration जन्य < jāmā > for जन्य < jānma >: see p. 376. The Perso-Arabic < muqaddamah > has given the Bengali মোক্তাদামা < mōkāddāmā >, beside a ‘learned’ মোক্তাদামা < mōkāddāmā > law-suit; and বেহাদা < behādā > beyond limit, Persian < bē-hadd >, at times figures as বেহাদ < behād >; and Ar. < bāqī > > বাকী < bākī > remainder has even been Sanskritised to বাক্র < bākri >.

Intervocal [r] as a rule is not dropped in Bengali, except, of course, the NB. dropping of an original intervocal [r] which becomes pre-consonantal through epenthesis: e.g., কারিতে < kāritē > to do > করে < kōtē > (through করতে < kārītē >). But in a few instances, intervocal [r] seems to have been dropped without being pre-consonantal: cf. OB. (Sarvānanda) < biyāna >, NB. বেন < bēnā > (vīrāja-); মারা < mārāi > store for rice, corn-loft (Late Skt. marāra); হাই < chāi > ashes (? ksāra); ফের < phēru > jungle dog (phēru), etc. On the other hand, euphonic [r] to prevent hiatus is sometimes met with: e.g., কারে < kā-r-u-rā > beside কাউর < kāurā >, কার < kāru > = কাউর < kārō >, genitive of indefinite pronoun কেনে, কেত, কে কেহও, কেহ, কেউ < kehō, kēhā, kēu > some-body; বিশেষ < bi-r-āsi > (dvi-āsīti); বিখ্যাত < bi-r-ā-nā(ubā) > (dvi-nāvatī); হাটের < hāṭ-u-rē > from হাটরিন = *hāṭa-rīn < hāṭ-ā-niyā, *hāṭ-ā-niyā > belonging to the market; so কাঠরিন, কাঠের < kāṭhāriyā, kāṭhurē > wood-cutter (the last two through the analogy of নগরিন < nāgāripā > belonging to town, পাথরিন < pāṭhāriyā > stony, etc.?).

But initial [r] is sometimes dropped, and there is equally a prothesis of [r]. This omission, as well as prothesis ef [r], is found pretty frequently all over Bengal, but in the speech of the masses in North Central and North Bengal this seems to be most common: e.g., রামের অস < rāmērā āsā > for আমের রাম < āmērā rāmā > mango-juice; আজ < ajā > > অম < ājā > > rājā, etc. One or two words in Standard Bengali seem to have this prothetic [r], e.g., রোজা < rōjā > snake-doctor, wilch-doctor for রোজা < ājā > (upādhya-ya); and
in the Calcutta Colloquial, ḍēṭ = « ite » is frequently heard for রিঠা, রিঠাঁ ।
« rīthā, rīṭhā » soap-nut.

For [r] in foreign words, see infra.

295. Bengali [l] : initially, [l] in all cases may be said to go back to Māgadhī « l- » which corresponds to—

Skt. « l- » : লবে, লব « lāhē, lāy » takes (labhatē) ; লাগ « lāgū » (lagna);
লা « lā » (lāksā); লাখ « lākhū » (lakṣa); লাজ « lājū » (lajjā);
ভুল « /luṭh » (/luṭṭh); বুন « lungh » (lavana); বোঁহ « lōhā »
(lauha - ); also লাড় « lāu » (alābu); etc.
Skt. « r- » : OB., eMB. লাছ « lāchā », MB. নাছ « nāchā » (ratlīā);
*লাতি « lāti » > *লাতি « nāti », which influenced a dialectal sts.
নাতির « nāttir » (ratri); লেজুড়ে lējūrö » tail (of paper kite) (cf.
rajju);
Skt. « y- » : নাথি « lāthi » (yaṣṭi- ?);
In the interior of words, [l] < Māgadhī « -l- » (or « -j- » ) , and « -ll- 
equating—

Skt. « -d- » : কোল « kōḷā » (krōḍa); চুল « culā » (cf. cūḍā); ডালিম
« dālimū » (dāḍimba); বোক « sōlā » (sōḍasa); cf. বল « khēḷā »
(√∗skriḍa, kriḍa);
Skt. « -dr- » > MIA. « -ll-, -dul- » : খাল « bhālā » (bhadraka);
খাল « māḷā » wrestler, fighter (malla, madra);
Skt. « -r- » : চালিশ « căliśā » (catvāriṅśat); পাঁচৌল « pāčulā » (pṛācfa);
পালার « pāḷāy » (palāyatē, parāyatē); পেলে, পেলে « pēlē > phēlē »
(pēḷlaī, prērayati); শালিক « sāliṅkā » (sārikā); হালী as in হালী মুগ
« hāli muṅg » green moong pulse (hārita- ); হোল « hāludā »
(haridrā);
Skt. « -rū- » > MIA. « -ll- » : বোক « gōḷā » (√gūrṇ); চোল, চুল
« /cōl, cul » to distil (cūrna - ); etc.;
Skt. « -ry- » > MIA. « -ll- » : পালা « pāḷā » turn (parayā), Hind.
« pārī »; পালাং « pāḷāṇ » (parayāka); পালট « pāḷāṭā » (parayasta)
Sylhet (« *sīṛhāṭṭa »= sīṛhāṭṭa »: in DeBlaeu’s map, 16th century,
we find « Sirote »);
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Skt. < -l- >: आगल «āgalā > (argala); आंगल «āngula» (ānguli); आंवल «āvālā» (āmalaka-); आंवल «āvālā» (ākula); आळता «ālāta > (alakta-); आली, आल «āli, āl» (āli!); आलश «ālasā» (ālasya); उक्ती उक्ती > (ōkkhala-, udūkhalā-); ओल «ōlā» descend (ava-labh); कल «kālā» (kadala-); काजल «kājalā» (kajjala); गिल «gil» (gilati); MB. चेल «chēli» (chagala-); खाल «thālā» (sthāla-); तूल «tūlā» cotton (tūlaka-); छुब «dubhā > (durbala); पिल «pīlā» (pītala); पाखाल «pākhālā» (prakṣālayati); MB. मार्लाल «mārālāi > (mētu-lāni); बाल «mālā» (mālā); बाल «sālā > (sāla-); शिल «śīlā» (śīlā); लाङल, नाङल «lāṅalā, nāṅalā» (lāṅgala); sts. पिला, पिल «pīla, pilē >, पिलिह «pilihā > (plīhā), etc., etc.;

Skt. < -ly- >: कल «kāli» (kalya); कूल «kūlā» winnowing fan (kulyaka-); MB. बूल «mūla» (mōlla, mūlya); शेल «śēla» (śōla, śalya);

Skt. < -ll- >: करेल «kārelā > (karavēlla); कोल «kōlā» Kōl tribe (Kōlla, dēšī); छां «chāl» (challi); sts. भालुक «bhālukā > (*bhallukka, cf. Skt. bhalluka); माल «mālā» (mallā < madra);

Skt. < -lv- >: ओल «ōlā» (ōlva); बेल «bēlā > (bilva).

In borrowings from Hindīstäni, < -lh- > becomes [-l-] in Bengali: e.g., केर, केरू «kērū > oil-presser (Hind. kēlhū = oil-mill); जोल «jōlā» (Mohammedan) weaver (Hind. jōlhā >, beside jūljhā > < Persian < julah >: the Bengali word may have been borrowed straight from the Persian).

[1] occurs in words of dēšī origin: e.g., पिल «pīlā, pilē » as in चेल «chēlā pilē, -pūlē » children (cf. Tamil pēlai, Orīyā pilā >: or is it the ttb. form पोल «pōlā > child, as in East Bengali, < pōta-la > ?); पलान «pālānā » udder of cow (cf. Telugu pālu, Tamil pāl > milk); पालु, पाल «pālā, pālam » spinach; etc.


There is dropping of [1] in पोलाल, पोलाल «pō(h)ālā » straw (= palāla); also in हे [c̥v:] for हे [c̥v:] (= Skt. ca) come thou.

[1] in foreign words is discussed below.

296. [l] becomes [n], mainly initially. This tendency is common to all Magadhan speeches, and probably characterised the Apabhraṃśa Māgadhī dialects. Conversely, there is change of [n] to [l]. Examples:

[l] > [n]: MB. नाछ as in NB. नाफळा — nācha — street door (lācha, laečā, rathyā); नाङल — nāgāl — (lāngala); नाउ — nāu — (alābu); नुक — nucl — thin wheaten cakes fried in butter (cf. Hind. < lēu); नाधु — nāru — (laḍḍuka); नुन — nun — (lavana); नेज — nēj — tail (cf. laṅja); sfs. नाक्की — nākki — (laksmt), नाक्का मार — nākhindār — a name (Laksāminda); sfs. नोक — nōk — (= lōka; nakha); नाटेई — nātēi — reel for thread, नाट — nātt — नातिम — top, beside forms with ला — lā —; नाल — nālā — beside लाल — lalā — red; etc., etc. The forms with initial [n], rather than [l], are used, so far as the Standard Colloquial is concerned, more among women and children than among men, and are not regarded as standard forms.

The plural affix गुल — -gula — becomes गुनो — gunō —; and लूम — -lum —, affix of the past tense first person in the Standard Colloquial, is found in certain West Bengal districts (e.g. Hugli) as लू — -nu —, e.g., कॉर — konnu — I did < कॉर्न — kornu — < करिन्द्र — kārinu — = करिन्द्र, करिन्द्र — kārilu, -lum, 'sādhu-bhāṣā' करिलाम — kārilām —; so चो — connu — I went < चलिन्द्र — cālinu — = चलिन्द्र — cālilām —, etc. This -inu affix is much employed in poetry.

[n] > [l]: लाई — lā — (nā, nāva = nāu); लाई — lā dài — (naṣṭā); लाख — lākh — (nagga-, nagga-, nagna-); लाईहर, लाईहर — lāiharā, lāiharā — beside लाईहर, लाईहर — nāyārā, nāyārā — married woman’s father’s home (*nāiharā, jnātigṛha); लाई — vār — for नार — vār — to move (see p. 497); लाय — lāy — for नाय — nāy — nine (nava), is not (nā + ṣāy); etc., etc. It is found also in a few
foreign words; লোকসান «লোকসান» > লোখান (also লোস্কান «লোস্কান» by metathesis) (= Perso-Arabic «نوسان»); লাক «লাক» > line, thread (Persian «نخ»); ﻟُوّد «لود» = English note, line-note, ﻟِوّد < لود > = English notice, লখর «লখর» = English number, etc. This change of [n] to [l] is looked upon as a rustic trait, and although one or two [l] forms have been accepted as standard, e.g., লঙ্গ and লোকসান, they are generally regarded as vulgar. Certain tracts, especially in Central রুদ্ধ, are noted for the preference among the masses for the [l] sound initially.

[V] The Sibilants: the Palatal [ʃ], and the Dental [s].

297. Bengali has one sibilant phoneme, the palato-alveolar [ʃ] and the dental or alveolar [s] is only a subsidiary form of it—[ʃ] normally becoming [s] when occurring before [t, d, n, r, l]. In East and North Bengali, of course, [ʃ] is reduced to [s]. The pure palatal sibilant is preserved in Bengali only among the Magadhan speeches (see pp. 58-59, 92, 245): in Oriya, the [ʃ] has been slightly dentalised and is very like [s] rather than like a pronounced [ʃ] sound. In the 'Bihari' speeches, the palatal is not used now, only dental [s], although spelling (in the Khaṭī script) employs «s», which possibly shows the occurrence of the palatal pronunciation in early times. The dentalisation of the sibilant in the Western and Central Magadhan tracts probably is due to the overwhelming influence of Upper India under which these tracts have been for some thousand years: and besides, the [s] sound was probably never absent in Magadha itself, at least dialectally. In Early Assamese, intervocal [ʃ] became [f], and in recent Assamese single [ʃ] initial or intervocal is pronounced as the guttural spirant [x], although written শ, স, স < শ, স, s>. East Bengali partly agrees with Assamese in turning [ʃ] to [f] (see p. 79). It is only in West Bengali that the original Magadhi value is kept intact. In this point, more than in anything else, Bengali has remained faithful to its Magadhi character. It is not impossible, however, that the dental sound
occurred in class dialects even in the Western Bengali area itself, among communities originally of Kôl speech, and among other communities which immigrated from the contiguous Bihar. In fact, [s] rather than [ʃ], is still found among certain communities in Western Râåha and elsewhere, although it is regarded as very vulgar in the Standard Colloquial speech.

In writing [ʃ], Bengali orthography has always employed all the three letters ʃ, ɹ, ɾ. In Old Bengal epigraphic records, ʃ, ɹ, s are confused, demonstrating their levelling to one sound which was that of [ʃ]: e.g., in the Bangarh inscription of Mahûpâla (p. 183) occur spellings like ʃâilà-sikhara, sâulkika, puṇya-yasê, parâsara, madhuśûdana-sarmma-, viśûva-sanûkrânta<v> </v>; in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadêva (p. 184), ʃûnti = šûnti, visayilla = viṣayilla, šimà, vâyavya-disa, etc.; also in other inscriptions similar interchanges are found. In Early Bengali and Assamese MSS., as well as in the Oriya epigraphical records, interchange between the sibilant letters is very common, and there is ordinarily no deference paid to the ts. or foreign words. But in the hands of educated scribes, ts. words generally would be spelt as in Skt., and the tss. would exert a certain amount of guidance in spelling the easily recognisable tbb. derivatives: e.g., ʃỗlâ × (ṣûdaśa); ʃỗρỗ × (ṣàndha); ʃỗϑỗ × (ṣatthi); ʃỗvỗ × (ṣvarṣ); ʃỗ(i)ỗ × (ṣimisâ); ʃikâla × (ṣrûkhala); ʃarâ × (ṣaśra); ʃỗ × (sata); ʃè̃ × (sêth); ʃrè̃sthin); ʃi × (sakhî); ʃiś × (hāsâ); ʃẫ × (vaśa); ʃẫ × (vaśa); etc., etc. A similar modelling of tbb. spelling on that of the tss. also took place in Oriya.

Padre Assumpçam uses only <x> = [ʃ] in his transcription of East Bengali: e.g., əiçë < aixë > comes, əûrd ñ < xurzio > sun, əûta < xoîto > truth, əbës < baix > twenty-two (also = əba[s] stale), əôl < xol > sixteen, əôm < xansa > true, əôûi < xoia > having slept, əôôas < āxtho > faith, əôôun< xantona > conbolence, əôôs < xaxtro > scripture, etc. It would be seen that Padre Assumpçam uses <x> = [ʃ] for the sibilant before t, th also, as in <axtho, xaxtro>; in NB. in this position we have [s] normally (see p. 297); but <s> is used in the works of the Padre for 5, ɾ = [ts, s] only: see supra, pp. 161-165.
298. Sources of Bengali [ʃ].

OIA. « ś, s, s > regularly changed to « ś > in all cases in Māgadhī > Bengali, and it is not necessary to give further examples. Groups of « ś, s, s > + a semivowel, or groups of « -rś-, -rṣ- », etc., become « ś-, -sś- » in Māgadhī, which remained as [ʃ] in Bengali, written শ, স. Examples—

« -rś- »: আচারী « আচারী » (ādārśa-: see p. 256);
« -rśv- »: পাশ « পাশ » (pāśva);
« rṣ, ṛṣ »: চাল « চাল » tilth (? carṣ=√kṛṣ); বন « √ghaṣ > rūb (√ghṛṣ); আইথ « আইথ » (ā-vṛṣ); MB. পাথ « পাথ » (prāvṛṣa-);
« -śm- » > « -śś- »: রাজ « রাজ » reś (raśi, raśmi);
« ṛy »: শাল « শাল » (śyāla-, syāla-); শাল « শাল » (śyāma); MB. শাল « শাল » (śyāmala); OB. « ṛsai » (ṛṣyatē); বেসার্তি « বেসার্তি »

commerce (« vāśya- »);
« śr »: MB. শাইন « শাইন » (śrāvaṇa); শেঠ « শেঠ » (śreṣṭhin);
বিশাল « বিশাল » (miśra-); শামজী « শামজী » (śvisā-);
« śv »: MB. শুন « শুন » dog (śvan); খুন, ts. spelling, = [ʃojur], (śvaṣura); শেরাস, শর [ʃoʃ, joʃ] (śvāsā); শাঙ্গী « শাঙ্গী » (śvaṣrū-ṭi); পর্ত « পার্ত » (pārṣvah);
« ṛṣy- »: মাহ্য, মুনি « মাহ্য, মুনি » (manusya); রীব « রীব » (ṛṣya-, ṛṣya); তুব « তুব » (ṛṣyati); রুব « রুব » (ṛṣyati);
« -syy- »: আলস « আলস » (ālasya); কাস « কাস » (kāsya-); লাস « lās » (lāsa); হাস « hās » (ḥāsya); শাস « sās » (sasya);
« sr, sr »: আস as in আস পাস « আস পাস » (asrā): পিসী, মাস « pis, mās » (pitṛsvaṛ, mātṛsvaṛ); দেীী « দেীী » (sōnta-, srūtas);
« sv »: সৈই « সৈই » (svāmi); গোসাগী « gōsāi » (gōsvāmi); সূব « surā » (svara);
« -ḥsv- »: MB. বিশাম « বিশাম » (niḥsvāsa);
« -ḥsv- »: MB. বিশাম, বিশাম « বিশাম, বিশাম » (niḥsvāna).
A sibilant preceded by « anusvāra » is preserved (as a palatal sibilant as usual) in Bengali: e.g., মাস « মাস » (maṇa), বীস « বীস » (viṇsati), ডাঁ
CHANGE OF SIBILANT TO 'H' IN MIA. & NIA

\( \text{dāśh} \rightarrow gnaṭ (daūṣa), \text{ṣiṣu} \rightarrow \text{ṣimśapā}, \text{vaṇṣa}, \text{haṇṣa}, \text{bāśh} \rightarrow (vaṇṣa), \text{haṇṣa}, \text{bāśh} \rightarrow (vaṇṣa), \text{haṇṣa}, \text{etc., etc.} \)

299. Bengali, in common with other NIA languages, presents cases of change of single intervocal sibilants to \(-h-\). This change is a MIA one, and came in vogue in the Second MIA period, and was rather prominent in the Apabhraṇṣa stage, and is carried down to recent NIA. The nature and extent of this modification are not clear. It affects a special group of words and inflections, \(e.g.,\) the numerals (the decades and the septuagintades), the genitive affix \(-asya > -āha:\) but cf. \(-s-\) in Kashmiri, and in European Gypsy, the future affix \(-iṣyati > -iḥaï-,\) etc.: but cf. \(-s-\) in Rājasthānī-Gujarātī and in Western Panjābī. Isolated words in all NIA also show this change: for Bengali examples, see below under [f], §302. The change of the genitive \(-asya\) to \(-ha\) in Late MIA may have been due to the influence of the locative and instrumental plural affixes \(-hi, -hī:\) and for the change of the future \(-iṣy-\) to \(-iḥ-\), there may have been the influence of a periphrastic form like \(-dāṭahām\) Second MIA. (Ardha-Māg. and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī) \(-dāham\).

(See below, Morphology, under 'Noun Inflections: Genitive,' and under 'Verb: Future Precautive and Future Tense'). The \(-h-\) form for these inflections is found in a fairly wide tract, and came to be well-established only in the Third MIA period, although a few cases of this change occur sporadically in earlier Pkts. The Southern Pkt. of the Transitional MIA period, as in the Andhra country, shows this change initially as well as intervocally, \(e.g.,\) \(-hiru = śṛī, Hāḍakaṇi = Śāṭakarna\) (E. J. Rapson, 'Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty in the British Museum,' London, 1908, p. xx). But this seems to be isolated, and not to have had any connexion with the change in the Northern Indian Prakrits. The \(-h-\) words, including the numerals, possibly originated in some Panjab dialect, whence they were early adopted into a \(koiné\) like Pali, and then were passed on to other forms of IA.: witness Panjābī forms like \(-hār = āśāḍha, poh = pāuṣa, dāḥ (also \(-dās-) = daśa, vīh = viṇśati, tīh (ṭriḥ) = triṇṣat, cāliḥ = caṭvāriṇśat, paṇjāh = paṇcāṣat, ikahāṭh = ēka-ṣaṭṭhi, tra(i)h = \(\sqrt{\text{tras}}, bāiḥ = upa\sqrt{\text{viś}}, pih = \sqrt{\text{piṣ}}, saūhra = śvasura-, nāḥ = snuṣā, etc., as compared
with other NIA. forms in «s», e.g., Hindi «asāṛh, pōś, das, bis, tis, călis, pacās, ikṣāṭh, (taras), bais, pis, sasurā» etc. In Bengali tbh. forms which have normally evolved from OIA., intervocal [ʃ] is kept: e.g., আইনে, আলে [aiʃe, ajʃe] comes (āviṣati); MB. উলাস «ullāsa»; আইষ, আষ [aiʃ, aʃ] meat (āmīṣa); আকুণী, আকৰী [ak(u)ʃi] (aŋkuśikā); দশ «dāʃ» beside OB. (Caryās) «daha», NB. দাহা «dāha» card of ten (daṣa); চলস, চলস [çioliʃ, tšolafiʃ] (calasi); পল্যোনী, পল্যোনী [pɔɾ(i)ʃi] (pratīvēʃi); বাসর [boʃor] (vās-grha); নির্ণীত [niʃuti] (niʃupta-); মাণ [moʃa] (maʃaka-); the emphatic enclitic particle সি «-si» as in MB. (ŚKK.), e.g., সে-সি «sö-si» that indeed, NB. সু «-su» as in ভাৰ্মিকু «bhaঘি-সু» [bhaঘিু] < ভাগো সি «*bhaঘিু-সু» luckily indeed, NB. সি «-sin» < earlier সি «-si-ni» rather (cf. Vedic «śim»); etc., etc.

The occurrence of «-h-» in Assamese, e.g., হাহি «smile, laughter (√ has), বাহি «flute (vānśi), মানুহ «(māṇuṣa), আহাম «Ahom», written অসম «āśāmā», is isolated, and connected with it is the change of both intervocal and initial [ʃ] in East Bengali dialects (see p. 79): and the «-h-» words in Bengali, noted in §802 below, are not at all connected with Assamese or East Bengali specially: they are mostly pan-Indian. The East Bengali tendency to use «h» for [ʃ] is noted in Bengali literature as early as the 16th century, and it can only have arisen considerably earlier. But in West Bengal it has always been ridiculed. Kavi-কাত্তানা in the ‘Caṇḍī-কাত্ত্য’ (c. 1580) makes the ‘Bānggāl’ or East Bengali sailors say «bārbā» for সবত «sārbā» all, «hākaʃā» for সকল «sākala» all, «hukutā» for পক্তা «sukutā» (dried) condiment, beside deaspirated forms like «bāi» for ভাই «bhāi» brother. Earlier, we learn from the biographies of Caitanya that he used to make fun of the East Bengali pronunciation after his return from Vanga (East Bengal) to Nadiyā. The old Sanskrit verse describes this character of East Bengali articulation—

«আঘুনাম্বুন ন গ্রহন্তং পুর্ণ-দেশ-নিষ্ণমাঃ:
'সতাযুর' ইতি বক্তায়ে, 'হাতাযুর' ইতি বহুস্তিমাঃ.»

Accept not the blessings of the dwellers in the Eastern lands;
When satāyuḥ (may you live a hundred years) is to be said, they say
hatāyuḥ (may your life be ended)!
INTERCHANGE OF ‘Ś’ AND ‘CH’

This pronunciation is not noticed by Padre Assumpçam, and I have not found it represented in the Perso-Bengali MSS. from Chittagong (pp. 228 ff.), where only ś is found for ṣ,  sı, ś: although the < ch > pronunciation is fairly common.

The Upper Indian pronunciation of ġ as < kh > is found in a few Bengali borrowed words: see pp. 460-461.

300. The use of the palatal [ʃ] for ś,  ś, s is the crux of Bengali articulation: the Skt. word śavīesa, in a Standard New Indian pronunciation [savisea], but in Bengali [ʃobiʃ], is quite a good Shibooleth to find out a Bengali speaker. Bengali [ʃ] tends occasionally to pass into the aspirated palatal affricate < ch > [cʰ]: see pp. 465, 472, 473. A pronunciation of [ʃ] as [cʰ(b)] is a common speech defect in Bengali, found especially among the masses. Cf. also MB. (ŚKK.) छछ  < chāchanda > (svaëchanda); sīs. छान, चान ज(ह)ान > (snāna); sīs. छूठ < chākkārd > hockney carriage (sakata); निहीर < mīhrī > sugar candy (= Perso-Arabic misri); Calcutta Coll. नोचोरमन [nojorman] for मुसलमान [mu adultos] (musalmān); Portuguese < pires > [pirij] > piriëc < pire > sancer; Hindi < alag-sē > remaining distinct, without touching > आलोचें < algōchē >.

Conversely, there are a few cases of [ʃ] for c, ch: OB. < kacchu >: NB. बाह > बाह, बोद < khāsu > khāus > khōs > itches; MB. (ŚKK) निशबौ > niṣibō > I shall offer, shall sacrifice, shall cast away as a sacrifice (see p. 266, supra) for < nichibō > (cf. Hindi < nichāwar > sacrifice, offering, MB. निहीर < nichā >, निखन < nichehī > offering or casting something to avert the evil eye: < c> : cf. < ni-kṣip > throw, or < ni-kṣap > fast, do penance, or < niścātaya > as in the ‘Atharva Veda’ = to scare or drive away); OB. (Savānanda) < suka > for *sūka > vinegar (eukra).

301. An intrusive sibilant occasionally characterises the vulgar pronunciation of some ts. words: e.g., छुझ [duʃ(h)u] (duḥkha); उकसर [uʃdaron] (uecahara); तुष [tuʃto] (tuceha); एकत्र, एकत्रु [ekostro- tor] (ekatra); गंगातिर < gangastir > (gangā-tira); † North Bengali ज्ञात [jına] (jiñāti); etc. In certain parts of East Bengal, the form अष्टि < aṣṭa >, doubtless a similar form with intrusive < ś >, and influenced no doubt by
the Skt., for *th*. आठ *स्त्र* is much used. These groups, *ṣk, ṣc, ṣṭ, st* recall the existence of similar groups in Māgadhī Pkt. Nothing can be more against the trend of MIA. phonetics than such groups: and it cannot be known whether the *ṣk (sk), ṣc, ṣṭ, st* of the Prakrit grammarians were in actual agreement with spoken Māgadhī. *ṣc* might be only a way of indicating the affricate sound of [ʃ], like *ye* (see p. 248). Or it may be that the *ṣ* forms were actually heard in Māgadhī, as in present day Bengali, as ‘learned’ ones, in folk-speech: in NB., the forms with the sibilants are certainly due to a desire to appear learned. Cf. the intrusion of *ṛ*, p. 542, supra. So it may have happened that the attempts of some Māgadhī speakers to emulate the Skt. gave rise to forms like *gaścadi, laskaśi, pēśkadi, puścadi, māṣtage, bhaśṭalage* etc. for *gacchati, rākṣasa, pṛēkṣate, pṛēchati, mastaka, bhaṭṭāraka*, which were generalised in the West as Magadhani peculiarities.

In the form जास्तत् *jāstutā* for जेठत, जाठतुत् *jēthutā, jāṭhātutā* (see p. 503), the intrusive sibilant is due to the analogy of similar forms like मास्तुत् *māṣṭutā*, पिस्तुत् *piṣṭutā* etc.

*[ʃ, s] in foreign words: see infra.*

**[VI] The Glottal Fricatives, Voiced [ɦ], Unvoiced [h].**

302. Bengali [ɦ] is a voiced sound, as in OIA. Initially the [ɦ] of OIA. has generally been preserved in NIA., except in certain dialects, e.g., in East and North Bengali and occasionally in Assamese. Intervocal [ɦ] of OIA. is in origin always a derived sound, having been weakened from Indo-Iranian *ṭghi, *ṭzh*, and also partly from *ṭdh, *ṭbh*. In MIA. of the Second Period, all OIA. single intervocal voiced aspirates except *ṭdh* became [ɦ], and this [ɦ] fell together with the OIA. [ɦ]. Medial [ɦ] continued undisturbed down to eMB. times: after which it tended to drop off.

Initially, Bengali [ɦ] in *tha* comes mainly from OIA. *h-*, e.g., हात *hāṭh* (hasta); हास *hāṣ* (haṅsa); हान *vāhamā* to crawl (MIA. dial. *vāhamm* > *crawl*); हिंस *hiṇ* (hiṅgu); हिर *hirā* (hiraka-); हिर्म
<hiyā> (hṛdaya-); ḫūṇ <hāludā> (haridā); MB. ḫuṇ <hunē> sacrifices (√ hu); etc., etc.

<bh-> in some words gives [f] in Bengali. An early example is √bhū > √hō, found already in Aśōkan MIA. It seems that <bh-> h- > first originated in the middle of a sentence, and in compounds where it would be in an intervocal position. Then from occurrence in compounds etc., the resultant <h-> would be established initially. Thus, ḍārī <hāṛī> pot, beside ḍāṛā <bhāṛā> (-bhāṛā); ḍha <√hāṭh> recede <bhṛasta->; ḍhṛī <hūṛī> a sailing ship beside ḍhṛā <bhāṛā> a large boat (? bhṛta); OB. <bēla-ka> beside Skt. <bhēlaka> raft; OB. <hāḍusa> beside <bhāḍusa> food half-dressed; NB. ṛīḍaṇ <ḥōḍaka> png-faced, ugly and uncouth beside ṛōḍa <bhōḍa> fat and ugly; ḫāṇ <ḥāṛāṛā> smith's bellows, beside ḫāṇ <bhāṛāṛā> steam. Similar change of <kh-, gh- > seems to occur in ḍhṛōḍa <bhōḍa> crocodile beside ḍhōḍa <ghāṛyāṛā>; ḍham <hāmrā> measles beside ḍham <ghāmrā> sweat <sun-shine; ḍham <hāmrā > farm, granary beside ḍham <hāmrā > (skambhāgāra, ḫarmyāgaṇa).

In the middle of a word, [f] comes from—

OIA. <kṣ->: ḫa <lā> <lāḥ <lāḥā> (lākṣā); ḫe <-kē>, dative post position (*kahi, *kakhi, *kakkhi, kakṣē ?);

OIA. <-kh->: in some cases the [f] is dropped early in MB.: e.g., OB. <āhēri>, MB. ṛāheṛī <āhēri> hunter (ākhēṭika); ṛu <mu> (muha, mukha); nuk <nārun> (naha-haraṇī, nakha-haraṇa-); MB. ḍeṛ <reḥā> (rēkha); MB. lihē <lihē > (likhati); śiḥer <śīro³š > (śihara, śikhara); sāi <sāi > (sahī, sakhi); OB. suhā > (sukha);

OIA. <-gh->: ḫalaka <hālkā > (laghu: cf. p. 315); MB. bahṛē <bāhrē > (vyāghuṭati), also OB. <bahuḍaï>, printed ḫalē in Cāryā 8; OB. <ṭāhī>, NB. ḫē, ṛāī <ṭāī, thāī > bottom (stāgha-); also in dēhā, bāṣā <bāṣa-hāṛā; nāyēṛā <nāṭhāṛa>, respectively = temple, chamber for bride and bridegroom, a married woman's father's home (dēva-gāra, vāsa-gāra, jūāti-gāra, <

-ṛgha>);
MIA. «-dh-» in MB. (ŠKK.) आहर <āhūṭha>, lMB. आउट <āutra> 3½ (aḍḍhuttta, ardhacaturtha);

OIA. «-th-»; कहे, कह़ <काहे, काय> (kathayati); काहिन <काहिन्त> (*kathinika); गु, गृ <गृ, ग्री> (gūha, gūtha); the imperative affix ह, ह as in MB. चलह, चलह <cālāha, cālāhu> = NB. चल, चला <cālā, cālō> (OIA. «-atha» of the present indicative + «-ata» of the imperative, 2 plural);

OIA. «-dh-»: [ṭ] frequently dropped: MB. आह <एो> <āhā> > ओयो <(avidhavā); गम <गाँट> for *गाँट, *गांट, *गाँट <*gāu, [gōu], *gāḥu, *gōḥu > (gōḍhūma); दई <दाई> (dahi, dadhi); दु, दो <बाह <(bāhu, vadhu), दउ, दो <माउ <(mahu, madhu); नौ, नी <मौरि > anise (madhurikā); राइ <राइ > राई <राइ > (Rādhīkā); ना, नाह, नाभ <ना, सहा, सहा > merchant (sādu);

OIA. «-ph-»: *सिहली > NB. शिहल > शिल > शिल > (śphālikā);
OB. शिहल <sīhara > (NB. शिकड <śikārma >) (cf. Skt. śiphā, see p. 457); OB. मानाल > (maṇahala = madanaphala);

OIA. «-bh-»: गाह <गाहिर <(gabhira); MB. शिहबे, तिहाल <निहारे, -ले (nibhālayati); पाँच <prābhuc > reach (pra + bhū + echa: see p. 473); MB. पाठ, पाठ <pāhu, pāhū > (prabhu); सोहाय <pōhāy > dawn (prabhātipā, *prabhātāyate); बहाद > bāhērā (MIA. bhāṛṛa, vibhātaka); बिहान, बान <bīhān > byāṇ > dawnning (vibhāna); राह > ला <lābē, lāy> (labhatē); ला, लाह <lā(hā) > a surname (?lābha); झूह > झू, झो <sohā > suō, सो > (subhagā); similarly झूह > झू, झो <duhā > duō, dō > (<*dubhaga = durbhagā); सोहाग <sōhāg > affection, husband's love (sāubhāgya); हिनां <hilāṇa > leaning (ahhilagā); etc. It is lost in forms like अमि, तुमि <āmi, tumī > (amahi, tumahi = asmābhi, yusmābhi);

OIA. «-h-»: generally lost to NB.: आहा <āhāra>, OB. «ahāra » (āhāra); बहिर <bāhir > (MIA. bāhira, cf. Skt. bahiṣ, bāhya); MB. बह <bāh > (bāhu); बाह, बाह <bāhē, bāy > (vahati); बहु <bāhūt > (*baḥu-vant-); MB. (ŠKK.) बाहक <bāhukā>, NB. वाह, वाह <bālkā, bākkā> carrying pole, Hindi «bahangī»
NEW BENGALI 'H' FROM A SIBILANT

(vihaṇga-); রুই < rui > carp fish (rōhita); লোহা, নোহা, নো < lōhā, nōhā, nō > (lauha-); সহ, সর < sāhē, sāy > (sahatē);

OIA. < -ś-, -ṣ-, -ṣ; -ṣy-, -ṣy- >: this change has been discussed before, p. 549. Examples: the numerals এগারো, বারের, তেরের, বারের, দের, ছাদের, পাদের, যোদের, সাতের, আড়ার (ēgārā, bārā, tērā, cauddā, pānērā, sōlā, sātērā, āṭhārā) = 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 respectively (< -aha < OIA. -asa); একার, বাহার, তিহার, চোহার, পাহার, শীরের, সাতার, আড়ার (ekātārā, bāhātārā, tiyātārā, cuātārā, pācātārā, chiyātārā, sātātārā, āṭhātārā) = 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78 (< eka- etc. + bhattari, = -saptati), but cf. উসার < unā-sātārā > 69, which preserves the sibilant; the genitive affix, তাই, তাই < tāhā, tā > he, it (tasya); এহ, এ < ēhā, ē > this (*ēhā, ēdāśā, ētasya); ওহ, ও < ōhā, ō > that (*ōhā, *avuha, *avuha, amuśśā, amusya), etc., etc.; the OB. locative affix রি, রি < hi, hi > represents probably a blend of a Māgadhī < aśi, aśiin < asmin > + an OIA. < -dhi, -dhim >, attested from the Greek locative affixes < -thi, -thin >; the future precative affix ইহ < -ihā- > (-isyatha); the verb substantive হ < √/hā = √

*aḥ < (as), confused with হে < √/hō < √/bhū, e.g., < asti,

*asati > *ahaī > হৃ < hāy >, < na + *ahaī > নহৃ < nāhāy >

নয় < nāy > is not, < na + āsit > নাই < nāhi > নাই < nāi > was not > does not exist (cf. সে করে নাই < sē kārē nāi > he did not do), etc.; the pronominal adjectives হেন, কেন, কেন < hēnā, kēnā, jēnā > < এহেন, কেহেন, দেহেন < ehēnā, kēhenā, jēhenā >, cf. Maithili < aihan, kaihan, jaihan >, beside other NIA.

াসান, কাইন, জাইন = < etārīsa-, kīdrīsa-, yādrīsa- > etc.; and a number of isolated words, like কাহন < kāhān (Pali kāhāpana, Skt. kārṣāpana); গোহাল < gōhalā (gōsāla); MB. (Śūnyā-Purāṇa) sts. বিহরম < bīhārāma > (viśrāma); মেছ < mērā >

রাম (mēha-ḍa- = mēsa-); OB. (Caryās 35, 50) < dāha-dīha >

(dāṣa-diṣa). Cf. Maithili, Hindi < puhup > (puṣpa), and < dihaṛā, dahāṛā > day (Śaur-Ap. diha-ḍa- = divasa-), found in Hindi, Rajasthanī-Gujarāti, Panjābi. In the present-day Bhōjpuriyā,
PHONOLOGY: CHAPTER V

-śt-, -ṣt- > becomes [-śt-, -ṣt-], e.g., [afite] = aštē > slowly (Pers. ahistah); [dafturi] customary commission = Persian dasturi; ifītisan = English station; miftiri = mistrī mason, artisan, from the Portuguese.

The reverse process, changing -h- to s, seems to characterise the Caryā (no. 19) word kaśālā for kāhāla, kāhala, NB. fāhīn kāhāla > drum.

The groups -śn-, -ṣn-, -sn- > became nh, nh in MIA., and their resolution in NB. has been to [n], the aspiration being dropped: see p. 529. OIA. -śm-, -sm- > MIA. -mh- have become [m] in NB.; see p. 531.

303. A prothetic [ṛ] occurs in Bengali. The eastern dialect of ASoka has a similar prothetic h-: e.g., hēvāna, hida, hēdisā > (evam, idha iḍsa): the second one by metathesis?). Examples from Bengali: hākulī hākuli > be full of anxious fear (ākula-); ḍhīṭi > hāṭu > knee (cf. OB. aṇḍu, Skt. aṣṭhitvant-); OB. hariṭha > soap-nut (ariṣṭa); MB. hāibras hāibāṣā > yearning (? adhi-vaś: by metathesis); MB. sts. ḍhābili hābilāṣā > habilax in Assumpçam (abhilāsa); MB. ḍhūla hullāsa > (uellāsa); ḍhetā hēṭhā > here (cf. ēṭtha, atra); ḍhetkā hēṭkā > pull, Hindi aṭcēa > to pull (= ā-kraṣā, acc. to Hoernle); ḍhetā hōṭhā > there (amutra); MB. hārāmah hārāmāḍā > Portuguese pirate-ship (Portuguese armada); etc. South-Eastern Bengali of Chittagong has a large number of words with this intrusive initial h-.

For euphonic [ṛ] in MB., see p. 341. Cf. Skt. vikāṇka, MIA. *vianāka, but OB. baheṇci, MB. vāṭī bātel, NB. vōcḥ bōcṛ a fruit.

[ṛ] occurs in a number of words of obscure origin: īṭī √ḥāṭ walk, trudge (cf. Gujarātī hēdāvū, Skt. √ḥindū); ḍhṛka hāṛkā > slippery (?) bhraṣṭa); ḍhōṛ hōṛ > competition; ḍhra √ḥurā > push; ḍhra hṛkā hṛkā > bolt (= that which is pushed in?), also timid; ḍhraumā hūṛumā > puffed rice; ḍhetām hūtōm > screeching or hooting owl; ḍhn hule hulā > sting of wasp or bee; hāṇa hādā > foolish, idiotic; ḍhn, hōn hāli, hāl > helm, also group of four (or five); ḍhrā ḍhrā > deep breath (onomatopoetic?).
FINAL 'H': 'H' WITH NASALS AND LIQUIDS 557

*√hāg* pass stools; हाज़ाा *hājā* made rotten through being placed in water; हांगर *hāngar* shark; हुलान *hulānā* to push about; होला *hōlā* testicles, हुला *hulā* male; हांगला *hāng(g)ālā* [hāngla] glutton, famished; होंतका *hōntkā* ugly and cruel; होंबरा, होंबरा-होंबरा *hōṁhārā, hōṁhārā- cōṁhārā* big, big people; etc., etc.

304. [fi] cannot occur in Bengali as a final sound in a syllable: it must either have a vowel to prop itself up, or it must be dropped: and occasionally, it is changed to a semivowel [i], or to [i], when it terminates a syllable: e.g., < sādhu > sāhu > sāh > सा < sā >, beside साह < sāh >, or साहा *sāha* a merchant, a wine-dealer; बराह *bārāhā* > *bārāh* > बरा < bārā* boar; सन्हा > नेह < nēh > नेई < nēi >; पाहिला *pāhīla* > *pah-lā* > पाला *pālā*; मुकहा > μuha > मु मु < dēha > MB. दे *dē*; *graṁha* > गोहा, प्रेत [ｇोहा, गेना] ornaments; पिटामहा *pitēmā* for *pitēmahā*; etc., etc. The same thing also happens in foreign words: e.g., Persian *jāhghā, jāi*- > जायगा [jāyega] place; साह > शा, शाहा, सा, साहा [ṭā, ṣāṭa] king; दरमह > दरमह [dōrmā, dārmahā] monthly pay; दिह > डि, डिहि [ḍi, ḍiḍi] district; ताहिल > तहील, तहील [tōfil, tōfīl] cash office, treasury; पालवान > पालवान [paloan] wrestler; अहमद > अमेद, अहमद, अहमद [amed, afhommēd, afhammēd] a name; रहमान > रहमान [rohman] a name; etc., etc.

The loss of intervocal [fi] and deaspiration of aspirated stops characterise Late MB. and NB. This has been noted in connexion with the NB. diphthongs. In interjections, however, intervocal [fi] is retained: e.g., आहा, हिही, ओहे, उह [afha, fihi (bihi, cići), ofo (ofo), ufū(ufu)].

In ts. groups,  *-hm-, -hl-, hn-, -hṇ-, -hr- (= hr, hṛ) *, the [fi], if it obtains in pronunciation, comes after the [n, m, l, r]; but generally it is dropped, with accompanying doubling of the consonant: e.g., ब्रामन [brāṁon, brāmon], नाहाल [alḥad, allad], चिह्य [cifni, cinnō], खम [rifōde, rīde], हम [hiṛaffō, rifōfō, rafo]. क्ष * hm * has become a convenient ligature for writing [mm] in present-day Bengali orthography as it obtains among Musalmans, e.g., मखमद = [mohummēd], अहमद [afhommēd], and even कम्मर [kommēr] = कोमर [komēr] waist, etc.
305. Unvoiced [h] in Bengali: this, however, is found at the end of a syllable, after a vowel, when it would be written with the *visarga* (also after an unvoiced stop or affricate, [kh, ēh, th, th, ph], forming an aspirate). This voiceless [h] is like the English sound in hat, happy etc. It is found in a few exclamatory words, and is optionally changed to the voiceless velar, palatal or bilabial spirant according to the nature of the preceding vowel = e.g., আঃ - [ah; ax:], ইঃ - [ih; ic:] (also ইঃ - [i:] ), এঃ = [eh; ec:], ঐঃ = [oh; or:], উঃ = [uh; ur:].

The final *visarga* in Skt. words has the proper unvoiced [h] value in Bengali: রামাহ, সুমাহ, মৃণাহ, সাধুহ, কৃষ্ণ, গুরোহ, রাহ, গাছ, etc. are pronounced by Bengali speakers as [ra:məh, jumə:nəh, munih, jə:dhuh, kə:sh, gυ:rho, roih, gouh], and not as [ra:məʃ, su:məʃ, muniʃi, sa:dhuʃi, ka:ʃ, gυ:roʃ, raiçi, gauʃi], as for example in Northern India. Final *visarga* in a number of naturalised tss. is not now pronounced in Bengali: e.g., বোধ: [bo:ʃ], for [boʃo:], চুক্তু [cʌkktʃ] rather than চুক্তু, জোড়িতি [ʃʃɔtiti] rather than জোড়িত: = *ca:kṣuh, jyōtih*. *Visarga* in Skt. words merely ‘doubles’ the consonant following: e.g., হুং [dʌkkʰ], অংকরণ [ɔntekkʰɾən], পুনঃপুনঃ [punɔppuŋ], নিঃক্ষা [nιʃʃa] (nihsvāsa), etc.: hence in writing Perso-Arabic words, instead of using a double consonant ligature, or two consonants, the *visarga* is sometimes employed (or the group of consonant + *-v-*) generally before sibilants: e.g., মাঘ্ষ্মল (also মঞ্চ্যাবল, মঞ্চ্যাবল) = [mɔphʃʃɔl, moʃʃɔl] country district = Perso-Arabic *mufassal*;

তোভ্রক [tɔmɔʃʃuk] bond, receipt = *tamassuk*, etc.

In foreign names, *visarga* is occasionally used for the unvoiced [h] at the end of a syllable: e.g., নাম: *nāmāh* = Persian *nāmah*, ইউরাসিয় শিলা কাই *Iuyān Siḥ K’ai* = *Yuan Shiḥ k’ai* etc. Foreign [h, f,] (as well as [h] of Arabic) become [fi] in Bengali.
CHAPTER VI

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PERSIAN

306. Arabic words have come into Bengali through the medium of Persian, 1 after these were naturalised in that language and had conformed to its phonetics; as such, they are to be treated as Persian words.

Some Turkī words were no doubt borrowed in India direct from Turki during the early years of the Mohammedan conquest, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and a few more may have come in with Bābur in the 16th. But a large number of Turkī loan-words occur in Persian also, and subsequent accretions of Turkī words seem to have been through the medium of Persian, as the Turkī speech quickly fell into disuse in India, but Persian maintained its predominance all along.

The sound system of Persian as a living speech now is not what it was in the 13th and 14th centuries. In Persian itself there are dialectal differences. Standard Persian as spoken in the western and central provinces of Persia—especially Fārs and ‘Irāq-‘Ajamī—has deviated considerably in its phonetics from ‘Classical' Persian of 400 years ago. The literary form of New Persian which was brought to India by the

1 Bengal was never settled in by any considerable body of Arabs from whom Arabic words might be borrowed by the people of the land. The article ‘al,' so characteristic of Arabic nouns and adjective formations, was dropped when Arabic words were borrowed in Persian; and Persian received most of its Arabic element more through books than through contact with Arabic speakers. Arabic words in Bengali and other Indian languages have not preserved the ‘al.' The people of Spain, for instance, came in intimate touch with the Arabic-speaking Moors, and loan-words from the Arabic in Castilian and other speeches of the Peninsula have the Arabic article, and the orthography indicates an attempt to represent the Arab pronunciation; thus, the Arabic ‘al-qādi, al-qur‘ān, al-qurbān, at-tabal, al-qal‘ah, al-burg (burj)' are found in Spanish (Old and Modern) as ‘alcayde, alcoran, acoyan, astabul, alosa, Alborne,' while the Bengali (and Hindostānī) forms are কাজি, ‘kāji' judge, কোরান, 'kūrān' the Koran, কোরবান, 'korbān' sacrifice, তালা, ‘tālā' drum, কালা, 'kāla' fort, বুলুর্জ, 'burnj' turret, bastion.
Turks and the Täjiks (see pp. 193, 202) was New Persian as spoken in Eastern Iran; and the dialects current here, especially the Täjik dialect of Afghanistan, at the present day show the least divergence, both in phonetics and grammar, from 'Classical' New Persian, i.e., New Persian as used by the Islamic writers of Persia, from the 10th century downwards. The Täjik dialect specially is but a local from of literary Persian and not an independent Iranian dialect (cf. 'Grundriss der iranischen Philologie,' Part I, Vol. II, p. 407: 'Bemerkungen über Tädschiki'). Täjik pronunciation will be regard as archaic in Western Persia. The archaic pronunciation is still followed in India, and in studying the phonology of the Persian element in Indian languages, we are to take that into consideration.

Turkî pronunciation modified Persian phonetics to some extent in India because in the dissemination of Persian, Turkî speakers had some hand: 'as the kings of India were for the greatest part Tûranîans, the immigration of Tûranian Mohammedans was constantly kept up. It is for this reason that we find so many Tûranian peculiarities among Indian speakers and writers of Persian. We may in fact say, that the Persian of Indian writers is Tûranian.' (H. Blochmann, 'The Prosody of the Persians according to Saifi, Jâmî and other Writers,' Calcutta, 1872, pp. xv, xvi; cf. also H. Blochmann's notes on 'Istî'mál-i- Hind,' or Indian peculiarities in the use of Persian, in the JASB., Vol. XXXVII, No. I for 1888, pp. 32-38.) Turkî words in India, again, came to be pronounced in the Persian way when actual contact with that speech was at an end. The pronunciation of the two languages thus affected each other in India to some extent.

A large percentage of the Persian words in Bengali has been borrowed from Hindîstání, including many of the hybrid forms, half-Persian, half-Indian, or Persianised Indian, like «kōtwāl» with dental «t» = Indian «kōtwāl» (in Hindîstání), কোটাল «kōṭālā» (in Bengali) = head of city police, which sprang up in Northern India during the Mohammedan rule. But it would be a mistake to suppose that most Persian words in Bengali came through Hindîstání. Persian was brought to Bengal before Hindîstání had developed into a lingua franca, much less as a culture language, after becoming the home-language of the Mohammedan ruling houses and town
people of Northern India. Persian was widely studied in Bengal. But it is now impossible to determine what words were directly borrowed from Persian and what words were borrowed through Hindōstānī: specially when Hindōstānī (when exactly we do not know, but probably from the time it became the language of the Moslem emperor and his court in Delhi) adopted the foreign sounds of \([q, x, q, z, f]\). In the present study, Perso-Bengali words will be taken in connexion with the Persian originals, without any reference to Hindōstānī (or Turki): and the pronunciation in the Calcutta dialect, as well as transliterations following the pronunciation in the original language in early times, will be indicated.

307. 'Early Persian,' by which term the older phase of the New Persian or Post-Islamic Persian can conveniently be indicated, had the following sounds:

### Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i; i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u; u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e; e</td>
<td>(\dot{a})</td>
<td>o; o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>(\ddot{a})</td>
<td>a; a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>aɪ</td>
<td></td>
<td>aʊ</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Consonants.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Denti-Labial</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>(\dot{?})</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(\dot{f})</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(q)</td>
<td>(\dot{g})</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\dot{f})</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>s, ((\theta))</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trilled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\dot{s})</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>(z, (\delta))</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>x, x̂, w, q</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(\ddot{s})</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sound system of New Persian is not much different from that of Middle Persian (Pahlavi). Of the consonants, it may be remarked that the uvular stop [q] possibly existed in Early Persian as an imposition from Arabic (and also from Turkic). \([\hat{\alpha}, \hat{\sigma}] = \zeta \ \xi\), were probably tongue-tip alveolar or palato-alveolar affricates, as now; \([t, d]\) were interdental stops; and \([\eta]\) occurred only before \([k, g]\), being written \(\omega \ n\); and \([m]\) was written \(\gamma \ m\), as well as \(\omega \ n\) before \(\beta\), e.g. [gumbaz, jamba(h)] being written \(\xi \ gnb\delta, \xi nbh = tower, sabbath\). About the fricatives, \([h]\) was probably an unvoiced sound, but intervocally it was probably voiced; \([x, q] = \zeta \ \xi\) were the velar spirants, and \([xw]\), written \(\gamma \delta\), was a \([x]\) pronounced with rounded lips, which has become a simple \([x]\) in Modern Persian pronunciation. And the fact that in the traditional Indian pronunciation \([xw]\) is frequently \([x]\) shows that this simplification is some centuries old. \([\theta]\) probably existed in the earliest form of New Persian (witness a name like \(\xi \ Gay\overline{om}ar\theta \ast\)), but by the time that Persian was introduced into India, it was altered to \([s]\) or to \([t]\). \([\delta]\) developed afresh in New Persian in intervocal or final position from an earlier \([d]\) : it occurred in Early Persian of the 13th century, but from the 14th century, however, this \([\delta]\) tended to be reduced to \([z]\), and in verb forms it was frequently restored back to \([d]\) (cf. P. Horn, ‘Neupersische Schriftsprache,’ p. 81, in ‘Grundriss der iranischen Philologie’; JRAS., 1895, p. 237). The Persian words borrowed in India show both a \([\delta]\) and a \([z]\) basis in their modifications.

In Modern Persian as now spoken in Persia proper, esp. Western Persia, some innovations have come in which are not found in India. The velar stops \([k, g]\) have advanced considerably, and have become the palatal stops \([c, j]\); except when they occur before back vowels \([o, u]\), when they retain their old values. The New Persian unvoiced stops are now-a-days very strongly aspirated, \(\varphi, \omega\) being pronounced \([ph, th]\), and \(\varsigma [kh, ch]\); and the voiced stops \(\omega, \varsigma, [b, d, g(j)]\) as a consequence are often unvoiced, becoming almost \([p, t,j]\) and \([e, k]\), paralleling what has happened in some Germanic languages, and in most forms of Chinese. The Arabic sound of \([q]\) has become a voiced guttural spirant, intermediate between the uvular and
the velar sounds, which can be conveniently represented [q]. And the 
Arabic 𐒕 = [q] occurs as the ʿhamzah ʿ or glottal stop, [ʔ], in Persian (cf. 
‘L’Écriture phonétique internationale,’ 2e édition, International Phonetic 

As regards the Persian vowels, it is to be noted that the short ʿāʾ is a front sound, [a], even approaching the South English [e], in Modern 
Persian of Persia; and the long ʿāʾ is a back vowel very much withdrawn: 
it is an [a:] which resembles in acoustic quality the English [oː]; and 
before [m, n], it even becomes [u] (cf. JRAS., 1895, p. 238; Platts 
short ʿāʾ [a] has developed a long form [aː], which occurs side by side with 
[aː], and this [aː] in its turn has developed a short [a] in some cases. In 
Early Persian, the short sound was probably equally a fronta [a], or perhaps 
a central sound, and the long [aː] was a back vowel. The short vowels ʿe, ʿo, 
ī, ā were found in Early Persian, as they are in Modern Persian of Persia. 
The long vowels [eː, oː] existed in Early Persian: they were very close 
sounds, and in Modern Persian of Central and Western Persia they have 
been altered respectively to [iː, uː], thus having fallen together with the 
original [iː, uː] of Early Persian. The [eː, oː] sounds are known as 
ʿmajhūl ʿ or unknown sounds, and the [iː, uː] sounds ʿmaṛuf ʿ or known, 
as the former did not occur in literary or Classical Arabic. [eː, oː] still obtain 
in Eastern Iran, in the Tājik dialect (cf. T. W. H. Tolbort, ‘Rábinsan Krúso’ 
in Persian, in the Roman character, London, 1878, pp. xi, xii): thus the 
original Early Persian distinction between ʿṣer ʿ lion and ʿṣir ʿ milk, 
and similar forms, is still preserved the Eastern Iran, whereas both have 
become ʿṣir ʿ in Central and Western Persia. Persian of India has 
faithfully retained the ʿmajhūl ʿ sounds of Early Persian. The diphthongs 
[ai, au] of Early Persian roughly corresponded to the similar groups in 
medieval Skt. pronunciation (see p. 242): in Modern Persian, they are 
pronounced as [ei, ou].

Stress in Modern Persian is ordinarily on the final syllable (cf. F. 
Rosen, ‘Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar,’ London, 1898, p. 8); 
and in all likelihood, the final stress obtained in Early Persian also (cf.
P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' § 47, where we have cases of loss of initial syllable in New Persian). The initial stress system of Bengali has had its way with Persian loan-words, ignoring their original stress.

308. The sounds which were peculiar to Arabic were altered to their nearest equivalents in Persian, and only Persianised Arabic words are found in the Indian speeches. A study in detail of the sounds of Arabic is out of scope here. Arabic presents a literary form, based on the old speech of Hijaz (specially of the Qurayš tribe of Mecca), and modified later by scholars on the model of the purer dialects of the Bedouins of Nejd or Central Arabia: and besides, there are the dialects, extending from Iraq to Morocco. It was the dialect of Iraq with which Persian came in contact mainly, and some peculiarities of 'Irāqī pronunciation are possibly to be found in Persian (e.g., the Modern Persian pronunciation of the Arabic ǧ - q - as that of the voiced velar spirant [ğ],—Arabic of Iraq turned the [ğ] to a voiced sound, the uvular stop [ġ], quite early). But Arabic words seem to have been borrowed into Persian more from books than from contact with Arabic speakers: so that a consideration of the phonetics of Arabic would not be so very important in the study of the Arabic loan-words. Still, some points will be of interest as the Arabic element is said to take up over two-thirds of the vocabulary of New Persian, and consequently of the Persian loan-words in Indian languages.

Classical Arabic, as in the pre-Islamic literature of Arabia, in the Koran, and in the literature of the first few centuries of the Hegira, has preserved more faithfully than any other Semitic language the sounds and forms of the Primitive Semitic speech, although its oldest document does not go beyond the 4th century A.C. (barring a few insignificant and problematic remains some centuries earlier in date). The sounds of Classical Arabic, as spoken in Hijaz, and in Central and Northern Arabia in the 7th-8th centuries, were in all likelihood the following,¹ using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association:

¹ The sound-system of Old Arabic of the 6th-8th centuries can be reconstructed through a study of (i) the Phonetics of spoken forms of Arabic of the present day, e.g., of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar or Dental</th>
<th>Velarised</th>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Inter-dental</th>
<th>Denti-labial</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>q (?ł)</td>
<td>k (?g)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>t (?, d)</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
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<td>Lateral</td>
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<td>Trilled</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative...</td>
<td>h, f, g</td>
<td>h, f, g</td>
<td>k (?g)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>t (?, d)</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel.</td>
<td>h, f, g</td>
<td>h, f, g</td>
<td>k (?g)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>(¿)</td>
<td>t (?, d)</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels ... a, a: (a, a:); i, i:; u, u:; (e, e, ø, o).

About the above sounds, the following points may be noted.

[?] the glottal stop, is the sound of the alif-hamzah of Arabic. As a rule it was dropped in Persian, but was retained only between two similar vowels. Only in learned pronunciation the glottal stop is sought to be retained in Perso-Arabic words in Urdu.

Arabia Proper (Hijaz, Nejd, Oman, Hadramaut, Yemen) and of Iraq, of Syria, of Egypt, and of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco; (ii) the phonetic theories of the medieval grammarians of Arabic, beginning from the 8th century, as embodied in treatises on pronunciation and rules for intoning the Koran (qirā'at, tajwīd), as well as the traditional method followed in reading the Koran by professional readers (qārī) among Islamic peoples; (iii) early transcriptions of Arabic names and words in foreign languages (Greek, Persian etc.) and vice versa; and (iv) comparative phonology of the various Semitic speeches. Cf. 'Encyclopedia of Islam,' article 'Arabia (Arabic Language); 'Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages' by De Lacy O'Leary, London, 1923; Grammars of different dialects of Modern Arabic; W. H. T. Gairdner, 'Egyptian Colloquial Arabic,' Cambridge; Lumsden's Arabic Grammar, Calcutta, 1805 (for Old Arabic phonetic theories); cf. also the papers to the VSPdP. for 1324 and 1325 by S. K. Chatterji and Muhammad Shahidullah.

1 The symbol [χ] is used in the IPA script for the unvoiced uvular fricative. For the voiced uvular fricative, the IPA symbol is a modification of [ʁ], indicating its connexion with the (French) trilled uvular [ʁ]: in this table, the Greek letter [γ] has been employed instead.
The unvoiced uvular stop, [q] = ẓ, is also pronounced dialectally (in Arabia proper and in Iraq) as the voiced uvular stop, [g]. It is described by Arab phoneticians as a voiced sound (majhūrah), apparently taking into consideration this [q] value. In New Persian of Western Iran, [q] is commonly modified to a voiced velar spirant, [g], based on the stop [q] value: e.g., [iqrar:] agreement = [egrar:]. In India, the normal value is a velar [k], though the uvular [q] is heard in Urdu among city peoples through the influence of Arabic scholars.

[k] = ạ : this sound has become the affricate [tʃ], like the sound of ch in English church [tʃ ə:ʃ], in Syria and in parts of Arabia proper, as well as in Iraq. A voiced affricate value, [dʒ] is also known. It is not unlikely that in Hijaz in the 7th century its value was that of the palatal stop, [e]: the change apparently from the oldest Arabic [k] to the modern dialectal affricate sound of [tʃ] was through this [e] stage. In Early Persian, the [k] value was the one that was adopted, and this [k] has now become [e] as in native Persian words. The voiced velar [g] was in all probability the sound of ẓ in Muhammad’s time, but by the 8th century it seems to have been advanced to the palatal stop [j] in Arabia proper and Iraq. Old transcriptions of Greek words in Arabic employ ẓ (as well as ẓ = [γ]) for the Greek ɣamma ɣ. The [g] sound is still preserved in Egypt. The palatal stop [j] has further become the affricate [dʒ] over a great part of the Arabian world, including Arabia proper, Syria and Iraq. It is the [dʒ] value which obtains in Persian, and in India also it is [dʒ] (ʃ).

For [t], and other velarised sounds, see next page.

[t, d] were blade-alveolar or blade-teeth sounds. An aspirate [th] = ʂ, seems to have occurred as the feminine affix: it became normally [ɦ] in a final position.

The nasals: [n] and [ŋ], as well as palatal [ɲ] occurred before their corresponding stops, and were represented by the letter for [n] = ə.

The fricatives: [h] = ẓ, is the characteristic ‘whispered h’ of Arabic. [ɦ] = ʂ, was a voiced sound. Both fell together and became one common ɣ h ɣ sound, an unvoiced sound in Persian, [h], and a voiced one in the Indian languages, [ɦ].
[\text{o}] = \text{\textepsilon}, the ‘intermittent voice,’ is the special sound of Semitic, about the exact organic character of which there is difference of opinion. It is a continuant sound produced in the glottal region. Many Arab dialects are now dropping it. In Persia, a cheek in the voice, or the glottal stop, is substituted for it, e.g., [\text{\textgammagamma}] collection became [\text{\textdammaddammadda}]. In India, [\text{o}] is ignored: it simply lengthens a connected a vowel: but Arabic scholars often affect it in Urdu, and many merely substitute the glottal stop for it.

The letters \text{\textepsilon}, \text{\texteta} respectively had the uvular spirant sounds [\text{\textchi}, \text{\textgamma}], and these are the values commonly found at the present day; but the more advanced velar spirant sounds of [\text{\textchi}, \text{\texteta}] are also found dialectally, and probably they existed side by side with the uvular ones as variants of the latter in Old Arabic.

[\text{\textj}] = \text{\textsh}, like the English sh. [\text{s}, \text{z}] = \text{\textw}, \text{\textz}, as in English. [\text{\texttheta}, \text{\textv}] = \text{\textomega}, \text{\textv}, respectively = the th in English thin, then: in Persia and India, they become [\text{s}] and [\text{z}]. [\text{f}] = \text{\textomega}, denti-labial spirant as in English, but it is likely that in Muhammad’s time its value was that of a bilabial [\text{f}], coming as this sound does from Primitive Semitic [p].

The sounds of [\text{\textt}, \text{\textz}, \text{s}, \text{\textd}] = \text{\textb}, \text{\textv}, \text{\texts}, \text{\textr}, the so-called ‘emphatics,’ form a characteristic group of Arabic. They are distinguished from the ordinary dentals by their [\text{\textoa}] or [\text{\textwe}] quality. The old Arabic grammarians called them ‘covered’ letters (mut’baq), apparently referring to the raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate in pronouncing them: this gesture gives to these sounds their ‘thick’ or ‘dark’ quality, as compared with the simple dentals. Of these, \text{\textb} is commonly the stop sound (sadidah), unvoiced, [\text{\textt}]; but it has also a voiced stop pronunciation, a [\text{\textd}] sound, from early times. The Arabic grammarians call it voiced (majhurah): \text{\textb} therefore agrees with \text{\textz} = [\text{\texteta}, \text{\textveta}] in representing both a voiced and an unvoiced stop. In Persian, in Turki, and in the Indian languages, the ‘dark’ or ‘emphatic’ quality of \text{\textb} is ignored, and its voiced form is unknown, so that \text{\textb} = [\text{\textt}] has become a simple dental [\text{\textt}], indistinguishable from \text{\textomega} = [\text{\textt}]. \text{\texts} is an [\text{s}] with the [\text{\textwe}] quality: in Persian and in the Indian languages, it becomes a simple [\text{s}], the same as \text{\texts}. \text{\textb}, \text{\textd} are two Arabic letters.
the exact sounds of which in Old Arabic cannot be determined for certain. \( \beta \) seems originally to have been a ‘covered’ or ‘velarised’ form of the spirant [\( \theta \)]—a sort of [\( \theta w \)], but it had become a voiced sound (majhūrah) by the 8th century, as we can see from the old Arabic grammarians: it probably became a velarised [\( \delta w \)]. \( \beta \) is the spirant (rixwah) form of \( \beta \), and like \( \beta \), it apparently had in Old Arabic both a voiced and an unvoiced value [\( \theta w \), \( \delta w \)]. Both of these are now heard in dialects of Arabia proper. A common modification of \( \beta \) in Arabic-speaking lands is to a velarised [\( z \)], = the voiced form of \( \varsigma \) [\( s \)]. The Persian (and Indian) approximation of \( \beta \) is a simple [\( z \)], and this is apparently based on the [\( \varsigma \)] value. The nature of \( \varsigma \) in Old Arabic is difficult to make out. It was a voiced sound (majhūrah), velarised (muṭbaq, mustaḍliyāh), spirant or continuant (rixwah), not a sibilant (safīrah): it was a unilateral alveolar, pronounced by striking or placing the tongue against the alveolar region to the left or right: \( \varsigma \) would thus be a kind of unilateral velarised [\( \lambda \)], as in English well [\( \text{wel} \)]. This value is not unknown even at the present day in Arabia itself (Hadramaut), and the Malay pronunciation of \( \varsigma \) as [\( \lambda \), \( dl \)] points to the same thing. But the dialectal pronunciation now in the Arabic-speaking lands makes \( \varsigma \) (in addition to the [\( \lambda \)]) either a spirant [\( \delta w \)], or [\( z \)] (like \( \beta \)); or a mere stop [\( d \)] = the velarised form of the dental [\( d \)]; or a ‘sulcal’ sound, the tongue being made into a groove (through which the air passes) and the blade advanced beyond the edge of the teeth; or makes a unilateral, alveolar continuant, a sort of combined [\( \delta l \)], for which the single letter [\( d \)] also can conventionally be used. This last was apparently its value in Old Arabic. Persian turned it to a simple [\( z \)], which was thus based on a dialectal [\( \delta w \)] or [\( \varsigma \)] pronunciation. [\( z \)] is the basis of Indian forms of the Perso-Arabic words with \( \varsigma \). Recently some Arabic scholars in India tried to introduce the pure Arabic sound (non-sibilant alveolar unilateral) of this letter in reading the Koran, but ordinarily it results only in an approximation [\( \text{dw} \)].

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1 Some time ago there was a heated controversy among Indian Mohammedans on the proper pronunciation of \( \varsigma \) in reciting the prayers in Arabic, one school declaring that the pronunciation of this letter as ' \( z \)' as in the word \( \text{مازيم} \), would make the prayer...
ARABIC VOWELS: THE SOUNDS OF TURKİ

[1] was the ordinary 'clear 1,' as in Southern English lean, land; but it is very likely that a subsidiary form of the phoneme, a velarised 'dark 1' [t], occurred in Old Arabic, as it does in some of the modern dialects.

The semivowels [j, w] were like English y and w in yes and wet [jɛs, wɛt].

About the vowels, there were three types in the Oldest Arabic, [a, i, u]: [a] probably also occurred as a central or palatal [ä, ə] ; and [a, a], [i] and [u] were modified respectively to [ɛ, e, ɔ], [ɛ], and [o], taking their colouring from the contiguous consonant. The long forms, [a: (a:), i:, u:], originated in Old Arabic (specially in the Hijazi dialect) from earlier combinations of [a, i, u] with [r]. Modifications of the vowels in Arabic need not be discussed. Diphthongs like [ai, ei, oi, ou, eu] etc. were unknown; but the combinations [aj (aj), aw] resulted in the diphthongs [ai, au], which are preserved in Persian.

The special Arabic sounds which were modified or suppressed in Persian were thus [ʔ, q, j, t, z (dʒw’), h, ɹ, ɭ, ɣ, s, ɬ (dʃ), θ, (ð)], which became respectively [zero, ɡ (or k), dʒ, t, z, h, h, r, x, ɡ, s, z, s, z (ð)].

Influence of Arabic affected Persian orthography to some extent by bringing in the use of چ, ص, چ and other pure Arabic letters in writing some native Persian words: but this of course did not in the least affect the pronunciation.

309. The sounds of Turkı may also be briefly reviewed, as Turkı influenced the Persian of India to some extent. Turkı of the West, Osmanlı Turkı of Asia Minor and Constantinople, is a younger dialect with which India has had nothing to do. The Turkı of the Mohammedan conquerors of India of the House of Ghazna, of the House of Ghor, and

faulty and so null and void before God, and that the faithful should try to pronounce چ properly, which was as ‘dw,’ according to the notions of many. Bengali Mullâs and Maulavîs had their share in this 'd(व)ālīn-zâllīn’ controversy, which has now been set at rest by making ‘z’ allowable for the unlearned; but it of course had no bearing on the pronunciation of Bengali loan-words from Perso-Arabic, which show چ ‘j’ for ‘z’ in the place of the original sound or letter.
of the Slave Kings like Qutbu-d-dīn Ībek and Iltutmiš, of the early rulers of Bengal like Bakhtyār-i-Khalji, Hašāmu-d-dīn Euez Sultān Ghiyāšu-d-dīn, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Šaifu-d-dīn Yaghuṭāt, Malik ‘Izzu-d-dīn Toghril Tughan Khān, Qamaru-d-dīn Tamur Khān, Mughis-u-d-dīn Ozbek, ‘Izzu-d-dīn Balban, and of personalities like Ulugh-i-‘Azam Zafar Khān Bahrām Ītagīn (one of the earliest patrons of Musalmān learning in Bengal and India, in the 13th century), as well as that of Sultān Bābur and his Moghals, was the Eastern or Chagatai (Caqatai), or so-called Uigur dialeect, which is now spoken in Central Asia (Turkistan, Balkh, Herat, Khorasan). Typical Central Asian Turkī of the 10th-13th centuries, as spoken by a large percentage of the Mohammedan invaders of Northern India, seems to have possessed the following sounds (cf. A. Vambéry, ‘Cagataische Sprachstudien,’ Leipzig, 1867; R. B. Shaw, ‘A Sketch of the Turkī Language,’ Calcutta, 1878; the ‘Kudatqu Bilik,’ a Turkī didactic poem of c. 1069, editions by A. Vambéry and by W. Radloff; Vilhelm Thomsen, ‘Inscriptions de l’Orkhoń,’ Helsingfors, 1896; I. Nemeth, ‘Türkische Grammatik,’ Leipzig, 1916; the works of W. Radloff on Turkī Linguistics; Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. I; etc., etc.):

**Consonants.**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar or Dental</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>p b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>q (g)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>(N)</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
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<td>n m</td>
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<td>x g</td>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>(r) w</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TURKİ VOWELS: HINDÖSTÅNİ SOUNDS

Vowels

Front: unrounded, [i, e, æ, a]; rounded, [y, ø], commonly written in the Roman character as « ü, ö » respectively;

Back: rounded, [u, o, ɔ, ɑ]; unrounded, [w], commonly indicated in Roman script by « y »; and probably also [v] = an unrounded [o].

There were properly no long vowels.

These sounds of Turkı need not be described fully: they are simple enough. The [f] of Persian and Arabic normally became [p] in Turkı, but the bilabial [r] probably existed as a Turki approximation. The special vowels of Turkı were easily simplified in Persia and India to [a, i, u, e, o, ɑ]. Turkı words in Indian languages in later times, even when they were borrowed direct from Turkı, conformed to the Persian way of pronunciation (e.g., [orðu] > [urdu:], [ϕzbek;] > [uzbag]); and some Turkı words seem to have come by way of Persian. They will be regarded as Persian words in all cases (see pp. 212, 213).

310. From the 17th century, after Hindöstani took shape and grew in importance, Persian words entered into Bengali through that language, and older borrowings direct from Persian were probably made to conform to Hindöstani forms. The sounds of Hindöstani were the following:

Verals: [k, kh, g, gh, η];

Patalal affricates: [ʃj, ʃh, ʃĩ, ʃĩh], or Palato-alveolar affricates—

[tʃ, tʃh, dʒ, dʒh];

Cerebrals: [tʃ, th, ɖ, ḍh];

Dentals: [t, th, d, dh, n];

Labials: [p, ph, b, bh m];

Liquids: [r, l];

Sibilant: [s]; Aspirate: [h (h)];

Semivowels or Fricatives: [j, w (v)].

Vowels: [ʌ, ø, ɑː; i, iː; u, uː; eː, oː; (e, o)]; Diphthongs—[ʌɪ, ʌʊ], which became respectively [æɪ, æʊ, eː] and [œ, œ, õ:).

The vowels can all be nasalised.

The sounds of Persian (including Perso-Arabic, and Turkı) which did not have equivalents in Western Hindi (Hindöstani) (and in other
Indo-Aryan), were therefore [q, ɡ; x, xw, ɡ; f, ʒ; z; ʃ; f]. The normal equivalents in naturalised words were [k] for [q], and very rarely [ɡ]; [g] for [ɡ, ɡ]; [kh] for [x, xw]; [s] for [ʃ]; [ʃ] for [z, ʒ]; [ʃ, d] for [θ]; and [ph] for [f]. The OIA. फ, फ [ʃ, ʃ] were lost to Western Hindi (including Hindōstānī) in the MIA. period: in reading Sanskrit, [s] was normally substituted for फ [ʃ, ʒ], and [kh] for फ [ʃ] in all Northern India excluding Bengal (see p. 243), according to the medieval tradition. But through the influence of Persian, its [ʃ] sound, slightly different from both the [ʃ] and [ʃ] of Indo-Aryan, was engrafted on Hindōstānī, as well as on Sindhi and on the Panjābī dialects: and it is this [ʃ] which is now employed by speakers of Hindōstānī and Western Hindi generally, as well as of Panjābī etc., for both the [ʃ] and [ʃ] of Sanskrit, as a newer and seemingly more correct pronunciation than the older [s, kh]. [ʃ] is used in Persian words as well,—but the unlearned masses frequently turn it to [s]. Like [ʃ], the sounds of [f] (or its approximation [F]), [x], [ɡ] and [z], may be said to have been introduced into Hindōstānī, through the presence of a large number of Persian words with these sounds; and what is more, [f, x] are actually found to have been imposed on some native Indian words, in Hindōstānī and in Panjābī.

311. In Hindustan proper, Persian words have generally remained faithful to their original forms, in the matter of the vowels, making allowance for the slight alterations necessitated in naturalising words into a foreign language. The words have in the main preserved their full forms. But the peculiar phonetics of Bengali, especially its system of accentuation, has wrought a sad havoc with the Persian sounds, both consonantal and vocal, and with the Persian forms as a whole. Thus it would be difficult to recognise Persian « sarrištah » in शेरेस्ता [ʃeresta] court office, « xaridār » in खर्दर [khodder] buyer, « bunyād » with a basis in बनीद, बनिद [bonedi, bonidi] well established, respected (as a family), « qissah » story in कीसाह [kecežha] scandal, « huqqah » in हुका [ḥūko] a hookah, « muharrir » in मुहरौ [mufruri] clerk, « bā-wuqīf » in बेकब [bekub] fool, « tāṣarruf » in तचरफ [tachruf] tampering (as with money), etc., etc. Certain irregularities in phonetic alteration from the Persian to the Bengali forms, however, are to be
noted: this is due to the intermediary influence of Hindōstān in most instances.

In the transliteration of the Perso-Arabic and Persian words (given within brackets as source-forms of the Bengali words), the following is the system employed: \( \varepsilon, \hat{\imath} = \varepsilon \) (Persian \( l = a \)); \( \gamma = b \); \( \nu = p \); \( \omega = t \); \( \omega = \theta \) (Persian = \( \ddot{s} \)); \( \varepsilon = j \) (International Phonetic Association symbol = \( \dddot{j} \), for Arabic); \( \zeta = c \); \( \zeta = h \) (IPA. symbol: ordinarily \( \approx h \) is used); \( \xi = x \); \( \delta = d \); \( \eta = \theta \) (Persian = \( \ddot{o}, z \)); \( r = r \); \( j = z \); \( \dot{\jmath} = k \) (IPA. symbol = \( \dddot{g} \)); \( \mu = s \); \( \nu = g \) (IPA. symbol = \( \dddot{f} \)); \( \sigma = s \); \( \phi = \dddot{d} \) (Persian = \( \ddot{z} \)); \( b = t \); \( b = z \); \( [s, \ddot{d}, \ddot{t}, \ddot{z}] \) for \( s, d, t, z \) are the IPA. symbols used here in transliteration also: in transcribing Arabic, \( s, d, t, z, \ddot{z} \) are employed commonly, and in this book, in the narrative, these, as well as \( \approx h \) for \( c \) have been used); \( \xi = s \) (IPA. symbol); \( \dot{\xi} = g \) (in Arabic, an uvular guttural spirant, the IPA. symbol for which is \( \dddot{x} \)); \( \nu = f \); \( \Theta = q \); \( \omega = k \); \( \gamma = g \); \( \dot{j} = l \); \( r = m \); \( \omega = n \); \( \nu = w \); \( \ddot{u}, \ddot{o} \); \( s = h \); \( \dddot{u} = y, \ddot{i}, \dddot{e} \); \( \dddot{e} = ay \) (Arabic), \( a \) (Persian); \( \ddot{y} = aw \) (Arabic), \( a u \) (Persian).

TREATMENT OF THE PERSIAN SOUNDS IN BENGALI. THE VOWELS.

312. Persian final vowels, as a rule, whether long (\( a, i, u \)). or short (\( \ddot{a} \)), normally are not dropped in Bengali, as Persian words came in mainly in the Late Middle Bengali period.

Vowels in initial syllables are also preserved without much modification. It is the vowels in the interior of words which suffer from the greatest alterations.

[I] Short vowels.

(1) Short \( \ddot{a} \).

313. Short \( \ddot{a} \) of Early Persian was probably a central vowel, with leanings towards the frontal [\( a \)], and possibly it was \( \approx \ddot{a} \) when unstressed. The normal North Indian value of Persian \( \ddot{a} \) is \( [A] \), and \( [\ddot{o}] \) in unstressed positions.
(i) In Bengali, Persian ฤ when initial became [a], written অ (see p. 314). Words with initial ฤ hamzah from the Arabic dropped the ฤ hamzah. Examples: আকবর [akbar], + aksar always (aksar < Ar. ฤakbar); আখক [akkan] loose coat, tunic (ackan); আহমদ, আহঁর [anur] grape fruit (angur); আজির [anjir] fig (anjir); আদাচ [andač] casting, determining, deliberating > approximation (andáz; but cf. তীরাডাজ [tirandaz] archer < tir-andâz); আমান [amanat] deposit (amānat); আহান, আফাদ [ap(h)af] sorrow, regret (afṣūs); আল্লুস [ablu] ebony (abnūs); আক্ষরি [aboab] heads (of taxation) (abwāb); আদিবাজ [amir] prince, nobleman (amīr); আনার [anar] pomegranate (anār); আলবত [albat, albat] certainly (albattah); আলা [alla] God (Allāh); আশরকী [afrop(h)i] a gold coin (aṣra loc-i); আগল [afol, afol] genuine (asūl); আমানী [afami] (one in a list of) names > a rent-paying cultivator; a culprit (asāmi); আন্দাজ [afis] furniture (asbāb); আশাব [α] আশাবক, আহামক [əmamok, -muk] foot (αmāq -); আমেজ [amej] shade, faint trace, untrace (amēz); etc., etc.

When in Arabic words the ء [ʔ] occurred initially, it was changed to the ฤ hamzah ฤ in Persian; and in Bengali ฤ in Persian ฤ normally became অ ฤ: e.g., আক্ষর [akkel] wisdom ฤ sense (aql); আন্ধর [afrod], strange (ajab); আসর [arar] petition (arz < arad-); M.B. আদাস, আদাজ [ardaf, addaʃ] petition (arz-dast); আবা [aba] a loose coat (tabā); আয়েস [aʃ] comfort, luxury (ays); etc.

(ii) Persian ฤ in initial syllables after a consonant generally becomes [o] in Bengali. This [o] is unslurred to [o] through influence of a following [i] or [u] (see pp. 396-397). E.g., কোদ [koðam] foot-print, step, pace (of a horse) (qadam); কদর [koðor] merit, value (qadr); কবর, কবর [kaboʃ, kaboʃ] receipt, voucher (qabr < qabd-); কবর [kaboʃ] grave (qabr-); কবর, কবর [knbor, khopor] news (xabr); কবর, কবর [korar, -ar] condition (qarar); কবর [khorgoʃ] hare (xar-gūs); কবর [korref] debt, loan (qarz < qard); কবর [khorgoʃ] expense (xarc); কবর [kem] less, small quantity (kam); গাজ [gaf] yard (measure) (gaz); গাজ [gaf] a metre, a kind of melody (gazal); গাজ [gaf] interest, concern (qaraz < qarad); গাজ [gorda] dirt, lees (gordah); কফকী [fokmoki]
INITIAL CONSONANT + 'A' OF PERSIAN

 legislators (Turkā caqmāq); जम्म [गौक्वोक] wound (zaxm); अजब [गौबन] word (zābān); जलद [जोल] quick movement in music (jald); जोड़ [जोमा] gathering (jam  < jam); ताक्त [तोक्ता] badge (Turkī tamgā); तोक्ता [तोक्ता] throne (takt); तयखा, तयख [तोख, तोख] pay, honorarium (tanxwāh); ताम्रक [ताम्रक] arrangement, enquiry (taḍārūk); तोल (tabla) small drum (tablāh); तर्फ, तर [तोरार(h)] side (tarf); तोर [तोर] carver, engraver (naqqāṣ +); नाग (नाग) cash (naqād); नाहर [ना०] channel (nahār); नामज [ना०मा०] prayer (namāz); पर्दा [पर्दा] screen (pardah); पश्च [पाणिम] wool (paśm); फात [फात] victory (fath); बरकदाह [बारकदाह] matchlock-man, armed attendant (barq-andāz); बस्क, बस्क [बात] back-stitch, sewing with long stitches, stitched and repaired cloth > something not new and good (baxyah); बा०[बा०] in place, intact (ba-ja-ē); बजत [बजत] vicious (bad-zāt < -zāt-); बह बहर [बहर] ocean, extent (bahār); बतल [बतल] intention (matlab); बस [बस] arrangement, finishing (basā); शहर [शहर] city (sahr); सड़क सड़क [सड़क, सड़क] chief, headman (sardār); हक [हक] truth (haqq); हर, हर [हर] letter of the alphabet (harf); etc., etc.

Cases of change of *<ā> > [o] to [o]: कम [κोम] less, but कनी [κομ] smallness in quantity (kami); कबुल [κόμ] admitting (qabūl); खरिद [κोरिद] buying, खदर [κοर] buyer (xarid, xarīdār); खलीफ [κोलιfbia] caliph, (slang) a clever man (xalīfah); गरीब [γर] poor (garīb); गोर [γοर] grease (carbi); गोर [γοर] land (zamin); गोरी [γοरί] gold lace (zari); गोर्दी [γορ्द] quick (jaldī); गोरसिल [γοरσिल] details (tafṣīl); गोर [γοर] threatening (tanbih, tambih); गोरेल [γोरेल] document (dalīl); दस्तर [दस्तर] order, order of business (dastūr); दापर [νोन] precedent (nazar); फोटोν [φωτόν] a short coat (fatōg); फोर [φόρ] the Baqr-īdl festival (baqr-īdl); फोर [φόर] rifle (bandūq); हक [हक] truth, facts of a case (haqq); etc., etc.

Also words with initial [m], like महल [मोहल] suite in a large house, quarter (mahīl), occasionally have [o] for [a] although there is no following [i] or [u].

Post-consonantal *<ā> in initial syllables, however, becomes आ [a] and not अ [a] in some cases. We have [a] when one of two consonants
following is dropped: e.g., खासी [khaʃi] a castrated goat (xasi, xasei); नाग [naga] subscription (candah); नागऱ्या, नागऱ्या, नागऱ्या [nagra, nak(a)ra] kettle-drum (naqqārah); मामुद [mamud] a name (mahmūd-): पालोन [palōn] wrestler, professional athlete (pahlwān); कादाली [kaḍali] a tune (qawwāl+1); खटा [khatā] note-book, blank-book (xatt-hā); माला [mallā] for *माल (māl) sailor (mallā); दलला [dalal] broker (dallāl); ताबु [tābu] tent (tambū); सानक [ʃanok] china or pewter dish used by Mohamedans (sahnak); etc.

But quite a number of other words show [a] instead of [o]. These [a] words are due, either to the influence of native words of similar sound with [a]; or to post 18th century influence of Hindīstanī: Hindīstanī [ʌ] now is normally represented by ə [a] in NB., but in Late MB., ə [o] would be used. [a] forms in Bengali thus are generally recent. Examples: काम [kaman] bow > cannon (kamān); कबाब [kabab] roast meat (kabab); बदाम [badam] almond (badām); चप्कान [capkan] tunic (capkan); जहाज [ʃaʃaʃ] ship (jahāz); जहाँन [ʃaʃaːnəm] hell (jahannum); तकिया [takia] bolster (takya); तम [tamam] all, end (tamām); तलाक, also तलाक [talaq, tallak] divorce (talaq); तमादी, ताबादी [tamadi, tābadi] barred by limitation (tamādi); तर, तार [taro, tara] manner (tarah); तमाम [damama] drum (damāmah); ताज [taj] punishment (sazā); खाल [khal] freed (xalās); मान [mana] prohibition (mana?); कसर [kalandar] mendicant (qalander); कनाट [kanat] awning (qanāt); लाग [lagam] rein (lagām); हबली, हवली, हवली [ʃab(e)i, hula] palace (hawel); हबार [ʃaram] forbidden (harām); हबार [ʃar] thousand (hazār); हल [hala] a sweetmeat, pudding (halwā ɡhulī); हव [hava] wind, air (hawā); हवली [havli] Negro, Abyssinian (habšt); बहार [bahr] spring > beauty (bahār); बाहदर [bafadur] brave (bahādur); हवल [ʃaʃgama], (also हवल [ʃaʃgama], see p. 322) disorder, riot (hangamah); etc., etc.

The frontal [a] pronunciation of Persian is represented by [e, ə], written ə, in some words; but these [e, ə] forms are rare, and occasionally they are brought about through influence of a contiguous [e, i]. Examples: सेलम, सलम, सलम [selam, sælam, ʃelam] salutation* (salām);
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রেণাই beside রাণাই [reʃdai, reʃdai, raʃdai] quilt (raʃdai); রেশাদ, রেশাদ, beside রাণাদ [phæʃad, phæ-, phæ-] difficulty, turmoil, troubled situation (fasad); রেশেব [phereb] deceit (fareb); রেশাম [maʃramɔ] repairs (marammat); রেশা [ʃɛɾa] a little (ʃarə < ʃarə); রেশা [ʃɛɾə] a name (raʃa < raʃa); রেশাম [karəmaʃ] miracle (karəmat); রেশেতা [ʃɛɾɛʃta] court office (sarrišṭah); রেশনেস্ট [ʃɛɾɛʃtonɛʃt] final settlement (hast-nist); রেশাজ beside রানাজ, নামাজ [neʃmɔʃ, neʃmɔʃ, noməʃ, naməʃ] prayers (naməz); রেশারা [ʃɛɾərə] trickishness, coquetry (naxrah); রেশানা [ʃɛɾəʃna] beside জানানা [ʃɛɾəʃna] women’s apartments, women (zanənah); M.B. এককর beside N.B. আক্বার [eʃkəbraʃ, aʃkəbraʃ] Akbar (Akbar: cf. the Portuguese transcription of the Moghal Emperor’s name, *Ecquebar*); এতিজ [ʃɛɾiʃd] a name, Yazid (Yazid).

< ā- > in initial syllables also occurs as [i, e]: e.g., সিঙ্কখাব [kiʃkʰaʃ] brocade (kam-xwāb); ফিলা >কিলা [kilo > kella] fort (qaləh); নেমাক [nemək] salt (namak); মিছ [miʃi] fine (mahin); শিঙ্কেফ [ʃiɾpʃeʃ] crest worn on turban (sar-pīc); ইসবগুল [ʃuʃbəɡul] seed of the fleawort (asb-qol, isb-qol); রিপু [ripu] sewing (rafū); etc. Also as [u, o] in হুমূর [huʃmɔɾ] presence (hazūr < hudūr); পুলা > পোলাও [pulɔ, polɔ] dish of rice and meat with butter (Early Pers. palaw, Modern Pers. [phila:v]); and in a few other words, which thus show a special modification of the < ā- > of Persian in India. Cf. also রোমান [roməʃn], beside রমান [roməʃn] the Ramadan month (ramazan < -dān); বোনলদ [bogdəd] Bagdad (Bağdād); মকবুল [mokbul] a name (maqbūl); কোমর [komɔɾ] waist (kamar), etc., which show [o] in N.B.

(iii) Interior < ā > normally becomes [ɔ] in Bengali, and owing to the phonetic habits of Bengali (see p. 400), this [ɔ] is liable to be changed to [o]: ওকাল [okɔlɔ] advocacy (wakālat); বগল [bɔɡl] arm-pit (bagal); কমর > কোমর [komɔɾ > komɔɾ] waist (kamar); মকর [maʃkɔɾa] joke (masxarah); রাস [ʁaʃ]: supplies (rasad); মোলবী [moʃlobi] Persian and Arabic scholar (maulavi); হলফ, -প [hɔloʔ(h)] oath (halaf); বিখ্যাত [ʁixɔɾ] bribe (riswat); কাৱৃজ [kɔɾʃəɾ] paper (kāga); etc., etc. But in a few instances, through the influence of a preceding [ɔ], we find [a] rather than the expected [ɔ] in the interior of words: e.g., আচাকান [aʃʃkan] loose.
tunic (aekan); আলবাং beside আলবাং [albat, albat] certainly (albatia); আমদানী [amadani] importation (amadani); রফতানী [raftani] export (raftani), on the model of the preceding word.

«া» connected with [a] figures as [a] in the interior of words in Bengali: দাবী [dabī] claim (daśati); আবী [abī] a name (the celebrated Persian poet) (Sa'ādī); বাল [bal] horse-shoe (nāv); লাই [lāi] ruby (laś); কাবর [kabur] temple at Mecca (kaśbah); বাদ [bād] subtraction; after (= post position) (bād); জাল [jāl] forgery (jāl); হাস্তারী [hastari] shrine (tashydh); তাজব [tazhib] strange (tažhab); হালিম [talim] instruction (tallim); মানে [mane] meaning (maśani); হালিকা [talika] list (talliqah); etc., etc.

Influence of «y» changes «া» to [e]: কারেম [kařem] established, fixed (qāyam, qā'im); আবী [abī] coming (avandah, ṣ'indah); কেফরেং [kefaret] sufficiency, profit (kifāyat), etc.; in ইহুদি [iḥudi] Jew (yahūdi), we have [i] for «ya». Initial «wā-» similarly becomes [o, o, u]: e.g., উক্ত [okta] time (waqt); অজ্ঞ [agān] a name (Wazīd); উক্ত [ukt] pleader (wakil), etc. «া» in connection with [xw] changes to [u, o] in Bengali: e.g., আখ্রু [akhur] a Mohammedan title = teacher (awand-ji).

A preceding [i, e, e:], through Vowel Harmony, modifies «া» to [e] (cf. p. 400): সেকন্দর [sekundor] a name, also সেকন্দর [tikondor] (Sikandar = Alexander); রেবেনচিনি [rebėnčini] beside রেবেনচিনি [rebėnčini] (China) rhubarb (rēvand-ţi), etc. Through Vowel Harmony, we have change of interior «া» to [u]: e.g., মোরনি beside মোলবী [moulubi, moulobi, moulobi] Mohammedan scholar (maulavi) (see p. 392); হুনর [hunur] art, cleverness (hunar); চাকুরী beside চাকুরী [čakuri, čak(o)ri] service (čakari); মুফিদ [mufigi] clerk (mufarrir); উজবুক [užbuk, uzbuk] idiot, fool (uzbāk); মোকলরী মোকরুন্দ [mokruri mokurūn] permanent and hereditary tenure (muqarrar, maurūš < mawrūš); মুব্বী [murubbi] patron (murábbi); মুছিদী [muqṣhuddi] accountant, controller of a firm (mutasaddī); etc., etc. In ভাঙ্গত ভাঙ্ত [takut, taut] strength, beside টাঙ্গ [takut] (tāqat), and MB. সেগলার [jogollat], সেগলাত [jogolat] a costly stuff (sagalāt), we have [u, o] for [o] in the place of «া».

There is loss of interior «-া-» through the dominant initial stress of Bengali: see below, under ‘Dropping of Vowels.’
‘A’ IN FINAL SYLLABLES: PERSIAN ‘KASRAH’

(iv) Final [a] of Persian, written with the <hā-i-muxtafi> (i.e. the imperceptible final <h>), becomes ʿa [a] in Bengali: e.g., বান্দা [bānda] slave (bandah); কিনারা [kinaṛa] edge (kinārah); খাজ[া]নा [khafā(a)na] tax (xazānah); খলিফ(হা) [khalīf(ha)] Caliph; a clever man (xalīfah); বেড়ারা [bedaṛa] pitiable person (bēcārah); খাজ[া] [khafā] a title (xwājah); etc., etc. This <hā-i-muxtafi> frequently represents the Old Arabic feminine forms in ʿā (<-af-, -ath- ?). Persian <-ah, -a> [a] > [ā] is the normal change in Bengali which is found by the score—no other change being admitted.

Final ʿa, -ā of Arabic words, pronounced [aʔ] in Persian, normally becomes [a] in Bengali: e.g., জমার [jama] collection (jamʾ); মানা [maṇa] prohibition (manʾ); মাশাল [mashal] torch (masʿal); তাবিজ [tabīj] amulet (taʿwīṣ), etc.

Apocope of ʿ-ā: see below.

(2) Short ʿi, ē of Persian (= kasarah, zēr).

314. The <kasrah> in Early Persian, as in Modern Persian, had the sounds of both short [i] and short [e]. Modern Hindōstānī prefers the [i] sound. In Modern Bengali, there is occasionally an attempt to bring in the close sound through Hindōstānī influence, but in the bulk of the words naturalised, we find [ej]. Examples: এজার, ইজার, ইজের [ezjar, izjar, izjer] trousers (izār); ইজারা, এজারা [ejjarā, ezjarā] lease (ijārah); ইজ্জ [ijjot] honour (iizzat); এনাম, ইনাম [enam, inam] present, gift (inām); এনাফ, ইনাফ [enaf, inaf] justice (insāf); ইসাম [imam] religious guide (imām); এরাদা, ইরাদা [erada, irada] desire (irūdah); এলাহ [elaha] God (ilāhi); ইল[া]ত [illat] fitth (iļlāt); ইশাদ [iṣadi] witness (išādi); ইশারা [iṣara] beckoning (iṣārah); এস্তেমরারা [estemrari] permanent (istimarārī); এস্তফা, ইস্তফা [estapha, istapha] resignation (istaʿfā); নিশান [nijan] banner (nišān); মিছিল [mīchhil] procession (mi-l < miθl); জিবিয়র [jibīyir] chain (jīnzir); কেস্তে [kistti] boat (kistī); অস্তে [keta] section, measure (qiṭṭah); বিশিষ্ট [kijfij] dried raisins (kīṣmīs); বিশিষ্ট [nīka(h)] marriage (nikāh), also নেকাহ [neka(h)]; এক্তার > এক্তার [ektar, ektar] command, power (ixtiyār); একলাস [eklas] court (ijlās); এক্তার [ektar] agreement (iqrār);
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The kasrah-i-izāfat = [i, e], is rendered by [é]: 

The ḥabanayr [faheurn] Emperor of Turkey (āh-i-Rūm), tukē tāus [takte tauf] peacaok-throne (txt-i-tāüs); ṣōbā sādek [joe ḍadek] true dawn, early dawn (subh-i-sādiq), etc., etc.

In a few cases, we find [o] for the expected [e] or [i]: e.g., sāhi [faheurn] collusion (sāziṡ); nābalāk [nabalok] minor (nābalīg); nūmā [nūnakto] identification (sinaxt); mōqim, mōjum, morfin [moujum, moufum, morfum] season (mausim), etc. Cf. also ✴[faheurn] [juparish] recommendation (sīfāris), with [u] for *i*, and ātār [atar] otto (ʿitr), with [a] for *ā<i>.

For Aphæresis, Syncope and Apocope of [i, e], see infra: also for Anapyxis of [i, e] in Bengali.
PERSIAN 'PĒŠ' (SHORT 'U, O') IN BENGALI

315. The remarks made with reference to 'ī, ŏ' of Persian are also applicable with regard to 'ū, ō'. Bengali prefers the [o] sound, but [u] is also known: but unlike the [i, e] forms, [o] and [u] are kept apart, the same word not ordinarily appearing with both the vowels.

MB. ῦ Craft [urdu] camp (urdū, Turki ordu); कुड़त [kudrot] power (qudrat); कुड़ा [kulup] pad-lock (Indian Persian qulf < qulf); छुड़ [khujki] dry path, dry chaff (xušk-); उड़ान [guḍran] passing; (as time) (guḍhrān); हुड़ा [huḍra] separate (jūdā); खुड़ा [hulul] tyranny (hulm); हुड़ी [huḍpi] hanging side-locks (sulif); तुर्क [turk] Turk, Mohammedan (turk); तुर्की [dunio] world (dunya); तुरस्म [duʃmən] foe (dušman); तुर [dumba] sheep (dumbah); तुरस्त [phurjot] leisure (furshat); तुर [burj] bastion (burj); तुर [bulbul] nightingale; मूर्त [muʃhuddi] accountant, partner of firm (mutasaddi); मुर्तिफ़राल [murduphorol] remover of corpse (murdah + farōs); मुर्तिफ़ [muʃp(h)] a judicial officer (munsif); मुर्त तुर [mu(l)luk] country (mulk); रुख [ruʃtu] filing of a plaint (ruʃtu); रुखी [furki] red > brick-dust (surx-); रुक्म [ruʃuk] command (hukm); रुड़िया [ruʃlia] description of man wanted (hulyah);

अमर, अमर [omra(ī)] noblemen (umrā); अजात [ostud] master, especially in the arts (ustād, ostād); ऑफ [or(o)phe] alias (urf); ऑफ [omar] a name (umrā); ऑमान [osman] also _STRIP_ अमान [osmān] a name (umān < ūmān); कोक [kroč] attach (property) (Turkī qur); खोड [khoḍ] self (xuḍ); गोद [khoḍa] God (xudā); गोद [kholoʃa] clear (xulāsah); गोना [gona] sin (gunāh); गोना, गोश [goʃa, goʃa] anger, fit of sulks, dudgeon (gussah); गोलप [golup] rose < rose-water (gul-āb); गोलफ [golọf] quick, well-set, elegant (cust); गोलप [golup] a purgative (julāb); गोबा [gobba] a loose garment (jubbah); गोबा [topha] splendid, beautiful (tuhfah); गोबा [nokta] a dot (nuqtah); गोबा, गोबा [nokʃan, lokʃan] loss (nuqsān); गोबा [posta] plinth (puʃtah); गोबा [bọcka] bundle (Turkī bugeah); गोबा [mofʃimmd] (Muḥammad); गोबा [mokaddoʃa] also गोबा [mokaddoʃa] lawsuit (muqaddamah); गोबा [mollo] Mohammedan priest (Perso-Turkī mullā)
< Ar. mawlā); मोक्षम [mokkham] strengthened, secure, unambiguous (muḥkam); बोगल [mogol] Mogul (mugal); मोरग [morog] fowl, cock (murg).

बुज़रक [buḍruk] impostor, miracle-worker (buzurg great); नाबोद [nabodo] captain of a ship > a Mohammedan trading class (nāxudā); कञ्च्र [kojur] fault (qasur < qusur); चाबुक [gəubuk] whip (cābuk).

In a few words, we find अ, आ [o, a] for < ŭ, ŏ > of Persian: गाओ [gəo] witness (< gəwāh = guwāh); मफ़सौल [məphəsəl] country district (mufassal); नाबोब [nəbəb] Nabob, prince, ruler (nawāb, nawnwāb < nuwwāb); सादु [səbud] as in सादी सादू (sākhi ṣəbud) witnesses (ṣubut < θubut); बनीब [mənəb < *mənəb] beside मुनिब [mənəb] master (munib); मफ़ूर [məfəur < *məfəur] labourer (mazdūr < muzdūr); अश्नी [əʃənə] to cleave to (as a fault) (oṛs); तदारक [tədərək, enquiry (tadārak); तगूलब [tagələb] cheating, forgery (tagallub); सहंब beside सोह्रब [ʃəhəɾət, ʃəhəɾət] publishing (as by beat of drum) (ṣuhret); सहंब [ʃəhəɾət] companionship (ṣuḥbat); etc.

Synecope of < ŭ, ŏ >: see infra. Anaptyxis of [u, o] in Bengali: see also infra.

[II] Long Vowels.

The quantity of Persian has entirely been modified according to Bengali phonetic habits. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§ 53ff.)

(1) Long < ā >.

316. Persian < ā > normally occurs as [a] in Bengali, initially, medially and finally: e.g., आइन [əin] law (āˈin); आदव [ədəv] politeness (ādəv); आम [əm] man (āˈmən); आउर [əərə] exercise, relating to intoxicants (ākərə); आम [əm] public (āˈmən); आउर [əərə] honour (ār-rə); आला [ələ], आलाह [ələhə] God (allāh, ilāh); कान [kən] law, custom (kānun); कागज [kəˈgəʒə] paper (kāgəd); काफ़ [kəfər] injidel (kəfər); केबु [kətəb] book (kitab); किनार [kinaˈɾəj] edge (kinaˈrah); खाराप [khaˈɾəp] bad (xarab); खोदा [kəˈdo] God (xudā); खोदाका
[khondākar, khon(d)kar] reader > Mohammedan surname (zwand-kār); गरेखार, गरेखार [g(e)reṭar] arrest (giriftār); जवान [jābān] word (of honour) (zabān); जस्ता [jastā] place (jaēgāh); जबाब [jabāb] reply (jawāb); जमायं [jamāyat] gathering (jamāyat); जाक्रान [jākran] saffron (zafrān); तालास [tālās] search (tālās); ताकाद, ताकाद [takāda, takoda] call or demand for payment (taqāda); ताप [tāp] dependent, inferior to (in grade) (tāpi); ताल [tāla] as in तालाताला [tālā-tālā] God is exalted the Exalted One (tānālā), also तालाला [tālālu, tālāla]; दारोगा [darogā] superintendent of police (dārōgah); हरिया [duniya] the world (dunyā); नाक [nāk] (to make) defective, in cancel (nāqis); कोरान [korān] the Koran (qurān); बाज [bāj] arm (bāzū); मात [māt] dead, finished (māt < ma'ata he died); माल [malā] sailors (mālāh); मशतन [maṣtan] deril, Satan (ṣaitān); हजार [hazâr] thousand (hazār); हलाल [holol] lawful, properly killed (animal, for meat) (halāl); हलवा [halo] sweetmeat, pudding (halwā); हिज्रा the [hijrā] Hegira era (hijrā); etc., etc.

Change of <ā> > [a] through Umlaut and Vowel-Harmony to [e, o, i, u] is found in a few instances: ईजर [ijer] trousers (izār); ईशरा [iša] gesture (išārah); बिल > बिलेत [bilat > bilet] Europe (wilāyat); खिसब-कितव > हिसब-कितव [fisab-kitab > fiseb-kiteb] books and accounts (hisāb, kitāb); निजेन [nijen] banner (niṣān); निकेन [niko] wedding (nikāh); बडेर [khoadder] buyer (*khāirdār < xaridār); तिलार > टिलर [toli > toer] prepared, ready (taiyār); दिसेन [disten] quire (distah); खोलो [kholo] clear (xulāsah); गौनोगार [gunogar] compensation (gunah-gār); गोमोता [gomostā] agent, rent-collector (gumastah); भुजा [bhuja] separate (judā); बुरूद बुरूद [burod] power (murād); तुरुप, तुरुप [turup, turup] awl (turfān); बिलार > हिसबी > हिसबी [fisabi > fisebi > fuisibi] clever at accounts, methodical (hisābi); बिलार > बिलार [biloti > biliti] foreign, European (wilāyat); फिराक > फिराक > फिराक > फिराक [fīrāq > fīrāq > fīrāq > fīrāq] European, Eurasion (fīrāq, fīrāq); etc.

In तथा [taθa] nautch girl (tāθifah), we have change of the group <-āp- > tā [ā]; so परमाल [poemal] destroyed, crushed (= pāmāl). Cf. हरिकृ [harkora] peon, post-boy (harkārah); बरगी [borigi < *bargi] a Maratha
raider (bārgīr light cavalry); and ফলা [pholā] a fruit (fālsah), through influence of ফল [phal].

Persian « yā, rā, ēā » in the initial syllable after a consonant become [æ, æː] in Bengali, in a number of words (see pp. 412, 421): e.g., পেলা [pela, pēla, pēlā] cup (pyālā); পেলাদ পাল [pēlā, pēlā(ə)da] footman (pyālādah); পেলাদাদ (pēlā, pēlā(ə)da) much (ziyādah); পেলাদ [pēlā, pēlā:l] wall, beside পেলাদ (pēlā, pēlā:l) (dīwāl > *dīāl); পেলাজ, পাজ [pēlaj, pē:lj] onions (pyaz); পেলাদ, পাজ [meed, me:d] term, imprisonment (miyād); পেলাজ, পাজ [khaul, khā:l] wish (xyāl); পেলাজ, পাজ, বারাম, বারাম [bearum, be(ə)rom] disease, illness (bē-ārām); কাক (jākot) impelling, urging (siyāqt); etc.

For Syncope of Persian « ā », and Anaptyxis of [a] in Bengali in Persian loan-words, see below.

(2) Persian « i, ē ».

317. The « mafrūf » and « majhūl » pronunciations of «, which obtained in Early Persian, are both found in Bengali, as [i, e]. Initial or medial [œ] is ignored.

« i » > ঈ, ই [i]: ঈমান [iman] faith, honesty (imān); ঈরান [iran] Irān, Persia (iran < ērān); ঈদ, ঈ [iːd] the ‘Īd festival (īd); ঈস [iːs] Jesus (īsa); মীরা, মিরা, মূরা [mirā, mīrā] Prince, Mirā (mirzāh); আমর [umir] prince (amir); চীন [tʃi:n] article (ot); জিন [ʃi:n] saddle (zi:n); তার [tiːr] arrow (tir); পিল, পিলাদ [piːl, pilkhanā] elephant, elephant-stable (piːl, pil-khanā); বিমা [bīma] insurance (bīmah); ফিকরা [phiroʃa] light blue colour (firozah); শিক [ʃiːk] iron spit (six); শুরু, শুরি [ʃurii, jinni] sweets, milk etc. (offered to a saint) (širni, širini); অছ [œhii] testator (wasi); আইন [œin] law (a:vīn); আখন্দ [œkhand] a reader, a teacher (āxwand); বাী [boʃti] sport > trick, magic (bātì); আমিন [œmın] survey-officer < a trusted one (a:mın); কোজিড [œjida] a kind of embroidery (kaṣīdah); কৌজিক [œjik] a Mohammedan judge (kāzi < qādi); কুবীদ [kobii] evil spirit (xābis < xabīd); হাজিয় হাজী [œjegir] land granted for service (jaegīr); তজবীজ [œjibiiʃ] investigation (tajwiz); তবিসিত [œbiiʃ]
constitution (of the body) (tabizat); ভনবী [tofibr] picture (taswir); ভবীল [toibil] funds, treasury, cash (tahwil); ভামিল [tamil] execution of an order (taamil); নাজিক, নাজিক, নাজিক [najidik, najik, nogid] near (nazidik); হকীম [fiokim] doctor practising the Arabic system of medicine (fakim); হব্বিশ [bokfiltr] present (baxsir); মুনিব, মুনিব [munib, monib] master (munib); মান [fjomi] land (zami); শরাক [forik] sharer (sarik); শিবিশ, শিবেশ [firi, fiere] glue (siri, siris); etc., etc.

&lt; e &gt; &gt; এ [e]: আমেজ [amez] shade, faint trace, nuance (amez); আমেশ [ameta] reflection, concern (andesh); ইংরেজ [inrej] English (ingrez, angraz, Arabic inkhs-); জেব [jeb] pocket (jeb &lt; Ar. jayb); টেইজ [tayj] sharp, quick (tej); শের [fer] lion (sher); দরবেশ [darbeh] Dervish, Mohammedan religious mendicant (darwez); পেশ [pej] presenting (as a suit in law) (pez); দরবেশ [dastabej] papers (in a law-suit) (dastaweiz); দায়ের [daer] pending (law-suit) (dayer); দিওয়ান [deon] minister, manager, office master (dewan), also দেয়ান [dean], নেক [nek] good (nek); পেশা [peja] trade, occupation (pezah); ফেরেব [phereb] deceiving (farb); বে [be] prefix of negation (be-); বেশ [bej] well, good (bes); রোসম [rejom] silk (resam); সফেদ [safed] white (safed); হাবেল হাবেলী [haabeli] mansion, palace (haweli); হামেশ [hamet] always (hamesah); সিপিস [forkhel] commander of a troop (sar-xel); etc., etc.

In ইংরেজ [inrej], as a variant of ইংরেজ [inrej], we have an irregular change of &lt; e &gt; to [a]: cf. a phrase like ইংরেজ-রাজ [inrej-rag] the English rulers, in which the jingle is responsible for the change in the vowel.

For loss of Persian &lt; i, e &gt;, and insertion of Bengali [i, e] in Persian loan-words, see below.

(3) Persian &lt; u, o &gt;.

318. Like অ, Early Persian অ had two sounds, which are both preserved in Bengali, as [u, o]. Examples:

Persian &lt; u &gt; > Bengali উ, ঊ [u]: অবলুপ [abluj] ebony (abnus); ইউনানী [iunani] Greek &gt; Arabic (system of medicine) (yunnani); পুজ [opuj]
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ablutions (wağû > wudu); ہو [urdû] the Urdu language (urdû); یہودی [iḥûdî] Jew (yahûdî); کانون [kanûn] law, customs (qânûn); گانش [kurnîf] bow (before a prince) (kûrnîs); ہو [khuːf] joy (xûs + i); ہو [khuːh] much (xûb); ہو [khuːn] blood, murder (xûn blood); ٹاراز [t̪əɾəz̪uː] scales (tarâzû); ہو [durbin] telescope (dûr-bin); ہور [nûr] light (nûr); ٹھال [rumal] handkerchief (rû-mâl); ہور [guːr] beauty (sûrat); ہور [jûr] beginning (sûrû); ہور [bûr] gunpowder (bûrû); ہور [jûd] interest on money (sûd); ہور [jûn] broth, soup (sûrwā < sûrbā, sûrbā); ہور [HU jur] presence > lordship (hâzûr > hûdur); ہور [huːr] fairy, heavenly nymph (hûrî); etc.

Persian < ō > Bengali 伟大的 [kopta] pounded meat-balls in soup (kûftâh); ہور [ap(h)of] grief (afsûs); گانش [kanûn-go] registrar of a district (qânûn-go); ہور [khojmand, -mod] flattery, fawning (xûs-âmâd); گود [gost] meat (gûst); گور [goːr] grave (gûr); گول [goːl] crowd, noise (gûl); گور [goːr] strength (gûr); ٹوک [toːk] iron collar (for punishment) (tûq < tawq); ٹوک [tota] parrot (tûtâ); ٹوک [toːp] cannon (tûp); ٹوک [tobu] repentance (tûbah); ٹوک [toːk] mattress (tûsak); ٹوک [daroɡa] superintendent (of Police) (dâroɡah); ٹوک [dokan] shop (dokân < dukân); ٹوک [poddar] cashier, money-changer (fûrah-dûr); ٹوک [bondobostô] arrangement (bandôbost, band-u-bost); ہور [mːom] wax (mûm); ہور [boe, boː] smell, perfume (bûy); ہور [roːʃni] illumination (roːšaṇa); ہور [roːʃton] day (rûz); ۔ [joːr] din, tumult (sûr); etc., etc.

[ɔ] and [o] being interchangeable, in a few cases we have [ɔ] for [o] in Bengali: 例如, ہور = ہور [boe, boː] above; گور [loboon] gum, incense (lûbân < Ar. lubân); گور [mourof, mourof] hereditary (maurûs < mawrûθ); ہور [bondobostô] arrangement (bandôbost, band-u-bost); etc.

For changes of a general nature of < ŏ, ō >, see below.

[III] THE DIPHTHONGS.

(1) Persian < ai >

319. Persian < ai > becomes [oi] in Bengali when the next syllable has [i, j] in the original form: 例如, ہور [koifer] explanation
Persian ‘ai, au’ in Bengali

In other cases it becomes [œ], [ai, æ], or [e]: e.g., ख्यात (khœrat) charity (xairāt); खोये (खोये) [khœrkha] well-wishing, loyal (xair-xwāh); महर (mœda) flour (maidah); महदान (mœdan) field (maidān); कौद (kœd) imprisonment (qaid); बौद (boet) verse, couplet (bait); शहिद (šætæn) Satan (šaitān); फाहसला (fœhsala) agreement (faisalah); बग़हरा (bagœra) and the rest (waqairah); चुहाल (çœhoelap) inundation (sail-āb); हयर (hoeran) worried (hairān); etc.

गाह [gaeb] hidden (gaib); पारथ (paakhana, paikhana) water-closet (pai-xānah); पाइकर (paiker) wholesale dealer (paikār); बायन (baena) advance money (baïänah); etc.

आलेकोम [alekom] as in सेलाम आलेकोम the Mohammedan salutation = peace be with you (salām ‘alaikum); पएगमबर [pegœmbær], beside पेगमबर [pegœmbær] prophet (paŒgambar); शेख [jeikh] a title (šaij); etc., etc.

Instances also occur which show the transformation of ‘ai’ to [o] and [a], by syncope of the second element: e.g., गाय [gaeb] hidden, also गाप [ga:p] (gaib); कौट [kœţi] scissors (Turki qainči); बेग़र [begœr] without (bi-gair). The case of तौकमारी [tokmari] the seed of ocmum pilosum (tuxm-i-raiĥān) is due partly to folk-etymology (cf. नार < मार > kill), through intermediate forms like [*tokmerean, *tokmareā].

(2) Persian ‘au’.

320. Persian ‘au’ commonly occurs as [ou] in Bengali: it is also found as [oo], and occasionally also as [au, ao] and [o]: e.g., तौजी [toufi] a description roll (tajīb); दौलत [doulat] prosperity (daulat); फौज [phoufi] troops (fauj); चौबाज [çœoubœcœa] tank, cistern (caubaceah); फौं [phout] death (faut); मोजम [mœjom] season (mausim); नाङ [mœjœ] area, district (mausaha < mawdœa); मोजू, मोजू, मजू [mœjœud,
existing, present (maujūd);  
Maurūšī [moureff] inherited (maurūš < maurūšī);  
Mohammedan scholar (maulavi);  
Raušan, Rauqan, Rauge [raougen, raogen, rogen] fat, polish (raugan);  
Roșan in Roșan Chekki [roufouj cioukij] Indian musical band (raușan-);  
Saugat [sogt] present (sauqāt);  
Sauda, Souda [souda, souda] purchase, articles (saudāh);  
Haudah [haoda] howdah (haudah);  
Noubat, Noubat, also Nubat [noubat < noubat, noubat] Indian musical band (noubat);  
Hauz [hauz] cistern (hauz < hawd-);  
Haudah, Haudah;  
Desirous (of fancy things), amateur, fancy (articles) (sauqīn);  
Wares, Wares, etc.  
Ouroufijeb, Oorouf, Oorouf-, also Aurangeb [oroufijeb] a name—the emperor Aurangzeb, etc., etc.

In a few words, < au > occurs as [ɔ] in Bengali: e.g.,  
Sah [sa:k(h)] pleasure (in fine things), good taste, luxury (sauq);  
Mozud [mojūd < mojūd], see above;  
Jauhar [jauhè:o] precious stones, gems (jauhar);  
Naukar, Naukar, Naukar [nokor, nukor, nukor] servant (naukar);  
This modification is based on the Hindōstānī value of < au > as [ɔɔ, ɔː].

Bengali beloarāri [beloari] made of crystal or glass (bilawari) is based on an Indianised form < *bilawari >.

[IV] Changes of a General Character.

(1) Combination of Two Separate Vowels.

321. Two distinct vowels or syllables separated from each other by a semivowel or the < hamzah > in Persian (=< hamzah = or = ỵayn = in Arabic) combine into a diphthong in Bengali: e.g.,  
∧ændæ [aenda] coming, future, next (ɔːndah, ɔːyindah);  
Ænæ [æna] mirror (ɔːˈinah);  
Ænæ [ænæ] land given in (charitable) endowment (ɔːˈimmah);  
Ænæ [ænæ] friendship > love intrigue (ɔːˈnæʔ);  
Koʃæ [koʃæ] plating, gilding (qalaʔ);  
Koʃæ [koʃæ] butcher (qasæʔ);  
Koʃæ [koʃæ] standing, fixed (qasæm);  
Koʃæ [koʃæ] rule, mode, manners (qasædah);  
Mud [muʃ] peacock (tawus, tawus);  
Loek [laek] worthy, fit (läik);  
Næb [næb] agent, sub-agent (næb);  
Phæda [phædæ] profit (φaʔidah);  
Balai [balai] calamity (bala);  
Mefjæ [merʃæ] a short coat (mifzæʔ);  
Mudæ [muʃdœ]
DIPHTHONGISATION: LOSS OF VOWELS

claimant, suitor (muddāt); রোশনাই [roʃnai] illumination (rōšanāi); শানাই [ʃanai] a pipe (in music) (sah-ŋaŋ); সরাই [ʃorai] inn (sarāŋ); হালিহ, হালওয়াই [halui, haloai] pastry or sweetmeat maker (halwāŋ); হাউই [hauai] rocket (hawāŋ); etc., etc.

Within Bengali itself, when there is hiatus after the dropping of an intervocal [ɦ] < Persian [h] = Persian < h >, Arabic [h, ɦ], the two * udvṛtta * vowels combine into a diphthong: e.g., সেপাই [ʃepai] soldier, sepoy (sipāh); সোরাই [ʃorai] earthen jar to cool water (surāh); সেবাই, সাহী, সাহাই [ʃeai, ʃeai] ink (siyāh); সাহিহ [ʃi] signature, valid (sahīh); সাহেব, সাহেবে [ʃa(h)eb] master, European (sāhib); সেবাস [ʃheʃ] desire (xwāhiš); etc., etc.

(2) Dropping of Vowels.

(i) Initial Vowels (Aphérasis, Aphesis).

322. Dropping of initial syllables is extremely rare in Persian loanwords. The word সওয়ার, সোয়ার [ʃoɔr, ʃoɔr], noted at p. 318, is an Early MIA. borrowing from Old Persian (cf. *asavāri * in the Bharhut inscriptions < Old Pers. *asabāri *). In টেস্ট [test] caution, wariness (iňtiyāt) there is loss of initial * i- * . Other examples are not found.

(ii) Vowels in the interior of a word (Syncope).

323. There is dropping or assimilation of interior vowels to a considerable extent.

[a] * -a- : মুচ্ছোদী [muʃhuddi] accountant, office-master (mutasaddi); মশলা [mʃlɔ] maxim, judgment (masalah); চাকরান্ত [ʃuʃkrɔŋ] fire land for servants (cakārān); মাতবর [matbob, madbob] respected person, elder (*muʃtābār < muʃtābar); তারনাং, তারন [toʃet, toʃet] appointment, duty (taʃyyunat); নাতোয়ান [noʃoɔn] weak, feeble (nātawān, nātūwān); নিম্মি [nimki] salted (namākin); বাইশ, বিশ, বিষ, বিষে [ʃiɔt, ʃiɔt, reɔt] tenant farmer (raʃyят); তুচ্ছুর [toʃʃurup] embezzlement (tasāruf); মোকর [mokrɔr] confirmed (muqārrar); ফোহার [ʃhoɔrɔ] fountain (fāwawār); মোতফারকা [motʃhɔrka] scattered, miscellaneous (mutafarriq); রমজান
Mohammedan Lent (ramadān); etc., etc. There are cases of loss of internal <ā (ə) > by assimilation: e.g., রেশং [reʃə] protection, abatement (rišayāt); জমীনের সম্পত্তি [ʃomisʃerat] land and property (zamīn zirāb); ভদ্রনাতি [toenati] relating to service (taʃayyunātī); বিলাত [bilat] foreign land, Europe (wilāyat); মোটাজে [motaʃxe] favorable (mutāwājjah); মোটাজন [motaʃen] appointed (mutāʃayin); মোদা [modda] the thing asserted, matter under discussion (muddāta); মানে [mane meaning (māʃa); হালদার [haldar] a surname < military or civil officer (hāwālāh-dār).

[b] -ī, -ē -> generally after <ā>: e.g., আলাদাই [alada< ala(ʃ)ida] separate (alāhidah); একার < একিয়র [ektar < ektiʃr] authority (iʃtiyar); কাবরাজ [kaworaj] regulations, parade of troops (qawawid); আন্ত [aste] slowly (ahistah); জাহর [jwear] jewellery (jawahiriʃ); চাসিতি [ʃasti] excess (*zyāzi, *ziyādi < ziyādi); ভিয়ি [bhisti] water-carrier (bihiʃti); etc.

The <ī, ē > of the <īgaʃat > is dropped in some cases in Persian itself: e.g., পাশাডাসাম [khanjama] butler (xān-i-ʃāman); রাখরা [roerdā] a Persianised title=chief (rāy < rājā) of chiefs (rāy-i-rāyān); etc.

Cf. also হাজর [ʃaʃre < *ʃaʃira] attendance (hāziʃ < hādiʃ); তাশে [morʃe] a song of lament of the Korba day (marşıiyah < marşiyyah), etc., through Bengali contraction by Umlaut and Vowel-Harmony.


[d] -ō ->: খাঁ [khaʃa], rent tax (xazānah); তৈরী ব্যাপারের [toir < toiari] prepared (taʃiʃai); বাণী [baeni] advance money (bayʃa); মশা [mʃa] ingredients, spices (masāla < -liʃ); মাইনে, মাইনে [məiʃi] monthly pay (maʃa < məiʃa; məiʃa); রাজ্য বিদেশের [roen > rəoʃə] departed (rawawna); হাউই [ʃəui] rocket (*hawı < hawı); etc.
[e]  < -I-, -ê-  >: after Epenthesis and Harmonic Change: पलुट < पलळित [galejë < galijëa] carpet (galicah); फरमाव beside फरमाइश [pharma(i)] order, commission (farmā'ī); खेद बयर [khodder] buyer (xaridār); पलुट > पलित [polte < polito] wick of a lamp (fatilah > *falītah); हावली, हाउस [fobli, fūuli] mansion (fawelt); etc.

[f]  < -ū-, -ō-  >: loss rare: आफिम, आपिम [ap(h)im] opium (afūüm); दाद्कृमि [dodkhūni] a kind of rice (dādūd-xānī)—here we have change by epenthesis to दाद्कृमि [daidkhūni] first: see p. 379.

(iii) Final Vowels.

324. The final short vowels of Arabic forms were dropped in Persian. Excepting < -āh > -ā >, final short vowels are non-existent in New Persian. Bengali as a rule preserves the final vowels of Persian. The words अलबंग, अलबं [albat, albat] certainly (albattah) and बेबंक [bebük] all (bē-bāqī) are among the very few instances in Bengali where a final sound, expected to be retained, is dropped.

(4) Addition of Syllables.

(i) In the interior of words. Anaptyxis.

325. Persian versification recognises a short vowel, the < nim-fāthāh > or half-fāthāh, between consonants (a liquid, aspirate, nasal or sibilant, or semi-vowel, followed by another consonant). A short anaptyctic vowel was thus present in the Persian speech in early times. In some cases, this indistinct glide vowel has developed into a full sound in Bengali: e.g., नाक्षेय [nakshej] extreme trouble (< *naza²-hāl < naz³-hāl); अहामक [ahāmuk] a fool (*ahamaq < aḥmaq); सोहरत [sohrot] publishing, as news (*soherat < suhrat); महकमा [mahkumā] sub-division (of a district) (*mahekumāh < mahkumah); मेहङ्ग [mehang] labour (*mehangat < mihamat); बेलौर [belauri] glass, crystal (*billawur < billauri); etc.

Anaptyxis of short vowels characterised the Persian transformation of Arabic words (cf. P. Horn, 'Neupersische Schriftsprache,' pp. 39-41, in
the ‘Grundriss der iranischen Philologie’). Anaptyxis is also found in Bengali: also intrusive vowels between two stops ending a word. (See pp. 374 ff.) Forms like «qarz», wazn, naqel» etc. of Persian were not tolerated: they were modified to «qaraz (or qarza), wazan, naqal» before becoming Bengali.

Insertion of [a, o > o]: †আকলমনী [akolmondi] cleverness (< ١aql-mandī >: but cf. আকেল [akel] sense(< ١aql »: আতর [atār] otto (١atār < ١itr); জেন [oğzān] weight (wazn); জের [oğzār] objection, excuse (١ugr < ١udr); জাওক [oakoph] religions trust (property) (waqf); কবর [kəbəɾ] receipt (qabāz < qabād); কর্জ [kəɾj̪], also কর্জ [kəɾj̪] borrowing (qarz > qardi); কারম [koɾm] oath (qasm); কবর [kəbəɾ] grave (qabr); কাদর [kədəɾ] value, worth (qadr); কার্জ [kəɾj̪] expense (xare): কাদর [kədəɾ] husband (xasm); গারম [gəɾm] warm (garm); চশম [ʧəɾm] eye (eašm); জাগম [ʃəɾg̪m] warm (zaxm); জলদ [ʃəɾol] quick (in music) (jald); তরফ [toroph] side (tarf); দরদ [dəɾd] pain (dard); নরম [nɔɾm] soft (narm); নফর [nɔɾf] channel (nahr); পশ্চা [pəɾm] wool (pašm); বরফ [bəɾɒph] ice (barf); বহর [bəɾf] sea, width (baḥr); মাজ [məɾg̪] brains (magz); মতন [maɾɛn] text, reading (matn); মেহর [məɾf̪] seal (muhr); রাজম [rəɾm] sort (raqm); শহর [ʃəɾf̪] city (sahr); সাদর [ʃəɾd̪] headquarters (sadr); শোম [ʃəɾm] shame (sarm); হলা [ʃəɾp(h)] letter of the alphabet (harf); etc., etc.

[i, e]: আকেল [akel] sense (in man) (١aql); এলেম [elem] learning (film); জিনিস [ʃiɾin] article (jins); জিগিস [ʃiɾ̪iɾ] courage (jigr); †জেলেদ [ʃiɾ̪eled] (leather) binding of book, volume (jild); নিরক [niɾk̪] scales, balance (nirx); ফাতে [fate < *phate] victory (fate); ফিকির [phik̪ir] trick, ruse, plan (firq); মিশল [mishil] procession (mišl < mišt); সুহেলানী [meherbani] kindness (mihrbānt); etc., etc.

An intrusive [i] occurs before the suffix -ānah » in Bengali forms of some Persian words: e.g., মা হিয়া না > মাহিয়া, মাইনে [məʃiːnə, məʃiːnə, moine] monthly pay (mā-ānah); মালিয়া বেসিডে মালিয়া [ʃalānə, ʃalānə] annual (sāl-ānah); মা হিয়া না [ʃamimə] awning (sām-ānah); মহিবিয়া না [ʃəɾimana] affecting European ways (ṣahib-ānah); etc. Cf. also জরিয়ানা [ʃɔɾimana] fine (jar-mānah), Hindostānī «jariya (jar-mānah)» (so Hindostānī «gαnjafah» playing cards = Persian «ganjāfah»).
ADDITION OF FINAL VOWELS

[u, o]: কুলূপ [kulup] padlock (gulf < qufl); ছেরক, কোক [korok, kro:k] attachment of property (Turkī qurq); জুলুম [zulum] oppression (žulm); বারুজ [baruẓ:] bastion (burj); দাহগ, দাহগ [marog] cock (murg); হুকুম [hukum] order (hukm); etc., etc.

(ii) At the end of words.

Final groups of two stops, or of a fricative or sibilant plus stop, ordinarily take the [ə, ə > o] vowel finally in Bengali (see p. 304). E.g., ওক [okto] time (waqt); গোস্ত [goṣṭa] flesh meat (gost); চের [χoṣṭa] quick, clear (cust); খানকার [khondokar], beside খানকার, খনকার [khonkor, khonkar] a title (= reader) (xwand-kar); জগ [jag], beside জং [jang] battle (jang); তক [takta] throne (taxt); দারখানা [dārkhasta] petition (dar-xwāst); দারিখানা [dārīkhat] enquiry (dar-yāft); দাসখানা [dāsthkhat] signaturne (dast-xatt); দরোস্ত [dorost] right, fit (durust); পছন্দ [paqhanda] choice (pasand); পোক [pokta] ripe, seasoned, cooked (puxt); ফরদ [fard] list (fard); ফাস [fas] bleeding, opening a vein (fasd); বর্দাস্ত [bordast] tolerate (bardast); মকর্ধ [mokted] writing exercise (maṣq); রাম [rāmt] practice, habit (rabt); জনক [jānk] punished, punishment (jabt < dabt); ফারাবর্দ [fāraba] lapis lazuli (lājaward); মোকত [mokta] identification (sināxt); শর, শর [ʃ̚ort] condition (šart); বারাবার [bāraβār] charge over, hand over (supurd); ফার্বদ [fard] limit (hadd); ফাসখানা [fāsakhat] final settlement (hast-nist); etc. In ফাসখানা [fāsakhat] (fāsakhāt) list, জুলপী [zulpi] side lock (zulf), and বালাই [bālai] calamity (balā), we have a final [i] added.

Some of the above words, with liquid or nasal, ought to have taken a vowel in the interior rather than at the end.

Words with a final < -h >, which was pronounced in Persian, either drops the < -h >, or retains it and takes a final vowel [ə, o] after it (see p. 557); e.g., বাহ [bāha] way, journey (rāh).

Nasalisation of vowels: this is treated under the Nasals, below.

THE CONSONANTS.

[I] The Glottal [h], and [ʕ] of Arabic.

326. The Persian [h] sound represents also the Arabic [ʕ, ʕ].
Bengali, Persian * h » becomes ḥ [ḥ]: but except where initial, Bengali [ḥ] is a very unstable sound, and is frequently dropped.

Initial * h- →: ḥa[nām] (nāma) name (nām < ha[m]); ḥa[n] (ha[m]ta) week (haftah); ḥa[n][ā] (hā[a]) air (hawa); ḥa[n][ā]r (hā[ā]r) thousand (hazā[r]; ḥa[n]eśa [hameśa] always (hamēsah); ḥa[n][d], ṣi[n][d], ṣi[n][d] [ḥi[d], ṣi[d], ṣi[d]] Hindv (Hindū); ḥa[n][u]r [hunur] skill (hunār); ḥa[n] [ḥo[k] truth (haqq); ḥa[n]r [ḥa[n]rat] presence = exalted person (ḥa[n]rat < ha[d]rat); ḥakīm [ha[k]im] judge (hakim); ḥa[d] [ḥod[ə] limit (hadd); ḥa[l]k [ḥol[ə]h] oath (haff); ḥa[n]ef [ha[phe]f] protector, one who has the entire Koran by heart (ha[p]h); ḥa[n] (ha[n]rat) lock-up (hājat); ḥa[l]al [halal] lawful (meat) (halāl); ḥa[n]la [hamla] attack, raid (hamlah); ḥu[k]a [hūk] hookah (huqqaḥ); ḥi[s]āb [hisab] accounts (hisāb); ḥu[r] [huri] heavenly nympḥ (hūrī); ḥu[l] [hul] cistern (haw < hawd); etc., etc.

In parts of East Bengal, initial [ḥ] becomes [ḥ]: see p. 269.

Interior * h »:

(i) Intervocally it generally remains, although its articulation is very much weakened: e.g., ḥa[n]ah, ḥa[n]ah [lo[fida], alada] separate (alāhidah); ḥa[n][i]hār [estēfâr, ista]- notice (ištihār); ḥa[n][u]f causes, grounds (wa[j]ūḥāt); ḥa[n] [ela[h] God; magnificent (ilāhī); ḥa[n] [ša[h]d] religious war (jihād); ḥa[n]ah [ja[h]ān] the Emperor Shāh Jahan (Sa[h]-jahān); ḥa[n][ir] [jāhir] manifest (zāhir); ḥa[n]al, ḥa[n]al [bo[h]hal, ba[h]al] confirmed (ba[h]al); ḥa[n]eš, ḥeš [be[h]f, -ṇu] senseless (bo[h]u); ḥa[n] [mohammad] Muhammad (muḥammad); ḥa[n] [mohom] the Muharram festival (muharram); ḥa[n][ir] [e[j]āhir] deposition (izahār); ḥe[h] [refa] excuse (as a fault or debt) (riḥār); ḥa[n] [ne[f(e)]t] excessive (nihāyat); ḥa[n] [juba, jeb] gentleman, European (sāhib); ḥe[h] [bo[h]j] argument, dispute (ba[h] < ba[h]); etc.

Intervocal [ḥ] in Bengali frequently disappears: see p. 552. Examples from the Persian loan-words—bo[h]ā]s [khe[j] desire (xwa[h]is): ḥa[n]a [alada] separate (alāhidah); ḥa[n][i]j signature (sahīh); ḥa[n][i] (aste) slowly (ahistah); ḥa[n][i]ma [hamrai] succouring, eager to help (ham-rāhī); etc. In bī[ist]i [biśti] water-carrier (bīśti), we have aspiration through contact by loss of intervening vowel,
(ii) -h- forming the first element in a consonant nexus (a) either requires the prop of an intrusive vowel to remain; or (b) is dropped, modifying in some cases the preceding vowel; or (c) it is changed to [i, e]: e.g., (a) تهیل [təhiːl] beside تهیل [təhiːl] treasury (taḥsil); (b) نیست [fiːniːst] list (fīrist); (c) مهربان [meheɾɒnət] labour (mīnāt); مهربان [meheɾɒn] seal, a gold coin (muhār); تهیل, تهیل [təhoːbil] purse, treasury (taḥwil); بحر [bohār] sea, width (bahr); سازه [joːboːt] association (saḥbat); شهر [ʃoːhør] city (ṣahr); مهربان [maheɾɒn]a part of a district (maḥkumah); etc., etc.; (b) توهان [tophaːn] fine (tuḥfah); چالح [dol:[h] portico (dahlīz); پ(1)لوگان [poloan, poloan] beside پلوان [poloan] wrestler, athlete (pahlwān); بلسم [bolom] lance (bahlam); گاغی [janai] pipe (murs) (ṣah-nā'ī); گانک, گانکی [janak, jaki] plate (saḥnak); ماجول [majul] tax, postage, fare (maḥsūl); مخمد [mamud] a name (maḥmūd); سخنان [ʃetkhan] water-closet (saḥt-xānah); مکان [maɾap] temporary roofing (of mats) (mihrāb); etc.; (e) دهسنج, دهسنج [doʃot, doʃot] alarm, fear (dasht); بانان < بانانا [baena < baʃana] excuse, plea, demand (*baŋna < baŋga- nah); etc.

In مهربان [maheɾɒr] prince > sweeper (mīhtar), there is metathesis followed by aspiration.

-h- forming the second element of a consonant group is dropped: e.g., پادشاه [ʃaʃaːd] witness (išhādt); محرم [maɾom] pintworm (marham); سبز [ʃareb] master of small steamer (sar-hang), etc.

Final -h-. The -h-i-muxtafi- of Persian is changed, with the preceding -a- to [a] in Bengali: see p. 579, note. E.g., ت [taː] sheet of paper (taḥ); تابع [taʃːɒ] fresh (tāzah); دان [dana] grain (dānah); etc. Final -h- after -a- where it was pronounced in Persian, is generally retained in Bengali, with the prop of a final vowel: e.g., دانه [ʃaʃo, -na] beside ش [ʃaː] king (ṣāh); راه [raʃaː] way (rāh); سربرای (ً) [ʃarbarɒʃ] supply (sar-barah); بانکی [b_[h]:ʃaʃ] high-way robbery (rāh-zani); نهایت [niʃaʃ] marriage (nīkāh), etc. In other cases -h- is merely dropped: e.g., سازه [ʃoːh] signature (ṣaḥīh); تومب [ʃombe] chiding, threatening (tanbih); تپ [ʃombe] district (tanjiːh).
Final 'h' (≈Arabic 'ḥ' after a consonant) normally becomes [e] in Bengali: e.g., ফতে [fath] victory (fath); সোলে, ছোলে [sole] agreement (sulh); সোবে [sobe] dawn (suh), but cf. সুবা [suba] province (sūbah: sūbah-i-Bangal = ছবে বাঙলা [fube baqla]).

327. Arabic [ʕ], in Persian resulting in the glottal stop [ʔ]. This is lost to Bengali, normally: e.g., আঁজব [afark] strange (ajab); আহার [ahr] otto (*aṭr < ʾitr); ওছর [oqor] sermon, preaching (waṣ); আকর [ark] petition (ʾarz < ʾard); আরব [arbi] Arabian, Arabic (ʿarab-); ইকর [ikhar] honour (ʾizzat); ইর [ir] the ʾIld fasting (ʾid); ওছর [oqor] excuse (ʾuqr > ʾuqr); আরেষ [aej] pleasure, comfort (aiš); ওছর, ওছর [oku] place where an event took place (waqū); ইনাম [inam] largesse (inām); এতালা [etala] summons (litāʾ); কোনাং [khetel] robe of honour (xilat); জামা [jamā] collection, deposit (jamā); দোজা [doa] prayer (duʿā); মোসা, মুসা [monopa, munāpha] profit (munāfa); মৌজা [maqṣa] district (mauza > mawda); তাহে [tābe] in a subordinate position (taẓa); etc.

In a few cases, however, interior [ʕ > ʔ], when pre-consonantal or intervocal, or final [ʕ], has developed into a palatal semi-vowel, ʿy (≈[e] in Bengali): e.g., তাহাল [tahal] enumeration, sum, approximation (taḥād); জামাত [jamāt] gathering (jamāʿat); বিদায় [bidae] farewell (ʿwidāʾ): commonly regarded as a Sanskrit formation = ʿvidāya ʾ); তাহাল [tahal] the Exalted One (Allāh taʿāla God is exalted); নিয়ম [niyomat, nīyomat] grace, gift (niyamat); সাইত, সাইত [saitet, sait] time, watch (sāʿat).

[II] The Uvular stop [q], and the Velars [k, g; x, xʷ, ʁ].

328. [q] of Arabic,＝both [k] and [g(ʔ)] in Early Persian, and [q] of Turkī, occur normally as ক [k] in Bengali, but there are a few words which show গ [g].

[q] > [k]: Initial: কোড [kəd] imprisonment (qaid); কদম [kədm] pace, step (qadam); কলন্দার [kalondar] mendicant, ‘calendar’ (qalandar); কোরান [korun] the Koran (qurān); কোরবানী [korboni] sacrificer (qurbānt); কুলপ [kulup] padlock (qafi); কবজ [kəboj] receipt, bond (qabz < qabād); কোরোক, কোক [k(o)ro] attachment of property (Turkī qurq); কসাই
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[kafaj] butcher (qasā‘ī); [kella] fort (qil‘ah); [kalia] meat carry (qalyah); [kudrat] might (qudrat); etc.

Medial: [akkel], also [akol] sense, wisdom (qa‘l);ences, [ekrâr] acknowledgment (i‘jâ‘r); [elouk] jurisdiction (ilâ‘ah); [okta] time (waqâ‘); [huk] hookah (huqqâ‘); [hokuk] facts (haqîq); [baki] remaining (bâ‘î); [bebok] without remainder, all (bâ‘-bâ‘î); [mokkâ‘] dried grapes (munaqqâ‘); [ghokmoki] flint stone (to strike a fire) (Turkî caqma‘î); [øjoku] knife (caqû < Turki); etc.

Final: [hok] truth, true, rightful (haqq); [to:bok] dish, layer, stratum (tabaq); MB. [tô:k] ring for the neck (punishment) ( tôq > taw, tawq); [to:lik] proof, verification (tasdiq); [laek] fit, worthy (la‘iq); [makf] copying (masiq); [jâ:k(h)] desire or taste for fancy articles (saq); [find(ük)k] chest, box (sindûq); etc.

[q] > Persian [g] > [g] in Bengali: [tagôda, takoda] demand for payment (taqâ‘ah); [tagut, takot] strength (tâqat); [nagod] cash money (naqd); [tagâra, naqra, naqra] [nag(ô)ra, nokaro] kelletum (naqqârah); [tagabi, takabi] money advanced to farmers (taqawî); MB. [tagollâd, takalat] scarlet cloth, costly stuff (saqalâ‘).

[q] is found as [kh] in a few words: [jâ:k, jô:k] < q ‘saq’, see above; [ahám] beside [ahâm] [afâm, mîk] fool (ahmaq); [jukmuni] scammony (a drug) (suqmiyâ).

In the word [taw], as a variant (rather rare) of [taqô], [tagut, takot] strength (tâqat), we have loss of intervocalic [q].

329. Persian unvoiced velar stop [k]. There is no trace in Bengali of the Modern Persian aspiration of this unvoiced stop to [kh].

Initial: [kô:m] less, small amount (kam); [ketab] book (kitâb); [kolda] the Mohammedan creed (kalmah); [kôphir] infidel (kâ‘îr); [kâga‘] paper (kâga‘); [kûrigor] artisan, artist (kârîgar); [kaman] bar > gun (kamân); [kinora] edge (kinârah); [kopta] meat balls in stew (kûftah); etc., etc.
Medial: আকার [akbar] Akbar; উকীল [ukil] pleader (wakil); তকরার [takrar] argument (takrēr); রেকাব [rekab] stirrup (rikāb); চাপকান [caapkan] tunic (caapkan); চাকর [cakor] servant (cākar); সরকার [sarkar] government, administration (sarkār); হারকত [harkat] commotion, damage (harkat); etc.

Final: থাক [kha:k] earth (xāk); তারক [tarak] supervision (tadāruk); তেক [to:k] mattress (tōšak); চাক [cak] whip (cābk); নেক [nemak] salt (namak); সানক [sānak] plate (sañnak); etc.

[k] is softened to [g] in খোজাহামিদ [khud-fogimi] arrogance (xwud-hākimi), তাগিদ [tagid] pressure, reminder (tākid), and নোগি, নোগিত [nogij, nogij] neighborhood, nearness (nazdīk).

In খোজা [khosā] beardless man we have [kh] for [k], from Arabic  "kusah " scant-bearded.

330. Persian [g] remains in Bengali.

Initial: গোর [gōram] warm (garm); গোড়া [gōda] dust (gardah); গোদান [gōda] witness (guwāh); গোলাম [gōlām] rose (gulāb = gul); গোনা [gōna] sin (gunāh); গুমান [gumān] pride (gumān); গোর [gōr] grave (gōr); গোষ্ঠ [gost] flesh-meat (gōst); etc.

Medial: কোনগো [konungo] district officer, keeper of records (qānūn-gō); খরগোই [korgoi] hare (xar-gōi); জিগির [jigir] encouragement (jigr); দরগাহ [dargā] shrine of a saint (dargāh); লাগাম [lagām] rein (lagām); পরগণা [parogana] part of district (* parganah *: Persianised Skt. word = * pragana *); etc.

Final: Persian words with final  -g  are very few in Bengali. বুজরক beside বুজরগ বুজরক [bujgurk, -rug] impostor, miracle-worker (buzurg great) shows hardening of  -g  to [k]. There are a few words ending in  -ng  [ng], which either preserve the final [g] by adding a vowel at the end, e.g., জাগ অন্য হয় [jag-nēm] the history of the fight (at Kerbela) (jang-nēmah), or reduce the [ng] to [ŋ]: e.g., সারে সারে [sare, -rog] master of small steamer (sar-hang).

A few cases of hardening of [g] to [k] are found: e.g., বুজরক [bujgurk] for  -g , as above; সারক [khanke] woman of ill-fame (xānah-gī belonging to the house > a mistress); জিগির [jigir] beside জিগির [jigir] < - jigr > above.
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331. Persian [x], representing both native [x] and Arabic [ח], normally becomes ঢ [kʰ] in Bengali, which intervocally, finally and pre-consonantally is deaspirated to [k] as a normal thing, the aspiration remaining only initially.

Examples: initial: কবর, কবর [খবর, খবর] news (খাব্র); কাজ [খাজ] a title (লান); খুন [খুন] murder (খুন বুদ); মুহুর্ট [খোর্ট] letter, writing (খাত); খাজ (ঝগ) নাম [খউফুনুন] tax (খাজানাহ); ধোপ, খুফোর খুপার [খুফোর, খুপার] glad, happy, beautiful (also nouns) (খুশ, খুশী); খালাস [খুলাস] empty, freed, finished, (খালাস); etc.

Medially: নাকছোদা [নাকছোদা] captain of ship (নো[ছ]-খুদাছ); বথেরা, বক্সের [বক্সের] back stitch, stitched and darned > bail (খায়); বার্সিশ > বক্সিশ [বক্সিশ] largesse (বার্সিশ); আখনী [আখনী] broth of meat (খানিছ); আগের [আগের] final খান (খান); সত্তর [সত্তর] jest, joke (খানাহ); etc.

Final: সেখ, সেখ, সেখ [সেখ] Shaikh (সাইখ); সিক, সিক [সিক] iron spilt (to roast meat) (সিক); লক [লক] thread to fly kites (লক); বিংশ, দিন [দিন] scales, weighing (নিম্ব) etc.

Persian (x) becomes [k]; আকৃতা [আকৃতা] castrated (আমহাত); একেয়র, একান্ত [একান্ত] an authority (ইস্তিয়ার); বক্সার [বক্সার] a name, (বাক্সার); কর্মকর্তা [কর্মকর্তা] luckless person (কর্ম-বাক্স); দুর্গা [দুর্গা] pain (দুর্গা); পক্তের [পক্তের] seasoned, cooked (পুষ্ট); মোক্তর [মোক্তর] pleader (মুখ্যর); মক্তের [মক্তের] hard, stiff (স্তা); মানুষ, মানুষ [মানুষ] identification (মানুষ); etc.

332. Persian [xw]: the character of this sound has been described at p. 562. The labial element is preserved in a few words: e.g., আখনীর [আখনীর] teacher > a surname (আখনীর); খোদ [খোদ] self (খোদ); খোদ [খোদ] God (খোদ); খোদার, খোদার, খোদার, খোদার, খোদার [খোদার] a reader, teacher > a surname (খোদার); খুশিপোশ [খুশিপোশ] tray-cover of cloth (খুশিপোশ); খোদার [খোদার] contemptible, base (also noun) (খোদার); পোশাকগুলি [পোশাকগুলি] sleeping room (খোদার); পোশাক [পোশাক] sleep > dream (খোদার); etc.

[xw] is dropped: also e.g., খাজা [খাজা] a title of respect (খাজা); also খাজা [খাজা]; খোদা [খোদা] loyal, well-wisher (খোদা);
333. Persian [γ'], representing the native sound, as well as Arabic [γ]. This spirant seems to have been pronounced without much friction, so that the Indian equivalent became p [g], and not ḥ [γḥ] which would have paralleled ḥ [kh] for [x].


Final: चोर [choor] lamp; बाग [baag] garden; दोभाग [doγb] demuk; दोमाग [doγm] pride; दोरोग [doγro] cock (murg); etc.

There are a few cases of hardening of [g] > [γ] to [k]: नाबालक [nabalak] minor in age; बालक [balak] boy; बुलक [bulak] bundle (Turki būg; būγ); दोबक [dubak] badge, crest (Turki tamgh); दोक [dūk] plan, trick; दोमक [demak] above; दो, दोग [dog, deγ] caldron, big pot; दोक [deγ] small pot to cook (deγ, deγ-

[III] The Palato-alveolar Affricates, [ʧ], [ʤ].

334. Persian ʧ [ʧ], transliterated « c », remains practically unaltered to Bengali ʧ [ʧ]. In East Bengali, this is regularly altered to [ts].

Examples: Initial: चाकर [čakor] servant (cakar); चोट [čoṭo] quick, fine, smooth (eust); चौबाचा [čoubacca] cistern (caubacca); चरबी [čorbī] fat,
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335. Persian [dʒ], representing the native Iranian affricate and the Arabic palatal stop, is retained as [ʃ] in Bengali. This [ʃ] regularly becomes [dz, z] in East Bengal.

336. Persian < t > represents, in addition to the native sound, Arabic
[t, ʈ] (as well as Arabic [th] in a final position: see p. 566). In Bengali it remains as the interdental ṭ [t].

Initial: ৎকা [tōktā] planck (taktah); ৎবক [tōbāk] stratum (tabaq); ৎবল [tōbla] drum (tablah); ৎরজ্ঞা [tārjāma] translation (tarjamah); ৎতাত [totā] parrot (tātá); ৎলাক, ৎলাক [tal(l)aq] divorce (talāq); ৎকুর, ৎকুর [tur(u)k] Turk; ৎমাহমান (turk); ৎইর [tīr] arrow (tīr); ৎরিক [tārīkh] date (time) (tārix); etc.

Medial: আতর [atōr] otto (śitr); আতরা঍ [atōrafi] fire-works (ātāś-bāți); আলবাই [albat] certainly (albattah); আলাল [ettal] summons (ātalā); শরহাই [ʃoetan] devil (saštān); কোপা [kōpta] meat-balls in gravy (koftah); গেপার, গেপার [gepretur] arrest (giriftār); কেভাব [ketāb] book (kitāb), etc.

Final: মোট [maut] death (maut); বোলর [doulot] riches (daulat); ওকাঁ [okolot] pleading (wakālat); ডাকত [tūkät] strength (tāqat); ডেকত [dēkot] signature (dast-xatt); সাধারণ [ʃaḍārān] identification (sināxt); বেল্লাই [bellat] commission, business (barāyat); বিলাই [bilot] Europe (wilāyat); ্মারফত [marfot] intermediacy (mafndat); ্মুফত [mufot] free of cost (mufat); ্হাজাি [hājat] jail, custody (hājat); ্শর্ত [ʃart] condition (sart); etc.

Final ত is optionally softened to [d] in a few words, e.g., বাবাই [babāi] heads, grounds (babat); বাণ [bāṇ] verse (bait); মোহুদ [mohud] strong, enduring (mazbut); গল [gol] fault, mistake (galt); জুবুদ [jubud] punished (jabt < dābt); সবুদ [ʃabud] witnesses (*sabut < ʃubut); etc.

337. Persian < d > occurs as d [d] in Bengali.

Initial: দাক [dáka] one time (dāfah); দরকার [dārkār] necessity (darkār); দরিয়া [dóriya] river (daryā); দাঙ [dāŋ] mark, stain (dāŋ); দোকান [dokān] shop (dōkān, dukān); দোকান, দোকান [dūk, -ok] brain > pride (dimāg); দীন [dīn] religion (dīn); দোরাজ [dāraʃt] long (darāz); দোরু [dōru] wine (dārū); দুর্বীহ [durbin] telescope (dūr-bin); etc.

Medial: কোদা [koda] God (xudā); আদর [adāb] polished manners (ṣadab); উর্দু [urdu] the Urdu speech (urdū); তামাদূ [tāmāndā] barred by limitation (tamāndī); কালন্দার [kalondor] mendicant (qalandar); ইশায় [iʃaʃi] witness (iʃādi); বাদল [badal] exchange (badal); বাদাল [bədustə] tolerate (bar-dāst); বন্ধু [bonduk] ripe (bandūq); মোদাব [moedaʃt] flour (maidah); etc.
Final: ṭįdd, ṭind [idd] the ‘Id festivals (idd); ḡīdd [gadd] limit (hadd); ḫoṛād, ḫoṛā [phorad, phid] importance (zidd < dīdd); ḫārūd [barud] gun-powder (bārūd); ḫūnīāxād, ḫoṇa [boni < boned] foundation, plinth (bunyād); ḥārīād [phoriad] petition, appeal (faryād); ẖād [ba:d] subtraction (ba’d); ᱞarī [phėrd] list (fard); ḫīmād [ḵād] imprisonment (qaid); ḫoṛī [rofīd] receipt (rasīd); ḫoṛād [rofīd] rations, food-stuff (rasd); ḫagād [naqīd] cash, ready money (naqīd); ḥātārād [lavībārd] lapis lazuli (lājaward); ḫud [fud] interest on money (sūd); ḫoṛī [roddi] worthless (as of goods) (raddī); etc.

In सिन्दूख [śindhiuk], beside सिन्दूक [śinduk] chest, box (śindūq), we have aspiration of ķ d. ķ

Final d is unvoiced in a few cases: ʤāt [tait] aid, voucher (tārid); ḫoṛād [phora] bleeding by cutting a vein (fasd); ḫād [maad] help (mādād); ḫoṛī [maffid] beside मोरी [maffid] mosque (maṣjid); etc.

- d is cerebralised in डिफी [ḍifi] a tract (dih), डेग, डेकी [ḍeg, ḍekji] metal cooking pots (ḍeg, ḍeg-ci, ḍeg).

- d is dropped in some words: ṭoṣādgar [ostoṣgar] master craftsman > तोसाद-गर (ustād-gar); नोरी [nogiri] nearness (nazādīk); ḫोंखाड beside खोंखाड [khoṅkād < khond(ə)kād] teacher > a title (xwand-kār); ḫeṅchini [reboneṇi] China rhubarb (ravand-eṇī). It is assimilated in बडा [bādā] virious (bādā< -dā).

An intrusive [d] is found in तुडुर [tuurd] area to bake loaves (tāurī, tannūr).

338. Early Persian ķ became ;z, or was restored to d in later Classical Persian and Modern Persian (see p. 362). It has had a two-fold treatment in the Indian languages, either as a [ʒ] (for the z value), or as a dental stop (for the d, ķ value).

Examples: कागाठ paper gave an Old Nepal form कायागाठ, Hindi, Marathi कागाठ, Assamese काकाठ, Bengali कাগাঠ [kagōti] a paper-making caste, beside Bengali কাগাঙ [kagōng]; xiḍmat service is found as খেষ্মত [kheṣmat] in Late Middle Bengali, besides খেদমত, খেমত [khemat, khedmat]: cf. Anglo-Indian kitmutgar servant, table servant = xiḍmah-gar; guḍār, guḍāstan to pass time gives Bengali গুডঘাঁনা [gūḍhōnā], beside Marathi गुडारूँ; ziyādati excess through a
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stage *ziyāzātī is the source of जीति [rasti], also found in other Indian languages, Aryan and Dravidian; *qawā'id > qawā'id *rules, processes is the source of कोयांग [karoq] military drill. In Late Middle Bengali, we have names of places like सम्बाबाज [sambabaja], सिलिमबाज [silkimabaja], फतेहबाज [photehabaja] etc., beside forms in -d [-d], for *sayyad-ābād, salīm-ābād, fath-ābād. The Arabic word *taqādah seems to have become taqādah in Persian, whence we have तागाद in MB., now = फजल [phaddol], and *Khīḍr as तिढीर [khidir].

[V] The Persian Labial Stops [p, b], and Denti-labial Spirant [f].

339. Persian *p remains in Bengali.

Initial: पीर [pi:r] a saint (pir); पिलखान [pilkhano] elephant stables (pilxanah); पोलाओ [polao] rice and meat with butter (palaw); पोज [pajom] wool (pasam); MB. पातिशाह [patija:io] emperor (pati:ah) (the NB. बादशा [badja] is from the Hindostani modification of the Persian word); परवान [poroqa], beside परवा [poroqa] mandate, order (parwānah); पनीर [panir] cheese (panir); परौंबर [paoumbor] prophet (paqgambar); पियाज [piyaq] onion (piyaz); etc.

Medial: ओपास [opas] returning (wāpas); सोपरद [so-pard] committing, handing over (supurd); नापाति [napati] pear (napati); निर्पेश [nirpeq] gem on turban (sar-pēc); etc.

Final: तोप [top] cannon (tōp).

340. Persian *b remains.

Initial: बाना [banda] slave (bandah); बास्त [basta] packet (basta); बाहर [bahr] sea > width (bahr); बाक़ी [baki] remainder (baqī); बागिचा [bagicha] garden (bagcach); बाहरव [bahirav] brave (bahādur); बुरादर [buradar] brother, caste-fellow (baradar); बाबर [bābar] in front, straight up to (barā-bar); बेलोरी [belorri] glass, crystal (billaurī); etc.

Medial: बुलबुल [bulbul] nightingale; मौलाना [mohani] apricot (xobanī); बरबाद [bārābar] wasted, ruined (barbad); जोबा [jōbba] a loose robe
(jubbah); জবাব [জবাব] speech, word (zabān); কাবাব [কাবাব] roast meat (kabāb); আবুর [আবুর] honour (āb-rū); কবর [কবর] Akbar; কবর [কবর] grave (qabr); জদ [জদ] punishment (gabt < dābt); etc.

Final: আজ [আজ] strange; বাদ [বাদ] door > head of expenditure (bāb); আসবাব [আসবাব] furniture (asbāb); নবাব [নবাব] Nabāb (nawāb); জবাব [জবাব] reply (jawāb); জনাব [জনাব] your honour! (janāb); হিসাব [হিসাব] accounts (hisāb); কেতাব [কেতাব] book (kitāb); etc.

Final and medial < b > in some cases becomes [p]: খারাপ [খারাপ] bad (xarāb); হপর beside হবর [খোপর, খোবর] news (xabr); গাপ [গাপ] beside গায়েব [গায়েব] secret (gaib); গোলাপ [গোলাপ] rose (gulāb); শরাপ [শরাপ] wine (শরাব); মেরাপ [মেরাপ] temporary roofing of mats (mihrāb); তলাপ beside তলব [তলাপ, তলাব] wages, summonses (tālab); cf. also রোপ্ত [রোপ্ত] habit, familiarity (rābt).

Final < b > is found as [m] in a few words: e.g., MB. গলিম [গলিম] conqueror, enemy (গলিব); বিমাজিম [বিমাজিম] by reason of (bi-maunjib).

< b > is assimilated in নিসিপুর [নিসিপুর] name of a place (Nasibpur); and it is probably dropped in the personal name নোফিম [নোফিম] (= nasib-rām ?).

In হস্ত {[হস্ত]} sānp (শৃবাস), we have vocalisation of < b >.

341. Persian < f >. Initially, medially and finally, it became ফ [ph] in Bengali: but initially, [ph] often changes to a spirant [f] or [ɾ]; medially, it generally remains [ph], but occasionally it is deaspirated, and [f, ɾ] modification of intervocal [ph] is also quite common.

Examples Initial: ফরাক, ফারাক [ফরাক, ফারাক] distance, space intervening (farq); ফকিব [ফকিব] mending (faqīr); ফাহ্স [ফাহ্স] paper lantern; glass dome of lamp (fānūs); ফলান [ফলান] so-and-so (fulān); ফিরিঙ্গি [ফিরিঙ্গি] light blue colour (frīzāb); ফোয়ার [ফোয়ার] artificial fountain (fawwārah); ফেজ [ফেজ] army (fauj); ফসল [ফসল] crops (fasl); ফরিয়াদ [ফরিয়াদ] petition (faryād); ফরাম [ফরাম] mandate, order (farmān); ফিনিকিয়া [ফিনিকিয়া] Portuguese, Eurasian (firanjī); etc.

Medial: আপিন, আপিং, আপিম, আপিম [আপিম] opium (afṣūm); কোইফিহাত [কোইফিহাত] excuses (kaifīyat); কাফের [কাফের] infidel (kāfir); আপসেস, আফ- [আফ-] regrets (afsōs); খলিফা [খলিফা] the
Caliph (xaltfah); तुफान [tuphan] storm at sea (tufān); तुरपन [turpun] awl (turfān); तोफा [topha] fine, excellent (tuḥfah); खा, खाना [kha(p)pa] angry (xafā); लेफोफा [lephopho] envelope (lifāfah); लेफा [monpho] gain (munafa); बरी, बरी [borp(h)i] cream ice, sweetmeat of sugar and cream (barfi); रिफ, रिपु [rip(h)u] sewing (rafū); कुलु [kulup] padlock (quf); सुपारिफ [jupari] recommendation (sifāriš); MB. तपस [topaʃ] search, enquire (tafaḥhus); etc.

* ft * becomes [pt]: गरेस्तार, ग्रेस्तार [g(e)reptar] arrest (giriftār); दोपर [dɔptor] book (daftar); रोपनी [rɔptani] export (raftani); बोर [bɔptɔ] woven stuff, a kind of silk stuff (bāftah); तपा [tapta] a fine silk or woollen stuff (tāftah); बाजुरिपट [baʃuɾeptɔ] confiscated (bāz-yāft); दरियाँ प [doriaptɔ] enquiry (daryāft); हप [hɔpta] week (haftah); etc.

Final < f > [ph] is commonly found in NB. as [p], and at times as [b]: e.g., तरफ, तरफ [torop(h)] side (taraf); ओराफ, -प [oakɔp(h)] religions trust (waqf); खेलप [khelup] contrary (xilāf); गेलाप, गेलाप, गेलेब [gelap, gelab, gelab] covering, sheath (gilāf); तक्लिफ, तक्लिफ [taklip(h), toklib] trouble, suffering (taklīf); बरफ [borop(h)] ice, snow (barf); बेकुब [bekub < *beukuph] foolish, idiot (be-wuqf); मोकुब [mokub] settled, fixed (mauqūf); सफ, साप [ʃa:p(h)] clean, pure (sāf); सेरएफ, सेरएफ, सेरएफ [ʃeɾep(h), šre:l(h)] only, merely (sīf); हलफ, हलप [holop(h)] oath (half); हरफ, हरफ [hɔrap(h)] letter of the alphabet (harf); सजाब [ʃajāb] border, fringe (sanjāf, sajāf); etc.

In the NB. word ताबास as in ताब-ताबास [tɔttɔtaboʃ] enquiries with presents of sweets, fruits, etc. = MB. तपस [topaʃ] search, we have change of < f > to [b] (tafaḥhus): see p. 213, foot-note.

In the word सत्री as in सत्री आम [ʃoʃ(h)əri əm] pear, quava, lit., mango that has travelled, we have change of < f > intervocal to [b(h)] in Eastern Bengali (safari).

Persian < v >: see infra, under the Semi-vowel [w].

[VI] The Nasals: Velar [ŋ], Alveolar [n], Labial [m].

342. The sound of [ŋ] occurs in Persian only before < k, g > and < q >, and it is written ० < n >. [ŋ] as a rule is preserved in Bengali.
Persian Nasals: ‘N’; Nasalisation

‘ng’ = [ŋg] of Persian is ordinarily reduced to [ŋ], and before another consonant, in a few words, this [ŋ] is altered to [n]. Examples: آنگر [anərg] grapes (angur); پریکی [piriŋi] Portuguese, Eurasian (firangi); انگریز [ingreʃ] English (ingrész, angréz); اورنگژبر, اوئرنج بر etc. [oɾonʃib, oɾonʃeb] beside آورنژبر [oɾonʃeb] Aurangzeb; جهان نام [d̪ʒaːn-namə, d̪ʒaːnəmə] the Jang-namah, a poem on the Kerbela battle; etc.

343. Persian ‘n’ ordinarily remains in Bengali, but there are cases where it nasalises the contiguous vowel and is itself no longer existent as a separate sound.

Initial: ناکر [nɔkɔɾ] servant (naukar); نام [noːmʃɔ] prayers (namāz); نورم [norɔm] soft (narm); نویب [noʃib] luck (nastib); ناکتا [nɔktə] a dot (nuqtah); ناتوآن [natoan] weak, feeble (natawan); ناشیر [naʃir] overseer (nāzir); نیسان [niʃan] banner (nišān); etc.

Medial: خنجر [kʰonʃɔɾ] dagger (xanjār); تندور [tʊndur] oven (tannūr); پانز [pɔŋʃɔ] hand with five fingers, grip, mark with the hand (panjāb); سنکت [ʃonaktə] identification (šināxt); نونکا [monɔpha] gain (munāfā); دنیا [duniə] world (dunyā); etc.

Final: ایمان [imɔn] faith (tman); کانون [kanun] laws, customs (qānūn); کامان [kaman] bow > gun (kamān); خون [kʰun] blood > murder (xūn); دیوان [deoan] manager (dīwān); etc.

Persian ‘n’ also becomes [l] in a few words (see pp. 545, 546 supra): لک [loʃk] thread, twine (nax); لکسان [loʃʃan] loss (nuqsān); عابلون [aʃluʃ] ebony (abnūs).

344. Nasalisation of Vowels from ‘n’. In Arabic, the ‘tanwin’, or ‘n’ affix of indefiniteness which was added to nouns, probably early became a nasalisation (although the full ‘-n’ is still preserved in Central Arabian dialects): i.e. ‘-un, -an -in’ became ‘*-ũ, -ã, -i’; but this is not preserved in Persia or India, as the short final vowels of Arabic were dropped. Nasalised vowels are unknown to Persian and Turkī. In India, in the Hindōstānī area, long vowels of Persian (Perso-Arabic and Turkī) when followed by ‘n’ are optionally pronounced as nasalised, i.e., either as ‘-ān, -ān, -ūn’, or as ‘-ã, -i, -ã’. This ‘nūn-i-gunnah’, or nasalising
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_u_ as a rule is not found in Bengali, but there are a number of words in Bengali which are based on a Hindostani < gunnah > pronunciation: e.g., মিহার, মিহর, মেহর [miḥa, meḥa] a title of respect > a common term in addressing a Mohammedan (miyān); খান [khān] a title (xān); জাহাঙ্গীর < জহাঙ্গীর [j̄ahāŋgīr] - refuge of the world (jahān-paṅghā); জাহাঙ্গীর [j̄ahāŋgīr] land ( zamīn); বিন্ধ [miḥi = *miḥi < *miḥi] fine (mahīn); বানসানা [khanjama < -jamā] butler (xān-sāmān); আবর্ণ [abrō] running water > a fine muslin (āb-i-rawān); সীরি [ʃiṛ < šiṛ] Shirin, the beloved of Farhād (strī); চিত্তি [kāʃṭi] scissors (qāinci); etc. The group < -wān > of Persian became [wā, oā], written ʃ in Late MB.: e.g., the Musalman Bengali spellings নোসরাজ [noʃərəʒ, -wā] = the Persian King Nōs:rwān; বন্ধর [বন্ধর -wā] departed (rawānah).

A pre-consonatal < n > after a short vowel also nasalises the vowel: e.g., ঠালা [ʃōda] subscription (candah); হিন্দু [hidu, hēdu] Hindu (hīndū, hēndū); গোলক, গোলক্কু [golkō, gūl-] candied roses (gul-qand).

Spontaneous nasalisation is also found in a few words: হামির [hāmir] hem, border, edging (hāṣyah); হুম [hœm] senses (hōm); হিসিএর [hīsiər] clever (hōṣyār); ৰকা, ৰকে [rūka, rōko] hookah (huqqah); গোঁ, গোঁা, গোঁতা [gōːt, gōː(t)ta] plunging (as of a paper kite in the sky) (gaut, gautah); গোঁ [pəkš] twist, wrench (pēa); ৰেচকা [bočka] baggage (boçeḥ); কট্টা [kūtka] big stick, cudgel (qutqah); পোঁজ, পোঁজ [pəkš, pəkš] onion (piyāz); ফিদ [pifad] danger, difficulty (fasād); পোঁজ [pāʃ] brick-kiln (pazāwah); গোঁায়ারা [gōːra] the taziyahs in the Muḥarram festival (gahwārah cradle), also গোমরা [gomrā]; cf. also সনদ [ʃənəd] beside সনদ [ʃənd] letters-patent (sanad); মুখলদ [murglo] embroidered rug (*makhwand < masnad); and সাজাব [ʃoʃəʃ] border (sajaf, sanjaf).

345. Persian < m > remains. [m] before [b] is written ʃ < n > in many words in Perso-Arabic.

Initial: মাল পুন (mazā); মাহ পুন (maqz); মাদার [maḍə] fine flour (maidah); মিনার [minr] minaret (minār); মিনার a title (miyān); মালক [mofal] quarter, wing of house (maḥal); মালক [malek] proprietor, king (mālik); etc.
PERSIAN 'M' AND 'R' IN BENGALI

Medial: ইমাম [imam] religious guide (imām); জমা [gumbaz] tower (gumbaz, gunbād); কামান [kaman] bow > gun (kamān); তমাজ [tamāj] fun, joke (tamāsah); তমাদী [tamadi] barred by limitation (tamādi); পোন্ডল [pōnmal] destroyed, crushed (paimāl); রুমাল [rumal] handkerchief (rūmāl); মুক্তমা [mokāddōma] lawsuit (muqaddamah); etc.

Final: সোলাম আলেকম [ṣalām alekom] the Mohammedan salutation, 'Peace be with you' (ṣalām ʿalaikum); হাকিম [ḥakīm] physician (ḥakīm); হারাম [ḥarām] forbidden (harām); কৃষ্ণ [kṛṣṇ] established, fixed (qīṣīm); জলদ [jāl] oppression (jūlm); মোহাম মারা [mokām] abode (muqām); etc.

When it occurs with [h], [m] is doubled: আহমদ [ahammad] the name (ahmad); আহমাক [ahamak] fool (ahmaq).

In খাঁ [khaː] shrath (= xām ?), we have a possible case of change of [m] to [p].

Nasalisation through [m]: খোড়ারী [khōrī], also খোড়াড়ী [khōrī] lassitude after hard drinking (xumārī).

[VII] The Liquids, [r, l].


Initial: রবাব [robar] a stringed instrument (rabāb); রোহা [roka] settlement (raf); রমজান [romjān] the Ramadan festival (ramażān < ramadān); রাস [rafə] reins (rās: ? MIA. *raṣṣī < OIA. raṣmī); রুপ, রিং [rip(h)u] sewing, darning (rafū); রুজ [rufusc] placing a complaint (rujū); রোজ [roːʃu] day, daily wages (rūz); রশম [reʃm] silk (rēsam); etc.

Medial: 伊朗, -ণ [iran] Persia (irān); এক্রার [ekrār] acknowledgment (iqrār); ফরার [ferrā] abscording (firār); পারসী, ফারসী [p(h)arʃī] Persian (pārsī, fārsī); চরক, চরক [chark(h)u] spinning wheel (carxah); নরম [nørəm] soft (narm); শরম, সরম [ʃəɾəm] shame (šarm); বর্গী [borigi] Maratha raider (bārgī); etc.

Final: ইনার [anar] pomegranate (anār); খাতির [khotir] respect (xātir); তকরার [takrār] discussion, wrangle (takrār); তৈয়ার, তৈয়ার [toiar, toer] ready, prepared (taiyār); তীর [tiːɾ] arrow (tīr); পীর [piːɾ] saint (pīr old person); etc., etc.
In a few words, Persian <r> occurs as [r]: e.g., निशाद स[न्यारा] sal-ammoniac (नाशदार); मौल [मोलम] ointment (मरहम); देवल [देर] wall (दीवार); जाल [ज्याल] huge earthen jar to hold water etc. (जर्रह); माह स्त. as in दागन-चेव [माजुफ चेव] notorious thief (मशहूर); कसर [कसर] beside कसर [कसर] physical exercise (कस्रत); etc.

Persian <r> also occurs as ड [r] in some words: e.g., तागर [तागर] mason’s lime-pit (तागा); तौर [तौर] plume, errest, nosegay (तरह); खत्ह [खहरा] rough draft of a document (खसरह); मोड़ कोर < मरिच [मोरीज, मोरीज < *मरियुज] rust (मोरह, मुरह); कढ़र beside करार [करार] agreement (करहर); बोर्डर beside बोर्डर [बोर्डरी, बोर्डरी] morning effects of hard drinking (खमरी); etc.

There is dropping of the <r> in a number of words, in a preconsonantal and final position (see p. 541): e.g., सब्रा beside सब्र [जोड़दर, जोड़र] chief; क्‍हेड़ [क्हेड़] head (सर-दर); मृद [मृदा] man, strong man (मरद); ताकदनी, कारणी [सब्र दर] property, power, skill (करदनी); लिडा, लिडा [जिनी, जिनी] sweets, milk etc. offered to a saint (जितनी); सेलोत [सेलोट] office (सर-रिस्तह); मोहम [मोहम] the Muharram festival (मुहर्रम); मुहर [मुहर] clerk (मुहर्रर); मोकर [मोकर] permanent (मुकर); etc.

An intrusive [r] also is found: मोकर्दा beside मकदा [मकर्दा, मकदमा] lawsuit (मुकदमा); मौसम beside मौसम [मौसम, मौसम] season (मौसम): see p. 542.

347. Persian <l> remains in Bengali.

Initial: लकड़ लकड़ [लक्कड़] troops (लाक्कड़); लागाम लागाम [लागाम] bridle (लागम); लाम के क [लाक] worthy, fit (लाक); लाल [लाल] ruby, red (लाल); लाई [लाई] corpse (लाई); लागा मन [लागाम] hardpressed, at the last gasp (हिंदोस्तानी लागा मन); लाह [लाह] a wink, a moment (लाह); etc.

Medial: आला [आला] Good (अला); सिल [सिल] dirt, impurity (सिलल); ईस्लाम ईस्लाम, ईस्लाम [इस्लाम, ईस्लाम] the Mohammedan religion (इस्लाम); दालल [दलल] broker, middle-man (दलल); नौल नौल [नौल] complaint (नौल); तालास, तालास [तालास, तालास] search (तालास); फिलहाल [फिलहाल] at the present day, now (फिलहाल); कला [कला] boasting, quarrelling (कला); कलम [कलम] the
Mohammedan creed (kalimah); কুলে [kulle] in its sum total, in all, all told (kull-, kullihi); etc.

Final: আমল [amol] rule, tenure (‘samal); কবুল [kobul] admitted, agreed (qabūl); হের, দেশ [di:l, de:l] heart (dil); হালাল [halal] lawful (halāl); হাস [ha:l] condition (hāl); আমল [ajol] original, pure (asol); খেলাল [kheal] whim (xiyāl); গজল [gaʃɔl] a song, a melody (gazal); etc., etc.

[i] and [n] are interchangeable in Bengali (see pp. 545-546): e.g., নাগার, নাগাদ beside লাগার, লাগায়েঃ [nagat, nagad, nagat(e)]: to the end of, inclusively, approximately (li-qayat > laqayat); নেড় beside লেড় [nʃkɔɾ, laʃkɔɾ] troops > a surname (laʃkar); নেড় beside লেড় [nəʃ(b)or, laʃ(b)or] anchor (langar); etc.

[VIII] The Sibilants: Palatal [ʃ, ž], Dental [s, z].

348. Persian [s, ʃ] fell together in Bengali, in which they normally become [ʃ], written শ, ছ, স, সৈ, সৈ, সৈ. In numerous instances, [ʃu, ʃ] were arrived at by the Bengali [ʃ] (see p. 551). In the nexus < st >, however, the dental sibilant remained, and Persian < št > [ʃ] was changed to [st] in Bengali (see p. 546). Persian [s] represents not only the native Iranian sound but also Arabic [s, š, s].

Some Mohammedan writers seek to bring in the Persian dental [s] sound, and following the East Bengal pronunciation, they write it ছ < ch = s >: e.g., ওহমান for ওহামান = “ušmān”, ছেবে ছাদেক = সেবে সাদেক = < subh-i-sādiq > (see p. 550), etc. This is against the spirit of Bengali phonetics, especially when naturalised words and names with স [ʃ] are interfered with.

Initial: সন [ʃonad] deed (sanad); সন [ʃon] year (san); সরাই [ʃoraí] (sarāi); সাবেক [ʃakek] old (sābiq); সেপাই [ʃepai] soldier (sipāhī); সাহা [ʃaʃɔ] punishment (sazā); সুরকে ফরকি [ʃurki] brick-dust (surx red); সালিফ [ʃalif] third party > arbitrator (sāliš < thāliθ); সাদ [ʃodɔr] head-quarters, metropolis (sadr); সাব্বর [ʃobur] waiting (sabr patience); সানক [ʃonok] plate (sañnak); সহ [ʃo] signature (sañih); শাহ [ʃaʃ] king (sāh); সাবস দেব [ʃubɔ] bravo! (sabās); সরব সরব [ʃorbot] sherbet (šarbat); শাহ [ʃohɔr] city (šahr); etc. etc.
Initially we have [ smarty] for the Persian sibilant in a few words: چربی [c̥hobi] portrait, picture (šabīh: cf. Sanskrit chāvī beauty); چنین beside ساین [c̥hānī, c̥ānī] second (hearing, revision) (sānī < θānī); چنل [c̥ḥal] inundation (sail-āb); چنکا, چنکا [c̥irka, c̥irḳa] vinegar (sirkah); etc. In سرن [sern(h)], beside سگ [s̥er(h)] only (sīf), we have change to a dental sibilant before [ɾ].

Medial: خانسما [khan̥s̥ama] butler (xān-i-sāmān); مسلمان [m̥s̥lmān] Mohammedan (musalmān); معمول [t̥m̥̄m̥âjuk] bond (tamassuk); مدرسة [madrasa] Arabic and Persian school (madrāsah); آسمان [as̥mān] sky (asmn); مورفی [morfir] hereditary (tenure) (maurūsī < mawrūθ-); آسل [as̥ol] true, pure (as̥l); کشایی [kas̥ai] butcher (kas̥eī); فراست [phur̥f̥ot] leisure (fur̥sat); رسان [ras̥an] rations (rasad); خشی [kh̥š̥i] castrated goat (xas̥̄n); ایجاد [i̥jad̥i] witness (i̥sh̥ād̥i); مسجد [mas̥j̥d̥] torch (maš̥ād̥); پول [p̥ol] wool (paš̥m); حمسه [hameš̥a] always (hameš̥a); پشا [p̥sha] business, trade (pēš̥a); آشنا [aśn̥a] a gold coin (aśrafī); etc.

[smarty] for [ʃ] in the interior of a word is also found: e.g., آکسار [ak̥šar, ḳaškar] frequently (ak̥šar < ak̥̄dar); میل [mil] procession (mi̊l < mi̊l); چیزها [c̥i̥z̥ha] story, scandal (qis̥s̥ah); دستور [dost̥or] embezzlement (tasarruf); مسند [mas̥n̥̄d̥] embroidered velvet rug, ‘musnad’ (masnad).

Persian *st* remains [st] in Bengali: گوست [gost] meat (gōst); کشتی [kisti] instalment (qisti); دستور [dost̥or] signature (dast-xāt); وحشت [vohšt] intermediacy, connexion (wastah); ایستگاه [istog̥a] resignation (istaḵāf); دوست [dost] friend (dōst); بسته [bosta] packet (bastah); هستنست [hōst̥n̥̄e] final solution (hast-nīst); etc.

Persian *št* become [st] in Bengali: گوست [gost] meat (gōst); کشتی [kisti] boat (kisti); وحشت [wōšt] endance (bar-dāst); کشتی [kusti] wrestling (kusti); etc.

Final sibilant: آبوش [abuʃ] ebony (abnūs); لاس [las] body (lās); حدوش [fodiʃ] tradition, cue (hādiš < hādiθ); گوست [oarʃ] heir (wāriš < wāriθ);
PERSIAN ‘S, Š’ AND ‘Z’ IN BENGALI

... [kha:] private (xās); [khalâ:] free (xalâs); [kīsmī:] raisins (kīsmīs); [kharōg:] hare (xar-gōs); [bok(h):] largetse, tip (baxāsīs); [balapō:] quilted shawl (bālapōs); etc.

[cfh, cf] for final sibilant: [nakc] cancelling (nāqīs); [tʃh] broken and scattered (tahs-naḥs); MB. [tarkaʃ, -kof] quiver for arrows (tarkaš), beside the form with the sibilant. In Musalmān Bengali, Persian [s] is written ছ, and generally pronounced [s], following the East Bengali habit; and Persian [ʃ] is written শ, স, স. The difference in the original sounds in Persian loan-words is thus sought to be maintained, through the influence of the Maulavīs, but common West Bengali and Standard Bengali ignore it. The ছ orthography is partly responsible for introducing the [cfh] rather than [ʃ] pronunciation in a few words in the Standard Colloquial, in which the [s] value of ছ is unknown.

349. Persian [z] representing both the native sound, and Iranian [ʒ], as well as Arabic [z, ʒ, ζ (= ʕw), ζ (= dl)] becomes ʃ [ʃ] in Bengali: In East Bengali, this [ʃ], as well as [ʃ] from Persian ژ [dʒ], becomes [dz, z].

Initial: [ʃοkham] word, word (zaxm); [ʃοban] speech, word (zabān); [ʃomi] land (zamin); [ʃori] gold, luce (zari); [ʃr] prolongation, continuation (zor); [ʃulpi] side-lock (zulf); [ʃer] a little (zarā<darā); [ʃimma] custody (ẓimmah<ṭimmah); [ʃilu] district (zīla<ṭīla); [ʃulum] oppression (zulm); [ʃor] ʃurui] urgeal (zarūri<ṭarūr); [ʃer] [ʃor] force (zor); etc.

Medical: [ʃiʃat] honour (ṭizzat); [ʃου] weight (wazn); [ʃaʃada] prince (ṣāh-zādah); [ʃir] minister (wazīr); [ʃmar] taxes (zaxānah); [ʃer] spirit, temper (mīzāj); [ʃmar] excuse (mūr<ṭūr); [ʃad] judge (qāzi<qādī); [ʃer] [ʃar] presents (mīrab<ṭīrab); [ʃar] sight (naẓr); [ʃāhir] present (ḥāhir<ḥādīr); etc.

Final: [ʃaʃada] approximation (andāzthrower); [ʃoz] fulcon (bāz); [ʃaʃ] ship (jahāz); [roʃ] day > daily wages (rōz); [ʃog] brains (magz); [ʃ] debt (qarz<qard);
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There is hardening of final \( j [f] \) \(< [z] \) in a few words: کراچی \( [k̡aʃ̡i] \) beside کراچی \( [k̡oʃ̡i] \) bond, receipt \( (qabz < qabd) \); کراچی beside کراچی \( [k̡aʃ̡i], -əʃ̡i] \) piper \( (k̡aʃ̡a, -ə) \); and cf. کا \( [kɔʃ] \) below.

350. Persian \( j = \langle x \rangle [xi] \). It is a comparatively rare sound in Persian itself. The normal Indian equivalent would be \( [z] > [f], -d. \)

In the word کا \( [kɔʃ] \) for کا \( [k̡oʃ̡i] \) a small irregular piece attached to a regular plot we probably have a Persian word in \( \langle x \rangle : \langle ka \rangle \) (also \( \langle kaj \rangle \) crooked, curved, irregular.

[IX] The Semi-vowels \( \langle y \rangle \) and \( \langle w \rangle \).

351. Persian \( \langle y \rangle \) was probably both a spirant \( [j] \) and a semi-vowel \( [i, j] \). Both the values are absent in Bengali.

Initially, Persian \( \langle y - \rangle \) becomes \( i \) \( [i] \) (see p. 533): \( \langle i - \rangle \) remembrance \( (yād) \); \( \langle iar \rangle \) friend, boon-companion \( (yār) \); \( \langle iunni \rangle \) Greek \( > \) Arabic \( (\text{system of medicine}) \) \( (yūnān) \); \( \langle ifudi \rangle \) Jew \( (yahūdī) \); \( \langle iup(h) \rangle \) a name \( (yūsuf) \); \( \langle iakub \rangle \) a name \( (yaqūb) \); etc. In \( \langle akhni \rangle \) soup, broth \( (yaxnī) \) we have dropping of \( \langle y - \rangle \); and \( \langle ya - \rangle \) is assimilated to \( \langle e \rangle \) in \( \langle efidi \rangle \) a name \( (yatid) \).

Interior \( \langle -yā- \rangle \) becomes \( e, \, y, \, [e] \) in Bengali, which generally forms a diphthong with a preceding vowel or is assimilated or dropped: \( e.g., \langle aenda \rangle \) coming \( (āyandah, āyindah) \); \( \langle kephāet \rangle \) benefit \( (kifāyat) \); \( \langle joiod, jo(i)ed \rangle \) a Saiyad \( \langle saiyad \rangle \); \( \langle doeom, doem \rangle \) second \( (dōyam) \); \( \langle jeom \rangle \) third \( (siyam) \); \( \langle bi-lat \rangle \) Europe \( (wilāyat) \); \( \langle paēa \rangle \) leg \( (of furniture) \) \( (pāyah) \); \( \langle nehāreng \rangle \) excessively \( (nihāyat) \); \( \langle boēa \rangle \) seller \( (*bāyā, *bāyē < bāy) \); etc.

In the group \( \langle iyā - \rangle \), the \( \langle y \rangle > [i] \) is a mere glide, which is dropped in quick speech \( [iəa > ia, ea, ea, eə] \) (see pp. 412, 417): \( \langle miyād \rangle \), \( \langle meyād, māyā \rangle \) term, term of imprisonment \( (miyād) \); \( \langle jāynd \rangle \) چیئار \( \langle j̡eada, j̡e(e)da \rangle \) much \( (ziyādah) \); \( \langle j̡alifet \rangle \) forger \( (j̡aliliyat) \); \( \langle toidr, toer \rangle \) ready \( (taiyār) \); \( \langle peala, p̡a̡ra \rangle \)
PERSIAN ‘Y’ AND ‘W’ IN BENGALI

pee[elə] cup (piyālah); teat caution (ihtiyāt), etc.; cf. also ēkhtirār,

- ēkhtir [ektear, ektēr, ekter, ektar] authority (ixtiyār).

- -yā-, yāh - after a consonant becomes [iə, eə]: bāyeh [ba(h)ea] back-stitch (baxyah); takiya [takīa] bolster (takya); dunya [dunia] world (dunya); darya [doria] river (darya); buniad [buniad], also bāan [boned] foundation (bunyād); farisad [phoric] petition (faryād); hāa [hāfia] border of shawl (hāsya); etc.

Final - y - at the end of a syllable remains as [e], and occasionally as [i]: e.g., bāar [bāre], also bār [bāri] place (bāy); bār [bār] judgment (rāy); pāyē, pāyēl [pāmāl, pāmāl] destroyed, crushed (pāy-māl); etc.


352. Persian - w - was probably both a semi-vowel [w, ū] and a spirant [v, v]. Both these articulations are represented in Bengali, the former by vowels, and the latter by b [b] (and in recent times by p [b, v, v]).

Initial - w -:

Persian - wā-, wū- > Bengali [o, o]: okal [oko] okulat advocacy (wakālat); okto, okta time (waqt); oghi, oghi, oshi kernel (wasī); oghi, oghi, oshi excuse (wastihāl); oghi, oghi, oshi reasons (wajmahāt); oghi, oghi, oshi weight (wazn); oli, oli, oli a name (wali); oghi, oghi, oshi a name (wazād): oghi, oghi, oshi place of occurrence (waqā > wūqā); oghi, oghi, oshi ablutions (wazū < wūdū); etc.

Persian - wā-, wū- > Bengali [u]: ukil pleader (wakil); ujiir minister (wazir); uli, uli, uli a name (wali); oghi, oghi, oghi realisation, recovery (of money) (wusul);

Persian - wā- > Bengali [oa]: this is recent: oka [oakoph] religious property (waqf); oshabī a sect (wahhābi);

- waḍā [waḍa] a stated period (waḍah). Persian - wā- is also found as [bō] in bagair [bagair] et cetera (waqairah) etc.
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Persian < wi- > = [vi-, vi] became [bi]: विलां बिलत [Europe (wilāyat); विदाि बिदाि farewell (widiça);
Persian < wā- > Bengali [oa]: ওয়াইচ, -ব [oakip, -b] knowing (wāqif); ওয়াপাস [oapāf] returning (wāpas); ওয়াশিল [oajil] collections and balances (vāsil); ওয়াজিব [oajib] necessary, proper (wājib); ওয়াস্তা [oasta] intermediary, reason, sake (wāstah), etc.

In Musalmānī Bengali, following the M.B. tradition, [oa] is written ৷ as well as ৷.

Interior < -w- >: it is found as the [o] glide, or as [u]; or following the spirant pronunciation it is changed to [b], mainly before [i, e]: e.g., আওরাজ [aorāj] sound (awāz); আবোবাব [aboob] heads of expenditure (abwāb); কাওরাজ [kāorāj] menœuvre, drill (qawāid); সেওরাজ, সেওরাজ [de(o)an] minister (diwān); সেওরাজ, সেওরাজ [fi(o)ae] without, in addition (siwāy); দাওরাজ [daoraj] medicine (dawā'); এওর [eoj < eoj] exchange (iważ < iwaļ); সেওরাজ [meoaj] fruits, dried fruits (mewāh); হাওর [hāora] air (hawā); হালওরাহ, also হালওরাহ [hulocri, hulori] sweet-meat maker (halwāi); হালওরাহ [hulori] a sweet-meat (halwā); তওরাজ > তোরাজ [tōakka, tōkka] care, recking (tawaquā); সওরাজ [soal] question (sawāl, suwāl); etc. আবাব [aobab], pronounced also [aobob] reply (jawāb); তোরাজ [tōorāj] enquiry (tajwīz); নবরে [norbē] a Dervish (darwēs); নবর [norb] a Nabob (nawwāb); নবির [nobi] writer (navīs); বাবরচি < বাবরচি [baburēj < baburēj] cook (bavarej); হালেল [habeli], also হালেল, হালেল [hulci, hulbi] mansion (haveli); মোলবি [moulobi] a Mohammedan scholar (maulavi); মুলতবি [multobi] adjourned, postponed (multavi); মুসাবিদ [mūsābida] draft (musavvada); বিরবে [rijabot] bribe (rištāt); ইসবি [isbi], beside ইসবি [isbi] Christian (pisavi); আলিরবি [alibori] a name (alivardī); পেশবাজ beside পেশবাজ [pejbañ, pejboñ] a dancing girl's gown (pēšvāz,
-bāz); সাগরে [tagari] money advanced to farmers (taqāvi); তববিল, তববিল [toshibil, tobil] treasury (tañvil); গরীবনেওয়াজ, -নবাজ [gorinne(o)añ, -neboñ] kind to the poor (qarib-navāz); etc.

< w > occurs as ৷ [bi, v, v] in some words, in the recent pronunciation and spelling, frequently through the English transliteration with < v >: e.g., মোলবি < maulabhī > [moulovi, -vi] Maulāvi; হাফেল < habheli >
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[flaveli] a mansion; igeria ﬀājnabhi [gōfūnūvī, -vi] a surname of Ghazna (gaznūvī); 师事务所 takabhi [takavī, -vi] teccavi grant; ｣ndābwesta ﬃnādbhēsta, a recent word = Zend-Aresta (zand-avastah); etc.

Interior ﬃn-w- is assimilated or dropped (cf. p. 349): e.g., bagan [bagan], Late MB. गंगोराई [bagoan] garden (bāgwān); नतात, beside नतात [natan, natoan] weak (nātawān); तकआ [tophat] distance (*tāfawāt, tafawut); उमदार, earlier उमदवार [umedar < *umedādār < umedādār] applicant, client (ummedwār); देवाल beside देवाल [deel, deel] wall (diwāl), also देश [deel, deel, deel]; रक beside रावाक, रोक [rōk < rōok, rook] ledge, platform of masonry (rawāq), see p. 403; पराना, पराना beside पराना [paranā, paranā, paranā] write from king or authority (parwānah); जहरं [jāhorāt < *jāhorāt] jewellery (jawardāt); सकेल [mokkel] client (in a law-suit) (muwaqqil); बेकू [bekub < *beukup] fool, idiot (be-wuqf); etc.

- w- becomes nasalised [w > m] through the proximity of - n - in a few words; see supra, p. 608; cf. also हामयदत, हामयदत [śama(n) dista] mortar and pestle (hāwan-dastāh); and गोर, गोर [gōrā, gomra] the empty biers carried in the Muḥarram procession (gahwārah cradle) shows spontaneous nasalisation of - w - : so also in पाज [pāja] brick-kila (*pāja < *pajāwā < pajawāh).

Final - w- remains as [o]: टालो [talao] tank (talāw, talāb); गोर [polao] pillar (pulāw, pilāv); देह [deo] a giant (in Musalmānī Bengali) (dew).

[X] Consonant Changes of a General Character.

353. Vocalisation of - y- and - w-, and hardening and softening of stops and affricates, have been touched upon before.

Metathesis.

Examples are: फरत [phoeta] prayers (*fāhita < fātīhah); पलत < पलत [polte < polita] wick (fatiłah); फौज [phojot] quarrelling, wrangling (*fāhizat < fādīhat); तकम [tokma] budge, crest (Turki tamga); दहरम बहरम [dāhorom mahorom] intermixture, familiarity (dar-ham bar-ham); लहम...
Elision (by Assimilation generally).

Elision of *y, w* has been noted before.

नज़र [mofjür] daily labourer (*mādzūr < mūzdur*); तम्सीद, बनीं [mofjid, -it] mosque (masjid); खोंकर, खंकर [khonkar, khengkar] a Mohammedan surname (xwand-kār); आखुन्जी [akhunjī] teacher (āxwandjī); रेबोन्तिनि [rebōnjini] China rhubarb (ravand-i-eini); लिल्जाङ [piljī] brass lamp on stand (fatil-sōz); नसिपुर [nasipur] a place-name (nasīb-pur); नसिराम [nasirām] a personal name (nasīb-rām); etc.

Double consonants are occasionally simplified (always so when final):

हक [ha:q] true (haqq); जस्स, जिड [ji:d, ji:d] importunity (zidd < didd); नोकर [mokrōr] confirmed (muqarrar); मुहरी [muflīr] clerk (muflārīr); अलबां [albat] certainly (albatāh); तमहर [tammājuk] bond (tamassuk); सेरेस्ता [ṣerestā] court office (sar-rīštah); मोटफर्का [mutfarriq] miscellaneous (mutafarriq); दंगल [dallāl] broker (dallāl); खत्ता [khata] notebook (xatt-hā); तोहरप [tohārup] embezzlement (tasarruf); etc.

In MB. जात [jōja] spy (jāsūs) there is loss of final *s*; and of *r* in बरगी [bargi] Maratha raider (bāgrī), मुहरी [muflīr] clerk (muflārīr).

Loss of pre-consonantal *r* has been noted before (p. 610).

Insertion of Consonants.

Euphonic insertion of consonants is found in a few words: e.g., of [d] in तोहर [tundur] oven (tanūr, tanūr); of [r] in मसूम [morfum] season (mausim), नाबर [nabār] law-suit (muqaddamah); of [f] in नाबत [naft] Indian musical band (naubat); and probably of [p] in चोरागोश्त for *χοραγός [choragōpt < gōta] crouching like a thief (*gōta*, *plunge*: influence of Skt. *gupta*).
In printing, we often find র, র্ত, র্ন for র, র্ত, র্ন < -rdd-, -jj-, -mm- > for < -dd-, -jj-, -mm- > etc.: e.g., হর্দ < হার্দার > for হুদ [হাদা] limit (hadd), তার্জব < তার্জেব > for তাজব [তাজব] strange (ta’ajjab), সাজ্জাদ < সাজ্জেজাদ > for সাজ্জাদ [টাজাদ] a name (sajjad); হার্মাশ < হার্মামাশ > for হার্মাম [হার্মাম] bath (harmām), কেরিহ < কেরিহ > for কেরিহ [kecerrah, kessa] story, scandal (qissah). This is generally met with in Musalmān Bengali printing. It is due to the fact that Bengali type sets were first prepared on the model of Sanskrit as written in Bengal, so that Prakritic groups of double consonants generally do not occur in ordinary fonts, and printers were obliged to be content with what was available,—apart from the tendency to regard the intrusive [র] as a learned characteristic (see p. 542).

Spontaneous doubling of consonants is not rare: আক্কেল [akkel] wisdom, sense (aql); আহ্মদ [aḥmad] beside the recent অহ্মেদ [ahmed] a name (aḥmad); আহ্মেদ [aḥmāq] fool (aḥmaq); খাপা [khappa] angry (xafa); এতেলা [ettela] summons (ita’ala); সোপর্দ ফোঁ [soporda] handing over, placing before (supurad); তালাক [tallak] divorce (talāq); কেল্লা [kella] fort (qil’a); কিশ্ম [kimmät] price (qimat); তুলাশ (tulāsh, tulaʃ) search (talas); হালাক [iałak] fatigued (halak); মেহরান [meharan] labour (mīnāt); মুখে মুখে মুখে (muk במוק מוק) in accordance with (bimaujib); etc.

Spontaneous nasalisation, presupposing the insertion of an < ন >, has been discussed before, p. 608.
CHAPTER VII

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: PORTUGUESE

354. An account of Portuguese activities in Bengal has been summarised by J. J. A. Campos (in his 'History of the Portuguese in Bengal,' Calcutta, 1919). The Portuguese first came to the province in 1517, and they exerted a very great influence down to 1668, when Shayista Khān destroyed their power at Chittagong. Before that the capture of Hugli by the Moghals in 1632 had put a stop to Portuguese aggrandisement in West Bengal. After the decline of their power and prestige as traders, pirates and conquerors, and controllers of the sea-board of Bengal, the Portuguese were content to remain in a humbler rôle and to make room for their rivals the Dutch, the English and the French; but Portuguese missionary activity continued, and Portuguese influence in Bengal was in a flourishing state down to the end of the 18th century. The Portuguese element in Bengali came in during the period extending from the latter part of 16th down to middle of the 18th century, or even later, when there were settled communities of Portuguese, or Portuguese speakers, at Hugli, at Chittagong, at Dacca, and at other places in the Delta. Already in the 'Caṇḍi-kāvya' of Mukunda-rāma (c.1580) we find the word हर्माड < hārmāḍ > or हारमाड < hāramāḍ > Portuguese pirate = Portuguese « armada ». The phonetic characteristics of the Portuguese loan-words show that they were borrowed during the Late MB. period. The extent of the Portuguese element in Bengali has been noted before (p. 214). It is quite likely that there were a good many Portuguese words in Bengali of the 17th and 18th centuries which are now lost, or are found as class-dialect words, specially pertaining to religion, among Bengali Christians whose ancestors were converted by the Portuguese and among Luso-Indians who have become Bengalised. Portuguese words (unlike a number of Persian and English words) came into Bengali through contact
between Portuguese and Bengali speakers, and not through the literary influence of Portuguese on Bengali. The words were therefore not transliterated, following some system. Dialectal phonetics also undoubtedly presented some slight variations in the Bengali forms. Folk etymology also played its part. The forms in the Standard Colloquial are taken into consideration, as these are the recognised ones. The general closeness of the Bengali loan-words to the original Portuguese forms, however, is striking.

Accounts of Modern Portuguese pronunciation are to be found in the paper by Henry Sweet (1883, in the 'Collected Papers,' Oxford, 1913, pp. 465-498); in Aníceto dos Reis Gonçalves Vianna's 'Portugais, Phonétique et Phonologie, Morphologie, Textes' (Leipzig, 1903, in Teubner's 'Skizzen Lebender Sprachen'), and in Louise Ey's 'Portuguese Conversation-Grammar' (Heidelberg, 1912). The basis of the Bengali loan-words was, however, 17th century Portuguese in the main, which certainly differed a great deal in its pronunciation from Modern Portuguese, as is the case with most languages. I have not seen any account of the early pronunciation of Portuguese. The phonology of the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali (and in other languages), however, will certainly throw some side-light on the phonetics of the former language as it was over 250 years ago. The phonetics and phonology of Modern Portuguese is one of the most complicated among European languages. The vowel system is not very rich, but the possession of some central vowels [ɛ, ø, ɨ] as subsidiary forms of other vowels, and of some breathed vowels and diphthongs makes the phonology rather intricate. There are some peculiar consonants, e.g., breathed nasals and liquids; voiced stops occur as fricatives intervocally; the original [s] sound is pronounced as [ʃ] and as [ʒ]; [m, n] nasalise vowels and are dropped under certain circumstances, etc.; all of these bring in the complexity of the consonant phonology as well.

A number of the Portuguese words in Bengali are not native Portuguese (Latin), being themselves loan-words from different languages, but so far as Bengali is concerned, they are Portuguese, and nothing else.
355. In Modern Portuguese unaccented «a» is pronounced as [ə], something like the English [ə] in above [əbəv]. This was probably also the pronunciation in Early Modern Portuguese of the 17th century. The unaccented «a» as a rule is retained in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আমার [aˌmaːɾ] pineapple (ananaś); আলপিন [aˌlpiŋ] pin (alfinetē); আলকার (əlˈkər) tār (alcentre); কেদার [kedər] chair (cædrə); গাছা, গির্জা [girˈʒa, gɪˈʒa] church (igréja); জানা লা, জানেলা [jaˌnəla, jaˌnela] window (janèlla); বোলারালি > বোলারা [toalə > toalə] towel (toálha); কাফিল [kapiʃ] coffee (café); সাগু, সাবু [ʃag, ʃaˈbu] sugo (sagú); etc. But in a number of cases, it is dropped in Bengali, both initially and finally: e.g., কাবার [ˈkoːbər] to end (as a month) (acabár); নোনা [ˈnoʊa] custard apple (anóna); কোঁকি [ˈʃəko] arsenic ([*əˈʃəknə] < arseníco); কাঁজ আস [ˈkaʃˈgəɾ] button-hole (cása [de botão]); মেঝ [ˈmeʃ] table (mésa); কাঁজি [kamiʃ] shirt (camisa); ইশ্পাং [iʃˈpat] steel (espada); পিঞ্জল [tiʃˈgil] a shallow earthen pot to boil rice (tigéla); পিজল [piʃəl] pistol (pistóla); ফিগুরু [ˈfiɡurʊ] a figure (figura); বোলার [ˈboːla] bottle (botelha). In dissyllabic words, initial or final «a» remains: আটা [aˌta] custard apple (ata); আর [aʊə] nurse (áia); টোকা [ˈtoʊka] a hat, an umbrella hat of bamboo (tóuca); তেরেন্টা [teˈreŋta] thirty (in a card game) (trinta); পিপা [piˈpiːa] queue (pípa); ফর্ম [ˈførma] form in printing (forma), বান [boʊa] buoy (bóia); বার্গো [ˈbæɾɡo] rafter (vérga); বাহা, বাহালা [beʃˈala] viola (vióla); বোমা [ˈbɔma] bomb (bómba); মার্ক [ˈmaɾkə] mark, stamp (márea); জাবা [jaˈba] pelticoat (sáia); সাল্ফা [ʃalˈfa] sauce, sarsaparilla (sálsa); etc.

Stressed «á», pronounced as a central [a], or as [ə] before the velarised [t] and before [u], remains in Bengali as আ [a]: e.g., আলমারী [alˈmaɾi] almírā (almário); কানাস্টারা, কানেস্টারা, ক্যানেস্টারা, ক্যানিস্টারা [kanəstaɾa, kaˌnəstaɾa, ˈkeːnəstra, ˈkeːnəstra] canister («canástrə» large basket: there has been influence both in form and meaning of the English

1 In the Portuguese words given within brackets, stress on the vowel is indicated, although stress is not represented in the ordinary orthography.
canister); কাফি চিন (kaphri) negro (céfre); কাতান (katan) sword (catána);
চাবি (chābi) key (cháve); গরাদিয়া > গরাদে, গরাদি (goradiya > gorade, -di)
bars of a window (gráde); পরাত [pórat] a large plate (práto); তামক, তামক, তামকু (tamak, tamak, tamaku) tobacco (tabáco); বাল্য, বাল্যি (balti, -di)
bucket (bálde); MB. হরমাড [hörmad] beside a variant spelling হোরামাদ [horamad] Portuguese pirata ship (armáda); etc.

Portuguese 'a, á' are also represented by অ [o], through folk etymology in most cases: *e.g.*, আমার [anara] pineapple (ananás);
ওলন্দাজ [olanda] Dutch (Hollandæz); তামক beside তামক [tamak, tamak]
tobacco (tabáco); MB. হোরামাদ [höramad] pirate fleet a variant of হরমাড [hörmad] (armáda);
base, bottom).

In কোরেন্তা [korenta] forty, a term in card-game (quarénta), we have
‘a as [a] through the influence of the ‘u’ (Modern Portuguese pronunciation [kwu’renta]). In গোলাপ [golap] purgative (jálápa) we have
influence of the Perso-Bengali গোলাপ [golap] rose (guláb).

Change of ‘a’ to [e, æ] is noticed in a few words: *e.g.*, কেদার
[kédara] chair (cadéira); পেশালি [bepšali, bapšali] vessel, pail (< vasilha>,
through Umlaut: *bâşilyâ > bâisilyâ > besaliya*); পপাই [pēpe]
papaya fruit (papaia). As in পেশালি < < vasilha>, < lha > = palatal ‘i’ +
‘a’ [‘a], becomes *‘iyā > ‘īā’ in Bengali in ভোজলিয়া > তোলা
[toali > tole] towel (toalha).

‘a’ is found as [i] in ইঞ্জি, ইন্সিং [istiri, istiri] ironing clothes (estirár),
through Vowel Harmony; and in রাকালি [rakali] bag with two months
(saccóla), there is probably the influence of the final vowel of থলী, থলী
[tholi, tholii] bag.

Loss of ‘a’: through absence of stress: কামার < *কামার (kómara
< kómara) chamber (cámara). In বাদাম, বাদা [bóda, bóda] a loose gown,
we have probably a case of assimilation of < loba > loose gown + < abada >
tucked edging.

356: The nasal diphthong ‘ão’, in a final position, was probably
pronounced [AU] in Early Modern Portuguese. This regularly became
[āu, āo], and then [ād, ām, am, aŋ] in Bengali. See pp. 521-522. *E.g., বোতাম [botam] button (botāo); গ্যাদ > গ্যাদা by Vowel Harmony [gudam, -dom] godown, warehouse (gudāo); সাবাং [ʃabang], also সাবা [ʃaban] soap (<? sabāo>: the <n> form is due to the influence of the Perso-Arabic <sābūn>); পাউঁ, পাও in combination with রোটি [pāuo-, pāo-ruṭi] European bread (pāo); নীলাম < *লীলাম [nilom < *lilam] sale (leilāo); ব্যাখা, বেহান, বৈষ্ম [boʃam, boiam] earthen-ware or stone-ware vessel (boiāo). In ক্রিস্টান earlier ক্রিস্টান [kriston, kristan] Christian (c[h]ristan), and in কাপ্তান beside কাপ্তান [kaptan, kaptan] captain (kapitāo), there is influence of the English Christian, captain, with the [n]: cf. রুক্তান, সীতান, খৃষ্টান [kristān, khriston], কাপ্তান [kaptan] etc. The nasalisation is dropped in আলক্ট্রা [alkatra] pitch, tar for [*alkatram] (alcatrāo).

357. The Portuguese <e>. When strong, it probably had in the 17th century, as now, the values of [e, ə]. When weak or unstressed, it was probably both short [ɪ] and [ə] as now.

Final unstressed <e>, or unstressed <e> in a final syllable, is normally represented by [i] in Bengali: the 17th century Portuguese pronunciation was probably a short [ɪ]. Before <e> + consonant, it occurs also as [i] in Bengali, following the Portuguese pronunciation. *E.g., কপি for কোপি, কোভি [kopi, kobi] cabbage (eouve); কাফরি [kaphri] negro (cāfre); চাভি [ʃuʃbi] key (chéave); পাড়ি [padri] Christian priest (pádre); বালতি, বালদি [balti, baldi] bucket (bálde); বিন্তি [binti] twenty, a term in card-game (vinte); স্যর্টি [ʃurti] lottery (sôrte); বের্দি [berdi] green colour (vérede); কালাপাতি [kalapati] to correct, tinker, caker (calafáte); গরাদি [goradi] bar (grade); পিরিচ [pirič] saucer (pires); ইস্পাত [ishopat] steel (espáda); ইস্তি [istri] ironing (estiráír). In an initial syllable, unstressed <e> remains [e]: e.g., পেরু [peru] turkey fowl (perú) in বিশ [ʃiʃu] Jesus (Jesus), there is probably the influence of the English [dʒiːzəs]: we have also a rare বের্দি [ʃiʃu], based on the Aramaic.

Stressed <e>, pronounced [e, ə], is retained in Bengali as এ [e]: কোরেন্টা [korenta] term in card game (quarénta); তিফিল [tifiel] a vessel (tigέla); পেরেক, পেরেক [p(e)rek] nail (prégo); মেজ [meʃi] table,(mésa); বের্দি [berdi] green colour (vérede); বের্দি [resto, -o] balance, capital (résto);
PORTUGUESE 'E, I' IN BENGALI

The change in Portuguese shows that certain sounds, when assimilated, can result in different pronunciations in Bengali. For example, the pronunciation of 'e' in the word 'pera' (peira) changes to ['ea, æ, æə] in Bengali: পেরা, পারা, পাষারা [pera, para, paṭera] guara.

In Bengali, the pronunciation of certain words like 'churk' (িদ্রুপ) and 'churufa' (িদ্রুপাচ্ছ) follows the assimilation process. If we have ['i'] for 'é', through the influence of the assimilated 'i', see also p. 357. In কফি [kaphi] coffee (café), final stressed 'é' is changed to ['i'].

In বোটল [botol] bottle (Botélha), it seems there is influence of the English word [bɔt].

Loss of 'e': আলপিন [alpin < *alpint?] pin (alpínte); গামলা [gamla] large earthen or metal basin (gamélla); জানলা [janla] beside জানলা, জানলা [janala, janala] window (janélla).

The group 'ei', in Modern Portuguese = ['i] when stressed, ['i] when unstressed, is differently represented in Bengali: e.g., *[বিলাম > নিলাম, নিলাম [*লিলাম > nilam] sale (leilão); কেদারা [kedara] chair (cadeira); প্রেমারা, প্রমারা [premara, promara] a card game (primeiro); বোম্পাটি > বোম্বোটি [bambaṭia > bombete] pirate (bombardeiro).

358. Portuguese 'i', stressed or unstressed, remains as ['i] in Bengali: e.g., আল্পিন [alpin] pin (alpínte); কামিজ [kamij] skirt (camisa); ক্রিস্টান [kristan] Christian (eristão); তিলা [tila] tape (fita); পিপা [pipa] barrel (pipa); পিছা [pira] sauce (pires); ফিগা [figa] lean of figure (figura); ফিতায়, কিন্দি [kirej, kirij] Malayan dagger, bayonet (eris); অল্মাটি [almari] almira (armario); বিন্সতি [binti] a term in card game (vinte); মেরিনো [merino] a kind of woollen stuff (merino); তিজেল [tijēl] an earthen pot (tigella); বিকট [bikut] biscuit (biscoito).

Intervocal 'i' becomes the ['e] glide, rarely ['i], in Bengali: e.g., বোমলি, বয়লি, বৈলিয়া [boem, boiam] large earthen-wear or stone-wear vessel (boia); অল্মাটি [aēa] nurse (aia); বা [boēa] buay (boia); সায়া [jaēa] skirt, gown (saia); পেপী < *পাপাইয়া, *পাপিয়া [pēpe < *pāpaia, *pāpia] papaya fruit (papaia).

In প্রেমারা, প্রমারা [premara, promara] a card game (primeiro), and তেরেন্কা [terenta] a term in card game (trinta), the group 'ri' behaves like the 'r' in Bengali words (see ante, p. 357). In বেলা, বালা, also বালা [beala > behala, baēla] violin (viola), there is change of 'i' to ['e].
In तात्रा, तात्री [तात्रा, तात्री] orange, cf. तात्रगाछी [तात्रगाछी] Orange-tree, village near Calcutta, from Portuguese «Cintra», we have change of the group « in » to [an, å].

Loss of « i »: आल्पिन [alpim] pin (affinite); काप्तेन [kapten] captain (capitâo), through English influence; and डेंका [feko] arsenic (arsenico), where « ni » probably became « ñ » and then a mere nasalisation of the vowel.

359. Unstressed « o » was pronounced as [u] in Early Modern Portuguese, as now. In Bengali « o » occurs as [u] and as [o]: e.g., तमक [tamaku] beside तमक, तमक [tamak, tama] tobacco (tabáco); मास्टर < *mastur < *mestre [mástr] mast (máestro); in a number of ‘Christian’ words like एन्त्रुड [entrudu] carnival, shrove-tide (entruído), इसपिरितु जॉन्ट [ispíritu jontu] Holy Ghost (espirito santo), इन्सेंस [injens] incense (incenso), मात्र [manu] brother (mano), तेर्लु [terlu] rosary (terço), etc.; बोट [botam] button (botão); बोट [botol] bottle (betéla); तोल [tole] towel (toálua); बंबे [bombe] pirate (bombardéiro); मेरिनो [merinu] a kind of woollen stuff (« merino »: may be through the English); रेस्ट [resto] remainder, capital (resto), probably through a stage *रेस्त [resto]; डेंका [feko] may be from a form *डेंकू [fekua] arsenic (arsenico). Unstressed « o » occurs as [a] in खाना [khana] ditch (cano), and in आमारा, प्रेमारा [promara, premara] a card game (primeiro).

There is loss of final unstressed « o » in अल्मारी [almari] almídia (armário); अलकूट [alakut] lar (alecrâo); काता [katan] sword (catana, catana); परात [parat] large silver (prato); पेशेह, पेश [perek, prek] nail (prego); जार्ल, मार्गोल [marte, tol] hammer (martello), बिस्कूट [biskut] biscuit (biscoito), due partly to a facetious analysis बिस्तु कुटू « bisk-kut » poison-mass, biscuits as foreign food prepared by Christians being prohibited to orthodox Hindus.

Stressed « o », pronounced [o, o], occurs in Bengali as [o, o] as well: बोय [boeya] buoy (boía); बोना [bona] custard apple (anôna); बोमा [boma] bomb (bômba); फॉर्म [phorma] form (fôrma). In जुर्टी [jurti] lottery (sórtie), the [o] is changed to [u] by vowel harmony (see p. 397). « o » occurs
as [a] in साकली [rakali] two-mouthed bag (sacola), and in बेला [beila] violin (viola).

*oi*, pronounced [oi], occurs as [u] in बिकूट [bikut] biscuit (biscoito).

*ou*, pronounced [o, ou] in Modern Portuguese, was probably [o] in the 17th century: In कपी for *कपी, *कोभी [kopi < kobi] cabbage (côve) and टोका [toka] a large bamboo hat (touca), this group is found as [o].

360. Portuguese *u*, stressed and unstressed, remains as [u] in Bengali, e.g., साग [sag] sago (sagù): पेर [peru] turkey bird (perú); काफ [kafu] Brazil nut (cajú); गुडन [gudam] godown, ware-house (gudão); जीज [jiu] Jesus (Jesus); ग्रू, ग्रू [guru, gurú] cross (crúz); फिग्ग [figu] leaf, figure (figura); काकतुआ [kakatua] a white talking parrot; cockatoo (caetáu); फूदिल [phūdil] funnel (funil). The word कोज, कोला [kọja, kọla] bent double with age, probably from Portuguese *cônica* wedge, shows change of [u] to [o] through Vowel Harmony.

361. In groups like *er, tr, pr* there has been an intrusive vowel: मिस्तिर [mistir] beside मिस्त्र [mistri] craftsman, artisan (mestre); परोट [porot] plate (prato); फराफित [pharafit] French (Francez); किरिच [kirich] dagger, bayonet (cris); गराडिया [garadía] bar (grade); etc. *r* with a consonant has been treated as ओ *f* in Bengali (see p. 356); e.g., *igreja* church > ग्रीजा, गृजा, गिरिजा [grijiu, grijiu, girijiu]; *verga, virga* rod, pole, lintel > वर्गा, वर्ग [borga, borga] waiter.

A final [a] has been added to some words: काकतुआ [kakatua] parrot (caetáu); गराडिया [garadía] bars (grade); and probably also *दंकुआ* > दंके [dako] arsenic (arsenico).

Consonants.

362. Portuguese *b* remains as [b] in most cases: बोय [boya] boy (boia); बोतम [botam] button (botão); बालवि [balti] pail (baldé); काबर [kobar] finish, last day of mouth (seabcar). *mb* occurs as [m] in बोम [boma] bomb (bomba). Intervocal *b* becomes [m] in भागक etc. [tamak] tobacco (tabáe): the intervocal stop in Portuguese itself has the open pronunciation of *b = [v]*.
363. Portuguese < e > before < a, o, u >, and before consonants = [k] in Bengali: *e.g.*, কাজু [কাজু] Brazil nut (cajú); কপি [কপি] cabbage (couve); ক্রুস [ক্রুস] cross (cruz); কাবার [কাবার] finish, last day of month (acabar); কাকাতুরা [কাকাতুরা] cockatoo (caçatú); টোকা [টোকা] large bamboo hat used as umbrella (touca). In খানা [খানা] ditch (câna), we have a case of < ca > = [kha], through influence of native word like খাত < khাত > fossé < /খান < খান > to dig, etc.

Portuguese < ce, ci > pronounced [se, si]: জাতরা [জাতরা] orange (Cintra): see p. 626, supra.

364. Portuguese < ch > is now [ʃ], as in French; but in earlier times it was a palato-alveolar affricate [ʧ], as in Old French and in Spanish (Castilian). In North Portugal (Tras-os-Montes), the affricate sound is still found (F. Diez, Grammar of the Romance Languages, French trans., Vol. I, Paris, 1874, p. 358). In the 17th and early 18th centuries the value of < ch > in all likelihood was [ʧ]: for (East) Bengali কে [কে] = [ʧ, ts], is represented by Padre Assumpção by < ch >, and by < s >, and Portuguese < ch > normally became অ [ʧ = tʃ] and not অ, খ, ঞ = [ʃ] in Bengali; besides, [ʧ] of other languages is written < ch > by the early Portuguese authors. Examples in Bengali: চা [চা] tea (chá); চাবি [চাবি] key (chave); চাতার [চাতার] pickles, conserves (achár).

365. Portuguese < d > is generally rendered by the dental দ [d] in Bengali: গাড়ি [গাড়ি] bus (grade); জেলা [জেলা] chair (cadeira); পাত্রি [পাত্রি] Christian priest (padre); বেলি [বেলি] green colour (verde); etc. In some words it is cerebralised in Bengali, in the group < nd >: ওঝা [ওঝা] a kind of pea (Hollanda), but cf. ওঝাড় [ওঝাড়] Dutch, (Hollandés), which may equally be from the French; বাঙ্গলা, বাঙ্গল [বাঙ্গলা] বাঙ্গল [বাঙ্গল] place-name near Hugli town (Bandel < Pers. bandar port); and লাভ [লাভ], an early Bengali name for London (Londra). There is unvoicing of < d > in বালি beside বালি [বালি, বালি] bucket (balde), and in নাস [নাস] steel (espada sword).

366. Portuguese  "f" occurs as  "ph", which is pronounced as [ph, ʃ, f]: फिट, फिते, शिफ्ल, फिते [phita, phite, phite] tape (fita); फूंदिल [phudil] funwel (funil); फेस्टा [phesta] feast, holiday (festa); काफिर [kaphri] negro (café); काफिबेसे काफिल [kap(h)i] coffee (café). It also occurs as [p] in अल्पिन [alpin] pin (alfinete), and कालापाति [kalapati] tinker (calafate caulker). In the Dacca dialectal ('Portuguese Christian') word कंसौर, कंसर [kəŋ(k)ʃə] to confess (confessar), we have change of  "nf" to [ŋ(k)].

367. Portuguese  "g" before  "a, o, u" and before consonants  =  "g" [g] in Bengali: गामल [gamal] large basin (gamella); गुदाम [gudam] warehouse (gudão); गार [gor(a)ga] rafter (verga); गिरज [girja] church (igréja); etc. In पेरेक [perek] nail (prego) there is hardening of  "g". Loss of intervocal  "g", pronounced as an open consonant in Portuguese, has given rise to the form साव [saw] beside साव [saw] sago (sagu); and  "figura" figure has given in addition to  "figu" [phigu],  "figur" [phikru] as well as फिज [phibru] lean and thin.

In Modern Portuguese,  "g" before  "e, i" is pronounced  [ʒ], as in French. Probably the old pronunciation was [dʒ]: तिजेल [tiʒel] a large earthen vessel (tigella).

368. The letter  "h" was not pronounced in Early Modern Portuguese, as now: ओलाद [olad] a kind of pea (Hollanda).

There is prothetic [ʃ] in MB. हरमद, हारमद [harmad, haramad] pirate fleet (armada), and euphonious intervocal [ʃ] in बेहाला [behidla] violín (viola).

369.  "j" is  [ʒ] in Modern Portuguese, but formerly in all likelihood it was  [dʒ]. In Bengali it occurs as  [ʃ]: जानेला [ʃanela] window (janella); जीज [ʃiʃu] Jesus (Jesus); कांड [kand] Brazil uni (caju).

370. Portuguese  "l" ordinarily remains: e.g., अलक्ट्राटा [alaktra] tar (aletrão); जानेला [ʃanela] window (janella); साल्डा [ʃalda] sarsaparilla (salsa); फुंदिल [phudil] funnel (funil); etc. In निलम [nilam] sale (leláo), initial  "l" is changed to  "n", and in इंग्लिस [ɨŋglis] English (Inglês), we have  [ɾ] for  "l".

The group  "lh" has the value of a palatal  [ʎ] in Modern Portuguese, but its earlier value seems to have been  [ʎ]: in Bengali, the basis of
change was a [l] sound, which was later modified: e.g., তলা, *উলা, *তলা > তোলা [tola, toila, > tolo] a large pot (talha); তোলা < তোলালিয়া [toal < toalia] towel (toalha); বেসালি [bejali, bejali] pail (vasilha); and বেতল [botel] bottle (botelha) seems to have been influenced by the English word = [bottle].

371. • m • remains: মার্কা [márka] mark (marca); ফর্মা [phórma] form (forma); কামরা [kamra] chamber (camara); গামলা [gamlá] large basin (gamella); মস্তল [mastul] mast (mastro); etc.

372. • n • remains: নোনা [nona] candle (anona); বিংশী [binti] term in card game (vinte); জানেলা [janelá] window (janela). Folk etymology has changed it to [r] in অ্যানানস [anàanas] pine-apple (ananas), and it nasalises the vowel in [fàtra] orange (Cintra u torna), and in সেকা [jêko] arsenic (arsenico).

There is spontaneous nasalisation in পেপে [pêpe] papaya fruit (papaia).

• nh • has the value of [n] in Portuguese. In the word কোনা, কোনা [kona, kôa] bent (with age), probably = Portuguese • cunha • wedge, we have a case of • nh • = [n, -] in Bengali.

373. Portuguese • p • is retained: পিপা [pipa] barrel (pipa); পাউ [pau] as in পাউরুজ্জি • European bread, loaf (pão); পেয়ারা [peora] gnaou (pera); পিস্তল [pistol] pistol (pistola); etc.

374. In কোরেন্টা [korenta] a term in card game Portuguese • qua • occurs as [ko].

375. Portuguese • r • is generally retained: রেস্তা [resta] remainder, capital (in card game) (resto); পার্স [padri] priest (padre); পেরু [peru] turkey fowl (perú); ক্রু [kru] cross (cruz); কাবার [kubár] finish, last day of month (acabar); etc. It is changed to [l] in মস্তল [mastul] mast (mastro) and in আল্মরি [almori] almirah (armario): and it seems to have been dropped finally in ইস্ত্রী [istri] ironing (estirar).

376. Modern Portuguese • s • has four sounds, namely [s, z, ñ, ñ], all of which seem to have obtained in the 17th century. The [s, ñ] pronunciation appears in Bengali as শ, স [ʃ] (occasionally as ছ [q]) in a final position, and the voiced ones, [z, ñ], as জ [ʃ]. Examples: সাবান, সাবাং
PORTUGUESE ‘S, T, V, X’ IN BENGALI

Jaban, -aŋ] soup (sabāo); sālā [Jāa] skirt, petticoat (saia); śurī [Jurti] lottery (sorte); salā [Jalja] sarsaparilla (salsa); ānāras [anaaroľ] pine-apple (ananás); mēj [mešť] table (mesa); kāmij [komiť] shirt (camisa); īmpā [išpat] steel (espada); kāj in kāj-ghor [kaľ-gor] button-hole (casa); īngre [išpreť] English (Ingles); pīroľ [pirioľ] saucer (pires); kīriš, kīriš, kīriš [krijč, kirič, kirieľ] bayonet, dagger (eris); etc. In *st*, the dental [s] is retained: pīstol [pistol] pistol (pistola); mīstri [mistri] craftsman (mistri).

377. Portuguese *t* is retained as ṭ [t] in most cases: tampak [tampač] tobacco (tabaco); togaľ [toolić] towel (toalha); tişmel [tišmel] earthen pot (tigella); binti [binti] term in card game (vinte); mašul [mašul] mast (mastro); fita [phitoľ] juice (fita); etc. It is cerebralised in tokal [tokoľ] umbrella-hat (touca), in sapoľ [šapoľ] a plant (zapota, sapota), and in biškut [biskuť] biscuit (biscoito). Loss of *t* occurs in alpin [olpin] pin (allfinite).

378. Portuguese *v* is regularly represented by ṑ [b].

The dento-labial spirant [v] was absent in Middle Bengali, and the bilabial spirant [v] seems equally to have been non-existent. The spirant pronunciations of ṑ [b], = [v, v], are very recent, and do not seem to have been developed before the 19th century (cf. pp. 135, 443; also infra, under *v* in English loan-words). ṑ *bh* became [v, v] first in the towns, among educated classes, and in the country-side in West Bengal the use of [b] for the foreign [v], following the Modern Bengali transliteration, is not absent. If the spirant pronunciation of ṑ had been developed in Bengali of the 17th, 18th and early 19th centuries we would have found that letter, rather than ṑ [b], for the Portuguese [v]. Binti [binti] twenty, term in card game (vinte); bešali [běšali] pail (vasilha); čabi [čabi] key (chave); *kobi [kopi] cabbage (couve); berdi [berdi] green colour (verde); borga [borga] rafter (verga).

379. Portuguese *x* has as its characteristic value the sound of [ʃ], although other sounds are known [ks, ks, z, s] (See p. 547.) It is not found in any Portuguese loan-word in Bengali, unless it were *crux* as a variant of *cruz*.
380. <z> is found in जून [kruʃ] cross (cruz), फोरोज [phəroʃ] French (Francète): final <z> was pronounced as [ʃ] as now in Early Modern Portuguese. In सपोटा [ʃəpeta] a plant, sapota, we have [ʃ] for <z> (<zapota>, also spelt <sapota>), and <ananes> > अनारस [gnarəʃ] pineapple is also spelt <ananaz>.
CHAPTER VIII

PHONOLOGY OF THE FOREIGN ELEMENT: ENGLISH

381. The English first came to Bengal in 1651, more than a hundred years after the Portuguese had obtained a footing in the province. Calcutta was founded in 1689. The English thus came in touch with the people of Bengal in the middle of the 17th century, but it was not until the middle of the 18th that there was much scope for the English speech to influence Bengali. Among other reasons, one was that Portuguese influences ruled supreme, although Portuguese power was on the decline. The names of the English and of other European nations in 18th century Bengali are from French, or from Portuguese (Inrēj, Phārāsī[s], Olāndāj, Dinēmār, Alēmān: see p. 215). A Portuguese jargon was for a long time the language of intercourse between European traders of various nationalities and their Indian agents. Barring one or two words like कोम्पानी kōmpānī = company, it does not seem likely that any English words came into Bengali before the year of Plassey (1757). When the English assumed the reins of government in 1765, a number of English terms of administration at once came into Bengali, like गवर्णर जनरल gāvārnār jāndārālā = governor general, कोम्पनी कूंसल kōmpānī kōuśulī = counsel, कालेक्टर kālēkātre = collector, लाट lāṭ = lord, तेरेजुरी tērējūrī = treasury, पोलिस or पुलिस pōlis or pulis = police, etc. From the third quarter of the 18th century, there has been a steady accession of English words into Bengali, and through an intimate knowledge of the English language and English culture among the educated classes—and ‘educated’ is now almost synonymous with ‘educated in English’—an unending stream of English words is now being admitted into Bengali; and the process was never more active than at the present moment: so that it is well-nigh impossible now to estimate the English element in Bengali, alike in its extent and in its phonology. Contact with English is now arresting further Bengalisation of English loan-words, as English-knowing people,
whose number is now on the increase, will not ordinarily pronounce these words in the ignorant way, and some would even use an approximately proper English form rather than a naturalised one like डॉक्टर < ċāktar > doctor, হাসপাতাল < bāspātāl > hospital, আপিস < ċapis > office, ডবল < ċābāl > double, etc.

In the present connexion, notice can only be taken of the naturalised words, which have completely accommodated themselves to Bengali phonetics, and are used and understood by most Bengali speakers. In introducing the English words into Bengali a rather archaic pronunciation of the language, based to a great extent on the spelling, is followed as the basis of the English forms. A hundred years of English schooling in Bengal has established a current Bengali pronunciation of English,¹ and some five generations of Bengali schoolmasters have been teaching an English pronunciation, of a sort, which obtains wherever English is used by Bengalis—in the law-courts, in the schools and colleges and the University, on the political platform, in government offices and in European firms, in literary and scientific societies—and which, though not unintelligible to even an unaccustomed English ear, is not, and cannot be English. The same thing has happened in Madras, and is happening everywhere in India. Extreme types of Indian provincial pronunciation of English, e.g., East Bengali pronunciation and Tamil pronunciation, are at times mutually difficult to follow.

The current Bengali pronunciation of English has at its basis Standard Southern English of about a century ago, modified to a great extent by the Scottish pronunciation, and by the spelling and the pronouncing dictionary, all of which have helped to give it rather an archaic character. The vowels [e:, o:] of 18th century English and present-day Scots English, have been diphthongised to [ɛt, ɔt] in Standard Southern English, as in the words cane, cone [kʰe:n, kʰo:n = kʰe:n, kʰoun], but they retain their

¹ The only scientific system of transcription of English sounds by Bengali letters, to teach a correct English pronunciation to Bengali children, is that of Šyāpa Chāraṅ Gāṅgūlī, in his 'Bengali-English Word-book,' New Edition, Calcutta, 1901, the introduction to which little work is valuable for Bengali phonetics as well.
monophthong character in Bengali, although occasionally [ei] also is found. Southern English drops the sound of [r] at the end of a syllable and before a consonant within a word, but it is retained everywhere in Bengali except that it is occasionally assimilated with a following [t, d]. Finer distinctions in the vowel sounds are avoided, and, naturally enough, Bengali approximations are used for all English sounds not found in Bengali.

Below is given a transcription (in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association) of the Story of the North Wind and the Sun in the Bengali pronunciation as followed in West Bengal by people who have no opportunity of coming in contact with native English speakers, or who do not care to acquire the correct pronunciation from such native speakers of English even though they meet and talk with them frequently:


The general line of change of the English sounds in Bengali is indicated below; and this is followed by a select list, with phonological notes, of naturalised English loan-words in the language.

The Vowels.

382. Quantity of vowels is entirely in accordance with Bengali habits. (See 'Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics,' §§54 ff.) Thus, in all

1 For phonetic transcriptions of the above story in the ordinary South English, Northern English, Scots English and American English pronunciations, see 'The Principles of the International Phonetic Association,' London, 1912.
monosyllables the vowel is always long: e.g., judge (dʒʌdʒ); foot (fʊt); wool (wʊl); pit in a theatre (pɪt); etc. No difference is made between full and fool, bell and bail in Bengali.

The stress is according to the habits of Bengali.


383. [i, iː] both occur as ఆ [iː; iː] = a rather low vowel in Bengali; [ɛ] becomes এ [e; e]; [æ] remains as [æ; æ], written এ, এন, এল, এনা, the Bengali sound being rather lower than the English one; [ɔː] is found as আ [aː; a], slightly more advanced than the English sound.


At the present day, [ɒ], the so-called short [ɔ] sound (as in lot [lɒt]), and long [ɔː] (as in law [lɔː]), are both rendered by আ [aː; ə] in Bengali: e.g., college [ˈkɔlɪdʒ] in English words and names in Bengali, we find the use of আ [aː; ə], for the English vowel now pronounced [ɒ, ɔː], and not আ [aː; ə], as we would expect. আ = [ɔ] is also found, but আ [a] is more common; and this আ [a] tradition in spelling, as an equivalent of the New English [ɒ, ɔː] sounds, is carried down to the end of the 19th century. Early naturalised loan-words from English all show আ [a] and not আ [ɔ]: e.g., আগ্র [ægɔr], beside আগার [ɔgɔr] which is recent < auger; কার্নিফিস [kərˈniʃ] < cornice; কার [ˈkɔr] < cord; হাল [hɔːl] hall; কাক [kaːk] cork; অফিস [ˈɔfɪʃ] office; অর্ডালী [ɔrdalɪ] orderly; ডক্টর [ˈdaktər] doctor; ল্যাট
ENGLISH 'ɔ' AND BENGALI 'ā'

*laːt < *laːd] lord; pālīsh [paliʃ] polish; kāpi [kapi] copy; bākʃo] box; etc., etc.; and also quite a number of English names in early 19th century Bengali, e.g., ʃɔːn] John; tʌmɔ] Thomas; George; lɔːd mɔːrnɪŋ(ɔ)nt] Lord Mornington; etc. The use of ə [ə] in Bengali was due to the fact that the pronunciation of ɔ, au, aw etc. in English of a hundred years ago was to a great extent open: it was quite distinct from the present-day [ə, ɔ:], and acoustically was rather like [a, a:] both short and long, possibly with but little rounding of lips. This old [a]-like pronunciation of ɔ, au, aw is still found in American English. (Cf. Otto Jespersen, 'A Modern English Grammar,' Part I, Heidelberg, 1909, under [ə], pp. 313, 316: Kenrick in 1773 identifies the vowel sound in soft, oft, cloth, call, hawl, caul, George with that in French dame, pas; and Pegge, 1803, says that "daater, saace, saaceer, saacey" = daughter, sauce, saucier, saucy, savour rather of an affected refinement than vulgarity. There were fluctuations between [ə, ɔ:] and [a, a, a:] in the 18th century. See also under the treatment of [ə] in Jespersen). It is also to be noted that in the 18th century and early and mid 19th century transcriptions of Indian names and words into English, the Indian sound of [a, a:] was almost invariably rendered by ɔ, au, aw: which is strong corroborative evidence for (at least acoustically) an [a] pronunciation in English itself: e.g., Aukley Caw = ʃAli Khān; Collychurn Doss = Kāli-cārāṇ Dās; Punjāb = Panjāb; Daw(ə), Law, Shaw, Paul = the Bengali surnames b̪a < Dā, lɔ or lɔh < Lā(hā), sə or səh < Sā(hā), pɔl < Pāl; Loll = Lāl; Jawn = Jān; Juggernaut = Sgrāb = Jagan-

nāthā; Meer Cosseem = Mīr Qāsim; Cossipore = kāšīpur < Kāśipurā; pawnee = pānī < pānī water; skraub = sərāb wine; dolli = dālō < dāl basket (of fruits or flowers, as a present); dholl = dāl < dālo pulses; shawl = sāl; etc., etc. Early Bengali forms with ə [ə] of English loan-words are thus based on a more open pronunciation which obtained in English itself. At the present day, when the [ə, ɔ:] pronunciation has been definitely established in English, many early 19th century Bengali borrowings from English are being revised according to this later pronunciation. Thus although we retain dəktar [daktar] doctor,
The slight difference in quality between the sounds of the short [o] as in not [not] and the long [ə:] as in law [lo:] is not taken into account in Bengali.

385. [u, u:] are rendered by [u, u], written উ, and occasionally উ.

The English sound of [ʌ] as in dull, sun, son, is now changed to আ [a] in Bengali, but its older transformation in Bengali was অ [o]: e.g., গবর্নমেন্ট > গবর্নমেন্ট, বল > বল > double, হারিকেন > হারিকেন > hurricane (lantern), নংবার > নংবার > number, হাস্র > হাস্র > hundredweight, টাইন > টাইন, টাব > টাব > tub, ডজন > ডজন > dozen, etc., and in names like বার্টন > বার্টন, গলিবার > গলিবার > Gulliver, etc. Most of the naturalised words introduced into the language early in the 19th century retain the [ə] sound in Bengali.

The [ə] sound for Modern English [ʌ] is based on an earlier value of the short « ū, ō », of English, which is still found in dialectal English, as for example, in Ireland. Present-day English [ʌ] rather approaches [a]: possibly in the late 18th and early 19th, it approached the back sound of [ə] to a great extent. In Modern Bengali transcriptions, the equivalent of [ʌ] is আ [a], and the use of আ [a], in pronunciation as well as in writing in Bengali, is now regarded as old-fashioned.

386. [ə], the so-called neutral vowel, is not found in Bengali, and the other strong vowels (of which it is the weakening in English) are used for it: e.g., এপ্রিল > April, beside আপ্রিল > abrill in late 18th cen., and আপ্রিল > april in early 19th cen. transcriptions; অমেরিকা, আমেরিকা > America; লেপ্টেনাংট > lieutenant; হোমিওপটি

1 In Hindīstānī and other Indian languages, আ [a:] is normally used for the English sound of [ə = ə, o:], and now আ́ৃ 'au' pronounced [əu, au, o, o:] is also employed. Excepting the diphthong 'au,' Hindīstānī does not, or till very recent times did not, possess a sound approximating the English [ə], and hence the employment of [ə:].
THE ENGLISH GROUP 'ER,' & DIPHTHONGS

[πωμιοπαθή] homeopathy; ইংল্যান্ড, -ল্যান্ড, -ল্যাঙ [ιηλον্ড, -ল্যান্ড, -ল্যাঙ] England; 
চাইনা [চাইনা] China. When this [ə] occurs with [r], which is not pronounced in Modern Southern English, it is now found as [ər]: 
in the earlier transcription, however, it became [ər]: e.g., earlier 
রাজনীতি [রাজনীতি] governor: লিবার 
[লিবার] liver beside old-fashioned নিবর [নিবর] = infantile liver; সেলবার 
[সেলবার] revolver; নম্বর [নম্বর, নম্বর] number, an old borrowing;
etc. The use of ar for er is not unknown in the orthography and 
pronunciation of English itself. The commonest equivalent of [ə] in 
Bengali would be আ [া]. Initial [ə] is found to be dropped in a few cases:
[তন] [তন] attorney; গিয়েনের [গিয়েনের] agreement. 
[ə], the so-called long form of [ə], as in birth, shirt, her [ba:ʃ, ʃa:t, ha:],
occurring only in connexion with [r], and it is generally rendered by 
আর [ər]: 
e.g., শর্ট [ʃa:t] shirt, সার্কিয়াল [সার্কিয়াল] sergeant, এমিন [এমিন] sergeant 
in police), also surgeon, etc. The word কোনেল [কোনেল] colonel [kənəl] is probably
influenced by the spelling in o.

387. [eɪ] of Modern Southern English is ordinarily denoted by আ [া],
following earlier English and present-day Scotch pronunciation of [e]:
It is only rarely that the Southern English diphthong value is followed:
e.g., ফেল [phe:l], rarely ফেইল [pheil].fail; মেল ট্রেন [me:l tren] mail train;
ফেল [fə:l] jail; etc.

[ər] is regularly denoted by আই [aiː]: টাইম, টাইম [taim, tain] time;
টাইপ [taip] type; ফেইল [pheil] fine; হাইকোট, -কোট [haiko(r)t] High Court;
বাইসমন, -মান, -ম্যান [baismən, -man] vice-man, mechanic; বাইসাইকিল [baiʃikil] bicycle,
etc. The first element of this diphthong was probably of a higher quality
than now, but that was not taken into consideration in Bengali.

[au] = English ou, ow, etc. The equivalent of this group now is আউ 
[au], e.g., হাউস [hauʃ] house, টাউন [taun] town, আউট [aut] out, কাউন্সিল
[καυνσιλ] council, ফ্যাউল [φαυλ] foul, ʃουl, etc. In the earlier borrowings
in Bengali, on the other hand, we find আ [ou]: e.g., ফোস [fouʃ] (commercial)
for present-day টাউন হল [taun hə:l] Town Hall, etc. Here, too, as in the
case of early Bengali আ [a] for English aw, au, o, the [ou], or rather [au],
pronunciation obtained in English itself a hundred years ago. (Cf. O. Jespersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.) We would expect to find [au] in Bengali in the late 18th and early 19th centuries for *ou, ow*, if the first element in the diphthong were a low-back or low-central sound, and not a mid-back-wide-round one.

The South English diphthong [ou] was at one time simply a long [oː], which is the value preserved in Scotland. Bengali renders it by [oː, o], e.g., বোট [boːt] boat, রোড, রোডসেস [roːd, ro⪠d] road, road cess, কোট [koːt] coat, etc.; and occasionally by [o], following Bengali phonetic harmony: e.g., ফটো (fotọ) [phoːtʊ(gerap)] photo(-graph) = [foutou, fouto- graːf], মটার [moːtər] motor (mouto).

[oːt] and [ɔːt] are represented by ওর [ɔːt]: বর [bɔːt] boy [bɔt, boːt], রোটার [roːtər] Reuter (roto). For [iə], we have [iə]: ইংরাল [ɪŋgrəl] India, রাশিয়া [rɑʃ'ja] Russia; and the [r] is preserved when [iə] occurs in connexion with that consonant: e.g., বিয়ার [biər] beer, ‘চিয়ার’ [ʃiər] cheer; ইয়ারিং beside ইয়ার-রিং [iə(r)-riŋ] earring. [uə] would similarly be উর, উরে [uə], উর, উরের [uər] or উর [uər]: বুর, বুরো, বুর [buor, buər] Boor, Boer; ‘পুর’ [puor] poor. The diphthong [œː], also pronounced [əː], is from earlier [œː], written ore, oor, and it is rendered by ওর [oːr] in Bengali: স্টোর [stoːr] store [stoo, stoː].

[œː] of South English is based on the group [e] + [r], and the group [œː, œːr] brings in a glide [e] — [œːr, œː]. In earlier transcriptions, this group became [æːr]: e.g., হের [heːr] Hare, a name; চায় [ʃeːr] chair; কায় [kaːr] care; শার [ʃeːr] share etc. In recent renderings, we have এর [ɛːr]: চেয়ার, শেয়ার, হেয়ার [ʃeər,ʃeər,ʃeər], etc.

388. Regular loss of vowels is rare: see under [ə], supra.

There is addition of vowels [a] in the interior of words, by anaptyxis—e.g., গেলাস [gelas] glass; টেলেফন [telen] train; টেলিগ্রাফ [teligerap(h)] telegraph; তেলের বুরুজ [telɛrˈburaʃ] treasury (an obsolete form); তেলের [torərə] trunk, গেলেগ [pleləg] plague; বুরুজ [buriʃ] brush; সিলেট, সিলেট [ʃiletʃ, jeletʃ] slate, ইনস্পেক্টর [inʃpektər] inspector, etc., etc.; [b] at the head of words beginning with *s*: e.g., অস্টাবল [astabol] stable; ইস্কুল [iskul] school; স্টোন্প [ʃtʃem̥p] stamp; ইস্টিনেশন [ʃtʃtʃon], also ইস্টেশন [ʃtʃʃan] station;
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... and [e] at the end of words ending in two consonants, where both are retained, without one of the consonants being dropped or assimilated, or where there is no intrusive vowel in between: e.g., Verbose [bendɪ] bench; ខែ [kɛtlɪ] kettle; ទៅ [dɛkʃo], ដោយ [dɛʃko] desk; ប្រញ [bakʃo, baʃko] box; ហ្គី [giliti] gilt; គ្រឿ [lititi] list; គ្រឿ [lɔmpo, lɛmpo] lamp, etc. Cases of dropping or assimilation of one consonant—ឈ្មោះ [ripot] report; ការ [ka:r] cord; នាង [la:t] lord; រោគ [ləntho] lanthorn, lantern; ឈ្នា [oarin] warrant; ហ្គី [hɔndɔr] hundreweight; ឈ្មោះ, អាយប់ [pʰɪɛt], អាយប់ [pʰɪʃbot], បូត [boʊt] pasteboard, etc.; and cases of intrusive vowel in a final consonant nexus, e.g., បាលី [baʃikil] bicycle; ការម [pharəm] form; តាល [tərəm] term, etc.

The above are the normal modifications of the English vowels in Bengali. There are ease of irregularity due to folk-etymology, to the influence of Sanskrit, and at times to a humorous attempt at punning to which foreign words with even a very slight resemblance to native ones lend themselves (although these latter may be wide apart in significance); but such cases cannot be taken into account generally.

Occasionally, especially on the printed page, there is an attempt to give continental (Italian) values to the vowels in European and other names, personal or geographical: e.g., អាល្ល [aʃia] rather than អាល្ល [eʃia] for Asia, ប្រៈ [bulgaria] Bulgaria, ប្រាអ៊ី [plato(n)] Plato [plepou], etc. This is rather exceptional, and it is the English forms which generally obtain in the spoken language, as most speakers having occasion to use foreign names are familiar with English.

THE CONSONANTS.

389. The Stops and Nasals, and Affricates.

The slight aspiration of unvoiced initial stops of English, [kh, th, ph], is dropped in Bengali. In វី [khrifʃo, khrifʃən] Christ, Christian, the aspiration is due to the original Greek: cf. ក្នុង [kriʃən], ក្នុង [kriʃɬən], from the English.

The voiced [g, b] remain. English alveolar [t (th), d] are regularly changed to the cerebral [ʈ, ɖ] in Bengali. But it is curious to note
that in the earlier adaptations of English words and names the dentals \( t, d \) are frequently employed for the English sounds. This was partly due to the fact that transcription in Early Modern Bengali books and printed documents was done by, or under the inspiration of English scholars and orientalists, who equated the so-called English dentals with the Bengali dentals. Examples are, among obsolete forms, অক্টোবর [oktober] October, দিসম্বর [dismbar] December, থমাস [tamos] Thomas, কলেক্টর [kalektor] collector, লেন্টনেন্ট [lepteinent] lieutenant, etc., and among living words, ডক্টর [daktar] doctor, হাসপাতাল [haspatal] hospital, গার্ড [gard] guard = lock-up, তেরেজিরী [terejiri] treasury, টর্পিন [tarpin] turpentine, টর্পিল [tarpil, terpol] tarpauline, etc.

English \( g, n, m \) are retained. Final \( n \) sometimes, and in a few words final \( m \), become \( n \) in folk-Bengali (this is independent of the same change which is observable in spoken English of the uneducated classes): e.g., এক্সকিন [ekskin] stockings, এক্সিনিয়া [eksimiya] working as a substitute < acting + s >, টাইম [tain] time (cf. অপিন, অপিন, অপিন [apin, apin, apim] opium, from Perso-Arabic < afyüm >).

The affricates \( ch, j \) [ch, dʒ] regularly become চ, জ [ch, dj] in Bengali: চিমনি [chimni] chimney, জজ [chajchaj] judge. In East Bengali, these as usual become [ts, dʒ].

390. The Liquids. The equivalent of the English ‘clear’ and ‘dark’ / [l, t] is the ল [l] of Bengali, the velarised ‘dark’ [t] being ignored. The r sound of South English is a fricative, [ɹ], and in Scots English it is a trilled sound. It becomes the ordinary trilled or flapped র [r] in Bengali. [r] is commonly dropped before [t, d] = English alveolar [t, d]: e.g., লোড [la:d] lord, ডোর্ড [bo:d] board; also after consonants. Its retention in Bengali is due to a great extent to a spelling pronunciation of English.

391. The Fricatives. The English \( h \) is an unvoiced sound, [h], and it is altered to the voiced \( h \) [ɦ] in Bengali: e.g., হাইকোট [haiko:t] High Court. [s] and [ʃ] of English fall together in Bengali as শ, স [ʃ]; [st] normally becomes স [ʃ], but the pronunciation [st] is also heard, and occasionally we meet with the spelling স্ট in an attempt to be more faithful to the English original (cf. the recent Dēvanāgarī ligature ॐ = « sêt »).
(z) and (ʒ) become ʃ [ʃ] in naturalised words, e.g., ʃebras [ʃebras] zebra, ʃulu [ʃulu] Zulu, ʃebras-geləʃ [meʃar geləʃ] measure glass, etc., but the [z] sound is often heard. This [ʃ] becomes [dz, z], as usual, in East Bengali.

The equivalent of the unvoiced spirant th [θ], as in thin [θin], is the aspirate ʃ [θ], e.g., ʃtèetar [thiətər] theatre. The voiced dental spirant θ [θ], as in then [θen], regularly becomes the dental stop ḍ [d]. We would expect consistency in this matter by meeting with ʃ [dʃ] for [ʃ], which is the regular Marāṭhi and Gujarāti substitute for the English sound: but as in the case of ʃ [kʃ] and ʃ [gʃ], unvoiced aspirate and voiced stop, for the spirants [x, ɣ] of Persian (see supra, pp. 572, 599, 600), the voiced spirant becomes a mere stop. Hindōstānī agrees with Bengali in employing [θ] for [θ] and [d] for [θ].

The unvoiced denti-labial spirant [f] is written ʃ < ph > in Bengali, with its three-fold pronunciation of [ph, v, f]. Intervocally and finally, the sound tends to become a mere stop [p]: e.g., ʃap [ʃap] office, ʃap [ʃap] half.

The treatment in Bengali of the voiced denti-labial spirant [v] of English shows how recent the spirant pronunciation of ʃ < bh > is in the language. (See supra, pp. 442, 443). During the first half of the 19th century, English [v] is ordinarily represented by ʃ [b]: whereas at the present day it is invariably ʃ = [bʃ, v, v]. In the Portuguese loan-words in Bengali, we have only ʃ [b] (see p. 631); and in the Roman-Bengali of Padre Assumpçam, in the early part of the 18th century, we have < ph > for ʃ, and < bh > for ʃ, never < f, v >. So long as the modern spirant value of ʃ < bh > did not develop, the stop ʃ < b > was used for the foreign denti-labial or bilabial spirant as its nearest equivalent in Bengali (cf. also p. 616, for treatment of Persian < w, v > in Bengali). We have typical early 19th century English loan-words and names like the following: ʃbisubiyas > Fesuvis; ʃbaimi > varash; ʃbaimi > varash; ʃgambn̩ar, ʃgambn̩ar > governor; ʃbaikont > ʃbaikont > viscount; ʃbimil > ʃbimil > Virgil; ʃnembm > ʃnembm > November, etc., etc. It seems that the spirant pronunciation of ʃ < bh > became established (at least among certain
speakers of the Standard Colloquial) during the middle of the 19th century: in the Hutiom Pëndur Naksā (1862),  ve is used in transcribing some English words, e.g., dëibhin > driving, inndælænt > insolvent, sibhijësän > civilisation, skëbënjar > scavenger, bhâlumns > voluminous, etc., but ve also is used. We see that v(e) for [v] is almost the rule in the first quarter or first third of the 19th century, but from the second half ve > bh is seen to be coming into prominence: but the v(e) > tradition holds its ground well on towards the end of the 19th century: thus spellings like klëib > Klăib > Olie, barmåkùr > vernacular, baiðar(t) > bæisry, -ray > vicerooy, bëibar > bëibar > bearer (the animal), kålbin > Kålbin > Colvin, båktõryë > Viktoria, Dåbtàn > Doveton, Trübilõr > Tribiliyán > Trevelyan, bålùin döral > Bålánthin-Dubál > Valentin Dval, bëînjar > Bålțöyär > Voltaire, bünsept > etc., are found, among hundreds of similar names and words, in Bengali literature and periodicals of the second half of the 19th century.

The spirant pronunciation, however, seems to be spreading now. Beames remarked in his Bengal Grammar (Oxford, 1891) : 'it takes a Bengali boy many years' training before he can pronounce the English v, and many never attain to it ...... Some Bengali writers have conceived the erroneous idea that the European v corresponds to their ve bh, thus they transliterate sëvah 'an assembly' as shova, which is absurd' (p. 9). But there cannot be any doubt that the transliteration shova indicates a spirant pronunciation, [ʃoːva, ʃoːva]: the spirant in extremely quick articulation loses its friction and so disappears. Thus, the word şëbaha, pronounced [ʃoːva, ʃoːva], results in [ʃoː], and even [ʃː:], in Calcutta, as in şëbëbëjâhr > sh'vâjar [ʃobhâbajjar > ʃo(v)abujjar > ʃobajjar] name of a quarter in Calcutta town (see p. 403—[waː, oː] becomes [ɔː] in Bengali). Present day transcriptions like Avilash, Amitava, Biva, Prova, Shulov, Durlov, Vishma, Vramar and even Vadraloge, gentry and Mohavarot for Abhilash, Amitâba, Bibhâ (Vibhā), Prabhâ Sulabhâ, Durlabhâ, Bhîsma, Bhramarâ, Bhadra-lokâ, Mahâbhârata, etc. have a real basis on the pronunciation.
392. The Semivowels \( y, \text{v} = [\text{i}, \text{w}] \) of English.

The palatal semivowel is always dropped before \( [\text{i}] \), e.g., डाइंग क्लिनिंग ['daiŋ kliniŋ] Drying and Cleaning, in Calcutta shop signs; and it becomes a full vowel, \( [\text{i}] \), before the other vowels. Intervocally and at the end of a syllable, it is changed to \( [\text{u}] \).

[\( \text{w} \)] is dropped before \( [\text{u}, \text{o}] \). Before \( [\text{i}] \), it becomes \( [\text{u}] \); and before the other vowels, it is lowered to \( [\text{u}] \), written ओ 'ô'. E.g., उड-, उड-पेंसिल ['ud-, ut-penfil] wood pencil; उल ['ul] wool; the word 'woman' is ordinarily pronounced ओमान ['omən]; उईल ['u:l] will; रेल्वे ['relo:] railway; ओयर्ड-सार्थ ['aerd-soarth] Wordsworth. For an attempt to represent the \( [\text{w}] \) (as well as the \( [\text{v}] \)) sound of English by the letter ब 'b', see pp. 534, 535.

The usual consonant changes—voicing, unvoicing, elision, metathesis etc., are present in the English loan-words.

**Typical Naturalised English Words.**

393. Below are given some common English words naturalised in Bengali. The phonological alteration in most cases is plain, but in some instances they are complicated, through folk-etymology. Extreme folk-forms are often very widely removed from the original.

*अरेल-कृष्ण, -केलंड [oəl-(k)e]ott(h)] oil-cloth; आउट [aut], earlier 'उट [out] out; आपिस, आफिस [ap(h)i] office; आपेल [apel] apple; आर्डली [ardali] orderly (noun); आस्ताबल [astabal] stable, cf. Perso-Arab. 'istabul', from Greek from Latin; इक्कस- इक्कस-टेंस [inkom-, iŋkam-teko:] income-tax; इक्स ['iŋkə] inch; इक्सेंसिप्टर ['insepktər, -tər] inspector; इक्सेम्प्ल ['ikspo:] stamp; इक्सन ('in) ['inbən, -sən] station; इक्सियर ['iksimar] steamer; इक्सल ['ikkul] school; इक्सट ['ikst] street; इक्सल पेन ['ikt-il-pen] steel pen; इक्सिंग, इक्सिंग ['iksp(i)riŋ] spring (coil); इक्सल ['igəl] eagle; उड ['uil] will; उड-, उटपेंसिल ['ud-, utpenfil] wood pencil; इक्सिबिशन, इक्सिबिशन, एक्सिबिशन [egiksbijon, ekfi-, ekfi-] exhibition; इक्सिबिशन [egiksbamin] examine = examination; एक्सिन ['ekti] acting + the nominal affix -ि,ङ्र

*; एक्सिंग, इक्सिंग, इक्सिंग [eariŋ, ıariŋ, iarrıŋ] earring; एक्सि, एक्सि, 'एक्सि, [en'tanʃɔ, en'tenʃɔ, en'trens] entrance = matriculation
examination; এটাকিন [ęʃːakin] stockings; ওরাইন, -রেন [oarin, -ren] warrant (legal); ওয়েস্ট রুম [oetʃiː rum] waiting room;


also ড়াক্টর [daktɔr] *doctor*; ডমল, also a recent डेन्सेल [dambel, dambel] "dumb-bells (for exercise)"); ডেস্টি [depti, dipti] "deputy = deputy magistrate"; ডেস্ট, ডেন [dest, dēkə] "desk, showing metathesis;"

তারপলিন [tarpolin] "tarpauline, also ত্রপল, ত্রিপল, তেরপল [trepol, tripol, terpol]; তারপিন [tarpin] beside তারপিন [tarpin] turpentine; তোরঙ্গ, তোরঙ্গ, তোরঙ্গ [torong, torong, torong] "trunk, box"; থিয়েটার [theater] "theatre;"

দেরাজ [daraʃi] from [*draʃ] "drawer, chest of drawers; নভিসমার [nabhismbar], older নববমার [nrebembar] November; নবম [nombor] "number; লুটিফ [lutiʃ] net, the [i] for [s] is exceptional; লুটিশ [lutiʃ] notice, cf. পুলিস below; a vulgar লুটিশ [lutiʃ] with [l] for [n] is also found;

পণ [pən] from [*pæŋ] "pound (in the paper trade); পলসার [polostora, -tara] "plaster"; পান্নী [panʃi] "pinnacle: connection with পণ "< pani; water" according to folk-etymology?; পলসিস [paliʃ] "polish"; পলীত, পলিয়েট, পলিওল, পলিওল, পলিওল [piliʃəl, pilisol, pilisəl, pilisəl] "pasts-board, based on a form like [s]peʃbɔrd < peʃisələd: st > s > j > i, i ]; পুট [pʊt] "pit" (in tailor's measure); পুটিং, পুটিঙ [pʊtiŋ, pʊtiŋ] "putty (in repairing glass) (influenced by pudding?); পুলিস [puliʃ] "police, exceptional case of Vowel Harmony changing [o] to [u]; so পুলিশ [puliʃ] "police,"

পল্টুলেন [pentulun] "pantaloons; ফটোগ্রাফ [fotograf] "photograph; ফিট [fi:t] "feel, fit; কটন, beside কটন, কটিং [phitən, phetin, phetin] "large carriage, pheton; ফ্লু, ফ্লাস [phlu:ʃ, phlu:ʃ] "flute; ফেল, also occasionally ফেল [phel, phelil] "fail; ফাজান [fæʃən] "fashion; পাপার [papər] "paper (legal term): cf the common Bengali পাপড়, পাপার পাপার, পাপার "thin round wafers of spiced gram or pulse paste (parpata); বল্গল [balgiʃ] "buckles; বৌ বৌ [bogil] "buggy; বিডি [bodį] "bodice, with exceptional loss of final [s];

বার্গাইস [barʒaiʃ] "bureaucracy (type); বার্গাইস, by metathesis বার্গাইস [baʃəl, baʃəl] "box; বার্গাইস [baznaiʃ] "varnish; বাইসমান [bazman] "vice-man, mechanic; বাইবের [biber] "beaver; বুরু [buriʃ] "brush; বুলু [bulu: blue (dye); বেশিক [beniʃ] "bench; বেলাটেরা [belestara] "blister (medical), cf. পলসার [polostara] above; বাটল [bætəmbol] "bat and ball (see p. 532); ভিটিট [bɪtɨt] "visit, doctor's fee; মর্লোন [mətən] "mutton; মর্লোন beside মর্লোন [margiʃ, mərgiʃ] "mortgage; মেরিজিতিট, মেরিজিতিট [mərgiʃər, ma-] "magistrate; মায়েন্টা(R), মায়েন্টার [mæŋenta(r), mæŋendar] "magenta (red), with intrusive final [r]; মানোর [manoar]
man o'war, battleship; মার্কিন [মার্কিন] American, with loss of initial [ə] [মার্কিন]; মাস্টার, মাস্টার, মাস্টার [মাস্টার, মাস্টার, মাস্টার] master, teacher; মিউনিসিপালিটি [মিউনিসিপালিটি] municipality (see p. 216); মেম, মেম [মেম, মেম] European lady < মেম, মেম; মটর [মটর] motor [মটর], influenced by the native word মটর [মটর] pea; মামলেট [মামলেট] omelette, with prothetic [m];


লজ্জাস, লজ্জাস [লজ্জাস, লজ্জাস] lozenges (sweets), influence of native root চুস < চুস> suck, and peculiar change of [l] to [r] in the alternative form; লতান [লতান] lantern, lanthorn; ল্যাম্প, ল্যাম্প [ল্যাম্প, ল্যাম্প] lamp; ল্যাব [ল্যাব] lot (of goods); ল্যাত [ল্যাত] lord, governor of province; লিবার [লিবার] (infinitive) liver, also ল্যাবার [ল্যাবার] labor; ল্যাট for ল্যাট [ল্যাট < ল্যাট] note (money), showing vulgar change of [n] to [l]; so লুটিজ [লুটিজ] notice; ল্যান্ডমার্ক [ল্যান্ডমার্ক] long boat (attached to a steamer) = satellite.


হাত [হাত] hundred-weight (see p. 641); হাত [হাত] half: হাপসাইড [হাপসাইড] off-side, in game of foot-fall, with prothetic [f]; হিব্রু [হিব্রু] Hebrew; হারমোনিয়া [হারমোনিয়া] harmonium, with vulgar dropping of final [m]; হ্যাইল [হ্যাইল] fishing wheel; হ্যাট [হ্যাট] hat; etc., etc.