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INQUIRIES INTO THE SPOKEN LANGUAGES OF INDIA

FROM EARLY TIMES TO CENSUS OF INDIA 1901

FOREWORD :—

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FOREWORD

In dedicating to the Queen his *Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* (1868), W. W. Hunter, who laid the foundations of statistical collection in the newly proclaimed Indian Empire, pleaded that more intimate knowledge and appreciation of every aspect of the mosaic of the life of the Indian people was essential if Her Majesty's Government wished not to repeat the mistakes of the East India Company which resulted in the upheaval of 1857. Hunter pleaded not only for the establishment of a machinery for the collection of various kinds of statistical data designed to reflect the economic condition of the people but the systematic collection of sociological and ethnographic data of every significant kind to give the Government a continuing and confident feel of what was happening in every corner of the country.

This concern must have been widely shared at the time. For, almost simultaneously the 1860s saw the birth of the statistical service; the beginnings of the great statistical accounts of each district and province which culminated in Hunter's own monumental series of statistical accounts to be continued in the scheme of Gazetteers; the researches of the Census of India which began the great decennial census in 1871-72; the ethnographic surveys of which one of the brilliant first products was E. T. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* in 1872; the quickening of the activities of such marvellous institutions as the Survey of India and the Archaeological Survey of India; and, not least impressive of all, the spearheading of an investigation into Indian languages and speeches by such scholars as Godwin Austen, John Beames, George Buhler, Robert Caldwell, George Campbell, Hyde Clark, R. N. Cust, E. T. Dalton, Rudolf Hoernle, W. W. Hunter, F. Kittel, F. Max Muller, Rajendra Lal Mitra, G. U. Pope, H. G. Raverty, R. B. Shaw, L. D. Skrefsrud, E. Trumpp, W. J. Williamson, John Wilson and others. The individual efforts of linguists found a common focus in the decennial census investigations which attempted a series of systematic classifications, beginning with D. C. J. Ibbetson's chapter on languages in his Report on the Census of the Punjab taken in 1881. This was followed by J. A. Baines's chapter on the Distribution of the Population according to Mother Tongues in the 1891 Census of India, ably supported by two provincial reports by E. A. Gait on Assam and H. A. Stuart on Madras. The available information on languages was epitomised in George A. Grierson's monumental chapter on Mother Tongues in the 1901 Census of India which in effect was an advance blue-print and framework of his great Linguistic Survey of India, a work which had begun as early as 1886 and was completed with the last volume, significantly called the first in the series by Grierson, in 1928.

The Grierson classification, just completed, was closely obeyed in the 1931 Census of India. Census work on languages was interrupted in 1941 and 1951 for reasons that have been explained in the 1961 Census of India Publication Volume I, Part II C(ii) (Language Tables). In August, 1957, the late Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, then Home Minister, recorded a minute that the Government would have to consider the matter of a more systematic and rational presentation of mothertongue statistics when preparing for the next Census. One of the first things, therefore, to receive attention in the second half of 1958 when preparation for 1961 began was the problem of

presentation of census language data. Since the Linguistic Survey classification still held firm and unassailed in its essential details as well as its broad architectural design, despite the researches of the last forty years, it was felt that the census could afford to undertake this task and in the process incorporate the major achievements of post-Grierson research. The first preparatory work to be accomplished was to classify all the mothertongues returned in 1951 into several class ranges of the population returning each tongue. Within each class range, mothertongue was further arranged in the descending order of speakers. These classified lists were prepared for each State and District, and as far as possible each numerically minor tongue was tracked to 1951 census tracts to facilitate identification of the population and its exact geographical location for the purpose of field scrutiny and investigation. Simultaneously, lists were made of mothertongues returned in 1951, but not traceable in Grierson as well as of mother tongues returned in 1951 and traceable in Grierson. For each mothertongue so tabulated, the comparative estimates of population were made between 1911 and 1951. This preliminary work was completed in order to obtain an idea of the likely dimension and feasibility of the task in 1961. It was felt that a first step in the right direction would be to draw the attention of the State Governments to this problem and enlist their support with a request to place their linguists and technical experts at our disposal. It was clear that the success of the 1961 presentation, if it was to avoid the woodenness of approach of a mere alphabetical ordering or the absurdities arising from computing of mothertongues, merely and exactly as they were returned, would largely depend, first, on the extent to which certain mothertongues could be traced to their ultimate origin (the house, the village, the taluk or district) and secondly, the efficiency of the machinery which would undertake quick spot surveys and if necessary collect speech specimens and lay on spot invetigation by experts. Despite their preoccupation with the 1961 Census and their exacting tours, many State Superintendents, with their efforts co-ordinated and directed by the Linguist, Shri R. C. Nigam, found the time and energy to continue systematically to collect information on the lines mentioned.

Apart from the immediate task of presenting mother tongue statistics in the way they have been in the 1961 Census volume mentioned above, a concurrent but more long-term task was envisaged in two stages :

First, the organisation of an efficient task force for spot checks, field collection of speech specimen and re-sorting of slips for ancillary and cultural details.

A subsidiary task was to prepare a skeleton grammar, word book and discontinuous and continuous text for each of the languages of the Constitution and some of the numerically major languages outside it.

Secondly, a more extended long-term survey, in the manner of Grierson's LSI which would continue work in the intercensal period and would bring in a richer harvest to 1971 and 1981.

Both tasks have made some progress. In the 1960s, several areas, particularly, one in the West, the second in the North and the third in the East, have been elaborately investigated *in situ* and the project of a skeleton grammar, word book and discontinuous and continuous text of the languages of the Constitution and several other major languages has started appearing in print.

The present volume forms part of the second task of the extended long-term survey which includes library studies on the situation of spoken languages in India from early times.

The evocative maps in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India stimulated in the present writer the desire for compiling an historical Atlas of the speeches of India on the strength of evidence contained in recorded texts. This idea was warmly welcomed by Shri R. C. Nigam, Linguist to the Registrar General of India and his colleague, Shri Ram Adhar Singh. Contrary to popular notions, an astonishing wealth of information on Indian speeches as well as written languages, lies to be unearthed in Indian literature, no more than a glimpse of which has been afforded by this impressive work of Shri Ram Adhar Singh. The main idea behind the present writer's suggestion to Shri R. C. Nigam and Shri R. A. Singh was that it might be possible to reconstruct an array of maps in time series showing the actual geographical and cultural frontiers of particular speeches and the shifts in their fortunes over space and time. Such a series of maps if properly reconstructed would give us an idea of the knowledge that people of a particular tract possessed not only of themselves and their immediate surroundings, but of peoples and speeches prevailing in what they believed to be within the boundaries of India. These series of maps would also afford a vivid idea of migration streams of speeches as consequences of peacelike as well as warlike activities. As is well known, one of the prize booties of war at any time (not excluding the transfer of highly skilled scientists and technologists from the defeated areas of Europe to the conquering countries following World War II) has been the gathering of skilled artists, skilled technicians, craftsmen, the cream of human capital of a defeated territory and transporting them to the conqueror's domain for the latter's enrichment. This has led at every period of history to the impingement of imported speech at vital and strategic points on the everyday speech of the resident population. Such a process, being closely related to contemporary technology, is apt to bring about significant changes in local speech. Again there has been the phenomenon of a conquering invader settling down in the conquered land, with ill-concealed contempt for the speech of the vanquished people as befits a conqueror, resolved to protect the purity of the speech of his own tribe, by forbidding the use of what appears to him as corrupt local speech. Shri R. A. Singh in his translation of *antahpura* in his section ii of Chapter 2 (Indo-Aryan Languages from Patanjali to Hemchandra-12th century A. D.) has used the word 'harem', but which really should be 'the royal household' which included not only the women folk, but also the progeny and the more intimate attendants, because more than the fear of pollution of the speech of the womenfolk, the king obviously desired that his children and descendants should be protected from local degenerate speech.

It is gratifying that Shri R. A. Singh has been able to accomplish his task and provide enough material that can be translated into a series of maps which in their turn can be superposed on each other in time series to delineate the habitat and shifts in the territories and frontiers of spoken languages of India. Shri Singh's dissertation gives us an idea of the enormity of the task of delving into the early history of India through its maze of old records, inscriptions, and direct and indirect references for reconstructing a reasonably coherent story of the spoken language situation of this vast sub-continent. The difficulty of the task is naturally enhanced at each major point by a variety of conflicting views and interpretations. Shri Singh has conveniently arranged his findings in three chapters depicting the language situation in three traditionally accepted periods :

ancient, mediaeval and modern. In order to narrow the field of review to manageable limits, Shri Singh has divided the Ancient Period dealt with in chapter I into two : (1) Languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Aryan family and (ii) Dravidian languages. The notable landmarks have been established after the names of those outstanding grammarians or others on whose work on the contemporaneous language situation references have been collected. Thus, the first section deals with the Indo-Aryan languages from the Vedic times to Patanjali (second century B. C.). The second section deals with the period between Patanjali and Hemchandra (12th century A. D.). The third section has been entirely devoted to reference of Dravida languages and literatures. Chapter II dealing with the Mediaeval Period includes most available studies and notices between the time of Hemchandra and William Jones. The modern period for the purpose of details appropriate to this study covered in chapter III has been fixed between 1800 and 1901. This period, being the most productive not only in regard to the studies of spoken languages of India, but also with regard to linguistic study all over the world, Shri Singh has presented in four convenient sub-sections : Indo-European, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Austric. An additional section has been devoted to the studies of the Census Reports and Gazetteers. A number of outstanding Census Reports have been reproduced as Appendix-II.

The present writer was also thrilled at the prospect of reproducing copies of available records of Government proceeding preserved in the Library of the National Archives of India on the founding of the Linguistic Survey of India. It was thought appropriate that the background to the founding of this Survey should be brought to light not only for the delight of scholars, but for the instruction of administrators.

To Shri R. C. Nigam and Shri R. A. Singh, I would like to express my warm thanks and appreciation. The task was hazardous. While I am sure that neither Shri Nigam nor Shri R. A. Singh has the slightest intention to claim the last word on the subject, their modesty does not detract from the stupendousness of their achievement. No library in India can manage to produce on call or extend all that is necessary for consultation. Still Shri Singh appears to have tried to make full use of at least three great libraries, the National Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Library of the National Archives of India in Delhi. On behalf of my colleagues and my own behalf, I would like to extend our warmest thanks to the officials of these three great institutions for having extended unstinted help to Shri Singh. We are also particularly thankful to the Assistant Keeper of the India Office Library in London who, on our request, readily sent us materials on Grierson's Survey as were available in that Library.

It is now my pleasant task to commend the work of my esteemed colleagues to the community of scholars.

NEW DELHI
August 23, 1969

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the field of linguistic scholarship it has become almost a custom—indeed a gratifying one —that any discussion on linguistic matters, be it analytic or historical, is prefaced by an explicit acknowledgement of the contribution the particular branch of science *viz.* linguistics has received from the country of 'hoary antiquity' that is India. 'Ex Orient Lux' or Light comes from the East, has been an oft quoted saying of Westerners in connection with the history of linguistic scholarship and India's contribution to it. As early as 2000 years before the current period almost a culmination of linguistic scholarship appears to have been achieved in India through the efforts of the great linguistician of all time, namely, Pāṇini in the shape of his Sanskrit work "*Aṣṭādhyāyī*". It may surely be called a culmination of a process of linguistic scholarship since Pāṇini himself had acknowledged his predecessors in the field and no less than 68 of these pre-Paninian scholars have been listed lately after researches[1]. An idea of the magnitude of the linguistic scholarship in India around Pāṇini and the period succeeding him and the excellence of this achievement can be had from the fact that on calculation it has been found that over a thousand different Sanskrit works on Sanskrit grammar[2], all inspired directly or indirectly by Pāṇini's model are in existence. It is no longer controvertible information now that it was "the linguistics of the India of more than two millenia ago that was the direct germinal origin of the linguistics of the Western World of today."[3] It is, however, only lately that the advances in linguistic scholarship of the late nineteenth and twentieth century have enabled a full comprehension and appreciation of the works of Paninian tradition of early periods. In this connection one cannot help recalling the eloquent tribute paid by the great and pioneer linguist of our time, Leonard Bloomfield to the work of Pāṇini. He wrote: "Indo-European Comparative grammar had (and has) at its service only one complete description of a language, the grammar of Pāṇini; for all other Indo-European languages it had only the traditional grammars of Greek and Latin woefully incomplete and unsystematic ..... For no language of the past have we a record comparable to Pāṇini's record of his mothertongue, nor is it likely that any language spoken today will be so perfectly recorded".[4]

It may not be out of context here to hint at the assessment made by the senior authorities in the field of the achievement of ancient Indian (Sanskrit) scholarship in different branches of linguistic science. Commenting upon the display of the level of phonetic discourse of ancient Sanskrit scholars, W. S. Allen, prefacing his great work[5], wrote "The recognition that analysis so advanced in their technique should have been evolved at so early a date may well inspire a salutary scientific humility.... ... . .".

The oldest of Indian works *viz.* the texts of the *Ṛgveda* as have been preserved till the present day in the face of relentlessly encroaching linguistic change of the succeeding periods would be a

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[1] Belvalkar. —*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p.1.

[2] Sandys, J. E. —*A History of Classical Scholarship*, 1903-8, i.p. 259.

[3] Emeneau, M. B.—India and Linguistics, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 75, p. 145.

[4] Bloomfield, L.—*Language*, V., p. 270.

[5] Allen, W. S.—*Phonetics in Ancient India*.

complete loss to posterity if it was not, as M. Winternitz[1] considered properly taken care of by phoneticians of those times who have given every evidence of their being masters of phonetic science.

Regarding achievement in the field of linguistic morphology in the Paninian traditions Emeneau's opinion may be quoted. "The Hindu achievements in morphological description were of a kind that we have only just begun to rival in modern Western descriptive linguistics and that we have not yet bettered"[2].

This much about the traditions of Sanskritic scholarly activities of the ancient India specially of the north. Regarding the south of this vast sub-continent also considerable evidence of scholarly activity of high order is available. According to the current run of opinion Tamil developed a literary mode which is essentially South Dravidian and its traditions are at least 2000 years old. *Cankams* or *Sangamas* 'literary assemblies' flourished in Tamil land from fairly high antiquity. The earliest scholarly work available in Tamil or South Dravidian linguistics is *Tolkāppiyam*, although for lack of satisfactory studies of this great ancient work opinions regarding the assignment of a definite period to this work are not conclusive. Moreover, studies so far appear to indicate that *Tolkāppiyam* is not a work but a *Corpus*. Certain inconsistencies in the texts have given rise to the belief that *Tolkāppiyam* itself was the work of a grammatical school developing its ideas from time to time rather than that of an individual author[3]. Still even if the opinions in favour of a later date for *Tolkāppiyam* are accepted, it does not come down beyond 5th Century A.D. The coverage includes letters (*ezuttu*), that is the phonology of old or classical Tamil words, forms, inflexions : and subject matter or content of old Tamil poetry (*Porul–artha*). While it is considered that in the foreseeable future more exhaustive and authoritative studies on this great work will throw more light on the achievement of linguistic scholarship of South India, the knowledge gained so far has in itself been infinitely rewarding. Professor T. P Meenakshisundaran in his studies of the work has noted that "*Tolkāppiyam* is unique amongst ancient grammatical works in giving the distribution of the sounds or phonemes. He describes their initial, medial and final occurrences and the nature of clusters. This helps us to understand the phonemic structure of the language"[4].

Scholarly achievements of Ancient India specially in the field of Sanskritic (Indo-Aryan) studies, Dravidian field remaining unattended till much later date, as have been described above, however, remained hidden from and inaccessible to the western scholarship till as late as the end of the 18th century. In the year 1784, a number of administrative and judicial officers of the East India Company in Calcutta formed themselves into a scientific society called Asiatic Society and got busy with their studies in various types of scientific enquiries on Indian history, languages and literature. It was Sir William Jones, Society's founder, who is credited with the great event of world's history of linguistic and literary scholarship *i.e.* discovery of Sanskrit for the West. His Third Annual Discourse of the Asiatic Society (of Bengal) delivered in 1786, which is considered the first official or public statement on the subject of his discovery of Sanskrit with interesting comparisons with languages of the West *viz.* Greek and Latin, and then positing of a genetic relationship among

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[1] Winternitz, M.—*A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I., p. 285.

[2] Emeneau, M. B.—*Op. Cit.* p. 147.

[3] Meenakshisundaran, T. P.—*A History of Tamil Language*, V, p. 52.

[4] Meenakshisundaran, T. P.—*Op. Cit.* p. 57.

them, is known to all. This 'discovery' appealed to the Western Scholarship where interest in philological studies and enquiries with special reference to Sanskritic studies resulted in works of great value. Much of the knowledge of ancient Indian literary history available today is due to the untiring efforts of those western scholars who learnt of Sanskrit of India through Jones. It is not intended here to go into the details of this scholarly activity of the major part of the nineteenth as also of the current century and of the notable contributions made by different scholars in the line since authoritative accounts on the same are already available. It is, however, clear that for a long time after that 'discovery of Sanskrit' western scholars, almost till the end of the first half of the 19th century, devoted themselves to working out in detail the historical problems connected with the classical languages including Sanskrit on the one hand and contemporary European languages on the other. Studies on Sanskrit and other aspects of ancient Indian (Sanskritic) culture were done extensively and in this connection names of Schlegel, Burnouf, Lassen, MaxMüller, Roth, Bohtlingk, Oldenberg and Winternitz come up as notable for major contributions. Studies in philological science with the beginning of comparative studies of Sanskrit and other classical languages of Europe appear to have been given a start by Franz Bopp and were further continued with great zeal and assiduity and brought to a maturer stage by subsequent great scholars. In this connection also we shall make only a passing reference to the names of scholars which come up automatically. They are Grimm, Pott, Schleicher, Whitney, Brugmann, Delbrück, Meillet, Jesperson and Jules Bloch.

As discussed above we have had conclusive evidence of high achievements in linguistic scholarship as obtained in India of the past. A resurgence of somewhat similar activity, however; is found to have occurred as late as during the beginnings of nineteenth century in countries other than India *i.e.* the West although the interest of this scholarly activity centred around India's past achievements mainly. The earliest and the most authoritative works, the Vedas, in the condition they are preserved in their original shape and handed down to posterity, are by the consensus of authoritative opinion, considered to have been compiled in the 10th Century B.C. From the tentative periods fixed for the compilation of these sacred texts one would like to know the history of India in the age which produced the Vedas. Fixing up of events chronologically on the basis of old records like the Vedas is just like trying the impossible. Even literary history of the post Vedic period has offered little improvement on this aspect of the problem. In this connection Oldenberg wrote, "How unusual it was in the Vedic times for the Hindus to ask the 'when' of events, is shown clearly by the fact, that no expression was in current use by which any year by the present was distinguishable from any other year. The result of this for us, and likewise, of course for the science of Ancient India, is that those long centuries were and are practically synonymous with unmeasurable time".[1] Although since this observation of the great German Indologist, indefatigable scholars, with whatever documentary —direct or indirect—evidence accessible to them, have made considerable progress in fathoming this time-depth of Ancient Indian history,—but Studies in the history or Linguistic pre-history of India with regard to *spoken* languages of the country have been able to make little progress. Such studies for obvious disadvantages of lack of supporting documentary evidence posit formidable difficulties as soon as ancient Indian history is taken up. In this connection the warning given by Professor Jules Bloch may be recalled with advantage.

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[1] Oldenberg, H.—*Ancient India, its Language and Religions.* (India 1962), p. 41.

"Literary languages of Western Europe are national languages as well; there is no divorce between them and the people; there may be a distance, but no gap between them and the ordinary vernaculars and their growth and vicissitudes reflect those of the vernaculars. So the historians of the language are able to discover when, where, how they came into existence and call them to give evidence as to its later destinies ..... In India conditions are vastly different; our knowledge of its languages, at least in their most ancient stages, is based only, or nearly so, on literary languages, of which we know neither the local basis nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars. They do not give expression to the thoughts and feelings of the people, at the most, they give an ideal picture of the culture of a small community..... The linguist has to be very careful in giving their evidence its proper value, before trying to construct the details of the history of Indo-Aryan"[1].

Historical perspective of the Ancient Indian conditions, therefore, as far as prehistory of Indian Languages—literary or spoken—is concerned, is not likely to provide either any satisfactory determination of the situation of the literary languages and their chronological development or reasonably accurate delimitation of spoken language areas. This being the situation any proposal to attempt such an account of the spoken languages in India may appear to be rejectable at the very outset. Difficulties for such an attempt may no doubt be formidable but with the background of such a tremendous scholarly activity in linguistic field in Sanskrit and Tamil in the past and further with the traditions of progress in philological science of the preceding and the current century both in the West and to a certain extent in India itself, it would remain an avoidable gap in the field of knowledge if through attempts like the present one as made by Shri Ram Adhar Singh, even at the risk of treading on the speculative grounds, the great yet not well known linguistic past of India is not linked with the well-defined present. As we see, fortunately, due to continuous efforts of the scholars from the latter half of the 19th through the 20th century, both in the Western countries and in India, capped by the monumental work, Linguistic Survey of India of Sir George Grierson (1905-1927), the modern history of the spoken languages of India is more or less accessible to all reasonably satisfactorily. But what was the spoken language situation like in India before this modern vernacular period—which we have considered to have begun tentatively for matters of inquiries in the language situation from 1901 when the first comprehensive account of Indian languages was contributed by Sir G. A. Grierson in the form of language report for the Census of India 1901—going back to the Vedic ages even is a matter of interpretation and reconstruction from the available evidences—direct or indirect—from extant texts of original old works, inscriptions or accounts of critical nature. The purpose of the present work is, therefore, to attempt such an account as might connect the enquiries of Grierson done at the turn of the current century with the inquiries into the spoken languages of India done ever since the early Vedic times in some sort of historical perspective.

According to the Census of India 1961, population of this vast country is 439,234,771. Language records show that the large population inhabiting the country speak languages belonging to four major language families. They are Aryan, more popularly known as Indo-Aryan (a sub-family of Indo-European), Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic (a sub-family of Austric) and Tibeto-Chinese. Indo-Aryan speakers numbered 321,720,700, Dravidian speakers numbered 107,410,820, Austro-Asiatic 6,192,495 and the Tibeto-Chinese accounted

[1] Bloch, Jules.—Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology, Forlong Lectures for 1929. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London. Vol. V, 1928-30 p. 719.

for 3,183,801 speakers. These statistics, according to language publication of the Census Department, do not account for the entire population of the country, since they exclude a number of unclassified and foreign mothertongue-returns, as also a population of 297,853 of NEFA area from where full information was not received before the publication of the results. As has been pointed out above our historical knowledge with regard to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is considerable. On Sanskrit or Vedic Sanskrit, a very important member of the Indo-European Family, voluminous records being reported dating from the second millennium B.C. are available. These are known to belong to Old-Indo-Aryan Period. Succeeding this period in the Middle-Indo-Aryan stage a number of Prakrit language-varieties are well known. New Indo-Aryan era is considered to have started from the beginning of the 2nd millennium A.D. and it continues till the present day. More than 14 major literary languages of the New Indo-Aryan with large number of varieties in each are also on the whole fairly well known. Of the four major literary languages of the Dravidian family, Tamil has a very old literary history of more than 2000 years from now and has voluminous records.

Kannada, as a cultured language, is almost as old as Tamil. Telugu's literary career is known to have started from 11th century while the youngest among them Malayalam is reported to have started its independent development from the 15th century A.D. About a dozen or so non-literary Dravidian languages are on record to a certain extent. Austro-Asiatic languages include Khasi and Nicobarese of the Mon-Khmer Branch and about sixteen or so languages of the Munda Branch. They are on the whole—all are non-literary—not well-known. Some of them were reduced to writing in 19th century by Christian missionaries from Europe and our knowledge is only form the preliminary accounts of those missionaries. Tibeto-Chinese languages, with their complex ramifications all along the Northern Himalayan and North and North East Indian Territories, are the least well-known. None of them are literary and with the exception of one or two like Lepcha, Manipuri/Meithei or Ahom, had any alphabet of its own. Ahom is now almost extinct although some literary remains are yet extant while Lepcha is also reported to be fast switching over to Nepali and has old literary records of little value. Manipuri has traditions of its own alphabets which probably were used in writing as early as 15th century while evidence of fairly extensive literary activity in this old Manipuri script is available. By the end of 18th century, however, Manipuris are reported to have come under the influence of Vaishnavas of Bengal School and by then their old script came in disuse in favour of Bengali script.

For reasons of lack of any literary activity among the Tibeto-Chinese Family speakers during the course of history and for reasons of their being confined in their habitat in more or less inaccessible regions of north and north-eastern India, the occasions of language contacts with other language family speakers like the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian during the early and medieval periods of history being almost nil, the contribution of these speakers to the socio-linguistic development of Indian people as a whole has been negligible. In any case, since linguistic information on this part of the country is virtually lacking, there is little chance of finding anything worthwhile on the question of reconstruction of earlier linguistic account of the country. In most of such discussions, therefore, it will be found that the scholars have devoted themselves to primarily Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda. Mon Khmer of the Austro-Asiatic Sub-Family have also been used to no advantage for the same difficulty as of the Tibeto-Chinese speeches.

In the context of Jules Bloch's warning as quoted earlier regarding difficulties of filling up the 'gap' between the literary languages and the 'ordinary vernaculars' of India of the olden days

the literary activity of late, however, has been considerable and the information regarding the spoken language situation of India although for the most part remaining as ticklish as ever has now been made fairly comprehensible. Shri Ram Adhar Singh, the author of this book, has attempted to compile the account on the basis of this available information and has further tried to give his own assessment of the early and later inquiries on the subject through his own interpretation of whatever documentary evidence he could lay his hands on. While the reader is commended to Shri Singh's detailed account of the inquiries, here it seems necessary to refer to some of the accepted linguistic positions regarding the early linguistic history of the language speakers and their contacts among themselves with regard to their speeches belonging to the three entirely different language families in the country. This matter of historical relationship between the three families has been largely considered through studies of reconstruction of linguistic or historical data and authenticated conclusions have been drawn. We may, by way of introduction to Shri Singh's account, recapitulate some of the main items in the accepted linguistic situations of the country with some advantage.

Notwithstanding the traditional beliefs that the Indian language of the northwest of the country later known as Sanskrit had an indigenous growth and was only a *daivīvāk*—'Language of the Gods'—i.e. something super-human, the accepted linguistic doctrine for more than a century and a half has been that this language was a form of the Indo-European language and was brought by the invaders from the North-west, later known as Aryans, sometime in the early part of the 2nd millenium B.C. Similarly scientific studies of old inscriptions, archaeological remains and analytical interpretations of available old records in Tamil for a little over a century now have also shown that the traditions of Tamilians of south based on sentiments in considering their language as eternally youthful and pure (*Kannit-t-tamil*) and in finding later normal developments of speech as only corruptions of the earlier 'pure' form can be given no serious thought. With which speech community or communities the confrontation of the Indo-European speakers took place during the course of their raids in the country has been the subject of controversy and has resulted in some amount of undecisive speculation. Discovery of great archaeological sites, Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, first started by Daya Ram Sahni at Harappa in 1920 and by Rakhal Das Banerji at Mohenjo-daro coordinated by Sir John Marshall and later reported by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in the *Cambridge History of India* (1953) as the "The Indus Civilization" set the researches in this direction on some firmer footing. Although a number of short inscriptions on seals—an average of half a dozen letters, the longest having no more than seventeen—were unearthed but unfortunately despite some of the very ambitious efforts made up-to-date this invaluable record of seals with the script not having any discernable identity with either Egyptian hieroglyphs or the Mesopotamian cuniform, has defied all efforts of any decipherment so far. Therefore, this aspect of Indus Valley culture-Harappa culture of the archaeologists has made our linguistic knowledge in no way richer beyond the fact that the culture was literate. Regarding the period of Harappa culture we may take the views of the archaeologists. Stuart Piggot[1] opined, "In its mature form the Harappan civilization is not likely to be earlier than about 2500 B.C. The only reasonably close point of contact with the west, where written records are available, is between the years 2300 and 2000 B.C.". Sir Mortimer Wheeler[2] had considered that "The Indus Civilisation is dated primarily by its contacts with the proto-historic cities of Mesopotamia in the latter half of the

[1] Piggott, Stuart.—*Prehistoric India*, 1950, p. 211.

[2] Wheeler, Mortimer—"The Indus Civilization", *Cambridge History of India*, Supl. Volume, 1953, p. 84.

third millenium B.C. and the earlier centuries of the second". Wheeler, however, concluded this discussion thus, "But the ends of the bracket (i.e. 2500 and 1500 B.C. as the opening and closing dates of the Harappa culture) are very insecurely dated by the seals". Reconstruction by archaeologists have shown that the confrontation of the invading Aryans took place with the people of Indus Valley of high culture represented by great and small high cities-- comparable to the high cultures of the Near East, Egypt, the Fertile Crescent, Mesopotamia—and whose life was mainly based on riverine agriculture. A number of references from *Ṛgveda* (I, 103, 3; II, 20,8; III, 12, 6) are interpreted to show that enemies of the Aryans had walled cities (*Puraḥ*) of which Aryans themselves could not boast. Authentic decipherment or interpretation of the Harappan script being still a far cry, although there have been several attempts so far, the most ambitious being by Rev. H. Heras[1], final word on the language of the Indus Valley documents remains yet to be spoken. While it is not intended here to confuse ethnic, archaeological, or cultural considerations with linguistic composition of Harappan civilization the possibility of Harappan population consisting of speakers belonging to more than one speech family cannot be ruled out. Prof. Norman Brown[2] has argued that "In the third millennium B.C. the Harappa culture in the Indus Valley was partly similar to contemporary western Aryan civilizations and partly to later historic Indian culture of the Ganges Valley". This is a pointer to the possibility of the near Eastern Indo-European speakers being associated with the Indus civilization, may be as its earlier invaders, when, of course, in all probability they also met the original settlers of the Harappan culture area speaking their own languages. In any case, as it has been already pointed out earlier, it is doubtful whether any conclusive statement can be made on the basis of some of the high speculative theories propounded. In this connection here it may be found sufficient to consider the view of the scholars in the field that the language of the Harappan culture was of the indigenous Dravidian stock or perhaps of the Munda stock which is now represented only by a handful of languages in the back-woods of Central India as not quite unbelievable. Regarding Munda membership of the Indus Valley civilization, however, we have a disclaimer from Prof. T. Burrow[3]. "The evidence as it is so far established would suggest that those languages in ancient times as well as now were situated only in eastern India. This is in agreement with the fact that their genetic relationships show that they were introduced into India from the East".

The advancing Aryan speaking invaders in the regions of north Western part of India (meaning pre-partition India) would in all likelihood get mixed up with the indigenous vanquished settled inhabitants of the country and in normal course would take in a greater degree the items of culture and language of the settled population into their own. The same appeared to have happened as the discussion to be done presently will show. From the nature of the present geographical distribution of the Language Families of the country one can see that the Dravidian speeches for a long time have been retreating south giving place to the advancing expansion of the North Indian Aryan speeches leaving a few isolated patches here and there. Similarly Munda speeches also appear to be being pressed up from all sides excepting the East where there is the sea by either Dravidian or Aryan speech areas. Studies on non-Aryan elements in Aryan speeches have of late brought out very valuable results.

[1] Heras, Rev. H.—*Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, 1953.

[2] Brown, Norman—*The United States, and India and Pakistan.* 1953, p. 131.

[3] Burrow, T.—Sanskrit and the Pre-Aryan Tribes and Languages, *Bulletin of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture*, Vol. IX, 2. p. 39.

On the spoken language situation of the incoming Aryans in India difficulties are no less. There is unfortunately nothing in the way of archaeological finds. The earliest and the most authenticated record of the Aryans, the *Ṛgveda*, appears to mark almost the end of a long period of literary history. Behind the compilation of this work how much effort was put in *before* the arrival of the Aryans in this country has been a debated question but the texts do help in giving some positive indications as Prof. Jules Bloch noted[1]. "We gather from it a knowledge not only of definite state of the Sanskrit language, but also a long evolution of it: as there are found in the Veda side by side wonderful archaisms and typical Prakritisms".[2]

The language of the *Ṛgveda* Hymns, therefore, has been considered the literary form of the various speeches brought by the Aryans into India. Later, there comes the time of expanding activities of the Aryan conquerors through which the speeches were to spread along in other parts of the country. The first and the most authentic landmark in the history of the spoken languages of India is in the shape of Asokan inscriptions. While detailed discussions will be found in Shri Singh's account, only this much may suffice here to state that we have definite evidence that in the 3rd century B.C. Middle Indo-Aryan vernaculars were not only in use but had won recognition from the king who used them in addressing his subjects. Prior to their recognition by the king their early history of being in use among the common people for a long time is also thus well established. Moreover, the presence of Asokan inscriptions in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects as far south as Mysore would also tend to establish that by the 3rd Century B.C. Aryan speakers had spread as far as the far south. While the spoken forms of the Aryan speech of the Middle Indo-Aryan stage were spreading among the masses in this way another form of the Vedic language one similar to that used in the Vedic Brahmanas—different from the language of Upanishadas which is found nearer to natural style of speech with simpler grammar—was established and which came to be known as 'Sanskrit' subsequently. Establishment of Sanskrit as the great standard form (colloquial?) of the Midland of those days has, however, been passed on to succeeding generations only as the normative form of it as is available through the masterly work of Pāṇini (not earlier than the 6th Century B.C. but not later than the fourth century B.C.).

Whether Pāṇini described the standard dialect current in his time or whether the dialect described by Pāṇini became the standard on account of his perfection of description[3] has also been a vexed question since Pāṇini himself has been found uncommunicative on this point. Great commentator Patañjali, however, tells us that Sanskrit, atleast Sanskrit of the type described by Pāṇini, had become the language of a considerably restricted elite (*Śiṣṭa*) over perhaps a limited geographical area, while among *loke* i.e. the other classes an almost substandard Sanskrit was still heard. This period is, however, found concurrent with the onward flow of vernacular or colloquial style of the language of the common people (*Prākṛta*) as is evidenced through the Buddhistic works or the inscriptions of the age following that of Asokan Edicts viz. Kharavela (1st Cent. B. C.) and the Bharhut 3rd Cent B. C.) and it is not surprising either if we find the texts on these vernacular documents thoroughly impregnated with Sanskrit because the prestige and the standardized normative form of Sanskrit could not have helped coming in some sort of contact with language of the masses. I will, however, commend the readers to the detailed account of Shri Singh on this line which they will find in the main part of his work.

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[1] Bloch, Jules.—*Op. Cit.* p. 720.

[2] Bloomfield, L.—*Op. Cit.* p. 268;

Reverting to the subject of advancing Aryans in India, it is but normal to presume that the invading Aryan speakers did not enter a linguistic vaccum. Representatives of Harappan culture, who are supposed to have confronted the invaders, although have given so far no indication of the prevailing languages in their time, have been subjected to considerable comparative studies on cultural affinities as a result of which favourable results have been achieved with regard to their affinities with Sumerian culture. A good deal of scholarly effort--C. L. Woolley's and L. A. Waddell's works being the most notable ones—has also gone into the question of ethnic composition of the Sumerians as being different from Aryans. This consideration has led the scholars further to consider Harappan different from invading Aryans of India. As Wheeler[1] wrote "Indra stands accused. He and his Vedic Aryan followers destroyed the fortified citadels of the Harappans. These in their decadence fell before the advancing Aryans in such fashion as the Vedic hymns proclaim". S. Piggot[2] is more explicit when he writes "The recent excavation of Harappa may be thought to have changed the picture. Here we have a highly evolved civilization of essentially non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications.....at a time not distant from the likely period of the earlier Aryan invasions of north-western India". Mixing of Aryan speaking tribes with the indigenous population of non-Aryan tongues was bound to give rise to linguistic borrowings. Among the existng non-Aryan speakers of India Dravidian speakers happen to be strongest numerically. High antiquity of the Dravidian tongues is also an established fact. Earliest inscriptions of south Dravidian discovered early in the century (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1912) bore Brahmi characters palaeographically assigned to about 3rd century B.C. In 1945 the excavations of Arikamedu revealed potsherds bearing graffiti which present short inscriptions showing a marked resemblance to the above-mentioned inscriptions and which have been calculated to belong to 1st Century A.D. (*Ancient India* No. 2, p. 109, 1946). Existence of Asokan Inscription in Mysore proves also the spread of Aryan speakers down south in those early centuries thereby further necessitating a free mixture of Aryan and non-Aryan tongues. Indo-Aryan scholarship, however, does not appear to have been earlier attracted to this line of enquiry until quite late and it was the pioneering work of Robert Caldwell (1856) entitled *"Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages"* only by which the ball was set rolling in this direction. Reasons for this have also been examined. The most important was perhaps an innocuous one in the fact that Indological scholars were indifferent to and even ignorant of Dravidian languages, their major concern being the comparative studies of classical languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. Further archaeological findings like the Harappan sites were still to be made as might cause a revolution in the accepted beliefs on non-Aryan culture and civilization since they were considered primitives while the Aryans were considered to have belonged to high culture of material brilliance in which case it was normal to think that borrowing by the highly civilized victors could not have been done from those whom they conquered. Moreover, earlier efforts in this direction made by Caldwell and Gundert (Die Dravidischen Elemente im Sanskrit *ZDMG* No. 23, pp.517-30) appeared to include so many cases of unconvincing character that a general suspicion against the validity of such an approach altogether influenced the consensus of Indo-Aryan Scholarship. The effect of such a tendency is visible in some of the authoritative works. As for example, in the Sanskrit Etymolo-

[1] Wheeler, M.—*Op. Cit.* p. 92.

[2] Piggot. S.—*Op. Cit.* p. 263.

gical Dictionary of Uhlenbeck[1] and the Indo-European Etymological Dictionary of Walde and Pokorny[2] the topic of non-Aryan influence on Sanskrit has been studiously omitted although earlier in the works of Caldwell (1856, 75), H. Gundert (1869) and F. Kittel (1894) considerable valid demonstrations were finalised in this regard. It has even been found that in some of the works almost fantastic reconstructions of Indo-European have been resorted to in order to avoid the acknowledgement of any non-Aryan borrowing into Indo-Aryan. But the position today is not the same as fifty years before. With continuous efforts and studies of scholars—most notable among them of Prof. T. Burrow (There are a series of his articles published in numbers of J.P.S. London, and BSOS, London. Particularly chapter eight of his book *"The Sanskrit Language"* Faber & Faber, 1955 may be referred to) the influence of non-Aryan languages on Sanskrit has been more increasingly recognised. Further, of all the calculated non-Aryan elements influencing Aryan, the most pronounced influence of this sort on the Aryan has come from the side of Dravidian. It may be worthwhile to refer to the main findings of Prof. Burrow here in brief.

The study of non-Aryan loans in Sanskrit has shown that the Munda influence is comparatively smaller than the Dravidian. Although this conclusion is based on insufficient information from Munda—as is well known Munda information is very meagre—yet the preponderence of Dravidian loans in Sanskrit has led the author to believe that in the North Indian areas occupied by Aryans, the Dravidians had formed a more prominent part of the population than the Mundas. Regarding the period in which most of these Dravidian loans took place in Sanskrit, Prof. Burrow in the concluding remarks of the Chapter VIII of his book *'The Sanskrit Language'* states, "It is evident from this survey that the main influence of Dravidian on Indo-Aryan was concentrated at a particular historical period, namely between the late Vedic period and the formation of the classical language. This is significant from the point of view of the locality where the influence took place. It is not possible that at this period such influence could have been exercised by the Dravidian languages of the south. There were no intensive contacts with South India before the Maurya period by which time the majority of the words had already been adopted by Indo-Aryan". Mixture of different speech communities, however, gives rise to bilingualism. Evidence of the same is also available through the prevalence of words in Sanskrit for basic cultural items like water, fish, forest, hair etc., from Aryan as well as Dravidian sources. Further examination has also shown that during the later development of Indo-Aryan languages the same words on cultural items as stated above from Dravidian sources are not preserved. This has given further support to the stand that Dravidian influence on the Aryan in the north weakened with the passage of time. Significant finding which has emerged from these studies is this that there is a considerable number of non-Aryan loans which still needs explanation while it is certain that they are not Dravidian. A few of them have been linked to Munda sources but there still remains a large number which needs further clarification. The obvious conclusion therefore is that in all likelihood invading Aryans on entering India got merged with language speakers belonging to more than 2 language families *viz.*, Dravidian and Munda.

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[1] Uhlenbeck, C. C.—*Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch der altindischen sprache*, Amsterdam 1898-1899.

[2] Walde, Alois and Pokorny, Julius— *Vergleichendes Worterbuch der indogermanischen sprachen*, 3 Vol. Berlin, 1930-32.

Question of Munda influence has also been attracting the attention of scholars and as early as 1929[1] studies by S. Lévi, J. Przyluski, J. Bloch, S. K. Chatterjee and P. C. Bagchi apeared on the topic. Burrow also contributed a good deal on the problem (See Sp. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1946 (*Loan words in Sanskrit*) while F.B.J. Kuiper's big work *Proto Munda words in Sanskrit* (1948) is also well known For want of comprehensive investigations on the actual field data and the linguistic history of these languages, however, there has been no agreement on the question of loans among the scholars. Recent scholarly activity in the field, however, notable among which are works of H.J. Pinnow, F.B.J. Kuiper and of those attached to Chicago Munda Languages Project (David L. Stampe—Abstract and edited—Recent work on Munda Linguistics IJAL Vol. 32 No. 4, 1966, pp. 390-397) has shown commendable promise.

Grierson in the concluding remarks of his epoch making work Linguistic Survey of India had noted that though in the quest of knowledge 'Light comes from the East', "but the true modern India will never be known to us till the light in the West has been reflected back" on the life and works of the vast Indian population. For this he considered "an accurate knowledge of the vernaculars is necessary, a knowledge not only of the colloquial languages, but also where they exist.....".

We have found that the light from the west *has been* reflected back illuminating much of India which was hitherto enveloped in darkness. To the Indo-Aryan section of languages the first effective impulse for studies was given by Jones (1784). The Dravidian languages were brought to scholarly light by Robert Caldwell while the Austro-Asiatic studies first pointed out with regard to their linguistic unity by J. R. Logan and others were later given a firm footing by C.J.F. S. Forbes (*Comparative Grammar of the Languages of Further India*, 1881). Traditions of studies have added to invaluable knowledge about India's languages of the past as well as the present. An accurate knowledge of vernaculars is indeed an urgent desideratum while Grierson's towering contribution in this line through a vast collection of language specimens from different parts of the country and their analyses gave the most promising start. After the lapse of more than half a century since the investigations of Grierson's language specimen survey, the Registrar General, India felt the necessity—which was long overdue—of giving fresh thinking on the subject and take stock of current Indian linguistic situation on the background of Grierson's existing work and conclusions. Census of India 1961 presented the possibilities of such a project being materialized and so efforts were made to accomplish the same. The scrutiny of language returns supported by certain essential rapid spot surveys was done and the findings were brought out in the publication entitled Census of India 1961, Vol. I, India, Language Tables, Part II-C(ii) (1964). While laying the foundations for furthering the work of Grierson's Linguistic Survey through the Census of India 1961 and foreseeing its successful continuance through succeeding decennial censuses,[2] Shri Asok Mitra, the Registrar General, encouraged us to take up another line of enquiry as was envisaged originally by Grierson that is on the history of Early Inquiries on the spoken Languages of India since the same would serve as an appropriate link between the knowledge of the present and the situations foregoing. We are only too thankful to Shri Mitra for such a suggestion as well as the encouragement he always provided for the pursuance of this line of enquiry. The inquiries were initially pursued by me for sometime but later enthusiastically taken over by Shri Ram Adhar Singh since I was required to devote myself to few other things. I am, however, happy to state that Shri Singh was never found wanting as

[1] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, translated from French by P. C. Bagchi.

[2] Mitra, Asok—*Census of India*, Vol I, Part II c (ii), Note, p. v.

far as his full devotion to this tedious task was concerned and I have my warmest thanks to Shri Singh to offer for the untiring zeal and perseverance with which he completed the assignment.

The purpose and scope of Shri Singh's account on the history of spoken languages in this vast country (India of pre-partition times) have been explained in the foregoing part of this note. Effort is made to collect scattered references and notices of languages spoken in different parts of the country at different times and present them in this account with the analysis appropriate to the problem. The sources on which Shri Singh has drawn his information are varied and include grammars, literary works, inscriptions, chronicles, journals, census reports and gazetteers. In these he has found either there are direct references to names of speeches or has drawn his own inferences on the basis of grammatical features of the speeches described. For the sake of systematic schedule of his account Shri Singh has preferred to mark the various historical periods by the names of scholars whose contributions in the line have been most outstanding. As for example, the first chapter of his account entitled Ancient Period starts with the beginnings of Indo-Aryan speech through Vedic records and it marks the end of its first stage with the time when Patañjali (2nd Cent. B.C.), the author of great *Mahābhāṣya* flourished and who for the first time distinguished the prevalance of local idiom removed from standard explicitly by the name of *Apabhraṃśa* or *Apabhraṣṭa*. This period coincided with the transition of Old-Indo-Aryan Period to Middle-Indo-Aryan stage. The second stage of this Ancient Period has been considered to last between the period of Patañjali and Hemachandra (12th Cent. A.D.). Hemacandra has been credited with ushering in the era of New-Indo-Aryan or the Modern-Indo-Aryan vernaculars and is considered to be the last notable grammarian for Sanskrit and the first of the New-Indo-Aryan. Regarding dates for the historical stages of the Ancient Period, Shri Singh has in the face of controversies taken recourse to following only the most accepted dates of Indian history.

Earliest vedic records, however, do not produce any specific reference to the spoken medium while evidence of considerably rigorous phonetic discipline in maintaining the purity of texts is available through the *Sikṣā* 'instruction in reciting' and *Prātiśākhya* 'phonetic treatise'. There are a number of instances of substitution of one sound with the other, from one Vedic text to the other thereby giving rise to inference that the influence of the spoken medium of the times, even though the language of the Vedic hymns has been proved to be only a literary one, was working. The divergences of pronunciation as between one treatise—*Prātiśākhya*—and the other further leads to the surmise that these disagreements possibly reflect actual dialectal features corresponding to the several *Śākhās* or Vedic Schools. Shri Singh refers to 'hypothetical isoglosses' of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma which seek to delimit certain dialect areas of this period. Study of references from *Brāhmaṇa* literature has led Shri Singh to postulate 3 dialect groups *viz.*, *Udīcya* (Northern & North-Western), *Madhyadeśīya* (Midland) and *Prācya* (Eastern). By the close of the Brahmanic period and in the work of Yāska (500 B.C.), the author of *Nirukta*, the difference between Vedic (*Chandas*) and non Vedic (*Bhāṣā*) becomes obvious. Although a major part of Yāska's etymologies due to excess of emphasis on sense element make this work of doubtful value linguistically yet its evidence may not be totally discarded. The three dialect groups traced in *Brāhmaṇas* appear to have grown into prominence in the time of Yāska. This period witnessed the flourishing of Mahavira and Buddha, the two rebelling princes against Brahmanism in Eastern India who preferred popular vernaculars for their preaching, the literary forms of which were later known as *Ardhamāgadhī* and *Pāli*. Almost contemporary to this period the Brahmins were also

not quite idle. A language somewhat different from the Vedic speech was developing with the elites (*Śiṣṭa*) of Midland which was called Sanskrit and which was the subject of Pāṇini's (5th Cent. B.C.) monumental *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Study of Pāṇini has shown that Pāṇini was not unware of the dialectal peculiarities of his time. For details, reference may be made to the main account of Shri Singh.

The inscriptions of King Asoka are by far the first and most reliable sources of information in this direction. Four marked dialect groups are worked out on the basis of words of the edicts. They are (a) *Udīcya-Kamboja* (North-Western) dialect group, (b) *Pratīcya-surāṣṭra* (South-Western) dialect group, (c) *Prācya-Madhya* (Middle-Eastern) dialect group, and (d) *Prācya* (Eastern) dialect group.

References from Patañjali have shown that the great grammarian was also aware of these dialect groups as have been calculated from the study of Asoka's edicts. He has clearly distinguished the language of the Vedas from the *Laukika* and has even shown his preference for the *Laukika* in as much as these were current in living language. He was the first to notice the prevailing *deśī* (current) idioms in the language. His terms *Apabhraṃśa*, signifying popular speech, and *Apaśabda* signifying popular vocabulary, are well known.

The second stage of the Ancient Period tentatively fixed in this work between Patañjali and Hemacandra presents a number of notable notices of spoken language situation. The fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's (1st Cent. A.D.) dramas discovered in Central Asia brought out the names of *duṣṭa* (rogue), *gaṇikā* and *vidūṣaka* (courtesan and jester) dialects akin to Eastern and Midland dialects respectively of the Aryans while *Gobham* is considered to stand midway between the above two. Shri Singh has found reasons to analyse in detail Bharata's (3rd Cent. A.D.) *Nāṭyaśāstra* since it contains the largest number of specific terms for spoken languages so far. Particular reference is made to the seventeenth chapter. The spoken forms to be used in the dramas by various characters of different ranks have led Shri Singh to infer the possibilities of their reflecting the common usage of outside although Shri Singh is aware of the consensus of the scholars in considering them as at best 'immitation or stage dialects' only. Further five linguistic regions, each described by one of its most distinguishing phonemic features, are also found delimited by known geographical areas. Next notable work *Gītālaṃkāra* of doubtful authorship (3rd-4th Cent. A.D.) is found to present an even more exhaustive list of languages. For purpose of future reference and work of scholars the entire chapter from its Pondicherry Edition has been reproduced by Shri Singh. Reference has been made, although not to the benefit of spoken language situation, to notices by Vararuci (4th Cent. A.D.) and Daṇḍin (6th Cent. A.D.) who in their works have only discussed the literary media. Huien Tsang's (Yuan Chwang, 7th Cent. A.D.) account has been found of little consequence except for the fact that he found the language of Midland as the standard language of India and that he tried to assess the linguistic diversities of the country according to different geographical areas. A list of eighteen *desībhāsā* (vernaculars) is found in *Kuvalayamālā* compiled by the Jain writer Udyotanasūri (8th Cent. A.D.). The relevant portion from the chapter has been quoted in full and analysed. But only sixteen names, instead of eighteen, have been found to have been illustrated. Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (10th Cent. A.D.) has been found to discuss some languages and dialects. The discussions foreshadow the coming era of the New Indo-Aryan through preference for assimilation and simplification of the conjunct consonants etc. Between Rājśekhara and the great Hemachandra (12th Cent.) there appears to be a gap due to absence of any notable reference to literary or spoken languages. Hemchandra's *Siddhahaima-Śabdānuśāsana* is perhaps the last great work on Sanskrit Grammar of the period containing all details of the language available till then. Eighth Chapter of this

grammar deals with Prakrit languages. Before the close of this chapter on the Ancient Period Shri Singh lists the Prakrit Grammarians and Sanskrit rhetoricians also in whose works relevant references are found. They are Kramadīśvara (8-9th Cent.), Rudraṭa (9th Cent. A.D.), Lakshmīdhara (11th Cent. A.D.) Purushottama (early 12th Cent.), Rāma Śarman (12th/13th Cent. A.D.), Viśwanātha Kavirāj (14th Cent.) and Mārkaṇḍeya (17th Cent. A.D.).

The third section of the first chapter of Shri Singh's account is devoted to the history of inquiries pertaining to Dravidian language records. Other non-Indo-Aryan records like those belonging to Austric or Munda and the Tibeto-Chinese languages not being extant for more than 3 to 4 centuries before the present Christian era had to be left out of discussion. A brief discussion on the position of Early Dravidian literary history has already been done in the earlier part of this note. In Shri Singh's account also the reader will get a brief reference to this early history beginning from the times of early *Caṅkams* (Sangams) and then going over to the records of *Tolkāppiyam*. Well known stanza from *Tolkāppiyam* on the names of 12 regions, each presumably characterising special dialect of Tamil for itself, has been examined in some detail with reference to different views of several commentators. A somewhat specific reference to the spoken languages is found in the poem *Maḍurāi-Kāñji* where four kinds of officials are compared with four-tongued Kosaras. Kannada inscriptions, the earliest of them Halmidi, going back to 450 A.D. preserving a clearly distinguished Kannada language from Tamil, give good support to the inference that Kannaḍa should have been a spoken language of the area even earlier than the date of its earliest available inscription. Progress of Kannada language and its development has been further examined by Shri Singh and contributions of Nṛpatunga (9th Cent. A.D.), Nayasena (1112), Durgasimha (1145), Andayya (1235) and Ranganatha (17th Cen. A.D.) have been considered. Confessing his handicap of being a non-native speaker of any of the Dravidian tongues, Shri Singh has based his observations on this part of account mainly on translations. In *Karṇāṭaka Kāvyāvalokana* of Nagavarma (11th-12th Cent. A.D.) a mention of 3½ mother languages and 56 daughter languages spoken in India has been found. Towards the close of chapter brief notes on the records of Malayalam language and notices of foreigners regarding spoken languages of South India have been referred to.

Although for convenience of schematic layout of the account Shri Singh has closed his account of the Ancient Period with the outstanding work of Hemacandra in the succeeding chapter, in order to present a connected history, he has reviewed the situation from 8th Cent. A.D. again since this was the period when incursions of Arabs in Sindh had started and the continuous interrelations between the Arabs and the Hindus necessitating its effect on the spoken languages had to be considered. In fact this process of intermixture of speeches got further impetus after the incoming of Muslims on the north-western borders of the country beginning with the raids of the Mahmud of Ghazana. Evidences from Al-Masudi (10th Cent. A.D.) Ibn Hawqal (10th Cent. A.D.) and Al-Idrisi (12th Cent. A.D.) are referred to to show that the mixture of Arabs with Indians had led to the awareness of language contacts also. Specific references, however, are found to be few and far between. Even in the account of a great and sympathetic visitor to India Al-Biruni (1017 A.D.) one almost completely misses any reference regarding the spoken language situation of the country. He no doubt describes two languages and Shri Singh has quoted the full portion of this account, one as *Masun Fasih* (kept safe or preserved well) and the other *Mubtazal* (vulgar). By the end of 12th Century

A.D. Muslims in India had almost firmly established themselves and thereby evidence is available of their anxiety of picking up proficiency in local tongues. Abdurrahaman (*Addahamāṇa*) is credited with being the first author of the Indian language by his famous work *Sannehaya Rāsaya* (*Sandeśa Rāsaka*, 12th Cent. A.D.). In its introduction names of four languages are mentioned.

Amir Khusro's (13th Cent. A.D.) name is much too well known in the annals of Indian cultural history. His genius being versatile, he has besides his brilliant observations on language in general, left interesting record of the spoken speeches also. Ibn Battuta's (14th Cent. A.D.) account has unfortunately produced nothing worthmention. Babur's memoirs, however, contain some passages bearing some reference on the prevailing speech systems, while there is a mention of number of speeches spoken around Kabul. In *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl (1551-1602) a detailed list of spoken languages is found. Names of languages are associated with the names of geographical regions. Ten such regions have been listed. Southern language areas of Telinganah and Karnatak have also been mentioned. On account of divergent notices by chroniclers and writers of the period on the scope of association of the terms of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani with the speech areas of the country Shri Singh has considered it relevant to add a discussion on these terms and various references available about them. Towards the close of the portion of his account Shri Singh has appropriately made a reference to Grierson's introductory note to his Survey where he has analysed the trend of scholars, missionaries and literary scholar's interest and contribution to the state of knowledge of spoken languages of the country during the last part of the 18th century. This part again as has been seen earlier with the 'discovery of Sanskrit' ushered the era of comparative philology in the world on one side and resurgence of interest of the scholars on the contemporary spoken language situation of the country on the other.

In India also a number of brilliant westerners associated themselves with the newly founded Asiatic Society of Bengal and started reporting their experiences and findings in the Indological field through its Journals and Proceedings. Scholarly activity on the spoken language situation also gave evidence of some increase by the time William Carey's report (1816) on Indian languages was published. The modern period for purposes of this account has been considered by Shri Singh to last from 1800 to 1901. This period, as the account will show, represents the era of not only enumeration of languages but also the classification of languages into families on the basis of philological and comparative studies. The studies, in course of time, produced pioneering works of comparative and historical value while classifications of modern Indian languages were also worked out. During this period distinct Language Families were named, their broad characteristics were analysed and the languages and dialects were affiliated with each Family after philological considerations. Since the number of contributions of great importance were published in very large numbers and some reference to the valuable notices became necessary, it was considered convenient that all such works be discussed under separate chapters dealing with languages belonging to each Family *viz.* Indo-Aryan Family, Dravidian Family, Austric Family and Tibeto-Chinese Family. It is not proposed to summarize this account of analyses of works and the findings of Shri Singh here partly because limitation of space would not permit and partly because at the end of each chapter an outline summary of each is provided under the subheads of the names of languages and dialects which emerged through the various studies during the period, the authors and writers whose work of outstanding nature was witnessed and other language problems which engaged the authors during this period. The reader is, therefore, commended to the details as discussed by Shri Singh in the four succeeding chapters of the Modern Period in his account.

Shri Singh brings his account to a close by devoting a small chapter to the contribution of census and gazetteers to the information on spoken languages of the country. Even though collection of information on languages was considered necessary only for the Census of India 1881 for the first time earlier Census reports of some provinces *viz.* Island of Bombay (1864), Madras Presidency (1871) and Bengal (1871) did contain a few direct or indirect references to some languages, their strength of speakers or the areas where spoken etc. In 1881 Census it was decided to collect language information at all India level for the first time although the enquiry was done under the head 'nationality'. But succeeding Census of 1891 showed that the collection of language or mother-tongue data could be of great value since in addition to the names of languages—in fact many more language names came to light than were known through independent philological studies—which were recorded, the strength of speakers could be ascertained and further areas of language spread as well as contact situations could be mapped out. This would normally be not possible through individual studies on languages. Census authorities were, however, fully aware of the difficulties involved in collecting reliable information on spoken language simply through a brief response of the citizen of the country which was recorded after a question put to him about his mother-tongue. But as early as during Census of India 1891 scrutiny of results showed that the results were very encouraging. As J. A. Baines in his report of 1891 Census of India has recorded (page 130), "But on the whole a very fair delimitation has been obtained of the various language fields of the country and it can be seen how far the accepted scientific nomenclature is in accordance with the usuage of the masses. So far, the attempt has been successful, if only as an aid towards getting a complete and scientifically conducted survey of the whole field of investigation." Indological studies specially pertaining to Indian languages being almost the vogue of the time with the contemporary scholars the officers entrusted with writing of reports of Census could not perhaps remain unaffected by it and we do find a number of authors of the provincial reports of Census Report of 1881 who evinced interest in linguistic discussions while some of them even spared no pains in writing in detail on languages, dialects and their classification etc. Notable among them were Ibbetson, D.C.J. (Punjab report), White, E. (N.W. Provinces and Oudh report), McIver, L. (Madras report) and Bourdillon, J.A. (Bengal report). The purpose of 1881 Census collection of language data being not for linguistic enquiry, in the General Report of 1881 no discussion on classification of languages was done. Shri Singh has, however, attempted to work out such classification on the basis of his studies of the provincial reports of 1881 Census. Shri Singh has further compared the names of languages appearing in 1881 Census reports with the names available in the philological works and has listed out the languages and dialects which appeared in 1881 Census for the first time.

From the Census reports of 1891, Census evidence is available of greater appreciation of informations on languages as such. Baines recorded in the opening paragraph of his report on All India languages that language column in the Census inquiry was retained 'to serve as an aid to future philological inquiry' (page 130). This was the time when Vienna Congress resolution and its recommendation were under the consideration of the Government of India while outstanding linguists like Grierson, Bühler, MaxMüller, Weber etc. were through their studies and personal efforts emphasizing the need of more and more scholarly activity on Indian languages. The question of Linguistic Survey of India was being considered and to lend support to this Baines' report recommending very strongly to undertake a phiological survey of India came out in 1893 which possibly brought the question of Linguistic Survey of India to the field of practical politics and discussions

started on the feasibility of the survey on Government level. Census Reports of 1891 from different provinces contained a wider coverage in respect of enumeration of languages and their classification. Some of the reports contained great amount of original work. While E.A. Gait's report on Assam was not only the most outstanding for its details and treatment of languages but has become a work of lasting philological interest in the field of Tibeto-Burman Linguistics, report on Madras by H.A. Stuart, also in dealing with Dravidian language classifications turned out to be a valuable contribution. Since reprinting of old census reports of lasting value and interest was also planned by the Registrar General's organization, we felt that in order to present the background of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India which started its activities by midnineties it would be only appropriate if these outstanding earlier Census Reports are reprinted in this volume as an appendix to Shri Singh's account. So in Appendix II we give reprints of the following reports.[1]

1. Ibbetson, D. C. J. ... Report on the Census of Punjab taken on the 17th February 1881, Vol. I, Chapter V.

2. Baines, J. A. ... Census of India 1891, General Report, Chapter V § A. Distribution of the population according to Mother Tongue.

3. Gait, E. A. ... Census of India 1891, Assam, Vol. I, Chapter VIII.

4. Stuart, H. A. ... Census of India 1891, Chapter VIII, Parent Tongue (Table X).

Gazetteers of different provinces and districts have also been looked into but the author does not seem to find anything worthwhile on languages. Gazetteers of a few districts like Budaun, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh have been mentioned as they contain brief remarks on languages. Most of the other Gazetteers published after the Census Report of 1881 are found to quote the informations on languages from those reports only.

The account on the spoken languages of India from early times to the end of 19th Century A.D. which is now being presented was considered to be an appropriate sequel to the first publication of this organization entitled "Census of India 1961 Vol. I Part II-C(ii), Language Tables, (1964)" in which the results of scrutiny of the Census returns of 1961 done on the existing frame work of Grierson's language classifications were published. More or less a clarified and systematic account of the spoken language situation of this vast country was first given by Grierson through his Census of India language report for the year 1901. This report took a very elaborate form in his Linguistic Survey of India publication which needs no further praise. Grierson's report for 1901 was reprinted along with the "Census of India 1961 Language Tables" volume. The traditions of language history as well as valuable works and notices of scholars prior to the emergence of Grierson's historic contribution were thought a fitting subject for further enquiry by our Registrar General, Shri Asok Mitra. The same has been done. Knowing full well the pitfalls involved in such a study with regard to either completeness of references or validity of analyses it would be pretentious to state that much has been achieved but perhaps it could be reasonably expected that Shri Singh's effort will be considered by those who are in the field as something worthwhile and certainly welcome. On behalf of this organisation we express our deep sense of gratitude to all those eminent scholars, Shri Singh has specified names of them, who gave their comments and suggestions from time to time during the progress of this work. Our thanks are also due to the authorities of the National Library, Calcutta, Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and National Archives

[1] Tables have not been included in the reprints.

of India Library of Delhi who allowed facilities for work during the collection of references, study of literature and records of proceedings of the Government.

In Appendix I to Shri Singh's account we reproduce the copies of available records of Government proceedings which are preserved in the library of National Archives of India relating to the Linguistic Survey of India by Grierson. Shri Singh has summarized the materials in his Note to the Proceedings. We also reproduce the materials on Grierson's organization which were received by us through the courtesy of the Assistant Keeper India Office Library, London, Miss J. C. Lancaster for whose promptness of action we are extremely grateful. The original scheme of Grierson for a comprehensive Linguistic Survey, his views on methods of work and organization of such a vast project are found to be extremely instructive for purposes of any Linguistic project work. A study of these records will bear out that the remarkable story of a brilliant man like Grierson regarding his scheme of Linguistic Survey and the odds which its author had to face from time to time should be more known to student of languages and linguistics than it is. It is perhaps known to very few that the original scheme of Linguistic Survey of India drawn by Grierson for which he worked and canvassed right from the time of the resolution of Vienna Congress of 1886 and for which he mustered up all possible support of reasoning and scholarship had by March 1891, to be abandoned. C. J. Lyall of Home Department wrote to Grierson in his letter dated 10th March 1891, "Luxuries must wait until necessities are supplied". The scheme of the Survey had, therefore, to be shelved because firstly, Government of India would not be able to afford a sum of rupees 3½ lacs to be spent through a period of 3 years for the Survey, secondly, a number of provinces and princely states had intimated their inability to share the expenditure and thirdly, suitable officers from the Government organization could not be spared for the work. But the redoubtable Grierson would not leave the matter there and so he further pursued the matter with the Government and suggested a scheme of making 'a collection of specimens of every language and dialect spoken in India' since such an undertaking would not require special men and would be carried out with the help of almost negligible amount of money. This scheme of specimen collection was luckily acceptable to the Government and the results of the same, all due to Grierson, we now find covering the pages of no less than 25 printed volumes including parts in royal octavo size. The great Survey as visualized by Grierson even to this day remains a desideratum while financial stringency with the Government still continues to be no less. The Government alone, in this we ditto Grierson, can be, for requirements of uniformity of quality and results, and for successful organization of conducting large technical personnel, the appropriate agency for such an undertaking. But Grierson has shown the way that if bigger undertakings are not feasible then there is no reason to suspend the smaller ones. A few photostat plates of some of the original letters related to Survey are being given in this Appendix.

We end the publication with a detailed bibliography of books and references from which Shri Singh collected most of his materials given at the end.

Calcutta, March 1967. (R. C. Nigam)
LINGUIST

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The value of assistance given and facilities provided by the Directorate of National Archives of India and specially by Shri S. V. Desika Char, Assistant Director, in getting access to the old correspondence of Sir George A. Grierson and getting photo-stat copies of some of them cannot be underestimated. Shri H. N. Mathur and Shri S. C. Basu of that Directorate were specifically helpful.

I am particularly grateful to our Registrar General, Shri Asok Mitra, for providing me an opportunity to work on a subject of fundamental character and it is only on the completion of this assignment I realize how very instructive this whole period of study has been to my own profit. I cannot but feel grateful to our Additional Registrar General, Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, for his very keen interest in my work. In fact, he found time to go through the records of the National Archives of India personally and encouraged me whole-heartedly to pursue the work in a systematic manner to its successful end. Shri K. D. Ballal, the Deputy Registrar General, also very kindly took sustained interest in the work and got the photostat copies of Sir George A. Grierson's correspondence completed under his personal supervision.

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And in the end, I express my indebtedness to the various authors, listed in the Bibliography, whose writings form the basis of this work.

CHAPTER I

Ancient Period

(i) Indo-Aryan Languages from Vedic Times to Patañjali (2nd Cent. B. C.)

(ii) Indo-Aryan Languages from Patañjali to Hemchandra (12th Cent. A. D.)

(iii) Studies in Dravidian Languages from Early Times to 14th Cent A.D.

Due to non-availability of proper diacritical marks in the Press, nasalization of vowels is shown with ∧ on short vowels *e.g.* â, î, ê and with ' on long vowels *e.g.* â, î The final *h* in Sanskrit vocables denotes *visarga*.

This, however, does not apply to Appendices, which are printed, except where unavoidable, without diacritical marks.

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT PERIOD

(i) Indo-Aryan Languages form Vedic Times to Patañjali (2nd Cent. B.C.)

The Vedic hymns, the earliest literary creations of the Indo-Aryan speaking people (1500 B. C. to 1000 B.C.), were handed down, from generation to generation, through scrupulous oral traditions with practically no change in the texts. These hymns were considered to be superhuman (*apauruṣeya*) revelations and were assigned a high religious sanctity. Religion required that not a single syllable of these sacred texts be dropped or altered because for performing *yajñas* the exact pronunciation of the *maṇtras* without a single error in intonation was as essential as the perfect knowledge of the different rituals. A single error in pronunciation could bring harms in place of the desired good.[1] Hence all possible attempts were made by the Vedic seers to maintain the purity of the texts.

The first step towards maintaining this purity was the rendering of the *Saṃhitāpāṭha*, as the Vedic hymns are called, into *Padapāṭha* (word-texts) giving each word in its isolated form. This required sufficient knowledge of phonetic combinations, the rules of accentuation and metre as also of compounds. It is thus seen that the *Padapāṭhas* were works of theologicians who were well trained in phonetics and grammar. The *Padapāṭhas* are quite old since *Śākalya* to whom is ascribed the *Padapāṭha* of *Ṛgveda* is mentioned in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (800—700 B.C.).

The next step of attaining proficiency in pronunciation was the introduction of *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās* among the Vedic Aryans. The dates of these treatises are subjects of great controversy. Some of the *Śikṣās* are as old as *Kalpasūtras*, because as the *Kalpasūtras* are supplementary to *Brāhmaṇas*, the treatises on rituals, the *Śikṣās* are to *Saṃhitās*, while some of the *Śikṣās* were written as late as the 15th century A.D. (e.g. *Siddhānta Śikṣā*). The chronology of *Prātiśākhyas* is comparatively less controversial, ranging from 500 B.C. to 150 B.C., because the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* the oldest among them quotes Yāska (500 B.C.) and the latest the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* is quoted by Patañjali (150 B.C.).[2]

The word '*Śikṣā*' actually means 'instruction', then in particular 'instruction in reciting' *i.e.* correct pronunciation, accentuation etc. of *Saṃhitā* texts. It is esteemed as one of the six exegetic *Vedāṅgas*. The term *Prātiśākhya* means a treatise belonging to each (*prati*) branch or school (*śākhā*) of Vedas. Another word used for *Prātiśākhya* is *Pārṣada* meaning assemblage. The word leads to inference that originally there were assemblies of people, where, besides other things, the general rules of pronunciation were discussed and instructed. The *Prātiśākhya* was thus a treatise on phonetics applied to a school of a particular Veda. The *Śikṣās* deal with sounds in general whereas the *Prātiśākhyas* specify the sounds peculiar to a school of particular Veda.

Although the Vedic seers adopted these measures to maintain the purity of the sacred texts, they paid little attention towards giving the name to the language of these hymns. It is now proved, however, on the basis of later linguistic data (especially of Middle Indo-Aryan period) that the language of these hymns was a literary one though not far removed from the spoken idiom. On a close scrutiny of these hymns, evidence of dialectal tendencies in the language may be brought out, even from the *Ṛgveda*, the most ancient among them. The tendency of substituting a *l* sound for an original *r* sound is witnessed in the tenth *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda;* (cf. *mruc : mluc; rabh : labh*; *roma: loma;* etc). In *Atharva Veda* we find a greater number of words with *l*

[1] Patañjali has enumerated a number of bad consequences of mispronunciation of Vedic texts in the introductory portion of *Mahābhāṣya*.

[2] For fuller details see "*The Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*" by Siddheshvar Verma, Indian Edition, Delhi, 1961, Introduction, pp. 4 ff.

sound, (AV. *lap* : RV. *rap;* AV. *aślīla:* RV. *aśrīra* etc.). The number increases further in later *Saṃhitās* (*Sāma Veda pāṃsule* ; RV. *pāṃsure; Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā likh, kulālā, sthūla, vāla* etc.). The *l* sound was unknown in Indo-Iranian as also in the older part of RV. This growing frequency of the *l* sound may be attributed to the influence of the spoken language which had developed, besides the original *r* sound, a *l* sound also. The influence of the spoken languages is also evidenced in words like *vikaṭa* (∠*vikṛta*); *daṇḍa* (∠*dandra* cf. Greek *déndron*); *āḍhya* (∠$\sqrt{\text{ṛdh}}$) etc.

A number of these dialectal peculiarities in pronunciation have been marked by some *Śikṣās* and *Prātiśākhyas* also. These *Śikṣās* and *Prātiśākhyas* have been sought to be connected with different dialectal areas by Siddheshwar Verma, on the basis of some 'hypothetical isoglosses' which, he thinks, may be provisionally constructed on the basis of variations in pronunciation of different sounds. Two examples quoted from Dr. Verma may suffice here :

1. "Pronunciation of *r* and *ṛ*, mentioned as dental or alveolar by the *Prātiśākhyas*, but cerebral by the *Pāṇinīya* and *Āpiśali Śikṣās*, may suggest the former's connection with the western, and the latter's with the eastern dialects".

2. "The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya's* view of the *yamas* as belonging to the succeeding syllable (nasalization being weaker in this case) and that of the *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* as belonging to the preceding syllable may connect the former with the Ardhamāgadhi-speaking areas, and the latter with other areas."[1]

It is evident from this account that dialectal tendencies were gathering force in the language of later Vedic hymns. Further investigations are needed for a systematic study of these dialectal tendencies. It is not unlikely that these peculiarities developed in the language due to the influence of the spoken idiom.

A few casual references of contemporary linguistic condition of Northern India are found in some *Brāhmaṇas* dating generally from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C. In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* the dialect of the northwest (*Udīcya*) tract is mentioned as the standard form of speech and it is said that they go northwards to learn speech.[2] This evidence leads to the conclusion that there were more than one forms of spoken tongue during that period and that the dialect of the northwest was considered superior to others.

This account of the purity of speech in Northwest is supported by evidence of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* wherein the Kuru Pāñcālas are described as speakers of the best Sanskrit.[3]

In the *Tāṇḍya* or *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* there is a reference to the speech habits of the *Vrātyas* a wandering Aryan tribe, inhabiting generally the eastern part of Aryan India. They did not strictly abide by the social and religious set up of the Brahmins nor did they strictly adhere to the Vedic fire-cult. The Brahmins in their turn did not have much love and respect for them. Regarding their speech habits the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* says: "They (*Vrātyas*) call a sentence difficult to utter when it is not difficult to utter; and although they are uninitiated (in Vedic Religion) they speak the speech of the initiated".[4]

This proves that the language spoken by the *Vrātyas* bore different dialectal features from the speech of the north-west, the stronghold of the

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[1] Dr. Verma, *op. cit.* p. 53.

[2] *tasmādudicyāṃ diśi prajñātatarā vāgudyata udaṃca u eva yānti vācam sikṣituṃ yo vā tata āgacchati tasya vā śuśrūyanta iti ha smāhaiṣā hi vāco dikprajñātā*—"therefore in the northern quarter is speech uttered with more discernment and northwards go men to learn speech, he who comes thence to him men hearken, so he used to say for this was the quarter discerned by speech". *Kauṣītaki* or *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 6; (translation by A. B. Keith, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25).

[3] *udīcīmeva diśam. pathyayā svastyā prājānamstasmādatrottarāhi vāgvadati kuru-pañcālatrā vāghyeṣā nidānenodicim hyetayā diśaṃ prājānannudīci hyetasyai dik*-'Through Pathyā Svasti they recognised the northern (upper) region, wherefore speech sounds higher here among the Kuru Pañcālas; for she (Pathyā-Svasti) is in reality speech, and through her they recognised the northern region and to her belongs the northern region'. Ś.B. III, 2.3.15 Weber's edition; Translation by Eggeling 'Sacred Books of the East' Vol. XXVI. For clarification, the Commentary of Sāyaṇa is also being given here.

tasmādatrāsminloke kurupañcālākhyeṣu janapadeṣu uttarā uccatarā vāgvadati bhraśaṃ śabdāyate atyunnāta bhāṣaṇasya tatropalambhāt devamanuṣyetyādau parigaṇanābhāvebahulagrahaṇātkurupañcālaśabdādapi trāpratyayah.

[4] *adurukta vākyaṃ duruktamāhuh, adīkṣitā dīkṣita vācaṃ vadanti*, Pañc. Brā. XVII. 4.

adherents of the firecult. It may also be adduced from the above that the people of east were developing a speech habit which showed a tendency towards the simplification of difficult sounds like conjunct consonants. In other words, their speech was rapidly deviating from the speech of the northwest.

A passage in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* recognises the corrupt, decayed or mispronounced (*mlecchita*) form of speech in contrast with the proper speech (*vāc*). According to this passage[1], the Asuras (probably the *Vrātyas* or a tribe like them inhabiting the eastern-tract) had to face reverses in battle with Aryans only for their corrupt pronunciation : *helavo helava iti te parābabhūvuh* (for *helavo helava iti* the *Kāṇva* School reads *hailo haila iti*). The word *helavo* is a dialectal variation (with Sandhi form) of *he arayah*. The story is repeated in *Mahābhāṣya* also.[2] The habit of the substitution of the *r* sound by the *l* sound has already been noted above. The change of *aya* to *e* as found in *helavo* is a Middle Indo Aryan phonological feature.

The above account of the *Brāhmaṇas* may form the basis of postulating at least three different dialects/dialect-groups in the spoken form of the Aryan speech during this period. They were :—

1. The *Udīcya* or Northern (or North Western) dialect/dialect-group: the standard speech prevalent in the region corresponding to the modern North West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan) and the north of the Punjab. This dialect had probably greater preference for the *r* sound.

2. The *Madhyadeśīya* or Midland dialect/dialect group :—spoken in what now forms the eastern Punjab and Western U.P.—the *Antarveda* and *Brahmarṣideśa* of the *Purāṇas*. This dialect allowed the use of both the *r* sound and the *l* sound.

3. The *Prācya* or Eastern dialect/dialect-group : spoken in the tract which now covers Eastern U. P., Bihar and parts of Bengal. This was a somewhat debased form of speech with preference for *l* sound.

There is no positive evidence for the dialect of the Midland. But it may be adduced on the basis of later linguistic data, that this dialect stood midway between the standard dialect of the north-west and the debased dialect of the east.

The difference between the Vedic and the non-Vedic (spoken) dialects became quite obvious by the close of the *Brāhmaṇa* period. Yāska (500 B.C.) has, more than once, marked this difference. His *Nirukta*, which for the first time laid the scientific foundation of and formulated rules for etymologies of Vedic words, is identified by orthodox tradition in India with that *Nirukta* which is esteemed as one of the six exegetic *Vedāṅgas*. The word *Nirukta* owes its origin to the discussion of the *Brāhmaṇa* authors about the appropriateness of the verses to be addressed to different deities. A verse containing hints about the deity to whom it

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[1] *tāṃ devāh asurebhyo'ntarāyaṃstāṃ svikṛtyāgnāveva parigṛhya sarvahutamajuhavurāhutirhi devānām sa yāmevā-mūmanuṣṭubhājuhvustadevaināṃ taddevāh svyakurvata te'surā āttavacaso he'lavo he'lava iti vadantah parābabhūvuh@*

The gods then cùt her off from the Asuras; and having gained possession of her and enveloped her completely in fire, they offered her up a holocaust, it being an offering of the gods. And in that they offered her with an Anuṣṭubh verse, thereby they made her their own; and the Asuras being deprived of speech, were undone, crying 'He-'lavah/ he-'lavah'. *ŚB.* III. 2.1.23.

@The Kāṇva text reads—*te hāttavāko' surā haila haila ityetāṃ ha vākaṃ vadantah parābabhūvuh.*

Sāyaṇa's Commentary :

atha te' surāh āttavacaso devaih svīkṛtavacaso he arayo he araya ityuccārayitumaśaktā he alavō he alava iti vadantah parābhūtāh.

Cf. the immediately following passage of the same Brāhmaṇa also *tatraitāmapi vācamūhuh upajijñasyāṃ sa mlecchastasmānna brāhmaṇo mlecchedasuryā haiṣa vāgevamevaiṣa dviṣatāṃ sapatnānāmādatte vācaṃ te'syāttavacasah parābhavanti ya evametadveda.*

Such was the unintelligible speech which they uttered and he (who speaks thus) is a *mleccha* (barbarian). Hence let no Brāhmaṇa speak barbarous language, since such is the speech of the Asuras. Thus alone he deprives his spiteful enemies of speech, and whosoever knows this his enemies, being deprived of speech, are undone. *SB.* III, 2.1.24.

[2] *te'surāh he'layo he'laya iti kurvantah parābabhūvuh, tasmād brāhmāṇena na mlecchitavai nāpabhāṣitavai mleccho ha vā eṣa yad apaśabdah.*

'Those Asuras pronouncing *helayah helayah* were baffled in their attempts. Hence no *mleccha* word is to be pronounced by a Brahmin, i.e. no word not sanctioned by grammar is to be pronounced; *mleccha* means word which is not sanctioned by grammar'. *Mahābhāṣya* 1.1.1.

was to be addressed was called a *Nirukta* verse and a verse without such hints was an *Anirukta* verse. This was the original sense in which the word was used in *Brāhmaṇas*. In course of time, the word underwent an interesting semantic change. Originally used as an adjective to verse, the word came to be used as a noun for the collection of *Niruktis* (i.e. etymologies of words). Greater importance by Yāska and others seems to have been given to the sense element, in etymologising, than to the sound element and hence a number of unscientific etymologies in *Nirukta*.

Yāska calls the Vedic speech as *Chandas* and the non-Vedic as *Bhāṣā*. He notes that certain particles are used in double sense in the Vedic language whereas in *Bhāṣā* they have only one meaning; e.g. *na* used in Vedic to denote both 'comparison' and 'negation' means only 'negation' in *Bhāṣā*.[1] The particle *nu* used for uncertainty and *pādapūraṇam* in Vedic is used in *Bhāṣā* to mean only uncertainty.[2] Even in the *Bhāṣā*, Yāska has marked regional peculiarities in certain usages. A word used in certain areas in one sense carries a different meaning in another area. The word *śava* used in the language of the Kamboja country in the sense of 'speed' (*gati*) means 'corpse' in the Aryan usage. Again, in the *Udīcya* country the word *dātra* is used for a 'sickle' or 'chopper' where as the *Prācya* country has *dātih* for it.[3] In the latter example two different forms, most probably dialectal, have been cited. It will be found from the evidence of Yāska that the three dialects/ dialect-groups traced in *Brāhmaṇas* had grown into prominence by his time. Yaska preferred local idioms in place of Vedic peculiarities in giving paraphrases of some Vedic quotations. If we leave aside his etymological explanations, his treatment of Vedic hymns may give us a norm of the speech of his time.

The dissatisfaction towards the religious hegemony of the Brahmins, first witnessed among the *Vrātyas*, gathered momentum in course of time and by the end of the Brahmaṇa period, the intelligentsia of the eastern India began thinking in terms of something like religious revolution. As a result, two new religious systems Jainism and Buddhism were born, both in Eastern India. The preachers of both these religions were two *Kṣatriya* princes-Mahāvīra (Vardhamāna) and Buddha (Siddhārtha). They not only defied the supremacy of the orthodox religious systems of the Brahmins, but also discarded the use of the obsolete Vedic speech as the medium of their teaching. They rather preferred two popular vernaculars. The literary form of these dialects were known in later times, as *Ardhamāgadhī* and *Pāli*. References to these two dialects are found in their respective religions writings.

Thus, it is clear that the debased form or forms of speech, although looked down upon by the northerners, were coming into prominence during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.. Gautama Buddha had shown a special liking for the spoken vernaculars. When asked by his two Brahmin disciples to get his teachings translated in the old language (*chandas*) from the original profane language of the masses, he plainly refused it, and recommended to them their own languages (*sakāya niruttiyā*) for learning his words. This was a great favour shown to a vernacular by Buddha himself. The local languages, getting impetus from this, developed good literature. But as is usually the case in the history of a language, these local vernaculars also developed, in later times, into literary languages and losing their contact with the masses, became confined to the canonical literature of the two religions.

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[1] *neti pratiṣedhārthīyo bhāṣāyām. Nir.* 1.4.7.

[2] *nūnamiti vicikitsārthīyo bhāṣāyām ubhayamanvadhyāyam vicikitsārthīyaśca pādapūraṇaśca. Nir.* 1.5.12.

[3] *śavatirgatikarmā kamboje̤veva bhāṣyate...vikāramasyāryeṣu bhāṣyate śava iti. dātirlavanārthe prācyeṣu dātramudicyeṣu.*

The verb '*śavati*' meaning 'to go' is used by the Kambojas only;...It's modified form *śava* is used by the Aryans. *Dātih* in the sense 'to cut' is employed by the people of the east while the people of north use *dātra* (sickle). *Nirukta* 2.2.8.

[4] *bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ addhamāgahie bhāsāe dhammaṃ āikkhai. vā vi ya ṇam addhamāgahī bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇi tesim savvesiṃ āriyam-anāriyaṃ duppayacaüppayamiyapasupakkhī sarisivāṇaṃ appappaṇo hiyasivasuhadāya bhāsattāe pairṇamai* 'The Lord propogated, the law in the *Ardhamāgadhī* language; this peace, happiness and bliss giving Ardhamāgadhī undergoes modification when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and domesticated animals, the birds and worms. *Samavāyaṃgasutta*, 98.

Also *tāe ṇam samaṇe bhagavam mahāvīre addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsai.* "Thus O śramanas, the Lord Mahāvīra.....speaks in the *Ardhamāgadhī* language". *Ovavaiyasutta*, 56.

This was the state of vernaculars during the time of Buddha. But the Brahmins were not sitting idle when the vernaculars were developing their literature. A language somewhat different from the Vedic speech was developing as the speech of the elites (*śiṣṭas*), especially in the midland. It was the time (5th century B.C.) when Pāṇini, the great sage, started writing his monumental treatise on this language. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* divided into eight (*aṣṭa*) chapters (*adhyāya*), has fixed a norm of the language for all times to come.

The language treated of by Pāṇini was the speech which was used and analysed by the *Ācāryas* who preceded him and which was the language of discussion and treatises among the elites (*Śiṣṭas*). But Pāṇini has not failed to note carefully the different styles and forms of the Vedic language, which he has noted under different names, such as, *Chandas*, *mantram*, *Yajus* and *Brāhmaṇa*. He has used the term *mantram* to distinguish the forms and phenomena peculiar to *Ṛgveda* (perhaps also the metrical portion of *Yajus* and *Atharva* Vedas). In order to distinguish the language of the Vedic poetry from the rest Pāṇini has the term *amantra* (as in *amantre liṭi* 3.1.35). For the language of the ritualistic formulae Pāṇini uses the term *Yajus* and the forms and phenomena peculiar to the Vedic prose works are noted by the term *Brāhmaṇa*. Pāṇini has almost exclusively used the term *chandas* for the entire Vedic literature (including the *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*) taken as a whole. The word *chandas* should in no way be taken to mean only the language of Vedic verse otherwise the *sūtras* like *abhyutsādayāṃprajanayāṃcikayāmramayāmakah pāvayāṃ kriyādvīdaṃkranniti chandasi* (3.1.42) would be difficult problems to explain. The non-Vedic speech is distinguished from the Vedic by the term *anārṣa* not uttered by ṛṣi (e.g. *sambuddhau śākalyasyetāvanārṣe*. 1.1.16).

Pāṇini has given a number of *sūtras* under the specific name *Bhāṣā*. What was the exact nature of this *Bhāṣā*? Did the difference between the *Chandas* and *Bhāṣā* relate to the specifications of a religious and a secular form or it even referred to literary and spoken forms? It has been suggested that the language treated by Pāṇini was a *via media* between the *Chandas* and *Bhāṣā*.[1]

There is yet another view that the language treated by Pāṇini was the current speech[2] and that Pāṇini uses the *Bhāṣā sūtras* to point out the differences between the Vedic language and the current speech more clearly.[3]

As a matter of fact, the word *bhāṣā* does not occur in Vedic and the √*bhāṣ* is not found in *Ṛgveda*.We find the √*bhā* meaning 'to shine' (and not 'to speak' as its Greek cognate *phemi* means) and √*bhan* (later √*bhaṇ*) 'to speak'. An allied term *vibhāṣā* is used by Pāṇini in a number of *sūtras*. *Vibhāṣā*, in Pāṇini, means an alternative idiom or option. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open it is called option or *vibhāṣā*.[4] The *niṣṭhā* (preterite participle) form *vibhāṣitam* is used in the 7th and 8th *adhyāyas* of his grammar in place of the noun (*bhāṣā*) e.g. *jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya vibhāṣitamuttaraṃ* (7.3.25); *vihbāṣitaṃ sopasargamanuttamaṃ* (8.1.53); *vihbāṣitam viśeṣa vacane* (8.1.74). Besides *vibhāṣā* and *vibhāṣita*, *bhāṣita* (as in *abhāṣita puṃskācca* 7.3.48) and *upasaṃbhāṣā* (7.3.47 conversation) are also used.

An analysis of the uses of these different forms of √*bhāṣ* will help us in determining the real meaning of *bhāṣā* in Pāṇini. The word *bhāṣita* means 'inidcated', 'expressed', 'stated'; *vibhāṣita* carries the sense of 'indicated differently or stated

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[1] Vide 'Problems of Indian Linguistics' by B. K. Ghosh, being the Presidential address of the section of Indian Linguistics before the 14th All India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, published in '*Indian Culture*', B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume (XV) 1948-49, pp. 146-158.

[2] "Pāṇini has rules which are meaningless for anything but a vernacular, apart from the fact that the term *bhāṣā* which he applies to the speech he teaches has the natural sense of spoken language". A. B. Keith '*History of Sanskit Literature*'. p. 9.

[3] "The few rules which he gives with the specific use of the word *bhāṣā* merely point out the differences of the current language from the Vedic usage and are due to the necessity of the arrangement of his work". A. M. Ghatage, '*Historical Linguistics and Indo-Aryan Languages*', Bombay, 1962, p. 107.

[4] *na veti vibhāṣā* 'May or may not is called *vibhāsā* or option'. Pāṇ. 1.1.44.

'otherwise', and the word *vibhāṣā*, as already noted above, means 'statement may be otherwise i.e. option.' To these may be added the word *bhāṣya* meaning 'elaborate statement or commentary (as in *Mahābhāṣya*=the great commentary) and √*bhaṣ* meaning 'to bark continually'. If we compare these words and their meanings we may deduce the meaning of *bhāṣā* in Pāṇini as directive or exegetical language *i.e.* the language of expositions and statements as distinct from the language of poetry and aphorism etc. So the language of later Upaniṣads and *Sūtras* and other treatises composed by religious teachers would come under the purview of the word *bhāṣā*.

A close study of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* would show that although Pāṇini has given no name for the common language, he was not unware of the dialectal (and regional) peculiarities found in it. Some dialects partially different from his standard language have been mentioned by him by regional names and the names of the speech communities. He has mentioned the Eastern dialect (*Prācāṃ*) in 17 *sūtras* (e.g. *alaṃkhalvoh pratiṣedhayoh prācāṃ ktvā* 3.4.18; *prācāṃ kaṭādeh* 4.2.139; *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām* 7.3.14.etc.) and the Northern dialect (*Udīcāṃ*) in 6 *sūtras* (e.g. *udīcāṃ māṅo vyatīhāre* 3.4.19, *āraguḍīcām* 4.1.130. etc.). The following speech communities have also been noted by him.

Prācya-Bharatas (*na dvyacah prācyabharateṣu* 4.2.113; *bahva ca iñah prācyabharateṣu* 2.4.66; *pariskandah prācyabharateṣu* 8.3.75), the Madras (*madrebhyo'ñ* 4.2.108; *madravṛjyoh kan* 4.2.131), the Uśīnaras (*vibhāṣośīnareṣu* 4.2.118); the Andhakavṛṣṇis (*ṛṣyandhankavṛṣṇikurubhyaśca* 4.1.114); the Sālva-Gāndhāras (*sālveyagāndhāribhyāṃca* 4.1.169), the Kambojas (*kambojāt luk* 4.1.175), the Traigartas (*bhargāt traigarte* 4.1.111), the Bāhlīkas (*vāhīkagrāmebhayśca* 4.2.117), the Suvāstus (*suvāstuādibhyo'ṇ* 4.2.77) besides the local peculiarities of Kāśi (*kāśyādibhyaṣṭhaññiṭhau* 4.2.116), Kacch (*Kacchādibhyaśca* 4.2.133), Sindhu-Takṣaśilā (*sindhutakṣaśilādibhyo'ṇāñau* 4.3.93) etc.

The accentuation of a dialect area lying beyond the northern bank of Bias is noted in the *sūtra udak ca vipāśah* (4.2.74). In the *sūtra pratyabhivāde'śūdre* (8.2.83) a communal idiom is noted. The women's speech is also mentioned in a single *sūtra* (*strīṣu sauvīrasālvaprākṣu* 4.2.76).

That Pāṇini was conscious of the growing frequency of the proto-Middle-Indo-Aryan forms in the language is known from his notice of the words like *nikaṭa* (*nikaṭe vasati* 4.4.73); *mātula* (*pitṛvyamātulamātāmahāpitāmahāh* 4.2.36); *libi* beside *lipi* (*divāvibhāniśāprabhāśabhāskārāntānantādibahunāndīkiṃlipilibibhaktikartṛcitra kṣetrasaṅkhyājaṅghābāhvaharyattaddhanuraruṣṣuṃ* 3·2·21); *sphulati* beside *sphurati* (*sphurati sphulatyorghañi* 6.1.47) and the root (denominative) *satyāpa* (*ya*)-*satyāpapāśarūpavīṇātūlaślokasenālobhatva ca varmavarṇacūrṇacurādibhyo ṇic* (3.1.25).[1]

The word *Saṃskṛta* which, in later times, was almost universally used to denote the ancient language of India may now be taken up for discussion. The word *Saṃskṛta* 'prepared' or 'built up', was originally applied to the language of the educated (*śiṣta*) Brahmins of north in the derived sense of 'ornate', hence fit for ritual uses. From linguistic point of view, its distinction lies in its clear pronunciation. Brahmins reciting Veda speak *śabdasaṃskāra saṃyuktam* (with ornateness of sound),[2] and a *vāṇī saṃskāra bhūṣitā* is poured forth on special occasions from the mouth of a moon-faced damsel.[3]

It is known from *Rāmāyaṇa* that besides Brahmins there were some demons also who were quite proficient in Sanskrit. Ilvala is said to have disguised himself as a Brahmin and spoken Sanskrit.[4] Hanūmāna who knew it fully well was in a

[1] The account of Pāṇini's language is based on Prof. Sukumar Sen's excellent paper 'Three lectures on MIA'. *Journal of Gaekwad Oriental Research Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XI, No. 3. 1962.

[2] *Mahābhārata*—1.64-34.

[3] Ibid—13.41.14; cf. *Rāmāyaṇa: vācah saṃskārālaṅkṛtām*, 'speech characterised by ornateness of sounds'; also *Mbh. svaravyaṅjanasaṃskārā bhāratī* 'sacred speech characterised by *saṃskāra* (pure pronunciation) of vowels and consonants'. (14.43.22).

[4] *dhārayan brāhmaṇaṃ rūpam ilvalah saṃskṛtaṃ vadan.* 'Ilvala taking the disguise of a Brahmin and speaking Sanskrit.' *Rām.* 3.2.58.

fix as to what language he should speak in to Sītā If he would speak *Saṃskṛta* Sītā, might mistake him as Rāvaṇa and there could be no conversation in the language of a monkey. So he chose to speak in human speech characterised by purpose[1]. Here the *vāk saṃskṛtā* is clearly distinguished from *vākyaṃ arthavat* 'speech characterised by purpose only' that is a form of speech in which it is essential that it be understood only, it need not possess any beauty or purity. Again the phrase *mānuṣam vākyam arthavat* is used here to denote the language of masses as opposed to *vāk saṃskṛtā* the ornate speech of Brahmins.

A clear distinction between the *vākyam arthavat* and *vāk saṃskṛtā* is made by *Kātyāyana* in *Vārttika* (Introduction p. 8) where he formulates—*lokato' rthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharmaniyamah* 'while the use of the speech form by the people is motivated by purpose (only), there is a restriction for the sake of religious duty (*dharma*)'. In *Vājasaneyī Prātiśākhya* (1.2) the words of daily use are defined as *arthapūrvaka* 'following purpose (only)'.

In Pāṇini, the word *Saṃskṛta* (also *Saṃskṛ* 'build up') has been used, though not distinctly, in its true etymological sense *viz.* 'built up' (from elements). Yāska,[2] Kātāyana[3] and Patañjali[4] have also used the word *Saṃskṛta* in this sense.

If we analyse the different contexts in which the words *saṃskṛta* and *saṃskāra* are used by Patañjali we shall find that purity is the abiding quality of *saṃskṛta* and whenever this word is used for language it retains this connotation. In *saṃskṛtam annaṃ guṇavad ityucyate* (II. 1.7)—'a prepared meal is called of good quality', it has the connotation of 'good quality'. There is the connotation of 'the fitness for sacred purposes' in *upanayanaṃ saṃskārārtham*—'the investiture with sacred thread has the purpose of preparing' (III 1.27); and *upanītah saṃskṛto bhavati*—'invested with sacred thread he becomes prepared' (III.1.1). Again, in *pātraṃ saṃskāreṇa śudhyati*—'through (special) preparations a vessel is purified (1.5.9) it has the connotation of 'bestowing purity'. Mallinātha when commenting on Kālidāsa's *kṛtasaṃskāra caritārthaiva bhāratī* (*Raghuvaṃśa* 10.36) explains *saṃskāra* as *sādhutvaspaṣṭatādiprayatnah* 'the effort leading to correctness and clearness'.

In *Kumārasambhavaṃ* (7.90), Goddess Saraswatī blesses the newly wedded couple by *dvidhāprayukta vāṅmaya* 'the speech of two kinds or doubly used language'—the bridegroom by (*vāṅmaya*) *saṃskārapūta* '(a speech) purified by ornateness' and the bride by *sukhagrāhyanibandhana* an easy-to-understand (or grasp) composition. Mallinātha explains *saṃskārapūtena* as *saṃskāreṇa śāstravyutpatyāpūtena prakṛtipratyayavibhāgaśuddhena saṃskṛtenetyarthah* '(by speech) purified by *saṃskāra* that is derivation as taught by the *śāstras* (i.e. grammar of Pāṇini) that is pure through segregation of roots and suffixes, the meaning is by *saṃskṛta.*' The phrase *sukhagrāhyanibandhanena* has been explained by him as *sukhena grāhyam subodham nibandhanaṃ racanā yasya tena vāṅmayena, prākṛtabhāṣayetyarthah* 'the composition in (of) which is understood (grasped) easily i.e. easy-to-understand composition by that speech, the meaning is by *Prākṛta* speech.'

Kālidāsa has used the phrase *saṃskāravatīgīr* 'speech having ornateness of formation' for the correct speech at another place in the same work (1.28).

We may conclude from the above that the phrase *saṃskārapūtavāṅmaya* stands for Sanskrit only and *sukhagrāhyanibandhana* is applied to the vernaculars.

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[1] *yadi vācam pradāsyāmi dvijātiriva saṃskṛtām/rāvaṇaṃ manyamānā me sītā bhitā bhaviṣyati./vānarasya viśeṣeṇa katham syādabhibhāṣaṇam/avaśyameva vaktavyaṃ mānuṣaṃ vākyam arthavat.*

"If I use, like the Brahmins, the ornate speech, taking me as Rāvaṇa Sītā will be afraid. How can there be a conversation in the language of a monkey? (I should certaintly) speak the human speech characterized by purpose". *Rām.* 5.30.17-18.

[2] *na saṃskāramādriyet*—'one should not heed the (correct word) formation'. *Nir.* 2.1. cf. a few Vedic words referred by him as *anavagatasaṃskāra* 'of understandable formation'. *Nir.* 4.1.

[3] *svarasaṃskārau*—'accent (and word) formation'. *Vārttika* 1.1.

[4] *saṃskṛtya saṃskṛtya padānyutsṛjante*—'the finished words are produced after being formed each individually'. *Mah.* 1.1.18.

The two-fold recitation of the common language (*jātibhāṣā*) is attested in *Nāṭyaśāstra* also.[1] Again, the noble language (*āryabhaṣā*), assigned to kings by Bharata, is characterised by the quality of refinement in recitation (17.27). It is well established that the kings used only Sanskrit in dramas and hence the phrase *saṃskārapāṭhya saṃyuktā* stands for Sanskrit.

To recapitulate, the ideas as to the *Saṃskāra* that produces the purity in Sanskrit have gradually changed from time to time. Originally denoting the sense of correct pronunciation in recitation, it finally came to mean the regular formation of words *i.e.* the general Sanskrit language.

This Sanskrit language became, in course of time, the greatest and the most important language of India and was recognised as symbol of the Indian culture and spirit. It was adopted by the non-Aryans, especially the Dravidians, as the sacred language of Hindu religion and had its deep influence on their language and culture. As the vehicle of Indian religion and culture it spread far and wide and went beyond the Indian frontiers to countries like Indonesia, Burma Ceylon, Combodia and China etc.

A linguistic analysis of the inscriptions of King Piyadassi Asoka, which are prehaps the earliest specimens of near-to-spoken dialects, will show that they can be divided into four well marked dialect groups of Indo-Aryan. They are :—

(a) The North-Western or the *Udīcya-Kamboja* dialect-group;

(b) The South-Western or the *Pratīcya-Surāṣṭra* dialect-group;

(c) The Middle-Eastern or the *Prācya-Madhya* dialect-group; and

(d) The Eastern or the *Prācya* dialect-group.

The North-Western group is represented by the two versions—the Shahbazgarhi and the Mansehra—of the Rock Edicts in *Kharoṣṭhī* script. Even in this group, the two versions present some dialectal differences. The Mansehra version is much influenced by the Middle-Eastern group while the Shahbazgarhi version is more faithful to the type.

The South-Western group, represented by the Girnar Rock Edict in Junagarh presents the most archaic features of the language. The South Western variety of Indo-Aryan is marked by *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā* also. Here, the Saurashtra country is said to have a different pronunciation of the *r* sound from the other countries[2].

The Middle Eastern dialect group is represented by the Kalsi (near Dehradun) Rock Edicts and the Topra (Delhi) Pillar Edict. This group shares some common characteristics with the Eastern group.

The Eastern group is represented by the Dhauli and Jaugadh Rock Edicts, all the Minor Rock Edicts and Pillar Edicts and the Cave Inscriptions of Asoka. The language of the Hathigumpha inscription of King Khāravela bears the same linguistic features as this group.

It is now generally accepted that these inscriptions, originally written in the local language of the *Prācya Deśa* i.e. the Magadha country were, afterwards, rendered into different versions according to the current speech of the particular region. It is evident from this that Asoka preferred local vernaculars to the classical Sanskrit for propagation of Buddhism, a religion of masses those days. It is also notable in this connection that Asoka was not only particular about the regional dialects but he also paid attention to the different scripts in different regions. Hence the Kharoṣṭhī script in the North Western version and Brāhmī in the rest.

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[1] *jātibhāṣāśrayaṃ pāṭhyaṃ dvividhaṃ samudāhṛtaṃ|prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ caiva cāturvarṇyasamāśrayam.*

'The recitation in common language, which relates the four castes is of two kinds viz. vulgar (*Prākṛta*) and refined (*Saṃskṛta*)'. *Nāṭ.* 17.30.

[2] *yathā surāṣṭrikā nārī takrà ityabhibhāṣate—Śikṣāsaṃgraha* p. 380; See also p. 27 of this work and *Nārada Śikṣā* p. 435 and *Māṇḍūki Śikṣā* p. 473.

These dialect groups have been noticed by Patañjali also. A passage in Māhābhāṣya, elaborating a line from Yāska,[1] gives a picture of the linguistic situation of the country on the basis of variations in certain usages. Patañjali remarks that some words with particular meanings are current in different places. To illustrate it, besides citing from Yāska the two meanings of the word *śava* current in the *Udīcya* country and among the Aryans, he gives two more verbs used to convey the sense of root '*gam*' meaning 'to go' current in Surāṣṭra and the Middle East country. In the former it is '*hamm*'—and in the latter '*ramh*'[2]. Patañjali also notes that in the *Udicya* country the word *dātra* is used for a 'chopper' whereas the Eastern dialect has *dātih* for it.[3]

Patañjali clearly distinguishes the language of Vedas from the current speech which he calls as *Laukika*. He gives sufficient illustrations for both types of languages and remarks that while the Vedic words are stereotyped the *Laukika* words are current in the living language.

The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali marks the end of an age of grammatical studies in India. The period that followed was a period of deterioration. Most of the grammarians were engaged in writing commentaries on Pāṇini and further commentaries on these commentaries. Patañjali is the first grammarian to notice clearly the prevailing *deśī* (current) idioms in the language. He has used the terms *Apabhraṃśa* by which he means the popular speech (lit. fallen away from the standard Sanskrit), and *Apaśabda* by which he means the popular vocabulary (lit. corrupt words) to denote the idioms common in people but not sanctioned by grammar. Patañjali belonged to the Middle East India and the dialect used by him is the East Central dialect. He quotes *gāvī*, *gonī*, *gotā*, *gopotalikā* as *apaśabdas* of the Sanskrit word *gauh*.[4] The word *gonī* occurs in Jain Mahārāṣṭrī and its masculine form is found in the Middle Eastern dialect of Asokan (viz. *gone* in nom. sg and *gonasa* in gen. sg.) as well as in *Ardhmāgadhī* and *Māgadhī*.

Besides the languages and dialects noted above there was yet another language/dialect— the Gāthā dialect—which was developing in Middle East India with the local vernaculars as its basis. The stories that are now available in this dialect[5] were originally current in the vernaculars and were rendered into Sanskrit by the Buddhists. But the sanskritization could not be complete and various vernacular peculiarities remained in the language so much-so that the language neither looked like pure Sanskrit nor like vernacular. It assumed the form of a hybrid language. Such renderings and alternations from the local vernaculars in Sanskrit were not altogether unknown in the earlier period. The presence of various dialectal features in the language of *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* has led some scholars to believe that these historical traditions and mythological (and popular) lores were originally sung in vernaculars and were then finally rendered into Sanskrit.[6]

Besides Sanskrit, some local vernaculars were also carried beyond the Indian frontiers in centuries preceding the Christian era. The Aryans of North Western India and Punjab took their language to Khotan and this language had a quite different line of development in some aspects there[7].

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[1] See Supra. page 4.

[2] *śavatirgatikarmā kamboje̱veva bhāṣyate @ vikāramenamāryā bhāṣyante śava iti : hammati surāṣṭre̱u ramhati prācyamadhye̱u gamimevatyāryā prayujyate* "the root '*śav*' is used in the sense 'to go' only in the Kamboja (North West Country). Aryans make use of that root only in word *śava* (which means 'corpse'). The roots *hamm* in Surāṣṭra (South Western part) and *ramh* in the East Middle countries are used in the sense 'to go'. Aryans use only the root *gam*. Mahā. 1.1.1. *@v. l. bhāṣito bhavati.*

[3] *dātih lavanārthe prācye̱u dātramudīcye̱u. Ibid* (1.1.1.).

[4] *ekaikasya hi śabdasya bahavo'pabhraṃśāh; tadyathā gaurityasya śabdasya gāvī gonī gotā gopotalikaityevamādayo' pabhraṃśāh*—'for every correct word, there are many corrupt forms; for instance the corruptions of the word *gauh* are *gāvī, gonī gotā, gopotalikā* etc. Mahā. 1.1.1.

[5] This dialect has now been given the name Buddhistic Sanskrit by scholars.

[6] This popular dialect is now given the name Epic Sanskrit.

[7] The *Niyā Prākṛta* of Modern Scholars.

Another Prakrit dialect was transplanted most probably from the Lāṭa country (the present Kathiawad and Saurastra) to Ceylon by some Indian prince—Prince Vijaya according to the Ceylonese traditions—in the 5th Cent. B. C. This language is known in Pāli Literature as *Sīhalabhāṣā*. It formed the basis of the present day Sinhalese, the principal language of Ceylon.

The above discussion will show that during the Ancient Period of literary history while there is ample evidence of existence of tremendous discipline and erudition in the fields of phonetics and grammar, the records, however, did not produce any specific reference to the variations in the spoken word. But it will not be reasonable to conclude that the capable phoneticians and grammarians ingored the situations altogether. Here and there we do find hints dropped regarding the current dialect situation of the areas in their accounts and disquisitions. Even the accounts of various authors display considerable divergences of pronunciation as between one treatise and the next and for this we may surmise that these disagreements possibly reflect actual dialectal features corresponding to the several *Śākhās* or Vedic schools. Brāhmaṇa literature takes us a step further and we do start getting a few, although indirect yet a little more specific, references to the prevailing dialectal situation of the Aryan speech. The rise of non-Brahminic religious systems.—Jainism and Buddhism—in the country placed the spoken word on a firmer footing when their religious heads preferred to spread their teachings in spoken vernaculars only. The immortal records of the Great Linguistician Pāṇini appear to actually specify the vernacular speech areas and even name some of them. The Great Asoka edicts available from the inscriptions distributed over almost the entire sub-continent and even outside it, rendered in vernaculars, only gave almost a secure position to the spoken word of the country. The emergence of the spoken word as an established fact finds its culmination in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. So we have tentatively chosen to delimit the first stage of our enquiry in this Chapter from Vedic Period to the time when Patañjali flourished.

(ii) Indo-Aryan Languages from Patañjali to Hemchandra (12th Cent. A. D.)

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali were the three great sages (*munitrayah*) who gave a norm to the Sanskrit language, the divine speech (*daivīvāk*) of the later writers.[1] After Patañjali, several schools of Sanskrit grammar developed in different parts of India, which explained and taught in their own ways, the sūtras of Pāṇini.[2] Severe austerity was observed by them in use of words and syllables. According to an oft quoted saying, the saving of even half a *mora* (*ardhamātrā*) was celebrated as the birth of a boy.[3] Sanskrit had already long ceased to have its contact with the masses, and this growing rigidity of grammar made the learning of Sanskrit, for even fewer numbers, more difficult and strenuous. In these grammatical dissertations, however, no references, direct or indirect, are to be found regarding the prevailing vernacular situation of the country in the relevant period. Presumably the rigours of severe grammatical discipline did not allow the authors to devote any attention to this particular problem.

It has already been stated that a dialect of Prakrit was carried from Saurāṣṭra to Ceylon in the 6th Century B.C. In the inscriptions of Ceylon,[4] dating between the 1st Cent. B.C. and the 3rd Cent. A.D., we find specimens of a language bearing strong resemblances with the Middle Eastern dialect group of the Asokan inscriptions. Besides this, however, there is no other linguistic information.

The discovery of the fragments of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa (1st Cent. A.D.) from Central Asia and their restoration and edition by H. Lüders in 1911,[5] brought to light specimens of three distinct dialects of the Indo-Aryan. They are :—

1. The dialect of the Rogue (*duṣṭa*)—This dialect according to Lüders, shares some common characteristics with the Eastern (*Prācya*) dialect of the Aryan speech.

2. The dialect of the courtesan (*gaṇikā*) and the jester (*vidūṣaka*)—It resembles the Midland dialect of the Aryan, according to Lüders.

3. The dialect of *Gobham*—It stands midway between the above two dialects.

The composition is literary, hence strongly influenced by Sanskrit. The dialectal peculiarities found in it are available in later Sanskrit plays also, but what is interesting here is that the dialectal peculiarities were developing even in the languages which were carried beyond the Indian frontiers and had, thus, become isolated.

The account of the spoken languages of India presented in the preceding pages, has been, more or less, based on indirect sources. No single work presents a complete picture of more than two or three languages/dialects. Moreover, the languages are described in almost all the works, cited above, by their grammatical characteristics only. Attempts have seldom been made to give them names. But fortunately, during the first millenium of the Christian era, various works on poetics, dramaturgy and music were written, which, in their own way, give the names of different languages. To these were added the grammars of Prakrit languages and commentaries on Sanskrit dramas.

Bharata, the earliest writer on Sanskrit dramaturgy (3rd. Cent. A.D.) has given a detailed description of the contemporary languages and dialects of Northern India. His *Nāṭyaśāstra*, an encyclopaedia on the technique of drama,[6] describes in minutest details the different sizes of theatre halls, the types of *dramatis personae*—the hero, the

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[1] *saṃskṛta nāma daivīvāganvākhyātā maharṣibhih. Daṇḍin-Kāvyādarśa* 1.33.

[2] For fuller details see "*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*", by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.

[3] *ardhamātrālāghavena putrotsavaṃ manyante vaiyākaraṇāh—Paribhāṣenduśekhara*, 1.22.

[4] Published in *Epigraphica Zylanica* Vol. I, edited by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe, London, 1912.

[5] *Bruchstuecke Buddhistischer Dramen*. Berlin, 1911.

[6] The encyclopaedic nature of the work is professed by Bharata himself in the following verse :—
nāsau yogo na tatkarma nāṭyesmin yanna dṛśyate/sarvaśāstrāṇiśilpāni. karmāṇi vividhāni ca. Nāṭya. 1.116.

heroine, the jester, etc., their dresses and modes of acting—the use of different *rasas* and, over and above everything, the use of languages and dialects by different characters.

The Seventeenth Chapter of his work deals with different languages, a part of it (verses 5-23) treats the phonology of Prakrits. Bharata classifies the speech in general in four types *viz.* the superhuman language (*atibhāṣā*)., the noble language (*āryabhāṣā*), the common language (*jātibhāṣā*), and the language of other animals (*jātyantarī or yonyantarī bhāṣā*).[1] Of these, the first two characterised by the quality of ornateness in pronunciation (lit. recitation) [*saṃskāra pāṭha saṃyuktā*] are godly or semi-godly speeches, while the last one is the language of animals and birds. The third type i.e. the common language has been described as possessing various forms and words of barbarian (*mleccha*) origin.[2] The presence of *mleccha* words in the common language proves that the Aryan language was not only influencing the non-Aryan speeches but was itself also being influenced by it, hence a number of words of barbarian origin. Bharata then points out that the pronunciation of the common language itself is of two kinds—the vulgar (*prākṛta*) and the refined (*saṃskṛta*)[3].

Bharata puts a ban on the use of the native language of the tribes Barbara, Kirāta, Āndhra and Dramiḍa/Dramila etc.[4] To these tribes he assigns the use of Śaurasenī.[5] It is now wellknown that these non-Aryan-in-origin tribes lived in the outskirts of the Aryan pale and spoke some non-Aryan language/languages. As a matter of fact, a non-prestige language as the one used by them was not used in Sanskrit dramas, hence the ban.

Then Bharata sets down a general rule that the producer of the dramas may, at his own discretion, use the local dialects (*deśabhāṣā*) because the play may be staged in any region[6], and for local productions the local language should always be preferred. The term *deśabhāṣā* used for local languages is clearly distinguished from both Sanskrit and Prakrit and can only mean the spoken languages of different regions. This becomes clearer in the beginning when after describing the Sanskrit and the Prakrit Bharata speaks of proceeding to describe the divisions of the *Deśabhāṣā*.[7]

Bharata, then, gives a list of seven languages (*bhāṣāh*) to be mainly used in dramas. They are :—

Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlīkā and *Dākṣiṇātyā*.[8] Of these, the names *Māgadhī, Āvantī, Śaurasenī* and *Bāhlīkā* are derived from names of some geographical or political region. *Prācyā* and *Dāksinātyā* derive their name from two directions viz. *Prācī* (East) and *Dakṣiṇa*

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[1] *atibhāṣāryabhāṣā ca jātibhāṣā tathaiva ca/tathā jātyantarī @caiva bhāṣā nāṭye prakīrtitā.*—The superhuman language (*atibhāṣā*), the noble language (*āryabhāṣā*), the common language(*jātibhāṣā*) and the language of other animals (*jātyantarī bhāṣā*) are the(four)-languages occuring in plays. *Ibid* 17.26.

@*v. l. yonyantarī.*

[2] *vividhā jātibhāṣā ca prayoge samudāhṛtā/mlecchaśabdopacārā ca bhārataṃ varṣamāśritā.*—The common language prescribed for use (on the stage) has various forms. It contains many words of Barbarian origin and is spoken in Bhāratavarṣa. *Ibid* 17.28.

[3] *jātibhāṣāśrayaṃ pāṭhyaṃ dvividham samudāhṛtam/prākṛtam saṃskṛtaṃ caiva.*—The recitation in the common language is of two kinds *viz.* vulgar (Prākṛta) and refined (Saṃskṛta). *Ibid* 17.30.

[4] *na barbarakirātāndhradramilādyāsu jātiṣu/nāṭyaprayoge kartavyam pāṭhyam bhāṣāsamāśrayam:*—

In the production of play their (native) language should not be assigned to tribes such as Barbaras, Kirātas, Āndhras and Dramilas. Ibid. 17.44-45.

[5] *sarvāsveva hi śuddhāsu jātiṣu...*

Śauraseniṃ samāśritya bhāṣām kāvyeṣu yojayet.

To the pure tribes of these names should be assigned the dialect current in Śūrasena. *Ibid.* 17.45-46.

[6] *athavā chandatah kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhih/nānādeśāsamuthham hi kāvyam bhavati nāṭake.*

The producer may, at his own option, use local dialects, for plays may be written in different regions (for local productions). *Ibid.* 17.46-47.

[7] *evametattu vijñeyam prākṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ tathā/atha ūrdhvam pravakṣyāmi deṣabhāṣā prakalpanam.*

Thus should be known Prakrit and Sanskrit. Hence forward, I shall speak of the divisions of the *Desabhāṣā*. *Ibid.* 17.24.

[8] *māgadhyavantijā prācyā śūrasenyārdhamāgadhī/bāhlīkā dākṣiṇātyā ca saptabhāṣā prakīrtitā. Ibid.* 17.48.

(South). But *Ardhamāgadhī* is not a geographical name. According to Prakrit grammarians it shares half (*ardha*) the characteristics of *Māgadhī*, hence the name.

Bharata assigns Māgadhī to the inmates of the royal harem.[1]. *Māgadhī* which first showed signs of deviation from the standard Udīcya dialect, was the language of the Magadha country. It enjoyed great privilege during the time of Buddha and Asoka. Bharata prescribes, elsewhere in the same work, the use of *Māgadhī* to the heroes and others alike while in difficulty for protection.[2] It may be adduced from this statement that it was a popular form of speech, easily understood by the masses.

Ardhamāgadhī is to be used by menials, princes and leaders of the merchant-guilds.[3] What was its geographical area? Nothing can be inferred from the name. But since it shares many characteristics in common with Māgadhī which is not accidental only, it may be said to be the neighbouring speech of *Māgadhī*, spoken perhaps in the immediate west of the Magadha country. This language, as the language of Jain canons, spread, in later times, over other parts of the country also.

Prācyā is ascribed to jester and persons like him.[4] Although the name implies that it is some language of the east, its exact geographical area is not known. According to Purushottama, a Prakrit grammarian of the 12th Century A.D., it closely resembles *Śaurasenī*. On the basis of the name it may be inferred that it was the language of the eastern country (*Prācyadeśa*). The name might have been given to the language by those living in the western side of its geographical locale, probably by the speakers of Śaurasenī. Its close resemblance with Śaurasenī pointed out by Purushottama lends support to this assumption. Such names (e.g. Paurastyā, Paścimā etc.) are not unknown in later works also.[5] Pūrabī/Purbiā and Pachāhī are still used for languages of East and West respectively.

Āvantī, the next language, is prescribed to the rogues (*dhūrta*).[6] Avantī was a country in the south of the Vindhya mountains with river Narmada forming its southern boundary. A south western dialect of Indo-Aryan was already noted by Patañjali as also in the Girnar Inscription of Asoka. It is not unlikely that this language developed from this variety.

Śaurasenī, assigned to heroines and their female friends, when not in difficulty i.e. in normal conditions,[7] was the language of the Śūrasena, the famous Midland Country, which had for a long time enjoyed the distinction of being the cradle-land of the most accomplished language of Northern India.

Dākṣiṇātyā, the sixth language, is to be used by soldiers, gamesters, police chief of the city and the like [8] The name suggests that it should be some language of south (*Dakṣiṇa*)—*Dakṣiṇā-patha* is the general name by which South-India was known to Aryans in Vedic and Post-Vedic times.

But, here, the name *Dākṣiṇātyā* does not, in all probability, stand for the language of south

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1 *māgadhī tu narendrāṇāmantahpuravāsināṃ*. 'Māgadhī is to be assigned to inmates of the royal harem'. *Ibid.* 17.50.

2 *vyasane nāyakānāṃ syādātmarakṣāsu māgadhī*. 'Heroes and others alike while in difficulty are also to use Māgadhi for self-protection'. *Ibid* 18.56b.

ceṭānāṃ rājaputrāṇāṃ sreṣṭhināmardhamāgadhī.

Ardhamāgadhi is assigned to menials, princes and leaders of merchants' guilds. *Ibid.* 17.50.

4 *prācyā viduṣakādīnāṃ*.

Prācyā is to be used by jester and persons like him. *Ibid.* 17.51.

5 See Infra pp. 21ff.

6 *dhūrtānāmapyavantijā*.

Āvantī is the language of rogues. *Ibid.* 17.51.

7 *nāyikānāṃ ca sakhīnāṃ ca śurasenāvirodhinī*.

'The heroines and their female friends are to speak, when not in difficulty, Saurasenī'. *Ibid.* 18.51.

8 *yodhanāgarakādīnāṃ dākṣiṇātyātha dīvyatāṃ*.

To soldiers, gamesters, police chief of the city and the like should be assigned *Dākṣiṇātyā*. *Ibid.* 17.52.

India. The use of the language or languages of the two south Indian tribes—the Āndhras and the Dramilas—has been banned by Bharata at the very outset. Moreover, as the language of soldiers and police chief, who had always to deal with the masses, it could never have been a language far removed from the common idiom. Again, the introduction of a totally different language in the dramas would have never occured to the mind of Bharata. It is most likely that it was the southernmost Indo-Aryan language, containing a large number of words from the non-Aryan speeches.

The last language, *Bāhlīkā* was according to Bharata the native speech of the Khasas and the northerners.[1] The *Bāhlīka* country (the present Balkh) lay in the extreme northwest of the Aryan India, and was chiefly inhabited by the Khasas, a tribe mentioned along with Kambojas, Daradas, Śakas etc., in many Sanskrit works[2], as inhabiting the northwest of India. They seem to have spread upto Nepal also. A northwestern variety of the Aryan speech had already been noted by Yāska and Patañjali. The *Bāhlīkā* of Bharata was probably a later phase of the northwestern dialect of the Asokan inscriptions, and the Kamboja dialect of Yāska and Patañjali.

All along these languages have been referred to as spoken languages. But whether these were actually spoken or were merely literary languages is a topic deserving some consideration. It is now generally accepted that these languages, as they are now available to us, were purely literary. Prof. Chatterji regards them as 'imitation or stage dialects'. He remarks, "Then again, the stage dialects, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī etc. The question of Māhārāṣṭri has been noted before..... The other dialects are what may be called 'Imitation Dialects'. They represent this grammarian's (and following him also the later Prakrit writers') conception of what Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭri or Paiśācī speech as a regional dialect should be like. Their meagre treatment in grammar gives a few points about what in general opinion, voiced by the grammarian, is the character of a particular dialect. They are to be compared to present day 'Stage Bengali' in a Hindi drama or 'Stage Hindi' or 'Stage Oriya' or 'Stage East Bengali' in a standard Bengali play; only the modern representation of the dialects appear to go nearer the mark than the ancient ones".[3] It is, doubtless, true that the dialects as they have been presented to us in dramas and Prakrit grammars are purely literary dialects. But how they came into being? Are they simply the creations of the dramatists and the grammarians with no roots in the spoken dialects? If so, why a particular language is called by a particular geographical name only and not by any other? And again, why a particular language is assigned to a particular class of *dramatis personae* and not to the other? Again, the dramas were written to be staged and perhaps not simply to be read. So the language used there was supposed to be understood by some people. These are some of the pertinent considerations on which the existence of these spoken vernaculars could be surmised. Moreover, a literary language must have its basis in some popular dialect, spoken in a geographical region whether large or small. It is just the developed form of a spoken language/dialect. So these languages were, at sometime or other, spoken in different geographical regions from which they derived their names. These dialects, in course of time, to quote Prof. Katre, "under circumstances determined by external conditions such as political or religious importance, in their turn assumed literary status, and thus gradually got divorced from the spoken languages in general evolution by becoming stylized."[4] Once these dialects assumed 'literary status', they spread in the regions where they were never spoken.

It is noteworthy, however, that Bharata has not included in his list Māhārṣāṭrī, the Prakrit *par excellence* of the Prakrit grammarians. Its

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[1] *bāhlīkabhāṣodīcyānām khasānām ca svadeśajā.*
'Bāhlīkā is the native speech of the Khasas and the northerners'. *Ibid.* 17.52.

[2] See L.S.I. Vol. IX Pt. iv. pp. 3-5.

[3] 'Indo-Aryan and Hindi', p. 96.

[4] *Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan*, S.M. Katre, Bombay, 1944. pp. 14-15.

function as the language of songs (*Kāvya* or *gīti*) is attributed to Śaurasenī[1]. The non-occurance in Bharata of the name Māhārāṣṭrī has led some scholars to the assumption that Māhārāṣṭrī was a later phase of Śaurasenī.[2] It has also been suggested that the name Dākṣiṇātyā is used here for Māhārāṣṭrī.[3] It is not intended to deal here in detail with questions relating to the different Prakrits. Works like Pischel's '*Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*' may be referred to for this. Bharata has probably used the general word Prakrit for Māhārāṣṭrī and the seven languages described above come under the word '*deśabhāṣā*'.

Besides these seven important languages, Bharata gives a list of seven less important languages calling them by the general name '*vibhāṣā*'. The use of the term *vibhāṣā* in Pāṇini has already been discussed above. So how the word originally meaning an option or alternative came to be used for 'dialect' is quite interesting. Abhinavagupta, the commentator on Bharata, defines *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā* as follows :—

> *bhāṣā saṃskṛtāpabhraṃśah bhāṣāpabhraṃśastu vibhāṣā, sātattaddeśā eva gahvaravāsināṃca prākṛtavāsināṃca* 'the corruption of Sanskrit is *bhāṣā*, and the corruption of *bhāṣā* is *vibhāṣā*, It is the language of the same countries of forestdwellers and of rustic people.'

So the uncultivated (*apabhraṃśa;* lit. fallen out) form of *bhāṣā* (the spoken non-Sanskrit language) is *vibhāṣā* i.e. a dialect or a *patois*. The semantic change of the word may be explained in the following way. The word was orginally used for variants or alternants. These variants or alternants, in course of time, would have grown in such a large number that some distinct sets of variants would have been formed. Each of such sets would have agreed with the other in some phenomena and differed in some. The word *vibhāṣā* would have thus come to be used for a set of alternative forms which would have at later time formed a separate dialect and the word *vibhāṣā* would have ultimately come in vogue.

The seven dialects described by Bharata are those of the Śakāra, the Ābhīras, the Cāṇḍālas the Śabaras, the Draviḍas, the Oḍras and the lowly speech of the foresters.[4]

Of these, the Śākārī is assigned to the Śakāras, the Śakas and other groups of the same nature.[5] The Śakāra was usually the brother-in-law of the king through one of his inferior wives. He was haughty and overweaning, illmannered and an exceeding fool (*madādiyukto niravāci rājñah śyālah śakārah capalo'ti mūrkhah*).[6] The Śakas as a tribe of North Western India have been mentioned in many Sanskrit works[7] together with Pauṇḍrakas Oḍrás, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Javanas or Yavanás

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[1] *Śauraseniṃ samāśritya bhāṣāṃ kāvyeṣu yojayet. Ibid.* 17.46.

[2] Manomohan Ghosh "*Journal of the Dept. of Letters*", Calcutta University, Vol. XXIII, 1933 pp. 1-24 and Introduction to '*Karpūra Mañjarī*'.

[3] Prof. Sukumar Sen, *Journal of Gaekwad Oriental Research Institute*, Baroda—Vol. XI No. 3, March 1962. pp. 193-216.

[4] *śakārābhīrācāṇḍālaśabaradraviḍoḍrajā|hīnā vanecarāṇāṃ ca vibhāṣā nāṭake smṛtā. Ibid.* 17.49. Another reading of the first line is, *śabarābhīrācāṇḍāla sacaradraviḍoḍrajā.*

In this reading *śabara* is read for *śakāra* and *sacara* for *śabara*—in other words *śakāra* of the first reading is replaced by *sacara* in the second.

The first reading is endorsed by Pṛthvīdhara in his commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Sir George Grierson apparently sides with him (JRAS. 1918 p. 491). In his reading Pṛthvīdhara probably wants to escape the difficult word *sacara* which may be explained as the dialect of Ceras, a tribe inhabiting the south of the Vindhyas. It is seen from the names of these dialects that they are partly connected with tribes like Śabara, Ābhīra etc. and partly with regions or countries like Draviḍa Oḍra etc., Śakārī besides being included under Māgadhī (Pischel §24), would be in strange company with these dialects.

[5] *śakārāṇāṃ@śakādīnāṃ tatsvabhāvaśca yo gaṇah, śakārabhāṣā yoktavyā.*

'Śakārī should be assigned to the Śakāra, the Śakas and other groups (of persons) of the same nature. *Ibid.* 17.53.

@ V. L. *śabarāṇāṃ*

[6] *Prākṛta-Kalpataru*—(Rāmśarman) 2.3.1.

[7] *asṛjatpahlavānpucchācchakṛtah śabarāñśākān. MBH.* 1.165.35; *śauṇḍikāh kukurāścaiva śakāścaiva viśāmpateh. MBH* 2.48.15.

pañcanadaramaṭhāpārātatārakṣitijṛṅgavaiśyakanakāśakāh. Bṛhat Saṃhitā. 14.21. *tatah sakān kuṇindāñśca kaliṅgāñśca viśeṣatah. Rām.* 4.33.14.

śakahradākulindāśca pāradāh hārahūṇakāh—Vāyu Purāṇa 45.14.

Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khasas who have been described by Manu as degraded Kṣatriyas named after the districts inhabited by them.[1] As the speech of the Śakas this should be a dialect of northwestern India, but as the speech of Śakāra (i.e. Śākārī, a dialect of Māgadhī according to Prakrit grammarians) it should be a dialect of the east. So how to explain this anomaly ?[2] According to Pischel the Śākārī, in some forms co-incided with Apabhraṃśa, probably the Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃsā spoken probably in the vicinity of the Sindh and the Punjab. In other recension it is described as the speech of the Śabaras and the Sakas (*śabarāṇām śakādīnām*). But we may agree with the majority of Prakrit grammarians who take it as a dialect of Māgadhī. Whatever might have been its geographical locale, it was doubtless a tribal dialect, a debased form of speech, despised by the elites.

The Cāṇḍālī dialect is assigned to the Pulkasas and alike in dramas.[3] A despised mixed tribe bearing the name Pulkasa is mentioned in Mahābhārata.[4] According to Manu the son of a Niṣāda by a Śūdra female was called a Pulkasa (or Pukkasa),[5] who lived on very low occupation.[6] This shows that they were very low people perhaps untouchables. In a Jātaka story there is the reference of a Cāṇḍāla village inhabited by a tribe of the same name. These Cāṇḍālas spoke a language of their own but a few among them even learnt the languages of the Aryans. If Bharata has used the term Pulkasa for a tribe like Cāṇḍāla, as may be inferred from the name of the dialect, the dialect was perhaps an Aryan speech learnt by the non Aryans, probably the Austrics and possessed quite a good number of non-Aryan words.

Śābarī is to be used by charcoal makers, hunters and those living on wood-craft and contrivances (machinery would be too big a word for *yantra* in those days).[7] It is also assigned to those mentioned as speakers of Ābhīrī.[8] The Śabaras were a wild mountain tribe according to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.[9] In the later language the word was applied to any savage tribe. The description of their occupation by Bharata lends support to this. Saora or Savara/Sabara tribe speaking a language of the same name are still found in Orissa—especially near its borders with Andhra Pradesh. It may be presumed that this was dialect of these people, spoken side by side with Oḍrajā but differing from the latter for being strongly influenced by some non-Aryan speeches. Vānaukasī owes its name to the geographical phenomenon—the dense forests (*vana*)—predominant in the area, where it was spoken. Its function is the same as that of Śābarī. Such speech names are still in vogue in India *e.g.* Pahāḍī, Jaṅglī, Banabhāṣā etc.

The Ābhīrī idiom is to be used in the case of herdsmen, like cowherds, sheepherds and tenders

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[1] *śanakaistu krīyālopādimā kṣatriyajātayah|vṛṣalatvam gatā loke brāhmaṇādarśanenaca|pauṇḍrakāścauṇḍrakāḍraviḍāh kāmbojā yavanāh śakāh.|pārādāh pahlavā cīnāh kirātā daradāh khasāh|Manu*, 10.43-44.

[2] Another explanation is given in footnote of the preceding page.

[3] *cāṇḍālī pulkasādiṣu. Nāṭ.* 17.53.

[4] *pulkasam cāpi kharāśvagajabhojināṃ|mṛtacailapraticchannam bhinnabhājanabhojinam. MBH.* 13.48.24 *śvapākapulkasādinām. MBH.* 13.133.23.

[5] *jāto niṣādācchūdrāyāṃ jātyā bhavati pukkasah* Manu* 10.18.
*v.l. *pulkasah—Nand.*

[6] *kṣatrugrapukkasānām tu bilaukovadhabandhanaṃ.*
'To Kṣatras, Ugras and Pukkasas, catching and killing (animals) living in holes'. *Manu* 10.49.

[7] *aṅgārakāravyādhānāṃ kāṣṭhayantropajīvinām|yojyā śabara bhāṣā tu kiñcidvānaukasī tathā.*

The Śabara idiom is to be put in the mouth of coal-makers, hunters and those living on wood-crafts and contrivances and the foresters' language also a bit. *Nāṭ.* 17.54.

[8] *gavāśvājāvikauṣṭrādighoṣasthānanivāsinām. ābhīroktih śābarī vā.....*
For those who live in place where elephants, horses, goats, sheep, camel or cows are kept either Ābhīrī or Sābarī is prescribed. Ibid. 17.55 *v.l. *gajāśva.*

[9] *asṛijatpahlavānpucchāccchakṛṭāh śabarāñśakān MBH.* 1.165.35; *ta ete dramiḍāh kāśāh puṇḍrāśca śabaraih saha|vṛṣalatvam parigatā vyutthānātkṣatradharmatah. MBH.* 14.29.16 *arvākca pratitiṣṭhanti pulindāśabarā iva. MBH.* 12.147.8. *Ait Br.* VII. 18.

of herds of horses, camels etc.[1] It is interesting to note how the dialect of the nomadic tribe of cowherds etc. has got, for itself, the name of the tribe of the Ābhīras, who have been mentioned in Mahābhārata[2] as a tribe dwelling in North West India *i.e.* probably Sindhu, Sauvīra and the northern Punjab.[3] This seems to be the region where cowherding and horse and camelherding nomads were at first settled. Moreover, the camel-herdsmen could not have found a more suitable place for their 'ships of deserts' than the sandy regions along the banks of Indus. This speech was thus probably current in the above region.

Drāviḍī is assigned to Draviḍas and others alike. In view of the ban put by Bharata in the beginning on the use of the language of the Āndhras, Kirātas and Draviḍas in the dramas, the inclusion of Drāviḍī in the list seems quite anomalous. The Draviḍas were a south Indian tribe having a well developed language of their own. But those who came to north and were mixed up with the Aryans must have learnt some Aryan language. The term Drāviḍī seems to have been used here not for Dravidian, but for some Aryan speech (like Dākṣiṇātyā) strongly influenced by non-Aryan and spoken by Draviḍas. Moreover, the ban applies to the native language (*bhāṣāsamāśrayam*) of the Draviḍas and not to any Aryan tongue learnt by them.

The last speech described by Bharata is Oḍrajā. It is to be used by diggers of subterranean passages, prison-warders and grooms for horses.[4] Oḍra was the ancient name of Orissa and the speech in question may be presumed to have been spoken in that country.

The description of these dialects by Bharata is quite interesting in so far as it deals with the speeches of tribes which are (or were) either semi-nomadic or wild or non-Aryan, inhabiting the outskirts of the Aryan settlement. The influence of the non-Aryan tongues was more prominent among them. It is also known from this that tribal names have been assigned to languages from pretty long time.

Besides these languages/dialects, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also mentions the following five linguistic regions, each described by one of its most distinguishing phonemic feature, the geographical limits in each case being fully described.

Geographical Description of the Linguistic Region.	The Characteristic Phoneme
1	2
1. Between Gaṅgā and Sea	*e* (*ekārabahulā*)[5]
2. Between Vindhyas and Sea (Dakṣina-Saurāṣṭra according to Commentator)	*n* (*nakārabhulā*)[6]

[1] footnote 8, p. 16.

[2] *śūdrābhīragaṇāścaiva ye cāśritya sarasvatīm. MBH* 2.29.9.

[3] In the Purāṇas also Ābhīra is mentioned as a North-West country (deśa-udīcya).

vāhlikāvāṭadhānaśca ābhīrākālatoyakāḥ.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa chapt. 57 (chapt. 54 in some versions) verse 37; *Vāyu Purāṇa* 45.112; *Brahmāṇḍa* 49-42; *Matsya* 114.37 and *Vāmana* 13.39 with a variant reading *ābhīrākālatoyadāḥ.*

In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* Ābhīra is mentioned as a South-West country (*naiṛtyāṃ diśi deśa*).

barbarakirātakhaṇḍakravyadābhīracañcukāḥ. 14.18.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also it is mentioned along with Bāhlīka and Surāṣṭra :

surāṣṭrān sahavāhlīkān śūdrābhīratathaiva ca. 4.35.6

[4] *surāṅgakhanakādīnām sauṇḍikārāṃśca rakṣasām.*

'Oḍrī is to be used by diggers of subterranean passage, prison-warders and grooms for horses'. *Ibid.* 17.56.

[5] *gaṅgāsāgaramadhye tu ye deśāḥ saṃprakīrtitāḥ|ekārabahulā teṣubhāṣāṁ tajjñaḥ prayojayet.*

'To the regions (of India) that lie between the Ganges and the sea, should be applied a dialect abounding in *e*'. *Ibid.* 17·57.

[6] *vindhyasāgaramadhye tu ye deśāḥ śrutimāgatāḥ|nakārabahulā teṣu bhāsāṃ tajjñaḥ prayojayet.*

'To the regions lying between the Vindhyas and the sea should be assigned a language abounding in *na*. *Ibid.* 17·58

1	2
3. Surāṣṭra, Avantī and the countries north of Vetravatī (modern Betwa)	*c* (*cakārabahulā*)[1]
4. The Himalayan region and Sindhu-Sauvīra	*u* (*ukārabahulā*)[2]
5. The banks of Charmaṇvati (modern Chambal) and the country around the Arvuda Mountain (modern Abu hills)	*t* (*takārabahulā*)[3]

Regarding the above description, it is very difficult to ascertain the definite languages referred to on the evidence of a single phonemic phenomenon, which is itself very vague. Only the language abounding in *u* can be identified as Ābhīrī, described earlier, because the predominance of *u* is described by later writers as the chief characterstics of this dialect. Again, if *e* (the characteristic phoneme of the first region) stands for the nominative singular ending of the masculine-*a* stems of the nominal declension the language meant here may be presumed to be either Māgadhī or Ardhamāgadhī which had-*e* in nom. sg., the former almost exclusively and the latter in plenty. The geographical description also confirms it. Beyond this, nothing more can be commented upon any other linguistic region.

A list of languages, far more exhaustive than that available in Nātyaśāstra is found in *Gītālaṃkāra*, a work on music attributed to Bharata Muni. Whether he was the author of Nāṭyaśāstra or some other Bharata is a matter of controversy; but on the evidence of the language (the Prakrit portion) it seems to be quite old, written not later than the 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D. The linguistic importance of the work was first brought to the notice of scholars by Prof. S.M. Katre in an article published in *New Indian Antiquary* in 1939.[4] One complete chapter (14th according to Prof. Katre and 15th according to the Pondichery edition) entitled *Bhāṣālakṣaṇam* is devoted to the description of the contemporary languages. Prof. Katre has reproduced the whole chapter 'omitting only the absolutely illegible or partly disappeared letters' of the text.

The chapter refers to fortytwo languages/dialects current probably in the days of the author. The list of the languages covering the first five introductory verses of the chapter is supplemented by 41 stanzas (in Prakrit) 'supposed to illustrate the characteristics of these languages' (Katre p.193). A complete list, as given in the Pondichery edition, is presented below. It is to be noted here that Prof. Katre has, in his introduction, given the names of only 39 languages.

List of the Languages

1. Māhārāṣṭrī	4. Māgadhī
2. Kirātī	5. Lāṭī
3. Saurāṣṭrī	6. Gauḍī

[1] *surāṣṭrāvantideśeṣu vetravatyuttareṣu ca|ye deśāsteṣu kurvīta cakāra bahulāmiha.*

Regions like Surāstra and Avantī lying on the north of Vetravatī one should assign a language abounding in-*ca*. *Ibid* 17.59.

The translation of Manomohan Ghosh seems unconvincing. It should be the regions like Surāṣṭra and Avantī and the countries lying in the north of the Vetravatī as is suggested by *'Vetravatyuttareṣu ca ye deśāsteṣu.'* This might refer to some small countries in north of Vetravatī.

[2] *himavatsindhusauvīrānye ca ye deśā samāśritāh|ukārabahulām tajjñas teṣu bhāṣām prayojayet.*

To the people who live in the Himalayas, Sindhu and Sauvīra a language abounding in *'u'* should be assigned. *Ibid.* 17.60.

[3] *carmaṇvatīnadīpāre ye cārvudasamāśritāh|takārabhulām nityaṃ teṣu bhāṣām prayojayet.*

To those who live on the bank of the Charmaṇvatī river and around Arvud mountain, a language abounding in *ta* should be assigned. *Ibid.* 17.61.

[4] Extra Series—Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to Sir. E. D. Ross. Ed. by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode. p. 192. ff.

The work has since been published from Institute Francais d' Indologie, Pondichery in 1959, under the joint editorship of Alain Danielou and N.R. Bhatta, with an intoduction and annotations in French. This edition reproduces the complete text, but it is surprising to note that the editors have not given the translation of only the Prakrit portion in the chapter in question.

List of the Languages—concld.

7. Kāśmīrī	25. Romakī
8. Paurastyā	26. Medī
9. Paścimabhāṣā	27. Māravī
10. Utkalā	28. Kāṇamūkhī
11. Pāñcālī	29. Devakī
12. Paiśācī	30. Pañcapattanā
13. Mlecchī	31. Saindhavī
14. Turānī	32. Kauśikā
15. Somakī	33. Bhadrā
16. Colakī	34. Bhadrabhojikā
17. Kāñcī	35. Kuntalā
18. Mālavī	36. Kośalā
19. Kāśī or Kāśisambhavā	37. Pārā
20. Vedī (Vaudhī?) or Vedikā	38. Yāvanī
21. Kuśāvartā	39. Kurkurī
22. Śūrasenī	40. Madhyadeśī
23. Bhojī	41. Kāmbojī
24. Gurjarī	42. Malayā.

It appears from the list that the names of languages are related partly to geographical regions and political janapadas etc. *e.g.*, *Māgadhī*, *Pāñcālī* etc., partly to ancient peoples and tribes *e.g. Somakī*, *Kurkurī* and partly to physical phenomena *i.e.*, rivers, mountains etc. *e.g. Pārā*, *Kauśikā* etc. Some of these languages derive their names from the names of foreign tribes also *e.g. Yāvanī*, *Turānikā* or *Turānī*. Two or more names seem to have been used, in some cases, for a single language *e.g. Madhyadeśī* and *Śūrasenī* for Śaurasenī.

As a matter of fact, such an exhaustive list, that too at such an early date, seems something unique. Whether these languages were actually spoken or were known only through literature is not easy to say. Below, an interpretation of the less known names as they occur in Indian History and Literature is being presented. Whether the languages were spoken in the different regions and by the different tribes from whom they derive their names, is anybody's guess.

Māhārāṣṭrī, *Māgadhī* and *Śūrasenī* are well known names and they have already been noted in *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Paiśācī is the *Paiśācī* Prakrit of the Prakrit grammarians, a language current most probably in northwestern India,[1] where now spreads the area of the Dardic languages.

Kirātī, according to the Pondichery edition, is the language spoken near the Vindhya mountains.[2] But it is quite well known that the Kiratas were inhabitants of North Eastern India, Bhutan and Nepal (the Kirata land of India *par excellence*).[3] The name is still preserved in Kiranti, a tribe speaking a language of the same name.

The *Surāṣṭra* country (Pāli *Suraṭṭha.*, Chinese Su-la-cha, modern Soraṭha) spread over what now forms Kathiawad and other parts of Gujarat.

The Lāṭa country (the Larike of Ptolemy) was situated between Rivers Māhī and Tāptī, extending along the sea coast.[4] The name *Lāṭī* is preserved in Lār or Lārī, a dialect of Sindhī.

The Gauḍa country was the northern part of modern Bengal. Gauḍī may be another name for Māgadhī.

Kāshmīrī, as the name suggests, was probably the language of Kashmir.

The next two names Paurastyā and Paścimā or Paścimabhāṣā, meaning probably eastern and western languages respectively, are quite interesting. The former might have been some language like the Prācyā of Bharata, spoken in east and the latter

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[1] According to Lakṣmīdhara (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*) following are the Piśāca countries—Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Siṃha, (Sahya) Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudheṣṇa, Bhoja, Gāndhāra, Haiva (Haimava?), Kannoja.

pāṇḍyakekayabāhlikasiṃhanepālakuntalā|sudheṣṇabhojagāndhārahaivakannojakāstathā|ete piśācadeśāh syuh ....(*Ṣaḍbhāṣā*-1).

[2] des Kirāta, chasseurs des monts Vindhyas (Translation).

[3] According to Ptolemy, located in Uttarāpatha, Mc-Crindle-*Ancient India*, p.277; see also '*Kirātajanakṛti*' of Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951.

[4] McCrindle-*Op. Cit.* p.38,152,153; Referred to also in Mandasor Inscriptions of Bandhuvarman. (B.C. Law. *Historical Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India.* p.281).

was probbly the language of the western country. These names were probably given to the languages by the speakers themselves, the westerners calling the language of east as Paurastyā and *vice versa*. Purbī and Pachāhī are modern examples of such names.

Utkalā is probably used for the language of the Utkaladeśa, the ancient name of Orissa.

The Pāñcāla country lay between Ganga and Jamuna comprising also modern Bareilly, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the Central Doab in U.P. It was bounded on the east by Gomti and by Charmaṇvati on south[1]. It seems to be another name for Śaurasenī/Madhyadeśī.

The word Mleccha, right from the time of *Ṛgveda* onwards, was used to denote the non-Aryan people and their languages, and if we accept this general appellation of the word any language other than the Aryan would come under its purview. But since the name occurs in between Paiśācī and Turānikā it probably refers to some language—perhaps a non-Aryan—of the northwest.

The name Turānikā is not clear to indentify. It is probably used for Turanian or Turaka *i.e.*, the speech of the Turks.

Somakas have been mentioned in Mbh. as a tribe or family of Pāñcālas, often used synonymous with these, also mentioned along with them.[2] This is probably another name for Śūrasenī/Madhyadeśī/Pāñcālā.

The Chola country mentioned in many Sanskrit works and also in Asoka's Rock edicts[3], extended over the present Tanjaur and Tiruchirapalli districts of Madras. Kāñcī was the seat of the Pallava Kings of the South. So *Cholakī* and *Kāñcī* might have been used for the languages of South, especially Tamil.

The Mālava country spread over the region between Saurāṣtra and Daśārṇa (Vedisa or Bhilsa region in M.P.) which now forms part of Gujarat and Rajasthan. The name Mālavī is preserved in the modern Mālvī, a dialect of Rājasthānī[4].

Kāśī was the famous Janapada around the modern Banaras. The language *Kāśī* or *Kāśisambhavā* seems to be an alternative name for Kośalā.

The name Vedikā is not clearly established. The Pondichery edition identifies it as the language of Vedda or Vaudhika of the Oudh regions[5]. If it be so it is also another name for *Kośalā*.

Kuśāvarta was a country in north of Deccan, but its modern equivalent is difficult to identify.

The Bhoj country spread over the modern Patna and Bhagalpur regions (the Bhojpur Pradesh). A tribe named Bhojas, living in Magadha, has been mentioned in the inscription of King Khāravela. These people were defeated by the King.

Gurjarī may be connected with Gurjara deśa, the country around the modern Gujarat. The name may also be connected with the famous Gurjaras who once occupied parts of the Punjab.

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[1] Cunningham—*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 360; Pāṇ. 7.3.13.

[2] *nirudyamā bhaviṣyanti pāṇḍavāh somakaih saha*. MBH. 5.128.7;
tam prayāntaṃ mahābahuṃ pāñcālāh saha somākaih. MBH. 7.102.67;
sudūramanvayuh pārthah pāñcālāh saha somakaih. MBH. 7.102.1.

[3] Aśoka's Rock edicts II & XIII mention the Cholas along with others as forming outlying (*pracaṃta*) provinces outside his empire.
karṇāṭamahāṭavicitrakaṭanāsikyakollagiricolāh. Bṛh. Sam 14.13;
pāṇḍyāśca keralāścaiva colā kulyāstathaiva ca. Matsya Purāṇa 14-46 also *Vāyu* 45.124 and *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57.45.

[4] *Vide* L.S.I. Vol. I, Pt.I, p. 479.

[5] des Vedda (ou Vaudhikā du pays Oudh region le Lucknow), Trans. A country (and people) named Bodha/Vodha is mentioned in Purāṇas along with Kuru Pāñcālas, Sālvas, Sūrasenas and Maidras as Midland Country (or people)—*Madhyadeśīyā*.
tāsvime kurupāñcālāh sālvaścaiva sajaṅgalāh.
sūrasenāmadrakārā bodhāh@saha paṭaccarā. Mārkaṇḍeya 57.34, *Vāyu* 45-109, *Brahmāṇḍa* 49-44, *Matsya* 114-34, and *Vāmana* 13.36, @v.l. *vodhāh*.

The name is preserved in Gūjarī, or Gurjarī, a dialect of Hindī as also in Gujarātī, although with a slight modification.

Romakī, according to the Pondichéry edition was the language of Romakas, a people inhabiting the southern part of Ajmere.[1] A people of this name bringing tributes to Yudhisthira are mentioned in MBH.[2] It may also be presumed to be the language of the Romans, mentioned as Romakas in *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*.[3]

It is not clear as to what language/dialect is meant by Medī/Medasambhavā. Meda was a mixed caste of very low origin,[4] living by degraded occupation according to Manu.[5] A country of this name is mentioned in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* as lying in Midland (*Madhyadeśa*).[6] This Meda may be connected (and identified) with Medapāta (Modern Mewāḍ) in Rajputana, and the language in question may be presumed to be the forerunner of modern Mewāḍi. The name may also refer to the language of the Medes, the ancient Mesopotamians.

The name Māravī is derived from Marudeśa (the desert country) corresponding to the present Mārwāḍ of Rajasthan.

The name *Kānamūkhī* is not at all established.

Devakī, according to the Pondichéry edition, was the language of Devakas, a people (probably Śūdras) of Krauñcadvīpa, * somewhere in Africa. Devikā was a river which flowed through the Sauvīra country according to *Agnipurāṇa*.[7] It has been identified by Pargiter with the River Deeg, a tributory of Ravi in Punjab.[8] It is supported by the evidence of *Vāmana*[9] and *Matsya Puraṇas*[10] also. If the word Devakī is equated with Devikā, the language referred to may be one from Punjab and/or Sindh.

Pañcapattanā is another problematic name. The Pondichéry editors identify it as the speech of Pañcapura, a village mentioned in *Śukasaptati*[11], but the exact place is difficult to identify.

The Sindhu-deśa (modern Sind) is too well known and needs no elucidation.

Kauśikā may be connected with the Kuśika land—the Kuśikakaccha—between Videha and Kāmarūpa i.e., the modern Northern Bihar. A river of this name, a branch of Karatoya, itself a tributory of Brahmaputra, is mentioned in MBH and Purāṇas.[12]

Bhadrā and Bhadra Bhojikā are also difficult names. A people called Bhadras are referred to in *MBH*.[13] A country of this name lying in Northwest

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[1] du Ruma, pays du sel au Sud d' Ajmer, Un peuple appele Roman est mentionne dans le *Vāyu Purāṇa* et le *Mahābhārata*.

[2] *auṣṇīṣānanivāsāṃśca romakānpuruṣādakān. MBH.* 2.47.15.,
cf. also. *saindhavān randhrakarakān bhramarābhiraromakān. Vāyu* 45-180.

[3] Vide Monier Williams '*Sanskrit English Dictionary*' p. 839. Col. 3.

[4] *kārāvaro niṣādāttu carmakārah prasūyate/vaidehakādāndhramedau vahirgrāmapratiśrayau.*
'From a Niṣāda springs (by a woman of Vaidehaka caste) a Kārāvara, who works in leather; and from Vaidehaka (by women of the Kārāvara and Niṣāda castes) an Andhra and Meda, who dwell outside villages'. *Monu* 10.36.

[5] *matsyaghāto niṣādānāṃ tvaṣṭistvāyogavasya ca/medāndhracuñcumadgūnāmaraṇyapaśuhiṃsanam.*
'Killing of fish to Niṣādas; carpenters' work to Āyogavas; to Medas, Andhras, Cuñcus and Madgus the slaughter of wild animals.' *Manu.* 10.48.

[6] *bhadrārimedamāṇḍavyasālvanīpojjihānasaṃkhyātā. Bṛh.Saṃ.* 14.2.

* des Devakas peuple esclave vivant sur le continent dele mouette Krauñcadvīpa (ce continent, entoure par la mer, semble etre 1' Afrique).

[7] *irāvatī vitastā ca vipāśā devikā kuhuh. Agni.*200—also *Vāyu.* 45.95, and *Kūrma.* I. 46.29.

[8] *vipāśā devikā rankṣurniścirā gaṇḍakī tathā. Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.18 See Pargiter's edition p. 292.

[9] *Vāmana* has the same reading as *Vāyu.*

[10] *airāvatī vitastā ca vipāśā devakī kuhū. Matsya.* 114.21.

[11] de Pañcapur, une ville mentionne dans de *Śukasaptati.*

[12] *śaucārtham yo nadīm cakre durgamām bahubhirjalaih.*
yām tām puṇyatamām loke kauśikīti vidurjanāh. MBH. 1.65.30.
Kauśikīm tatra seveta mahāpātakanāśinīm. Ibid. 3.82.113.
kauśiki cāpagā viprā himavatpādanihsṛtāh. Mārkaṇḍeya. 57.19.
kauśiki ca tṛtiyā tu niścirā gaṇḍaki tathā. Vāyu. 45.96 also *Matsya* 114.20 and *Kūrma* I. 46.30.

[13] *śivitrigartayaudheyārājanyā bhadrakekayāh.** *MBH.* 2.48.13. *v. l. *madra*°.

s mentioned in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.[1] A country of this name is also mentioned, along with Gāndhāra, Yavana and Sindhu-Sauvīra, as Udīcya country in *Vāyu* and *Vāmana purāṇas*.[2] The name is also equated with Madras, a people living in Madradeśa, the country between rivers Chandrabhāgā (modern Chenab) and Irāvatī (mod. Ravi).[3] The Pondichery editors identify Bhadra-Bhojikā as the language of Bhadra Bhojas.[4]

The Kuntala country lay in the Southwest of Hyderabad. It has frequently been referred to in the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries. Some special characteristics of the language of this country are noted by Rājaśekhara also (*Infra* p. 28 ff).

The Kośala country was situated in the east of the land of the Kurus and Pāñcālas and in the west of the Videha country. The name Kośalā seems to have been used here for the Ardhamāgadhī of the Prakrit grammarians.

Pārā may be connected with the River Pārā mentioned in *MBH.* and *Purāṇas* as a tributory of Charmaṇvatī (Chambal) flowing from Pāriyātra (*pāriyātrāśrayā.*),[5] which may be identified with Pārvatī which rises in Bhopal.

By Yāvanī is meant the language of Yavanas (the Ionions) *i.e.*, the Greek language.

The Kurkura or Kukkura tribe is mentioned in *MBH.* along with Bhojas and Andhakas.[6] They probably occupied the Dwarika region. According to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* they dwelt in the western and Central India.[7]

Kāmbojī need not be explained here. Some characteristic features of the language were already marked by Yāska and Patañjali.

Malayā, as the name suggests, may be used for the language of the country around the Malaya mountain in South India. An equation with the language of Malaya-dvīpa (mod. Malaya) may seem to be farfetched but not altogether impossible.

The entire chapter, from the Pondichéry edition, which I have used as basis, with variant readings from Prof. Katre, is being reproduced here for reference.

Pañcadaśo'dhyāyah

[Bhāṣālakṣaṇaṃ]

māhārāṣṭrī kirātī ca[8] *[saurāṣṭrī māgadhī tathā/*
lāṭī gauḍī ca kāśmirī paurastyā paścimotkalā //1//
pāñcālā cāpi paiśācī] mlecchīcaiva turā [ni]kā/
somakī colakī kāñcī mālavī kāśi sambhavā //2//
vedikā[9] *ca kuśāvartā tathānyā sūrasenikā*[10]
bhojī[11] *ca gurjarī caiva romakī medasambhavā*[12] *//3//*
māravī[13] *kānamūkhī ca devakī pañchapattanā/*
saindhavī kauśikā bhadrā tathānyā bhadrabhojikā //4//
kuntalā kosalā[14] *pārā yāvanī kurkurī tathā/*
madhyadeśī ca kāmbojī [malayā cā] ntyamā smṛtā//5//
dvicatvāriṃśatih proktā etā bhāṣā prasaṅkhyayā/
etā vimṛśya kartavyaṃ gītaṃ gīta-vicakṣaṇaih //6//
lakṣaṇāni ca sarveṣāṃ kathayiṣye yathākramaṃ/
saṃkṣepeṇa samastaṃ tu na śakyaṃ tridaśairapi //7//

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[1] *diśi paścimottarasyāṃ māṇḍavyatuṣāra tāla halabhadrāh. B.S.* 14.22.

[2] *gāndhārā yavanāścaiva sindhusauvīra bhadrakāh. Vāyu* 45-113 & *Vāmana* 13.40.

[3] *gāndhārā yavanāścaiva sindhusauvīra madrakāh.** *Mārkāṇḍeya* 57-38, *Matsya*-114-38 also in *MBH.*
*v.l. of *bhadra.*

[4] des Bhadra-Bhoja.

[5] *munih pāreti nadyā vai nāma cakre tadā prabhuh. MBH.* 1.65.32 *pārā carmaṇvatī lāpi vidiśā vetravatyapi/ śiprā hayavantī (kuntī) ca pāriyātrāśrayāh smṛtāh. Mārkaṇḍeya.* 57.20. *Vāyu.* 45.97, *Matsya.* 114.23.

[6] *athābraviddharmarājaṃ tu kṛṣṇo daśārhayodhāh kukurāndhakāśca. MBH.* 3.180.31.
evameṣa tadā vīra balibhih kukurāndhakaih. MBH. 2.17.27.

[7] *sāketakaṅkakurukālakoṭikukurāścapāriyatranagah. BS.* 14.4.

[8] The passages [ ] are not found in ms. They have been tentatively reconstructed by the Pondichery editors on the basis of examples.

[9] *devikā* [10] *śūrasenikā,* [11] *vaudhī,* [12] *modasaṃbhavā*

[13] *mālavī,* [14] *kośalā.*

[1. *Māhārāṣṭrī*][1]

atha deśī

ralli bhalavo sīho kaïyā tiṇataṭṭiyaṣiṇe yathā/
taha halio[2] vidu vagdho ṇā ittho[3] paḍamabhāsāe//8//

[2. *Kirātī*]

lijjāïa anne diṭṭhaṃ maṃjiṭṭhajjaṃ juaṃ mulā-
yatthaṃ/taha gutthio(*) pahaṭṭho suhiyaṃ rīṇaṃ
kirāī e//9//

[3. *Saurāṣṭrī*]

dullakkhaṃ[4] ajalajuttaṃ gāhuḍigāho taro maṇḍo/
soraṭṭhiyāye bhaṇio [5]taṃ dohathīhao[6] ṇāso //10//

[4. *Māgadhī*]

aṇakaṃ doalasamao[7] māgahe bhāsāe paṭṭhabhārayalī/
sāhālā kaṃkolī bhūvahu tāmaraṃ bhaṇiyaṃ//11//

[5. *Lāṭī*]

sutthā[8] esā latthī[9] viraham kusuṃbhajaṃ vatthaṃ/
dullaṃgham[10] aṇajuttaṃ tuṅgī rayaṇī dhavo bhattā
//12//

[6. *Gauḍī*]

jāṭllo joïḍavā pallī vagdho paraṃ suvo saddo/
ālāso visakiḍo tthāro virivoa golāe //13//

[7. *Kāśmīrī*]

kāśiri apayaṭṭho [11] moro kelo narāhivo tuṅgo/
vicchheë tu vilāso taha sūro pūraṇo bhaṇao[12]//14//

[8. *Paurastyā*]

pajjāe tāsu puriso diṭṭhaṃ bhaṇiaṃ mahīsajñā/
taha pura hillaṃ khiccaṃ attāsā sūharo hīro //15//

[9. *Paścima bhāṣā*]

mehuṇihaṃ taha bhaṇie tīropavalo ayaṃjulo naülo/
aṃpaṃcāyāya moro rīho ..... maṃkāro //16//

[10. *Utkalā*]

giriyaṃ lie vighosaṃ tu .... pīvaro tadā bhaṇio[13]
sāraṃgo taha bhasalo sāro saya ukkavalā //17//

[11. *Pāñcālī*]

paṃcayabhāsā bhaṇiyā mayaṇa ..... ro tīraṃ/
gīyaṃ guṭṭhāvaddha..... u jāṃjālaṃ
vatthaṃ[14]va//18//

[12. *Paiśācī*]

taha boliyā sahāro bhallaī pisu ..... savveyaṃ/
piṃgalaṃ taṃ nārī kaṇṭāra itteho ..... //19//

[13. *Mlecchī*]

mlecchie[15] pula bhaṇio tappili cahārā/
gujjītelaṃ āṭṭhī jahā pullaṃ //20//

[14. *Turānī*]

uraṃvārāe sa sadyo satthāro bhahio[16] tahā kalho[17]
i..... itta puṣkakākoo [18] ābhaṇiyā //21//

[15. *Somakī*]

indavahū īdo odāso loharilo ...../
[so] mayā hi o-bha .....//22//

[16. *Colakī*]

e ṇaraṇāho bhallaī vahalo surāhio[19] masalo/
vasuā vadi husukkaṃ saddaṃ puṇa purī iyattham //23//

[17. *Kāñcī*]

ralicchāmo[20]asamattho kaṃvīe paṭṭavvamaṇo tuṇḍaṃ/
sūvaravayaṇaṃ aripallī bhaṇae vaggho //24//

[18. *Mālavī*]

ratthā[21] ..... asulaho kūlagghoṇoa.....bhaṇio/
uaaṃ taṇava kurīraṃ[22] mālivie meyalo viṃgo //25//

[19. *Kāśī*]

laṃpi uccā taha vorī kāsīe piṇḍarī[23] corī/
veluṃ[24] paṭṭaü vāraṃ nāhaṇī //26//

[20. *Vedī or Vaudhī*]

luṭṭhaṃ[25] moso bhaṇiyaṃ vedīe kuramarī tahā vaṃdī/
he ravo taha paḍaho theṇo coro calaṃ pīlaṃ //27//

[21. *Kuśāvartā*]

kusumaüttayabhāsā taha cchurīcchurīyā muṇeyatthā/
piṇḍavalo ..... davaggo kūhaṃvāhāpi
aṃjālā[26] //28//

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[1] Here it may be noted that the Pondichery edition has given names of the languages in parenthesis and then the illustrative verse. I also follow the same.

[2] *haliü*, [3]*jāittho*.

(*) *gucchiü*; [4] *ḍullakhaṃ*; [5] *bhaṇiü*; [6] °*haü*; [7] °*maü*; [8] *mucchā*; [9] *lacchi*; [10] *ḍullāgham*,
[11] *ṭṭo*; [12] *bhaṇiyaṃ*; [13]—°*uṃ*. [14] *vacchatthaṃ*; [15] *mechīe*; [16] *tahiü*; [17] *kalhno*; [18]—°*koü*; [19] *hiü* (in Katre we generally find an ü for final *o* of Pondichery edition.

[20] *rabhichāmo*; [21] *raccha* (*tthā*) [22] *ujaaṃtaṇa cakurīraṃ*; [23] *pijarī* [24] *celuṃ*; [25] *luddhaṃ*. [26] *ojālā*.

[22. *Śūrasenī*]

saṃgā bhaggaï[1] *vaggā sa paṃtikkaṃ ca sūraseṇāe/*
bhāïlao[2] *vara urao*[3] *ariyā asaī muṇe attha //29//*

[23. *Bhojī*]

kūlam seṇā vacchaṃ puṃḍie aṃviyaṃ ca vivarīraṃ
bhojikā irapuriso bhaḍila asaī karīnājī//30//

[24. *Gurjarī*]

chiṃbhu[4] *bibhalaï asaī gujjarabhāsāe māharam saṃgaṃ*
vāluṃ kiṃ haḍiyājata[5] *saṃghāsaṃ khalaṃ jussam*[6] *//31//*

(25. *Romakī*)

romayabhāsā bhaṇio pāvī sagho sahāravo vaḍavo/
vaṃgam taha akalaṃkaṃ visalaṃ sajjaṃ viyāṇehi //32//

[26. *Medī*]

gandī maṅgalatūraṃ jagaraṃ kavacaṃ muṇeyatthaṃ/
parigho[7] *parivāro kalivaṃ kaṇṭhaṃ ca meyabhāsāe//33//*

[27. *Māravī*]

māravabhāsā bhaṇio dhavalo sūro amaṃgalo aggī/
caṃpaṃ taha viṭṭhu[8] *puttham*[9] *puriso kalo*[10] *malīghusiüm //34//*

[28. *Kānamūkhī*]

iṃho taha yavaladdo hariso cando akācapao[11]*/*
sāhīlaṃ supaüttaṃ maṃkaṃ disahaṃ[12] *tu lāyandī//35//*

[29. *Devakī*]

hayamie..... bhālacchī[13] *phalo*[14] *kūo*
suhāsiaṃ[15] *selaṃ/*
uddāso santāo[16] *caḍe ṇaaṃ lajjiyaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ //36//*

(30. *Pañcapattanī*)

āhaccaṃ aṃsaṃ ..... sīlaṃ hasasiaṃ ca pancapaṭṭali bhaṇie
maṇḍalao[17] *taha suṇao*[18] *tāhī li tthaṇi*[19] *sā liddā*[20] *//37//*

[31. *Saindhavī*]

siddayabhāsā bhaṇie tahā pavalo bhūpiyasio hero/
dolaṃ va vo maho sahaû gavalaṃ ava sehisaṃ bhaliyaṃ//38//

[32. *Kauśikā*]

tahā°kāsiyā bhallaï duhiyā.....sso/
[so] hi ṇavo piṇḍāro maülī thūṇī paamadhare[22] *//39//*

[33. *Bhadrā*]

bhadda[23] *bhaṇāe taha..... viyago*[24] *rogī.. sīsī/*

[34. *Bhadrabhojikā*]

jalaṇaṃ bhallaï dīṇaṃ hattho sāhāpavo ivā //40//

[35. *Kuntalā*]

ku..... va iṣahīrā lajjā khalo koṇo/
pāsaṇḍaṃ nituveda[25] *vvaṃ ghio*[26] *paharo sa i sannī //41//*

[36. *Kosalā*]

taha kosalaya[27] *bhaṇio*[28] *mukho ṭhero asīvio*[29] *sāhī/*
golā bhaṇaī nāī thero kasaro mao[30] *na haro //42//*

[37. *Pārā*]

ṭighī bhaṇaï vilao[31] *pūsōkīlo*[32] *paleviaṃ sariaṃ /*
mallaṇiyāya jaṇaṇī pārāe aṭkiyā vahiṇā[33] *//43//*

[38. *Yāvanī*]

jāraṇa bhāṣa.....o[34] *goḍḍa khilī tahā vesā/*
..... lliri bhallaï sa savo kuhuṇī ratthā[35]
maho jattā//44//

[39. *Kurkurī*]

.....suṇaha vākurī esseṭṭhī[36] *..... hotagho /*
alu aṃgo kalapaṇṇo savalo ṇacalo pharoka....//45//

[40. *Madhyadeśī*]

bhaṇaïnda vīraṃrā maṃśimabhāsāe[37] *vāriaṃ pīaṃ /*
laṃvosā.....kuṭṭhiliddo tāsara //46//

[41. *Kāmbojī*]

.....bhaṇaï ndāro[38] *okaṃḍova*[39] *kambujāīe*[40]*//47//*

[42. *Malayā*]

saṃkho vandīha jīho gāvo kasalo maloyīle[41]
uddāe geya[42] *bhallaṃ*[43] *sukalam tulī vīṇā/*
tolo taha yapasāro sutthāṇayalo[44] *bhaṇia*[45] *//48//*

iti bhāṣālakṣaṇādhyāyah[46]

Vararuci (c. 4th Cent. A.D.), the oldest grammarian of Prakrit, describes, in his grammar, only four Prakrit dialects, *viz.*, Māhārāṣṭrī,

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[1] *bhallaï;* [2] *-laü;* [3] *-raü;* [4] *chicu;* [5] *huḍiyajata;* [6] *husaṃ;* [7] *parigham;* [8] *vicchu;* [9] *puccham;* [10] *kīro;* [11] *°paü;* [12] *diyahaṃtu;* [13] *tālacchī* [14] *phāro;* [15] *sushāsiham* [16] *–°u.* [17] *–°u.* [18] *aü;* [19] *licchaṇi;* [20] *sābhiddā;* [21] *sindhayabhāsā;* [22] *°dharo;* [23] *sadda* [24] *taha ciyagorogi;* [25] *nitī°* [26] *u;* [27] *komala;* [28] *–°u;* [29] *–°u;* [30] *manuṃ;* [31] *–°u;* [32] *kilo;* [33] *uahināṃ;* [34] *–°u;* [35] *raccha (tthā);* [36] *vākurie settho;* [37] *indaviram rāmam śimabhāsāe;* [38] *bhaṇaïndoro;* [39] *ūkaṃḍova;* [40] *kaṃcujālve;* [41] *malo bhilo;* [42] *geyaṃ;* [43] *bhalla;* [44] *mucchāṇayalo;* [45] *bhaṇīū;* [46] *iti bharata kṛtaṃ gītālaṃkāraṃ vādimattagajāṃkuśaṃ samāptamiti.*

Paiśācī, Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, of which Māhārāṣṭrī is acclaimed as the most cultivated one. Nine out of total twelve chapters (426 sūtras) of his work are devoted to this dialect. After describing the other three dialects very briefly, he sets down a general rule 'in rest (of the things it is the) the same as (in))Māhārāṣṭrī'[1]. Māgadhī (17 sūtras) is described as the language of Māgadhas,[2] Śauraśenī (31 sūtras) as the language of Śūrasenas[3], and Paiśācī (14 sūtras) as the language of Piśācas[4]. But from their description it seems that they are only literary languages. Nothing is said by Vararuci about their geographical distribution.

Daṇḍin (6th Cent. A.D.), in his *Kāvyādarśa*, mentions the fourfold traditional divisions of the speech in general (*vāṅmayaṃ*) *viz.*, Saṃskṛta, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa and Miśra[5]. Sanskrit to him is the divine speech (*daivīvāk*), described in minutest details (*anvākhyātā*) by the great seers[6] i.e. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. He describes Māhārāṣṭrī the '*dialectus praecipua*' of Vararuci as the Prakrit *par excellence*[7]. Śaurasenī, Gauḍī and Lāṭī, the other dialects included in Prakrit, are described as being in use in their respective vicinities.[8] Śauraseni is quite well known. Gauḍī and *Lāṭī* stand for the languages of Magadha and Lāṭa countries respectively (noted above in *Gītālaṃkāra*). Daṇḍin defines Apabhraṃśa as the language, in poetry, of Ābhīras and others alike; but in learning it indicated off-standard Sanskrit.[9]

By the term Miśra Daṇḍin probably means mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit (as in case of Buddhistic Sanskrit and in macaronic verses), mixture of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa (the speech of gambler in *Mṛcchakaṭika* and in *Vasudevahiṇḍī*), and the mixture of two or more Prakṛits (as in many Jain works).

Daṇḍin mentions another (other than Sanskrit) language and calls it *Bhūtabhāṣā* by which he means Paiśācī in which were compiled the wonderful stories of *Bṛhatkathā*.[10] It may be noted here that as a writer on poetics, Daṇḍin has described only the literary languages of his time, with practically no word for their geographical areas.

Some languages/dialects, current in different parts of the Indian sub-continent, have been noted and described, although very briefly, by the Chinese traveller Huien Tsang (Yuan Chwang), who visited the country in the 7th Cent. A.D.[11] A great scholar of Buddhistic philosophy and a very minute observer of the prevailing conditions of the country, he has described vividly the land, the people—their food, drink & dresses their habits, customs and religious systems—and the cities etc. of the different parts of the country visited by him. He has not failed to notice the speech peculiarities of these regions, but unfortunately his description lacks nomenclature of languages. His reference is confined only to the notice as to whether a particular language was similar to or different from the one spoken in its neighbourhood. In some cases the comparison is with the language of midland which, as will be seen below, is described as the standard language of the northern India.

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[1] *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrīvat.* XII. 32.

[2] *māgadhānām bhāṣā māgadhī.* XI. 1.

[3] *śūrasenānām bhāṣā śauraseni.* XII. 1 (Commentary of *Bhāmaha*).

[4] *piśācānām bhāṣā paiśāci.* X. 2.

[5] *tadetadvāṅmayam bhūyah saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tathā|apabhraṃśaśca miśraṃ cetyāhurāryācaturvidhaṃ. Kāvy.* 1.32.

[6] *saṃskṛtaṃ nāma daivīvāganvākhyātā maharṣibhih. Ibid* 1.33.

[7] *māhārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭāṃ prākṛtāṃ viduh.*

'The language of Mahārāṣtra is the best of Prākrits'. 1.34.

[8] *śauraseni ca gauḍī ca lāṭī cānyā ca tādṛśī./yāti prākṛtamityeva vyavahāreṣu sannidhaṃ.*

'The Prakrit has Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and other dialects like them in use in (their respective) vicinities. *Kāvy.* 1.35.

[9] *ābhīrādigirah kāvyeṣvapabhraṃśa iti smṛtah|śāstreṣu saṃskṛtādanyadapabhraṃśatayoditam.*

'In poetry the speech of Ābhīras and others (alike) is known as Apabhraṃśa. In Śāstras, (the language) other than Sanskrit is said to be Apabhraṃśa. *Kāvy.* 1.36.

[10] *bhūtabhāṣāmayīm prāhuradbhutārthā bṛhatkathāṃ. Kāvy.* 1.38b.

[11] The references are from '*On] Yuan Chwang's travel in India*' by Thomas Watters, published in two volumes from Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904-5.

Yuan Chwang first mentions the language spoken by the people inhabiting Kapis (KA—PI—SHIH=Kapiśā) as "a coarse and vulgar speech". Their written language was like that of Tokhara, but the colloquial idiom was quite different.[1] This Kapis may be Kafir, a name preserved in modern Kafiristan; so the language referred to may be a forerunner of the Modern Kāfirī. It is most likely that it was the Paiśācī language, as the Piśācas have been mentioned as Kapis[2], and the country inhabited by them extended over what now forms Kafiristan.

The Chinese traveller then describes the language of the mid-land as the standard language, other languages deriving their pattern from it. He remarks "the people of Mid-India are pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant, like those of the devas, and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others".[3] The language mentioned here is most probably Sanskrit because it was the refined and ornate speech in contradistinction to the vernaculars. This becomes clear from his description of the neighbouring languages. He says, "the people of the neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became the norm and emulous for vulgarities, have lost the pure style".[4] It is evident from this that the neighbouring languages/dialects showed great deviations from the language of the midland, which was carried out of India. The language could not maintain its ornateness in pronunciation in foreign countries due most probably to the totally different pronunciation-habits of the people. The reference may be to Sanskrit, spoken in China.

Yuan Chwang found the language spoken in WU—CHANGNA (modern Swat and adjoining districts) country a little different from the language of India, but the resemblances between these two languages appeared to him more prominent.[5] The reference may be to the Swat dialect a form of the North Eastern dialect spoken in Swat.

The next language noted by the Chinese traveller is the one spoken in Bolor (PO—LU—LO) near modern Baltistan. It is described as a "peculiar" language. The writing system adopted by these people has been described as "very like that of India".[6] His reference may be to some language spoken in Baltistan, most probably to the Balti (described by Grierson as Bhotia of Baltistan).[7]

The people of Rājapura (KO—LO—SHE—PU—LO) are described as speakers of a "vulgar dialect."[8] Rājapura is identified with Rajaori to the south of Kashmir bound on the north by Piraṇcal, west by Punach, south by Bhimbar and east by Rihāsi and Akhnur.

The language of Kāmrūpa (KA—MO—LU—PO) is described as differing little from that of Mid-India.[9] Kāmarūpa was the ancient name of Assam, hence the language referred by Yuan Chwang may be presumed to be the forerunner of the modern Assamese. Although Kāmarūpa and its adjoining areas were inhabited by mostly non-Aryan tribes speaking totally different languages, the reference of Yuan Chwang is probably not to any of them.

The language spoken by the people of Kalinga (KA—LENG—KA) also differed, according to Yuan Chwang "some what from Mid-India".[10] Kalinga was the name of ancient Orissa, the language noted may be a predecessor of the modern Oriyā.

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[1] *Ibid.* Vol. I pp. 122-123.
[2] Kapiśā was the name of the mother of Piśācas.
[3] *Ibid.* Book. I pp. 152-153.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 153.
[5] *Idid.* Vol. I, p. 225.
[6] *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 240.
[7] L. S. I., Vol. I, Pt. I, Index of Language names p. 431.
[8] Watters. *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 284.
[9] *Ibid.* Book II, p. 186.
[10] *Ibid,* Vol. II, p., 198.

The Chinese traveller refers to the language of Mālwā (MO—LA—P'O) as "a refined speech".[1] This language might have been the forerunner of the modern Mālwī.

A country named FA—LA—NA, identified, by Cunningham[2] with Varana (-Banu, mod. Bannu) on the Kuram river, is described by Yuan Chwang as having a language with "a little resemblance to that of "Mid-India".[3] The reference may be to a forerunner of the Bannu subdialect, a form of the south-western dialect of Pashto spoken by the uneducated in the Bannu district.[4]

Besides these languages/dialects, Yuan Chwang also mentions the languages of Kashgar (KA—SHA—)[5] and Khotan (KU—SA—TAN—NA)—both of these being different from the language of other countries.[6]

The description of Yuan Chwang, although it lacks in precision, especially with regards to nomenclature, is quite interesting in so far as it points out the linguistic diversities of the country according to different geographical areas.

A list of eighteen vernaculars (*desībhāsā*) is available in *Kuvalayamālā*, a collection of various current-at-the-time stories, interwoven together, composed (or compiled) by the great Jain writer Udyotanasūri during the end of the 8th cent. A.D.[7] The work is a good source of information for the study of (besides languages) the contemporary social and economic conditions. It's importance from the linguistic point has been professed by the author himself at the end of the work where he says that those who know the vernacular languages, their chief characteristics, their roots etc. should read the *Kuvalayamālā*.[8]

The reference to the vernaculars is met with in the description of a market place in Vijayā, a city probably in South as is known from the description itself.[9] A city of great splendour and prosperity, it was inhabited by people from different parts of India, e.g. Lāṭa, Karṇāṭaka, Mālavā, Kanauj, Golla, Mahārashtra, Saurāṣṭra, Dhakkadeśa, Śrīkaṇṭha and Sindh, forming their separate assemblies (*caṭṭā*). [10].

The entire portion[11], dealing with vernaculars, with a translation is being reproduced below.[12]

kasine ṇiṭṭhura-vayaṇe bahuka-samara bhuṃjaye alajje ya /
'aḍaḍe' tti ullavante aha pecchaī gollae tattha.//
ṇaya-ṇīī-sandhi-viggaha-paḍue bahu-jaṃpae ya payaīe/
"tere-mere āū" tti jaṃpire majjhadese ya //
ṇihariya-poṭṭa-duvvaṇṇa-maḍahae suraya-keli-tallicche /
"ege le" jaṃpille aha pecchai māgahe kumaro //
kavile piṃgala-nayane bhoyaṇa-kaha-metta-diṇṇa-vāvāre /
"kitto kiṃmo" piya-jaṃpire ya aha antavee ya //
uttuṃga thūla ghoṇe kaṇayavvaṇṇe ya bhāravāhe ya /
"sari pāri" jampire re kīre kumaro paloei //
dakkhiṇṇa dāṇa porusa viṇṇāṇa-dayā vivajjiya sarīre/
"eha tehâ" cavante ḍhakke uṇa pecchae kumaro//
salaliya-miü-maddavae gaṃdhavva-pie sadesa-gaya-citte/
"caüḍaya me" bhaṇire suhae aha seṃdhave diṭṭhe //
baṃke jaḍe ya jaḍḍe bahu-bhoī kaḍhiṇa pīṇa sūṇaṃge /

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[1] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p.242;
[2] Cunningham op. cit. p. 97.
[3] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 262;
[4] L. S. I. , Vol. I, pt. I, p. 432.
[5] *Watters op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 290.
[6] *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 293.
[7] Published from Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay in 1959, edited by Dr. A. N. Upadhye.
[8] *jo jāṇai desīo bhāsāo lakkhaṇāi dhāü ca.*
vaya-ṇaya gāhā cheyaṃ kuvalayamālām pi so paḍhau. §429 Line-7-8.
[9] *calio kumāro dakkhiṇam disābhogaṃ.* 'The Kumāra started for the Southern direction'. §241, Line 3.
[10] *lāḍā kaṇṇāḍā vi ya mālaviyā-kaṇujja-gollaya keī marahaṭṭha ya soraṭṭhā ḍhakkā siriaṃṭha sendhavaya.* §243. L. 20.
[11] §246, lines. 8 to 25;
[12] The translation is by the present writer.

"appā tuppā" bhaṇire aha pecchaï mārue tatto //
ghaya-loṇiya-puṭṭhaṃge dhammapare saṃdhi-viggahaṃ ṇiüṇe /

"ṇaüre bhallaü" bhaṇire aha pecchaï gujjare avare //

ṇhāolitta-vilitte kaya-sīmante susohiya-sugatte/
"amhaṃ kāü tumhaṃ" bhaṇire aha pecchae lāḍe //

taṇu-sāma-maḍaha-dehe kovaṇae māṇajīviṇo rodde /

"bhāüya bhaïṇī tumhe" bhaṇire aha mālave diṭṭhe //

ukkaḍa-dappe piya-mohaṇe ya rodde payaṃga-vittī ya /

"aḍi pāḍi mare" bhaṇire pecchaï kaṇṇāḍae aṇṇe /

kuppāsa pāüyaṃge māsa-ruī pāṇa-mayaṇa-tallicche /

"isi kisi misi" bhaṇamāṇe aha pecchaï tāte avare //

savva-kalā-pattaṭṭhe māṇī piya-kovaṇe kaḍhiṇa-dehe /

"jala tala le" bhaṇamāṇē kosalae pulaïe avare //

daḍha-maḍaha-sāmalaṃge sahire ahimāṇa-kalaha-sīle ya /

"diṇṇalle gahiyalle" ullavire tattha marahaṭ-ṭhe //

piya-mahilā-saṃgāme suṃdara-gatte ya bhoyaṇe rodde /

"aṭi puṭi raṭiṃ" bhaṇaṃte aṃdhe kumaro paloeï //

iya aṭṭhāraṣa desībhāsāü pulaïüṇa siridatto /
aṇṇāïya pulaeï khasa-pārasa-babbarādīe //

"The people of Golla country are black, harsh-speaking, shameless and always indulged in amorous pleasures. They are seen speaking "*aḍaḍe*". The people of Madhyadeśa, skilled in justice and policy of war and peace, and very talkative by nature, use "*tere mere āü*" in their speech. The Māgadhas are big-bellied, of bad complexion, short statured and always engaged in sexual pleasures. The prince sees them speaking "*ege le*". The people of Antarveḍa are tawny-coloured, having yellow eyes, always busy in eating and talking only. They speak "*kitto kiṃmo*" very politely. The inhabitants of the Kīra country possess long but fat nose, have golden colour and are capable of carrying heavy loads. They use "*sari pāri*" in their speech. The people of the Dhakka country, bereft of the qualities of pity, charity, bravery, knowledge and mercy are seen by the prince using "*eha-tehâ*" in their speech. The people of Sindhu deśa (i.e. Saindhavas) are seen speaking "*caüḍaa me*". They are soft speaking, lovers of art, music and dance, drunkerds and patriotic. The dwellers of the desert country (i.e. Maru deśa), the Mārukas, are cunning, stupid, dull, gluttons, with bulky physique. They speak "*appā tuppā*". The Gurjaras are strong due to the (excessive) use of ghee and butter, devoted to religion and clever in matters of war and peace. They utter "*ṇaü re bhallaü*". The inhabitants of the Lāṭa country use perfumes after bath, dress their hairs well and adorn their bodies. Their speech is full of "*amhaṃ kāü tumhaṃ*". The Mālavas with lean, short and black bodies are angry in disposition, high-minded and furious. They speak "*bhāüya bhaïṇī tumhe.*" The people of Karṇāṭaka are furious and proud, always engaged in love affairs, with unsettled means of livelihood. They are seen speaking "*aḍi pāḍi mare*". The Tājikas dress themselves in cotton clothes, like meat and are always indulged in drinking and dalliance, They utter "*isi kisi misi*". The Kosalas, experts in all arts, high-minded, easily infuriated and strong built, are seen speaking "*jala tala le.*" The Marahaṭṭhas are strong built, small statured, black in complexion, tolerant by nature and full of quarrels and pride. They speak "*diṇṇalle gahiyalle*". The Āndhras, lovers of women and war, handsome and voracious eaters, speak "*aṭi puṭi raṭiṃ*". These are the eighteen vernaculars which delight Śrīdatta (*Siridatto*). There are yet others—those of the Khasas, the Pārasas and the Barbaras etc."

The city of Vijayā, as already noted, lay in south, on the coast-land of the south sea[1], somewhere near the Narmadā river. The description

[1] *vijayā ṇāma ṇayarī dāhiṇasamuddabelāulammi.* p. 157 §253, L. 2.

of the vernaculars is confined to the market of the businessmen from the different countries mentioned above. Now, the two or three words, illustrating the speech of these people cannot form the *nuclii* of describing the particular languages. The words used here seem to be market-terms—mostly interjections—used commonly by merchants. Such words are still in vogue in merchant-guilds.

The Golla country, mentioned in *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*[1] spread over the catchment area of the Godavari river. The language referred to might have been the forerunner of either Tamil or Badaga or Badagu dialects. The retroflex sound in *aḍaḍe* lends support to the hypothesis.

Madhyadeśa and Magadha need no description. "*Tere mere āü*" spoken by the merchants of the Madhyadeśa suggests that the language was perhaps the Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. "*ege*" and "*oge*" are still used as interjectional and excalmatory terms in Bengali.

Antarveda was the tract lying between the rivers Ganga and Jamuna (the present Doab of Uttar Pradesh). In *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* it is referred to as the country lying between Hardwar and Prayāga.[2] The name is preserved in Antarbedī or Antardesī, described as another name of Braj Bhāsā by Grierson[3]. It is interesting to note that Udyotana Sūri has mentioned Antarveda and Madhyadeśa separately. As a matter of fact, Antarveda formed a part of the greater Madhyadeśa. Here the separate mention may be to denote eastern and western dialectal varieties—the Antarveda standing for the eastern and the Madhyadeśa for the western—the ancient Kuru and western Pañcāla janapadas. The latter language/dialect might have been the predecessor of Modern Bāngrū or Hariyānī, now called as Kauravī also by some scholars.

The Kīra country has been referred to in the Rewah stone inscription of Karṇa as lying near Baijanath in the Kangra Valley.[4] It also occurs in *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* as the name of a people in the Kashmir country.[5] It is not unlikely that the speech was some old form of Dogrī or Kashmiri.

The Dhakka country lay in the east of Magadha. A variant form of the word Dhakka, Takka is mentioned in *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Dhakki/Takki has been described as a dialect of Māgadhī by Prakrit grammarians especially those belonging to the Eastern School, Puruṣottama, Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmaśarman (see infra p. 31-32).

The Sindhu country is quite well known.

The Mārukas are mentioned as a people in *Purāṇas*[6], probably inhabiting the desert regions—the Marudeśa. The language may be identified with the *Māravabhāṣā* of the *Gītālaṃkāra*.

The names Gurjara (Gurjari), Lāṭa (Lāṭi) and Mālava have also been discussed in *Gītālaṃkāra*. The predominance of the cerebrals in "*aḍi pāḍi mare*" indicates that the language of Karṇāṭakas was most probably the old form of Kannaḍa. The Tājikas have been generally identified with Arabs (with Persians in *Kathāsaritsāgara*)[7]. In a Nausari Copper plate Grant of the Gujarat Cālukyas, Pulakeśirāja (8th Cent. A. D.) is credited with having defeated the Tājikas. They (The Tājikas) are reported to have destroyed (or defeated) the Saindhavas, Kacchelas, Surāṣṭras, Cāvoṭakas, Gurjaras and Mauryas before being themselves defeated by the Chālukyas.[8] The language mentioned here may be either Arabic or

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[1] VIII. 194. In *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* Gola country is mentioned along with Pāṇḍya and Kerala as a southern *Janapada* (*Janapadā dakṣiṇavāsinaḥ*).

pāṇḍyāśca @keralāścaiva golām gulastathaiva ca.. *Mk.* 57.47. *@ v. l. puṇḍrāśca.*

"The Golla may be the same as Gollapuṇḍi, which may be indentified with the village of Gollapuḍi on the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa River near Bezwada in the Kistna district about 12 miles to the north of Tāṇḍi Koṇḍa. (Epigraphi-ca-Indica XXII, Pt. V, Taṇḍi Konda Grant of Amma-rāja, II". (B. C. Law, *Op. cit.* p. 153).

[2] Pt. III, Ch. 2.

[3] L.S.I., Vol. I, Pt. I, p..428.

[4] Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XXIV, Pt. III, p. 110.

[5] *aiśānyām merukanaṣṭarājyapaśupālanakīrakāśmirāh. B. S.* 14.29

[6] *mā(ma) rukā mālavāścaiva pāriyātranivāsinah. Viṣṇu* II. 3. 16; also *Kūrma.* I. 46. 43 and *Brahma-* 21.17.

[7] *Kathāsaritsāgara-*XXXVII-36-37.

[8] *Bombay Gazetteer-*Vol. I, p. 109.

Perso-Arabic. The languages of the Kosalas and Marahaṭṭhas have been already discussed. The speech of Āndhras might have been a forerunner of Modern Telugu, which is supported by the cerebrals in "*aṭi puṭi raṭiṃ.*"

But although Udyotana Śuri has mentioned eighteen vernaculars (*aṭṭhārasa desībhāsāe*), we find only sixteen named and illustrated. The reason for this anomaly is not clear.

A few languages and dialects have been noted by Rājaśekhara (beginning of the 10th Cent.) in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. After referring to the four well known languages, *viz.*, Saṃskṛta, Apabhraṃśa, Prākṛta and Bhūtabhāṣā (i.e. Paiśācī)[1], he sets down rules prescribed by different contemporary kings for use of languages in their harems. Usually, the male servants used Apabhraṃśa, and the maid servants a language along with Māgadhī, by which is meant probably Dhakkī or some other dialect of Māgadhī[2]. The King of Magadha had banned the use of 8 difficult sounds *viz.* the four cerebrals starting with *ṭ*, the three sibilants and *kṣ*[3]. As a matter of fact *kṣ* was changed to *kh* in Magadhan dialects, but why all the cerebrals and sibilants were discarded is not clear. It may be adduced to some special euphemism of speech, observed by the King. Similar euphemism is marked in the harem of the King of Śūrasena also where the use of hard sounding conjuncts was totally banned.[4] This points to the growing tendency towards assimilation and simplification of the conjunct (and double) consonants coming into vogue in Śaurasenī, in other words, the beginning of the third phase of the development in the history of Indo-Aryan languages. In another passage he tells that Sanskrit was used in the harem of the King of Ujjayinī[5], whereas Prakrit was exclusively in use in the harem of King Sātavāhana of Kuntala.[6] To this Sātavāhana, otherwise known as Hāla, is assigned the authorship of *Gāhāsattasaī*, the wonderful anthology of Prakrit verses, hence the mention.

Rājaśekhara has, elsewhere in the same work, noted the speeches of many people in the country. The concentration of the different languages has been described according to the general regard the people have for them. The Gauḍas and others alike have a special aptitude for *Saṃskṛta* whereas those from the Lāṭa country took interest in *Prākṛta*. The inhabitants of the desert lands, Takka and Bhādānaka country used a language along with Apabhraṃśa. The people of Avantī and Pāriyātra, along with those from Daśapura were inclined towards Bhūtabhāṣā (i.e. Paiśācī). But the poet who lived in the heart of the midland (Madhyadeśa) was well versed in all languages.[7]

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[1] *sasaṃskṛtāmapabhraṃśaṃ lālityāliṅgitaṃ paṭhet | prākṛtāṃ bhūtabhāṣāṃ ca...Kāvyamīmāṃsā* 7.33.5.

[2] *apbhraṃśabhāṣāpravaṇaḥ paricārakavargaḥ; samāgadhabhāṣābhiniveśinyāḥ paricārikāḥ.* The servant folk are in habit of speaking Apabhraṃśa, the maid servants use a language along with the Māgadha language. *Ibid.* 10.50·5.

[3] *śrūyate hi magadheṣu śiśunāgo nāma rājā, tena duruccārāṇāṣṭau varṇānapāsya svāntahpura evapravartito niyamaḥ ṭakārādayaścatvāromūrdhanyāstṛtīyavarjamūṣmāṇastrayaḥ kṣakāraśceti:*

It is heard (that there is) a King Śiśunāga by name in Magadha. He has set down a rule of his own regarding the use of languages in his harem, discarding the use of the eight difficult and wrong pronouncing sounds, viz. the 4 cerebrals starting from *ṭ* except the third one i.e. ḍ., the three sibilants and *kṣ*. *Ibid.* 10.50.12.

[4] *śrūyate ca sūraseneṣu kuvindo nāmarājā tenaparuṣasaṃyogākṣaravarjāntahpura eveti samānam pūrveṇa.*

'It is heard (that there is) a king named Kuvinda in Sūrasena. He has forbidden the use of hard sounding conjunct consonants (sounds) in his harem from the beginning. *Ibid.* 10.50.15.

[5] *śrūyate cojjayinyām sāhasāṅko nāma rājā; tena ca saṃskṛta bhāṣātmakamantahpura eveti samānam pūrveṇa.*

It is heard (that there is) a King named Sāhasāṅka in Ujjayinī. He has prescribed the use of Sanskirt in his harem. *Ibid.* 10.50.10,

[6] *śrūyate ca kuntaleṣu sātavāhano nāma rājā; tena prākṛtabhāṣātmakamantahpura eveti samānam pūrveṇa.*

It is heard (that there is) a King named Sātavāhana in Kuntala. He has prescribed the use of the Prākṛta in his harem. *Ibid.* 10.50.17.

[7] *gauḍādyāsaṃskṛtarucayaḥ prākṛte laṭadeśyāḥ | sāpabhraṃśaprayogāḥ sakalamarubhuvaṣṭakkabhādānakāśca | āvantyāḥ pāriyātrāḥ sahadaśapurajairbhūtabhāṣā bhanjate|yo madhye madhyadeśam nivasati sa kavih sarvabhāṣāniṣaaṇṇaḥ.*

'The Gauḍas and others take their stand on Sanskrit, the liking for Prakrit of those (poets) of the Lāṭa country is well known; all the Maru region, the Takkas and the Bhādānakas employ Apabhraṃśa; the poets of Avantī and the Pāriyātra, together with those of Daśapur have recourse to Bhūtabhāṣā and a poet who lives in the heart of Madhyedeśa is well versed in all (these) languages. *Ibid.* 10.51,5.

Rājaśekhara has also noted that the vernacular poets were also given the same respect as the poets of Sanskrit and Prakrit and were given equal rank seats with them in the courts of the Kings. The account of Rājaśekhara is confined to the literary languages. The language of Madhyadēśa had ever since the days of Pāṇini, been held in high esteem; hence the tributes. The geographical locale of the Bhūtabhāṣā i.e. Paiśācī has been described as Avantī, Pāriyātra and Daśapura. Pāriyātra, otherwise known as Pāripātra also, was a mountain range of the Vindhyas, between Narmadā and Tāptī[1]. Avantī and Daśapura[2] were neighbouring countries.

After Rājaśekhara, we don't find any notable account of either the literary languages or the vernaculars till the 12th Cent. A. D., when Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.), the great Jain polymath, wrote his *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*, perhaps the last notable Sanskrit grammar of any note containing almost all the possible details of the language available till then. The eighth chapter of his grammar deals with 6 Prakrit languages *viz.*, *Ārṣa* (by which he means *Ardhamāgadhī* of other Prakrit grammarians), *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhī*, *Paiśācī*, *Cūlikāpaiśācī* and *Apabhraṃśa*. He uses, like other grammarians, the name Prakrit for Māhārāṣṭrī. His description is confined to some rules of grammar (*sūtras* followed by his own commentary) and their examples. But the portion dealing with Apabhraṃśa is quite interesting because here the rules are explained with full illustrations (verses in current vernacular). Whether Hemacandra himself composed these couplets (or distiches), with war and love as their general themes, or collected them from masses has been a matter of controversy.[3] But it cannot be doubted that the language of these couplets was current in the country especially the Midland and South.

Before, summing up the general account of the Indian grammarians, a brief note on the notable Prākrit grammarians and rhetoricians of later period and the languages/dialects mentioned by them is being given below.

Kramadīśvara—(8—9th Cent.)[4]

Beṣides the main Prakrits, the following dialects (i) Śaka ; (ii) Ābhīra: (iii) Draviḍa, and also the speeches of the countries like Śrāvastī, Avantī etc. He also mentions the Śavara language.[5]

Rudraṭa (9th Cent. A.D.)[6]

The same as in Lakṣmīdhara, but Sanskrit is included in place of Cūlikāpaiśācī[7].

Laṅkesvara—16 languages/dialects[8]

(1) Udīcī (probably the same as Kāmbojī),

(2) Māhārāṣṭrī,

(3) Māgadhī,

(4) Miśrārdhamāgadhī (*i.e.* Ardhamāgadhī),

(5) Śākābhīrī (the name seems to be a contamination of Śākārī and Ābhīrī),

(6) Śrāvastī (perhaps another name of Kośalā),

(7) Drāviḍī, (8) Auḍrīyā, (9) Pāścātyā (the same as Paścimā of *Gītālaṁkāra*), (10) Prācyā, (11) Vāhlīkā, (12) Rantikā (probably a language of the areas around Charmaṇvatī where Rantideva performed his great *yajña*), (13) Dākṣinātyā, (14) Paiśācī, (15) Āvantī and (16) Śaurasenī.

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[1] PO-LI-YE-TA-LA of Yuan Chwang, the southern limit of Āryāvarta. *mārukā mālavāścaiya pāriyātranivāsinah* (quoted above).

See also the list of rivers in Purāṇas originating from Pāriyātra *viz.* Parnāṣā, Pārā, Carmaṇvatī etc. *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57, VV. 19-20, *Vāyu*-45. VV. 96-97, *Matsya* 114-22-23. *Kūrma*-I, 46, VV. 31-32.

[2] *ākaraveṇāvartakadaśapura gonarda kraelakāh. Bṛh. Saṃh.* 14-12 *āvanto'thānarto mṛtyum cāyāti sindhusauvīrah B.S.* 14.33.

[3] 'Probable Sources of some Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra' by S. N. Ghosal; *JAS.* Vol. 22, 1953. pp. 213-235.

[4] *Saṃkṣiptasāra-Vyākaraṇaṃ*-edited by Pitāmbar Bandopadhyay, 1911.

[5] *śakābhīradraviḍoḍrāvantyāvantiśrāvasti prācyā-śaurasenī vāhlikīdākṣiṇātyādibhāṣābhedāśca nāṭakādau pātrabhede deśoktiryathādarśanamunneyah. Op. Cit.* 8.5.99.

[6] *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtra. Kāvyamālā* ed.

[7] *prākṛta saṃskṛtamāgadhapiśācabhāṣā ca sūrasenica ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣādapabhraṃśah.* Op. Cit. 2.12.

[8] *Prākṛtalaṅkeśvara* : See *'Grammar of PrakritLanguages'*, D. C. Sircar, Calcutta.

Lakṣmīdhara —(11th Cent.)[1]

(1) Prākṛta (by it he means Māhārāṣṭrī—*prākṛtaṃ nāma māhārāṣṭrodbhavaṃ viduḥ* .1.27)

(2) Śaurasenī, (3) Māgadhī

(4) Paiśācī (spoken in Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Vāhlīka, Siṃha (v. l. Sahya), Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudheṣṇa, Bhoja, Gāndhāra, Haiva, Kannauja—the Piśāca countries-*pāṇḍyakekayavāhlīkasimhanepāla kuntalāḥ/sudheṣṇabhojagāndhārahaiva kannojakāstathā* .I.29.)

(5) Cūlikā Paiśācī and (6) Apabhraṃśa[2].

Purushottama—(early 12th Cent.—Bengal)[3]

Languages—(1) Māhārāṣṭrī; (2) Śaurasenī (3) Prācyā; (4) Āvantī and (6) Māgadhī.

Dialects—(1) Śākārī; (2) Cāṇḍālī ; (3) Śāvarī/Śābarī; (4) Takkadeśī (the same as Dhakki noted above) and (5) Apabhraṃśa (with three varieties)

(a) Nāgara ;

(b) Upanāgara—some local varieties *viz.*,

(i) Vaidarbhī; (ii) Lāṭī; (iii) Auḍrī; (iv) Kaikeyī ; (v) Gauḍī and the speeches of the following countries ; (vi) Takka; (vii) Varbara (probably the same as Barbara ; (viii) Kuntala ; (ix) Pāṇḍya and (x) Siṃhala (stands perhaps for the language of Ceylon), and

(c) Vrācaḍa.

Besides these Puruṣottama also mentions Paiśācikā with its three varieties. (1) Kaikaya Paiśācikā, (2) Śaurasena Paiśācikā and (3) Pāñcāla Paiśācikā.

Rāmaśarman (12th or 13th Cent. A.D.)[4]

Languages—(1) Māhārāṣṭrī, (2) Śaurasenī, (3) Prācyā, (4) Māgadhī, (5) Āvantī, (6) Bāhlīkā, (7) Dākṣiṇātyā and (8) Ardhamāgadhī.

Dialects—(1) Śākārikā, (2) Cāṇḍālikā, (3) Śābarī, (4) Ābhīrikā, (5) Drāviḍikā, (6) Autkalī, (7) Vānaukasī, (8) Mandarikā and (9) Takkī.

Viśvanātha Kavirāja (14th Cent. A.D.)[5]—a writer on poetics.

(1) Śaurasenī, (2) Māhārāṣṭrī, (3) Māgadhī, (4) Ardhamāgadhī, (5) Prācyā, (6) Avantikā, (7) Dākṣiṇātyā, (8) Śākārī, (9) Vāhlīkā, (10) Drāviḍī, (11) Ābhīrī and (12) Cāṇḍālī.

Mārkaṇḍeya (17th Cent. A.D.-Orissa)[6]

Besides the principal Prakrits the following 27 varieties of Apabhraṃśa.

(1) Vrācaḍa, (2) Lāṭa, (3) Vaidarbha, (4) Upanāgara, (5) Nāgara, (6) Barbara, (7) Āvantya, (8) Pāñcāla, (9) Takka, (10) Mālava, (11) Kaikaya, (12) Gauḍa, (13) Auḍra, (14) Haiva (probably Haimvata, a country in Himalayan regions), (15) Pāścātya, (16) Pāṇḍya, (17) Kuntala, (18) Saiṃhala, (19) Kaliṅga, (20) Prācya, (21) Karṇāṭa, (22) Kāñcya, (23) Drāviḍa, (24) Gaurjjara, (25) Ābhīra, (26) Madhyadeśīya and(27) Vaitāla or Vaiḍāla.

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[1] *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*, edited by Rai Bahadur Kamalā Śankar Prāṇaśankar Trivedi.-Bombay 1916-Bombay Sanskrit Prakrit Series No. 17.

[2] *ṣaḍvidhā sā prākṛtī ca Śaurasenīca māgadhī/paiśācī cūlikāpaiśācyapabhraṃśa iti kramāt. Op. Cit.* 1.26.

[3] *'Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama'*, edited by Nitti Dolci, Paris, 1938.

[4] *Prākṛta Kalpataru*—edited by Manomohan Ghosh, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1954. This grammar describes the languages/dialects and the grammatical rules in lucid verses.

[5] *Sāhitya Darpaṇa.* Bibliotheca Indica. vol x., 6.432.

[6] *Prākṛtasarvasva*, edited by Bhaṭṭanāth Swāmin—Vijagāpattam Grantha Pradarśinī Series, 1919.

(iii) Studies in Dravidian Languages from Early Times to 14th Cent. A. D.

It is now universally accepted that before the immigration of the Aryans to India, the country was inhabited by the people speaking languages of at least three/four language families. But except Dravidian, none of these families possesses any written literature which may go to even some three or four centuries back. The languages of these families for centuries, continued to be only the spoken vernaculars of the masses without developing any written literature. Only in recent times, some literature—that too mainly folklores—has been recorded by some Missionaries and a few scholars interested in ethnological researches. Hence, the question of any reference to these languages in their indigenous literature does not arise. Only a few side references—those too extremely rare and mostly vague—from the Aryan and Dravidian literatures throw some light on the position of these languages in ancient times.

Even among Dravidian languages only Tamil possesses a literature dating back to the centuries preceding the Christian era. According to the Tamil traditions at least three *Sangams* (*caṅkam*) flourished in Tamilnadu round about the Christian era. These Sangams were literary assemblies where poets, coming from different parts of Tamilnadu, read their compositions which were discussed and perhaps also recorded. The entire procedure of the Assembly was known as *arengeṭram* (lit. staging for the first time). These *Sangams* were patronized by contemporary Kings who encouraged the Tamil poetry. The first two *Sangams* have been assigned a very remote and improbable antiquity by some ardent protagonists of Tamil culture. But unfortunately almost entire literature of these *Sangams* is no longer extant. The third *Sangam* goes back to third or second century B.C. and most of the works of *Sangam* literature available now belong to this.

The approach to life in Old Tamil poetry is fundamentally different from the *milieu* of the ancient Aryan literature. Unlike Vedic hymns these works are neither considered *apauruṣeya* (superhuman) nor is any high religious sanctity assigned to them. They present a romantic atmosphere which is something peculiar and unique in Indian literature. The description of love (*akam*)—with its two broad categories, *Kaḷavu* and *Karpu*[1] —and war (*puram*) are the main themes (*porul*) of Old Tamil poetry according to *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest available grammar of the Tamil language. The various topographical features of the country are made to fit the different aspects of love as also of the social and economic life and so are the six seasons. Similarly *puram* has also its seven divisions corresponding to different aspects of love and interrelated with different aspects of nature and earth.

According to legends—both Tamil and Aryan—Sage Agastya (Agattiyar or Agattiyanar) was the first among the Aryans who crossed the Vindhya mountains, considered inaccessible till then, went to south and introduced the Vedic religion there perhaps in the 6th or 5th Century B.C. The assemblage of gods and *ṛṣis* on the Kailash Mountain caused an imbalance of the earth. Fearing that the earth itself might not sink in the ocean, the gods decided to send southwards some sage who, by virtue of his penance and good deeds, could maintain the equilibrium of the earth. The mantle fell on the shoulder of Agastya, the foremost among all the *ṛṣis*. Crossing the Vindhya Mountain along with his disciples, Agastya came to Poḍiya hills (*Poḍiyamalai*), described in Tamil poetry as a place where-from blow in all directions breezes, imbibed with poetic inspiration and settled there. According to *Māhābhārata*, Agastya killed the demon Vātāpi and his brother there. Agastya not only introduced Aryanism in South, but he is also claimed to be the first grammarian of the Tamil language. The grammar of Agattiyar, *Agattiyam* is now completely lost, even its fragments are not available and it is now known through traditions only.

Tolkāppiyam, written by Tolkappiyar or Tolkappiyanar, a disciple of Agattiyar, is divided into three sections (*adikāras*)—the *Eḻuttu-adikāram*, *Cholladikāram* and the *Poruladikāram*.

[1] *Kaḷavu* means pre-marital love between young man and woman and *Karpu* denotes the regular post marital love.

The first two *adikāras* deal with phonology and morphology respectively and the third one treats the subject matter of poetry—the last seems quite strange to Sanskrit where the subject matter of poetry comes under poetics. The language described in *Tolkāppiyam* as also the language of the Old Tamil poetry of Sangam age was known as *Shen/Chendamil* i.e. the literary Tamil as opposed to the common language which was, in later times, named as *Koḍundamil*. This language was cultivated in Pāṇḍyanāḍu which had its capital at Madurai, a great centre of Tamil learning and the venue of the third Sangam. This country was the heart of Tamilnadu and was under the rule of Pandya Kings. This country was neither all agricultural (*marudam*) like the Chola country nor mostly mountainous (*Kurinji*) like the Chera country. It contained all the five habitable regions (*tinais*) where the five kinds of love (*akam*) and war (*puram*), each correlated with the one or the other *tinai* could arise. It is no wonder, then, that Madurai, the centre of the growth of Tamil literature, was the place where *Chendamil* was fashioned. The *Chendamil* as the language of poetry has been referred to in many works of Tamil—some older belonging to the Sangam period, while the others belonging to the age of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints (the *Nayanmars* and *Alwars*). In *Puram* a work of Sangam period, Madurai is described as the land to which Tamil belongs[1]. The great Saiva saint Thiruñāna Sambandar describes the group of ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the god of Thiruttivur temple 'the ten Tamil (stanzas) pertaining to the Sangam sung by Gñana Sambandar[2]. In another hymn the same poet calls himself one able to compose good *Chendamil*[3].

The last reference points out that by the time of Saiva saints the literary language was not the old Tamil of Sangam literature and that it required a great skill to compose in the old Tamil. It suggests that the *Chendamil* had long ceased to have its living contact with the masses and the local dialect/dialects were also developing their own literature.

Again, Aṇḍāl, the great Vaiṣṇava poetess calls her delightful poem *Thiruppāvai* 'the thirty (stanzas which form) a garland of *Sangattamil*, composed by daughter of great *Paṭṭar*'[4].

This much about *Chendamil* and its centre Madurai. But this should not be made the basis to conclude that *Chendamil* was the only dialect prevalent in Sangam period. Twelve Tamil countries (*nāḍu*) have been referred to in Tamil grammars where dialectal forms were used by the people[5]. In *Tolkāppiyam* a well-known stanza enumerates them as *South Pāṇḍya, Kuṭṭam, Kuḍam, Kaṛkā, Venāḍu, Pūḷi, Paṇrināḍu, Aruvā*, the land of the north *Aruvā, Sīdanāḍu, Malayamanāḍu*, and *Śolanāḍu*. The first line of the stanza '*Centamil cērnta panniru nilattum*' has been explained differently by different commentators on *Tolkāppiyam*. I quote below the extracts from their commentaries with English translation. *Uraiyāciriyar*—

"*Centamil nāṭṭai aṭaiyum puṭaiyum kiṭanta panniru nilattum*"

'In the twelve regions adjacent and surrounding Tamilnāḍu'.

Cēnāvaraiyar—(13th Cent. A.D.)

Centamil nilattai-c-cērnta panniraṇṭu nillattum

'In the twelve regions comprising (parts of) Tamilnāḍu'.

Naccinārkkiniyar (14th cent. A.D.)

'*Centamil nāṭṭai-c-cūlnta panniraṭṭu nilattum, panniraṇṭaiyum puram cūlnta panniraṇṭu nilattum*".

'In the twleve regions bordering Tamilnāḍu and twelve regions bordering those twleve regions.'

Teyvaccilaiyar (16th cent.) same as Cēnāvaraiyar.

The commentators differ in the enumeration of these twelve regions. According to *Uraiyāciriyar* and *Cēnāvaraiyar* these regions are :

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[1] *tamiḻkeḻu kūḍal. Puram.* 58-1-13.

[2] *ñānasampantan urai cey saṅgamali centamil kaḻ pattu. Tiruttevūr Tevāram.* 11.10 & 11.3.4.

[3] *nalla cenamtiḻ vallavan*—Ibid. 1.10.1-2.

[4] *paṭṭar pirān kōtai conna saṅga tamiḻ mālai muppatu—Tiruppāvai* 30.1.5 All quoted from *History of the Tamils* P.T.S. Iyenger, p. 248.

[5] *centamil cērnta panniru nilattum tan kuri-p-pinavē ticai-c-col kiḻavi.*

The twelve lands where Centamil is spoken, each having dialect-words (*ticai-c-col*) of its own. *Tolkāppiyam Col-adikāram. eccheviyal*, 9.400.

(1) *Oḷi ṉāṭu*
(2) *Ten pāṇṭi ṉāṭu*
(3) *Kuṭṭa ṉāṭu*
(4) *Kuṭa ṉāṭu*
(5) *Panṟi ṉāṭu*
(6) *Karkā ṉāṭu*
(7) *Cīta ṉāṭu*
(8) *Pūli ṉāṭu*
(9) *Malai ṉāṭu*
(10) *Aruvā ṉāṭu*
(11) *Aruṿā vaṭatalai Nāṭu*
(12) According to *Uraiyaciriyar* '*poṉkar ṉāṭu*, and according to *Cenavaraiyar* '*poṅkar ṉāṭu*'

According to Teyvaccilaiyar these regions are :—

(1) *Palaṇṭīpam*
(2) *Kollam*
(3) *Kūpakam*
(4) *Ciṅkalam*
(5) *Kannāṭam*
(6) *Vaṭukam*
(7) *Kaliṅkam*
(8) *Teliṅkam*
(9) *Koṅkaṇam*
(10) *Tuḷuvam*
(11) *Kuṭakam*
(12) *Kunrakam*

According to *Naccinār-k-kiniyar*, the first twelve regions are the same as those of *Uraiyāciriyar* and *Cēnāvaraiyar* and the second twelve regions are those of *Teyvaccilaiyar* with the following changes. Instead of Palantīpam, Kūpakam, Kannāṭam, Vaṭukam, Teliṅkam, Tuḷuvam, Kunrakam he gives Palantīvu, Kūpam, Karunāṭam, Vaṭuku, Teluṅku, Tuḷuvu, Kūtam respectively.

In *Nannūl* (13th cent. A.D.) the list of the regions appears as :—

(1) *Aruvāvaṭatalaiṉāṭu*
(2) *Malāṭu*
(3) *Aruvāṉāṭu*
(4) *Punalṉāṭu*
(5) *Paṇṭiṉāṭu*
(6) *Tenpāṇṭiṉāṭu*
(7) *Vēṉāṭu*
(8) *Kuṭṭaṉāṭu*
(9) *Kuṭaṉāṭu*
(10) *Katkāṉāṭu*
(11) *Cītaṉāṭu* and
(12) *Pūliṉāṭu*

These regions are arranged systematically with their modern equivalents in the following chart.[1]

Name of the Dialect Region	Modern name
1. *Tenpāṇṭiṉāṭu* . .	Southernmost part of Tinnevelly
2. *Kuṭṭaṉāṭu* . .	In Kerala, now covered by Kottayam and Quilon.
3. *Kuṭaṉāṭu* . .	North Malabar—West of the Ghats.
4. *Katkāṉāṭu* . .	Hill parts of Coimbatore east of the Western Ghats.
5. *Cītaṉāṭu* . .	Nilgiris and part of Coimbatore.
6. *Pūliṉāṭu* . .	Perhaps Kanniyakumari District—The old name for *Vēlṉāṭu*.
7. *Aruvāṉāṭu* . .	Probably North Acrot and coastal South Arcot.
8. *Aruvā vaṭatalaiṉāṭu*	The Northern most part of Tamilnad.
9. *Vēṉāṭu* . . .	Southern Travancore.
10. *Pāṇṭiṉāṭu* . .	Pandya Country.
11. *Malāṭu* . . .	Round about Tirukkovilur in South Arcot.
12. *Punalṉāṭu* . .	Cola Country.

The northern limit of Tamilakam on the east coast was at Verkadu now known as Palaverkaḍu (or Pulicut)[2]. Beyond this immediately to the north was the country of Vadukas. This word seems to have been formed on the analogy of the later Kanarese word Badaga, which in its origin had the sense of northerner also.[3] The Vadukas are described as professional robbers habitually engaged in cattle-lifting. The Chieftain of Erumaināḍu (or the modern Mysore) is referred to as a Vaduka. The corresponding

[1] Partly reproduced from '*A History of Tamil Language*' by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, p. 196-97. Here Prof. Meenakshisundaram has given the various dialect words (*ticai-c-col*) also prevalent in the different regions.

[2] *Tolkāppiyam—Poruladikāram* 113. See *Tamils eighteen Hundred years ago*.' Kanaksabhai p. 29.

[3] *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*—Burrow & Emeneau p. 355; also *Some contributions of South India to Indian culture*, S. K. Aiyangar, p. 3.

chieftain Pulli by name on the eastern side (with Tirupati as his capital) was also probably a Vaduka because he is described as the chieftain of robbers i.e. Kaḷvārkōmān. It is evident from this that in this early period the people living north of Tirupati and those in Mysore had one and the same speech called Vaduku.

The Tamilians had great respect for their language and never considered it inferior, in any way, to Sanskrit. Both the Aryan and the Tamil languages, according to their common traditions are the creations of the great God Śiva. Thus speaks Poet Thirumular, in praise of Siva, "Thou hast created the Aryan language (Sanskrit), thou hast created also Tamil".[1] It is known from this that they had already marked the distinction between Tamil and Sanskrit and never felt the former to be derived from the latter.

A clear reference to the languages spoken in the Pandya country is available in *Madurai Kañji*, a poem belonging to the close of the Sangam period. In this poem there is the mention of a council consisting of officials of four kinds. These officials have been compared to four tongued Kosars that appeared in the hall of Palayan, the chief of Mohoor.[2]

In this passage the phrase *nāḷmoli kosar* means Kosars speaking four different languages. But the commentator Naccinarkiniyar explains these as Kosars belonging to four castes who never departed from their plighted word. This seems to be far fetched interpretation because the division of Kosars into four castes is otherwise unknown. The Kosars were the latest immigrants to Tamilnadu. They were helped by Vamha Mauriyar, the illegitimate Mauryas of Magadh in their attack on Mahoor the capital of Palayan Maran, at the time of their repulse from the latter. Thus the period of immigration of the Kosars may be assigned sometimes in the 3rd or 2nd Century B.C., when the Mauryas were ruling the Magadha country. They were a warlike people and were remarkable for regard of truth. The Pandya Kings held them in high esteem next in rank only to Palayan-Maran. It is evident from the above that the Kosars spoke four dialects probably because they came from four dialect areas. Even now one hears four languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Tulu, spoken in this district.

The Old Telugus had a general term *Aravalu* (lit. speech dumb) to denote all the Tamil speakers. This word they used for Tamils probably because they could not understand their language.

The ancient Greek writers have mentioned a people inhabiting the region which now forms part of Sindh and Southern Punjab (now Pakistan) as *Arabitai*. This word conveys the same sense viz 'speech dumb' as the old Telugu word *Aravalu*. The name of a town in Sindh, Arabela may also be connected with these words. The *Arabitai* are mentioned by Greeks as speakers of a language, different from Aryan. What was this language? If the Greek word *Arabitai* is equated with Telugu word *Aravalu*, it may be assumed that the language was some variety of Dravidian. The presence of Brahui, spoken in the region, lends support to the assumption.

Among the twelve Tamil regions each having dialect-words (*ticai-c-col*) of its own, mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*, one is Kannāṭam (according to Teyvac-cilaiyar) or Karunāṭam (according to Naccinar-k-kiniyar), the country of black soil (*Karunāḍu*), modern Karnataka or Mysore. The fact that dialect-words from *Karunāḍu* were borrowed by Śentamil leads us to the inference that a language, although uncultivated, different from Śentamil was spoken in this region and it later on developed into Kannaḍa.

Although Kannaḍa could not develop a literature as early as Tamil, it has been very rich in inscriptions, dating back to the 5th Cent. A.D.—the Halmiḍi (Mysore) Inscription belonging to the 5th Cent. A.D., the Śirguppi (Dharwar Dt.) inscription of Vāṇaseṭṭiarasa to the 6th Cent. A.D. and the Badami inscription of Manglīśa (in Badami Cave No. 3) to 578 A.D. That the language of these inscriptions is pure Kannaḍa indicates that Kannaḍa was a spoken language since very early times and the Kings preferred it

[1] Quoted from *'Languages and Literatures of Modern India'* S. K. Chattarji, p 329.

[2] *palaiyan inōkūr avaiyakam viḷaṅka nānmoli-kkocar tōṉriyanna tāmē en toṉriya nārperun kuluvum. Madurai kañji. l.* 408-10.

to Sanskrit for their inscription. It is supported by the evidence of Ptolemy also who uses the expression *Magoi*—evidently derived from the Kannaḍa word *Magu* meaning son along with *Brahmanoi*.

Although notice has been made of the three periods viz. Purvada Haḷegannaḍa (Primitive Kannaḍa terminology with the 7th Cent. A.D.), Haḷegannaḍa (Old Kannaḍa 7th to 14th Cent) and Hosagannaḍa (since that time onwards) by Rice and other modern writers, no positive reference as to the form of language actually spoken in Karnataka is available in the indigenous literature until the 9th Cent. when Nṛpatuṅga wrote his classic '*Kavirāja-mārga*', which marks the end of a period in the history of Kannaḍa. The characteristics of the language in Pre-Kavirāja-mārga period possess an individuality of their own.

A great lover of Kannaḍa, Nṛpatuṅga pays eloquent tributes to the language and the land where it is spoken. He says :—

'In all the circles of the earth,
No fairer land you will find,
Than that where rich sweet Kannaḍa
Voices the peoples' mind.'[1]

The author also states that Kisuvolal, Kopaṇa, Onkunda and Purigere formed the centres of the Kannaḍa language. Purigere as the centre of the language has been referred to by the great poet Ādi Pampa also.

The steps taken by the King Pulkesin II (489 A.D.) to introduce pure Kannaḍa words in administration gave a great impetus to the language and since then efforts have regularly been made by the Kannaḍa writers to maintain the purity of the language. Aṇḍayya (1235) composed the '*Kabbigara-Kāva*' in pure Kannaḍa free from any admixture of Sanskrit language. Durgasiṃha (1145) and Nayasena (1112) have also shown a very high sense of patriotic feeling for their mother-tongue. Ranganātha, the author of *Anubhavāmṛta*, showers enormous praises on Kannaḍa when he says:—

'Easy is Kannaḍa like the plaintain stripped of skin, like the sugarcane with covering removed, like the milk cooled to comfortable warmth'.[2]

* * *

'If through this language you learn to know the self within and learn liberation is it not enough? What more do you get through Sanskrit?'[3]

The great Vaisnava Saint Jagannāthadāsa defends the purity of the language and challenges the haters of Kannaḍa thus :

'Having perceived the disc of sun, if a thief instead of bowing at it, through hatred, despises it, is that a defect of the sun (itself)? Even so, of what would it be, if anyone hates this work because it is not in Sanskrit?'[4]

It is worth noticing, here, that the Vīraśaiva movement led by Basavanna, adopted, like Buddhism and Jainism in the North, the vernacular of the country as the medium for communicating the highest truth to the masses. It was perhaps the first great effort known in Karṇāṭaka to use the mother-tongue for the original statements of high thought and religion.

This much about the efforts of the Kannaḍa writers towards maintaining the purity of their language, but, unfortunately, I have not been able to find out any reference in Kannaḍa literature—the ignorance of the language being my greatest drawback—to the spoken language of Karnataka in any work accessible to me, indeed through translations. Only in *Karṇāṭaka Kāvyāvalokana* of Nāgavarmā (11th—12th Cent. A.D.),[5] reference is made 3-1/2 mother languages and 56 daughter languages spoken in India. Nāgavarmā mentions the 3-1/2 languages as Saṃskṛta, Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśāci but of 56 daughter languages he names only Draviḍa,

[1] *Cultural History of Karnataka*, Karmarkar, A. P. p. 120.
[2] Karmarkar op. cit. p. 120.
[3] Iyenger, Masti Venkatesh—*Popular Culture in Karnataka*, Bangalore, 1937, p. 91.
[4] *Harikathāmṛtasāra*—16 v. 34—36—quoted from Karmarkar op. cit. p. 121.
[5] Nāgavarmā's *Canarese Prosody*, Edited by Rev. F. Kittel, Mangalore, 1875.

Andhra and Karṇāṭaka and concludes with *ādi* i.e. etc.[1] In absence of any description of the 56 countries by Nāgavarmā we have to depend on the commentators who have widely differed in enumerating these *ṣaṭpañcāśad-viṣayas* or *chappanna deśas*. A complete enumeration is seldom to be met with in Kanarese. Some works mention some above forty and then conclude with *modalāda* (i.e. etc.).

An alphabetically arranged list of the 56 countries, each having a daughter language of its own, from the Manuscript at Lingāit maṭha at Mādevapure in Kōdagu (called L. by Kittel) is being given below :—

1. Aṅga
2. Āndhra
3. Ārya
4. Ekapāda
5. Oḍra (Oḍḍaradeśa)
6. Karṇāṭa
7. Kaḷiṅga
8. Kāmbōja
9. Kāśmīra
10. Kāḷava
11. Kuntaḷa
12. Kukura
13. Kuraṅga
14. Kēraḷa
15. Koṅkaṇa
16. Koṅgu (Koṅga)
17. Korava (Mahā Korava)
18. Kollāḷa
19. Gāndhāra
20. Gurjara
21. Gauḷa
22. Ghōḍamukha
23. Coḷa
24. Cīna
25. Turuṣka
26. Tuḷava
27. Telugu (Teluṅga)
28. Drāviḍa (Draviḷa)
29. Nēpāḷa
30. Pallavaka
31. Pāñcāḷa
32. Pāṇḍya
33. Pāriyātraka
34. Bangāḷa
35. Barbara
36. Bāhlīka
37. Beḷava
38. Bhoṭa
39. Magadha
40. Madhya
41. Malaha (Maleya)
42. Maleyāḷa
43. Mahārāṣṭra
44. Madava
45. Māḷava
46. Lambakarṇa
47. Lāḷa
48. Lubdhaka
49. Vaṅga
50. Singaḷa (Simhaḷa)
51. (Sindha) (Saindhava)
52. Simhvāṇa (Simhvaṇa)
53. Saṅkara
54. Strīdeśa
55. Hammīra
56. Haiva

In another enumeration some of the countries are substituted by the following :—

1. Amaraka
2. Kannoja
3. Karāḷa
4. Kirāta
5. Kuru
6. Koḍagu
7. Kōśala
8. Kārpūra
9. Kharpara
10. Phraiṭi
11. Cēri
12. Jālāndhra
13. Tarukāṇya
14. Trigarta
15. Dvaipa
16. Niṣadha
17. Pāṭāḷa
18. Barama
19. Ballāḷa
20. Bhōraṭa
21. Matsya
22. Māṭa
23. Muru
24. Mlēccha
25. Yavana
26. Varāḷa
27. Vācāla
28. Vidarbha
29. Śūrasēna
30. Saurāṣṭra
31. Sauvīra
32. Hūṇa
33. Haihaya

A Tamil list (according to Rottler) of the *Deśas* is as follows :—

1. Aṅga
2. Aruṇa
3. Avanti
4. Āndhra
5. Lāṭa
6. Oḍḍiya
7. Karusa
8. Kaḷiṅga
9. Kaṇaḍa
10. Kannāḍa
11. Kāsa
12. Kāśmīra
13. Gāndhāra
14. Kāmbōja
15. Kirāta
16. Kurugu
17. Kuḍaga
18. Kuntaḷa
19. Kuru
20. Kulinda
21. Gūrjara
22. Kēkaya
23. Kēraḷa
24. Koṅkaṇa
25. Kolla
26. Kōsala
27. Śaka
28. Sauvīra
29. Śālva
30. Singala
31. Sindhu
32. Cīna
33. Śūrasena
34. Cōri
35. Cōṅga
36. Drāviḍa
37. Tuḷuva
38. Teṅgana
39. Niḍada
40. Nēpāḷa
41. Babbara
42. Pallava
43. Pāncāla
44. Pāṇḍiya
45. Pulinda
46. Pōḍa (Bōḍa)
47. Magadha
48. Matsya

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[1] *adentendoḍe saṃskṛtam prākṛtam apabhraṃśam paiśacikamemba mūrūvare bhāṣe gaḷoḷaputṭuvo draviḍāndhrakarṇāṭakādi ṣaṭpañcāśat-sarva-viṣayā-bhāṣā-jātigaḷakkum.* Nāgavarmā p. 12.

The list of the countries is taken from Kittel's edition, p. 12, footnote.

49. Marāḍa	53. Yugandhara
50. Maleyāḷa	54. Vaṅga
51. Māḷava	55. Baṅgāḷa
52. Yavana	56. Vidarbha

A comparison of these three lists would show that 29 names, with slight spelling variations, appear to be the same in the 1st and the 3rd and 10 in the 2nd and the 3rd lists. In a few cases e.g. Vaṅga: Baṅgāḷa, Madhya : Śūrasēna two names seem to have been used for one country. Some of the names e.g. Cīna, Yavana, Turuṣka, Hūṇa are derived from the names of foreign tribes.

As a matter of fact, all these names are Pauranic names of different regions or tribes of the country and most of them have been discussed in the 2nd part of this Chapter. Whether 56 languages were actually spoken in these countries can hardly be assumed as plausible in absence of any other documentary evidence.

The earliest reference to the form of speech prevalent in the Cera country, the modern Kerala, is to be met with in the passage from *Tolkāppiyam*, quoted above, where Mālāṭu or Mālanāṭu, besides eleven others, is referred to as a region wherefrom dialect words were borrowed by Śentamil. But the vernacular continued, for centuries, to be a dialect of Tamil and it is only in the 14th Cent. (? 9th or 10th according to some scholars[1]) that the language attained the recognision of the status of an independent language. Tamil with its vast literature exercised such a great influence on the people and their vernacular that despite the local vernacular developing its own independent linguistic tendencies, the local authors showed preference to Śentamil and some of the best works of Saṅgam literature were written in Kerala. *Śilappadikāram*, to quote a single instance, is the work of Iḷango Aṭikal, the younger brother of the Cera King Śen Kuttuvam (2nd Cent. A.D.). In absence of any authentic record it is difficult to attempt infering as to the type of language actually spoken in Kerala, but on the evidence of copper plates of Śāsanas and rock inscriptions, available in the country, one may venture to presume that the language had developed independent linguistic features at a quite early date.

References to the spoken form of language are almost lacking in the indigenous literature. The authors of *Rāmacaritam* (12th Cent. A.D.) and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam* (14th Cent. A. D.), the oldest works in Malayāḷam, call the language of their works Tamil.[2] A close study of the different contexts in which the word Tamil is used in Malayāḷam would show that it has been a generic name used for all the Dravidian languages and for the Tamil-Malāyāḷam group in particular. In the oft quoted expression of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa '*Āndhra-Drāviḍa bhāṣā*', the term Drāviḍa is used for Tamil connoting the limited sense of Tamil-Malayāḷam group as opposed to the Telugu-Kannaḍa group which is denoted by the name Āndhra. The closer relation of the Tamil and Malayāḷam is recognised by *Līlātilakam*[3] also, a treatise on Malayāḷam rhetoric and grammar written in the 14th Century A. D. The commentary on Śilpam I, Sūtra I, states that Tamil and Malayāḷam belong to the Draviḍa group while Telugu and Kannaḍa do not belong to the group :—

karṇāṭakāndhrāpi dramiḍā iti kecil; tanna teśām nyakṣena dramiḍaveda vilakṣaṇa bhāṣāvattuad (*Līl.* III p. 2).

That the name Tamil included also Malayāḷam as late as the Malabar Era is known from the hemistich '*samskṛtamākina chengaḷinīrum nattamiḷākinapichakamalarum*', and also from such expressions as *Nambiar Tamil*, *Tamilkuṭṭu*, *Anglīyānkan Tamil* and *Naganandam Tamil*.

In *Līlātilakam* Malayāḷam is referred to as *bhāṣā* or as *Keralabhāṣā* and Tamil as *Cōlabhāṣā*

[1] K. M. George '*Rāmacaritam*', p. 30ff.

[2] *śri vedavyāsamaharṣi aruḷicceyta brahmāṇḍa purāṇattil madhyabhāgatte itā ñān tamiḷāyikkoṇṭariyikkunnēn*
'I am saying in Tamil, the middle portion of *Brahmāṇḍa Purānam*, given by Vedavyāsa Maharṣi'. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. cirāmananpinotiyampina tamilkkavivelvor:*
'The good Taṃil poet Cīrāman has spoken thus' *Rāmacaritam* XIV, II. (both quoted from *Rāmacaritaṃ*, by K. M. George, p. 44).

[3] '*Grammar in Līlātilakam*', by L. V. Ramasvami Ayyar, Ernakulam, 1934.

or *Cōlapāṇḍyabhāśā*[1]. *Līlātilakam* also asserts the claim of the language of Kerala to be called as Tamil, a corrupt form of the word Draviḍa, a term used for Keralīyas.[2]

The Vyākhyās on *Līlātilakam* (the first and last Sūtras especially) explain at length the individuality of Malayāḷam as distinct from Tamil and give a number of reasons in its support.

In this context it would not be out of place to discuss *Maṇipravālam*, the name given to a distinct style of Malayāḷam language and literature. *Līlātilakam*, which in the main aims at presenting a grammar of *Maṇipravālam*, describes it as a union of *Keralabhāṣā*, by which it means the native language and Sanskrit :—

tatra keralabhāṣā samskṛtoreva samāveśah natubhāṣāntarasya. anyathā sampratipannāṇaṃ maṇipravāḷatvāṁ āpadyeta.

Also—*sā punah keralabhāṣā samskṛtayoge ēva nirudhya varttamānā samupalabhyate.* (*Līl.* III, p. 5).

Although *Maṇipravālam* contains a large number of Sanskrit words but the *Maṇipravālam* containing more *bhāṣā* words and less Sanskrit words is the best :

taduttamam bhāṣā rasaprādhānye.

'The best *Maṇipravālam* gives prominence to *bhāṣā*-words and *rasa*' (*Līl.* III, p. 8).

At another place the author defines the two components of the word *Maṇipravālam as 'tamil maṇi samskṛtam pavalam'*.

The above discussion on the word Tamil and *Maṇipravālam* would clearly tell that the word Tamil is used more in the sense of the native language than Tamil, by which is meant today only Tamil. *Bhāṣā* or *Keralabhāṣā* is another term used for the native language.

It will be seen from the above examples that most of them are more or less in Sanskrit and nothing or very little of them is in pure Malayāḷam. Beyond these I have not been able to find any other reference in the native language about Malayāḷam.

Among the Sanskrit grammarians Patañjali is the first who has noted some Dravidian words and some peculiarites of the language of South.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, as already discussed earlier, forbids the use of the native speeches of Āndhras and Draviḍas/Dramilas, the two South Indian tribes mentioned by him. Dākṣiṇātyā is used not for a south Indian (i.e. non-Aryan) language but for the southernmost Indo-Aryan speech. *Drāviḍī*, the speech of Draviḍas and others alike in the dramas is, as said earlier, some Indo-Aryan speech spoken by Draviḍas strongly influenced by the non-Aryan.[3]

In *Gītālaṃkāra*, we find two speech names viz. Kāñcī and Colakī, which, if inference is to be made on the basis of mere names, appear to be Dravidian languages But mere names may not be enough for such presumption.

In *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotanasūri, we find specimens of the languages spoken by the people of Golla country, the Āndhras, and the people of Karṇāṭaka. The predominance of retroflex sounds in the examples (*aḍḍe* of Golla country, *aṭi puṭi raṭim* of Āndhras and *aḍi pāḍi mare* of Karṇāṭakas) suggests that these were south Indian languages. But this inference may seem to be nothing more than mere speculation.[4]

Among the Prakrit grammarians[5] and rhetoricians almost all have mentioned names of dialects bearing the names of South Indian people. Purushottama mentions Pāṇḍya as a dialect of Apabhraṃśa while Lakṣmīdhara describes the country of the name as forming a part of Piśācadeśa (i.e. the land where Paiśācī is spoken). Laṅkeśvara and Kramadīśvara notice Drāviḍī as a dialect of Prakrit whereas Mārkaṇḍeya describes Pāṇḍya, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñcya and Draviḍa as dialects of Apabhraṃśa. Drāviḍī as a dialect of Prakrit is mentioned by Viśvanātha and Rāmaśarman

[1] *tamil manityādav tamiliti keralabhāṣāgṛhyana cōlādibhāṣā tathādarśaṇāl.* (*Līl.* III, p. 2).

[2] *keralānām dramiḍaśabda vācyatvādapabhraṃśeṇa tadbhāṣā tamiltyucyate.* (*Līl.* III, p. 2).

[3] See Supra p. 14-17.

[4] See Supra p. 18ff.

[5] See Supra p. 27-29.

also. But, as has already been discussed earlier, these names are used for dialects of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, the two stages in the development of Indo-Aryan and it may be too much to claim them to be South Indian languages on the basis of mere geographical names.

Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller has mentioned two South Indian speeches. The mode of speech of the people of Andhra (AN-TO-LO) has been marked as different from that of Mid-India, although Yuan Chwang finds a similarity in the mode of writing.[1] The people of Draviḍa (TA-LO-PI-TU) country have been noticed with a language which 'differed from Mid-India. But in this case the script is also quite different from that of the north.'[2] It is perhaps one of the earliest evidences which distinguishes the language of the southern India from that of the Northern.

Amir Khusro enumerates among Indian languages those of Dhur Sumundar, Tilang and Ma'bar. By these names he probably means Tamil, Telugu and Malayāḷam respectively.[3]

In *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, except Karnatik and Telinganah, by which the author probably means Kanarese and Telugu respectively, we don't find any other name of South Indian Language.[4] I could not come across any other reference to the Dravidian languages (even names) in any other work, accessible to me, of the mediaeval period.

Among the foreign travellers Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller who visited Travancore (Quilon) in 1293, is the only person who has left some notice of the language of Kerala. But all that he says about the language is that the people have distinct language of their own. Describing the Kingdom of Coilum (modern Quilon) he writes, "when you quit Malabar and go 500 miles towards south-west you come to the Kingdom of Coilum (modern Quilon). The people are Idolatórs, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own and a king of their own and are tributory to none.[5]"

Writing about the people of the Kingdom of Ely (Mount D'Ely, cf. Ibn Battuta's Hili) he says that they 'have a peculiar language.'[6] The people of Malabar are also described as having 'a language of their own.'[7]

As a matter of fact all the languages of the south were known by the common name Malabar or Ma'bar to the foreigners especially the Arab writers.[8] A reference to the Ma'bar language found in Amir Khusro's Nuh Sipihr is already noted.

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[1] Watters, *Op. Cit*, p. 209.

[2] Watters, *Op. Cit*, p. 242.

[3] & [4] See Infra Chapt. II pp. 48&51.

[5] Nilkantha Sastri, K. A. '*Foreign Notices of South India*', Madras. 1934, p. 180.

[6] *Ibid* p. 182.

[7] *Ibid* p. 183.

[8] For details about the term Malabar and its use see Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages* 3rd. Edition, pp. 23—25.

CHAPTER II

Mediaeval Period

From Hemchandra to William Jones (1786)

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CHAPTER II

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

From Hemchandra to William Jones (1786)

The invasion of Sindh by the Arabs in the 8th Cent. A. D., was an event of great consequence in the history of Indian life and culture. It opened new avenues for the inter-mixture of two peoples of entirely different religions, cultures and languages. The long occupation of Sindh by these Arabs whose mixture with the natives gave rise to the new Indo-Arab or Indo-Muslim race, inspired trade and commerce between the ports of Sindh and Gujrat and Arabia the cradle land of Islam. We know from the evidence of Al-Mas'udi (died 956 A. D.)[1], Al Idrisi (1100-1166)[2], and Ibn Hawqal (10th Cent. A. D.)[3], that the continuous interrelations between the Arabs and Hindus were not without some effects on the spoken languages of India. Besides mentioning the language of Sindh, Al Mas'udi refers to two more languages viz. Kiriya and Lariya spoken near Sindh. He observes, "The language of Sindh is different from that of India. Sind is the country which is nearer to the Dominion of Moslims, India is farther from them. The inhabitants of Mánkir, which is the capital of Balharâ. speak the Kíríya language, which has this name from Kira, the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimúr, Súbára, Tána, and other towns, a language called Láriya[4] is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Lárawísea"[5]. Al Idrisi describes the language of Makran as Persian and calls it a peculiar dialect. He observes, "The people of Makrán speak Persian and a dialect peculiar to the province"[6]. His reference may be to Makrani another name for Western Balochi[7]. Ibn Hawqal observes that the languages spoken in Sindh and its vicinities are Arabic, Sindian, Persian and Makranic. He says, "The language of Mansúra, Multán and those parts is Arabic and Sindian. In Makrán they use Persian and Makránic"[8].

A process of intermixture of words and expressions of Persian, Arabic and Prakritic and Apabhramsaic dialects was the first positive impact of such contacts. This process got an impetus after the incoming of Muslims on the north-western borders of the Indian sub-continent. The plundering raids of the Muslims, led by the Mahmud of Ghazna were followed by the annexation of parts of Punjab in their Kingdom. The Mahmud, in spite of his endless craze for plundering and religious bigotry, was a great patron of art and learning. It is known from numismatic evidences that he was very keen on approaching his Indian subjects in their own language[9].

Abu-Raihan al-Biruni, a learned scholar in the court of the Mahmud came to India in the first quarter of the 11th Cent. A. D. (1017), and has left a very vivid and sympathetic account of India—the country, her people, their customs, and religions etc. Although he has noted the different modes of

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[1] *Muruj-ul-Zaheb* of Al Masudi. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, Vol. I, Chapt. XVI, p. 19ff; also see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. 3, p. 403.

[2] *Nuzhatu-l-mushtak* of Al-Idrisi, Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 74ff; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. II p. 451.

[3] *Ashkālul Bilād or Al Masālik wa'l Mamālik* of Ibn Hawqal, Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 31ff; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 383.

[4] His reference is probably to Laria dialect of Sindhi spoken in Lower Sind. Vide. *L. S. I.* Vol. I, Pt. I, Index of Language names p. 475.

[5] Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 24.

[6] Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 81.

[7] L. S. I. Vol. I, Pt. I, Index of Language names p. 479.

[8] Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* p. 39.

[9] "*avyaktam ekam Muhammada avatāra; nrpati Mahamūda; ayam ṭaṅko Mahamūdapure gaṭṭe hato; jināyana saṃvat....* the Indescribable is one, Muhammad is the incarnation (a rather free rendering of the Muhammedan creed); Mahmud the ruler of men; this coin or rupee has been struck in the mint at Mahmudpur; year of the passing of the Jina", quoted from Prof. S. K. Chatterji's '*Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, 1961, p. 186.

writing current during the time of his Indian sojourn one almost completely misses any reference in his work regarding the state of spoken speeches of the country. The only language described by him is the 'Kept Safe' and eloquent (*Masūn Fasih*) which is to be clearly distinguished from the one called vulgar (*Mubtazal*) by him. The entire portion dealing with languages is reproduced here with a translation:—

Wa Awwaloha al-Lughato, wa in Tabāyanat al-Umamo Be Mithliha, wa Mata Rāmhā Ahadun Li Ezalate al-Mubāyanate lam Yashal Zāleka. Le Annahā Fi Zātehā Tawilatun 'Ariḍatun, Tushābiho al - 'Arabiyata, Yatasammā al-Shaiul Wāhido Fihā Be 'Iddate A'sāmin, Muqtadabatin wa Mushtaqqatin, Wa Be Wuque al-Ismil Wahide 'Alā 'Iddate Musammayātin Muhwejatin Fi al-Maqāside Elā Ziyādate ṣifātin. Iz lā Yufarriqo Bainahā Illā Zu al-Fitnate le Mauḍa'il Kalām Wa Qiyāsil Ma'anā Elā al-warāe Wal Amāme. Wa Yaftakherūna Be Zeleka Iftekhāra Ghairehim Behi, Min Haitho Hūwa Bil Haqiqate 'Aibun Fil Lughate, Thūmma Hia Munqasemātun Elā Mubtazalin Lā Yantafe'o Behi Illā al-Suqato wa elā Masunin Fasihin Yataallaqo Bit taṣārife wal Ishteqāqewa Daqāiqin Nahwe Wal Balāghate Lā Yarje'o Elaihe Ghairul Fuḍatāe al-Maharate.

'The foremost of these reasons is the language. Races become separated from each other on the basis of language. It is not easy for a person, getting an acquaintance with their language, to remove the contrast. As the language is quite large and expanded like Arabic, there are several names (extempore as well as derivatives) of a particular thing in it. Likewise, a particular word has many significances. It requires further adjectives to denote them. Only such a person, who understands the proper use of it and has an idea about the connecting link of meanings, can distinguish between those significances. They boast of such a thing like others. But in fact, it is the defect of any language.

Again it (the language) is divided into two classes—the Vulgar (*Mubtazal*) which benefits not but the plebeians and what is 'Kept Safe' (*masūn*) and eloquent (*Fasih*-accurate). It depends on the etymology, derivation, syntax and rhetoric. No heed is paid to this particular kind but by accomplished and skilful persons".

The first variety of speech mentioned here as vulgar (*Mubtazal*) is most probably the local vernacular i.e. Proto-New-Indo-Aryan language of the Punjab used by the common people (plebeians i.e, *al-suqato*) for folklores and ballads. By the second variety Al-Biruni most probably meant Sanskrit the 'Kept Safe' and eloquent (*faṣih*) speech of the élites (*Fuḍata*) . Although Al-Biruni does not give any name to this language yet his description of sounds, metres and other grammatical phenomena leads one to conclude that his reference is to Sanskrit the only language which could be supposed to maintain its purity and accuracy (*faṣāhat*) till that time.

Sir George Grierson in his '*Linguistic Survey of India*' in the opening paragraph of his Vol. I, part I, Introductory, at page 1, while commenting upon the contribution of Albiruni has recorded, "Even the great Albiruni in account of the India of his day (about 1030 A.D.) spoke only of Sanskrit, then a dead language, and its difficulties. Regarding the living forms of speech, he merely said (Sachau's translation, i, 18) "Further, the languge is divided into a neglected vernacular one, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated". This observation of Grierson indicating Sanskrit as 'dead language' and then his comment on the informations of Albiruni regarding the 'living forms of speech'—one 'neglected vernacular' and the other a 'classical' language—as taken from Sachau's translation—tends to give rise to some confusion regarding prevailing forms of speech in India as

[1] *Kitābo Abir Raihān Mohammad bin Ahmad al-Biruni, Fi Tahqiqe ma lil Hind-e min Maqūlatin Maqbūlatin fil'Aqleaw Marzūlatin.* edited by E. C. Sachau, London, 1887 p. 9. Translation by Prof. Masumi of Calcutta Madrassa.

By citing another English translation of Albiruni's text than that of Sachau's which has achieved worldwide authenticity there is absolutely no attempt on the part of the present writer to suggest that Sachau's translation is in any way defective. In case of specific words like *mubtazal*=vulgar; *masūn*=keptsafe; *fuḍata*=accomplished, *maharato*=skilled and their literal English rendering however, the writer has contributed to these views of Prof. Masumi that it would be more appropriate to try a more literal than perhaps literary translation in respect of these words for a more accurate assessment of Albiruni's observations on the linguistic situation of the country of this time. Hence this translation of Prof. Masumi for which the writer is extremely grateful to him.

described by Albiruni. The complete text of Albiruni as quoted above on the language portion will have shown that Albiruni neither specifically mentioned about Sanskrit anywhere nor did he suggest that the language was 'dead' by his time. What utmost could be perhaps interpreted from the Arabic text was that the mention of only two languages has been made, one spoken by the common people possibly proto-New-Indo-Aryan spoken around Punjab and the other Sanskrit which was supposed to be very well kept with regards to its form, grammar and accuracy of usage.

The Turk conquerors were originally speakers of Turkish but after their conquest over Persia they adopted the language of the defeated people for their official and other uses, along with Arabic. Thus the language, they brought to India, was Perso-Arabic in form.

The last rulers of the Ghaznawi dynasty left Ghazni and settled in the Punjab, where they continued to live till the end of their rule, thus paving the way for the Hindus and Musalmans in both Ghazni and Lahore, to come in close contact with each other. Many lords and nobles of Masud's court, who had become homeless wanderers because of the constant raids of the Saljuk Turks also seeking their protection, made Lahor their permanent home. The daily contacts between the Hindus and Musalmans had a far reaching influence on the languages spoken by the two communities. Chand Baradai (12th Cent.), the court poet of Pṛthvīrāj Chauhān remarks that he 'has made use of the Kurānic language'[1] in his *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso*. By Kurānic language Chand Baradai meant Arabic, the sacred language of the holy Quran.

By the end of the 12th Cent. A. D. the Muslim rule in India was fully established. The rise of Khiljis and Tughlaqs on the throne of Delhi not only led to the further extension of their empire but also to the migration of the speech of the Upper Gangetic Valley to the Western and Peninsular India, and the Deccani (or Dekhini) and Gujri forms of speech began to assume definite shape. In the evolution of this form of speech, which in later years came to be known as Hindī/Hindavī/ Hindustānī, the role of the Sūfi Darvesh and saints has, by no means, been less notewrothy. The Muslims had strongly felt the need of intercourse in the colloquial tongues. It is quite interesting to note that some of these domiciled Muslims developed such a high taste for regional vernaculars that they became quite proficient in them in course of time and some of them even began to compose in these vernaculars. The *Sandeśa Rāsak* (*Sannehaya Rāsaya*) of Abdurrahman (Addahamāṇa)[2], an Apabhraṃśa work of the 12th Cent. A.D.(?) is perhaps the first composition in any Indian tongue by a Muslim — the authenticity of the Dīwān of Masūd-Sād Salmān in Hindī being still doubtful. Although written in old Prakrit tradition, the work, one of the rarest in Apabhraṃśa with secular theme, presents a nice specimen of Apabhraṃśa. The poet mentions, in the introduction, the names of four languages *viz.*, *Avahaṭṭa* (by which he means the later phase of Apabhraṃśa), *Sakkaya* (Sanskrit), *Pāīa* (Prakrit) and *Pesāīa* (Paśācī)[3].

An interesting story, about the language of Gujarat, is told by Nuruddin Muhammad Awfi (13th Cent. A. D.), the author of *Jawāmi-ul-Hiqāyat*[4] dedicated to the Wazir of Iltutmish. According to the story, when the mosque and minarets of the Kambayat city were damaged and eighty innocent Muslims were killed by Hindus, Khātib Ali, the Imām and *Khatib* of the mosque, who had anyhow managed to escape unhurt, approached Siddharāja Jaisiṃha, the tolerant Chalukya King of Nahrawala (1093-1143), while he was on an hunting excursion, and presented to him a *kasīdā* (ode) in Hindī stating his complaints therein. The Rājā, personally looked into the affairs, and being fully convinced by the facts, redressed the grievance.

Here the word *Hindī* stands for the local dialect of Gujarat—most probably the Old Gujrati.

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[1] *Pṛthvīrāj Rāso*, Canto 1. 23.

[2] Edited by Sri Jina Vijaya Muni and Dr. H. C. Bhayani, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1945; another edition by Acharya Hazari Pd. Dwivedi and Sri Vihvanath Tripathi, Hindī Granth Rtanākar, Bombay, 1960.

[3] *avahaṭṭaya-sakkaya-pāīammi pesātammi bhāsāe, Sandeśa Rāsaka.* p. 1.

[4] *Jawāmi-ul Hiqāyat* or *Jāmi-ul-Hiqāyat* of Awfī. 1. VI. 2.; Elliot and Dowson, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, pp. 162-63.

Awfī refers to Masūd Sād Salmān, one of the greatest poets of the Gaznavid period (d. 1121 A.D.) as composing (or compiling) three Dīwāns, one each in Persian, Arabic and Hindvī. But it has been doubted whether Masūd actually composed a Dīwān in Hindavī. But the few usages of Hindustānī words in his other Dīwāns e.g. *barshigāl* and *mār mār* etc.[1], supported by the strong evidence of Amir Khusro in the introduction to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, indicate a strong possibility of Masūd having really composed a Dīwān in Hindavī. Moreover, the Dīwāns of Usman bin Muhammad Al Mukhtāri (1059-99), the Court poet of Masud III and Arslan Shah and Muhammad Farrukhi (b. 1585 A. D.) as well as those of Abúl Faraj Rūni, the predecessors and followers of Khusro are not devoid of verses containing Hindawī words and idioms.

Amir Khusro (b. 1253), the versatile Turk, is perhaps the first national poet of. Indo-Muslim India. He felt proud of being an Indian and of speaking Hindavi- *cho man tūti-i-hindavī ar rāst pursi-ze man hindavī purs tā naghz goyam* "I am parrot of India, if you want to know the truth ask me about Hindavī so that I may speak excellently (fluently)". Again, *turk-i-hindustani am hindavī goyam jawab shakkar-i-misrī nadāram kaz Arab goyam sukhan* "I am an Indian Turk and I speak Hindavī tongue— I am not in possession of the Egyptian sugar so that I may say something in Arabic" Reference may also be made to *chuj bai chand nazm hindī nij nazzar destā karadā shudā ast* "and some verses of the story have been presented in Hindi" (Preface to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*). Further, about the Khorasani, Iraqi, Shiraji and Turkish immigrants, he remarks— *al batta zabān-i-hindavī dar zabāni-Ishan khātā āyad garche az aeshān kase dud-i-chirāg khurdah bashad* "to be sure when they speak the Hindavī language, they commit many mistakes, howsoever much any one of them might have consumed the smoke of lamps *i.e.* laboured hard" (*Ibid*).

Khusro has, in *Nuh Sipihr*, offered high compliments to his compatriots for their pronouncing the language fluently. About Sanskrit he says that although very highly developed and rich, superior even to Dāri (Persian), it was the language of only the cultured few, while the common people had "in every province a language/dialect peculiar to itself and not borrowed from any other."

He enumerates the following languages as being spoken in India :—

(1) Sindí

(2) Lahorī-(probably Panjabi)

(3) Kashmírí

(4) the language of Dugar.

"The language of Dugar" was probably the forerunner of the modern Dogri.

(5) Dhūr Samundar - (Tamil)

(6) Tilang (Telugu)

(7) Gujrát (Gujrātī)

(8) Ma'bar (probably Old Malayalam spoken on the Malabar Coast)

(9) Gaur (probably Old Maithili)

(10) Bengal (Bengali)

(11) Oudh (Old Awadhi)

(12) The language of Delhi and its environs

By *Hinduí* he probably meant the language current in Delhi and its neighbourhood, and it is to this that he made important contributions by synthesizing it with Persian.

Awfī is probably the first writer to use the word Hindi for the vernacular language of Hind, most probably the language of the Gangetic Doab. Referring to the Dīwāns of Masūd, he writes *yake batāzī va yake ba pārsī va yake ba hindavi.* 'one in Tāzī (Arabic), one in Persian (and) one in Hindavī' (*Lubāb al Albāb* of Muhammad Awfī, Vol.

[1] *barshigāl āye bahār-i-Hindustān-ayemijāt az balā-i tabistān* (O how nice is the rainy seaon and spring cloud of India, which gives us relief from the intense heat of summer). *Barshigāl* is the Persianised form of *Varṣā kāla* 'rainy season'.

[2] *Nuh Sipihr*-3rd sphere-Elliot, Op. Cit. Vol. 3. P. 562.

III p. 246). cf also *saiyad diwān ibārat-i-arabi va fārasi va hindavi*, he composed diwans in Arabic Persian and Hindavi—(preface to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl* of Khusro).

Coming again to Khusro, many things ascribed to him may not have been his own and with a few exceptions, they may not have come down to us in their original form. It has now been proved that the *Khāliqbārī* emanated not from the 13th Cent. Amir Khusro but from his namesake who lived in the 17th Cent. A. D. during the time of Shahjahan. Khusro was a master literary artist and his inventive genius enabled him to devise many a new figure in rhetoric. One such figure was an *Iham* whereby verses and terms could be interpreted differently when read as pieces of different languages. He has given some examples in the long preface of his Fourth Diwan and many such things have found illustration in *Ijāz-i-Khusravi*. We get in *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl 'āī āī hamān bayārī āi—mārī mārī barāh-i-mori āī*. We can get the Hindavī sense if we read the third and the fouth words as *hamā bayār*, which means 'cold breeze' and *barāh* (boar) with *Izāfat*, while the Persian rendering would be something like this 'come along, come as a friend even if you have to come through a winding path like a snake or an ant.'

It is not improbable that because of such double interpretations, the *Khāliqbārī*, the bilingual dictionary, is ascribed to him.

Among the foreign travellers, who have left some written account of the country, the name of Ibn Battuta (1304-1377) stands foremost. A minister in the court of Muhammad-bin Tughlaq, he travelled far and wide in the Kingdom of the Muhammad. He has described in detail the food, clothes, and customs of Indian people. But except a few Indian words for cereals (*Māsh*=a species of peas, *munj*=*mung*, *Kishrī*=*Khichrī*) we get no other linguistic information in his work. A solitary occurrence of the word Hindi—that too very vague—is found in his description of the Tarana i. e. Mārā Mārī near Lahor near the mouth of Sindh. He describes the fortress—"Some of the walls bore Hindī inscriptions"[1]. What Ibn-Battuta means by Hindī is not clear. It is probably used for the language spoken near the mouth of Sindh i.e. Old Sindhī.

We know from the evidence of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmuddin (16th Cent. A. D.) that the Rajput King of Kalanjar (1022 A.D.) composed some verses in the Hindu tongue extolling the bravery of some Turki soldiers in catching and mounting a number of elephants. These verses were sent to Mahmud of Ghazna who showed them to "the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance of him"[2].

A passage in "*The Memoirs of Babur*" gives the description of the speech habits (in pronunciation) of 'often dropping the vowels' of the people of Hindustan. Babur writes, "The name of the Hakim of the Ils and Ulūses in the neighbourhood of the River Suhān was Malik Hast. His original name was Asad but as the people of Hindustan often drop the vowels, calling for instance Khabar Khabr and Asad Asd, this word going from one corruption to another ended in becoming Hast"[3].

We find the reference to the Hindustānī language elesehwere in the same work. Here Babur writes, "when he (Daulat Khan) came to offer me his obeisance, he affected delays in bowing; I directed them to push his leg and make him bow. I then made him sit down before me and desired a man who understood the Hindustānī language to explain to him what I said sentence by sentence"[4].

At another place describing the tribes inhabiting Afghanistan, Babur enumerates a number of languages/dialects spoken in and around Kabul. His description runs as—"In the country of Kābul there are many and various tribes. Its valleys and plains are inhabited by Turks, Aimāks and Arabs. In the city and other part of the villages, the population consists of Tājiks. Many other of the villages and districts are occupied by Pashāis, Parāchis, Tājiks, Berekis and Afghans. In the Hill country to the west, reside the Hazāras and Nakderis. Among the Hazāra and Nakderi tribes there are

[1] *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta, translated by Dr. Mahdi Hasan, Gaekwad Oriental Series No. 122, Baroda, 1953, p.10.

[2] *Indo-Aryan and Hindī*. p. 194.

[3] '*Memoirs of Babur*', Lucas King edition 1921-Vol. II, p. 94.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 170.

some who speak the Moghul languages. In the hill country of the north-east lies Kafiristān, such as Kottor and Gebrek. To the south is Afghanistan. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken, Kābul, Arabic, Persian, Tūrki, Mōghuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashāi, Parāchi, Guberi, Bereki and Laghmānī. It is dubious whether so many distinct races and different languages could be found in any other country"[1].

Here Laghmani and Pashai are Pisach speeches as the difference between the two, if any, is one of dialect. Parachi (Sanskrit *Prācya*) is the general name given to the languages of the Eastern India by those living in west. Guberi/ Gabri is the language of Parsis of Yezd and Kirman. Bereki/Baraki is generally known as Urmuri though its speakers call it Bergistah.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, the period of Bhakti poets in northern India, the poets usually used the term *bhāsā/bhāṣā* for vernaculars. Jāyasī (16th Cent. A. D.) wrote[2] *"Turkī Arabī Hindavī, bhāsā jetī āhi.* Turki, Arabic and Hindavī, whatever languages (there) are". The language of Jāyasī is Awadhī whereas the vernacular of Khusro is the language of Delhi and its environs. It may be assumed from this that during this period the name Hindī or Hindavī was given to the vernaculars spoken from Delhi and its environs to the province of Audh. It is interesting to note here that the poets of Muslim tradition used the term Hindī/Hindavī for some local vernaculars where as the poets of Indian tradition used the term bhāsā/bhākhā[3] for the vernaculars in contradistinction to Sanskrit and Prakrit. e.g.

Sanskṛt hai Kūpjal, bhāsā bahatā nīr—Sanskrit is (stagnant) like the water in well, while *bhāsā* (is) a flowing water i.e. current. *Kabīr.*[4]

Kā bhāsā kā saṃskṛt prem cāhiye sāc. Whether *bhāsā* or Sanskrit, the love must be pure. *Tulsidās*[5].

Abdur Rehim Khānkhānā, the court poet of Akbar, was called a 'Hindī poet'. He was essentially the poet of Braj. It may thus be presumed form the above that the terms Bhāsā/Bhākhā, Hindī and Hindavī were used synonymously upto the 15th and 16th centuries A. D. The poets of Dekhani also mean the same language by these terms. *e.g.*

Yô dekhat Hindī bol, prana māne haî napatol/ tyô bhākā māṭī jāno, jar mānī dil mê āno/ "Seeing thus the Hindī speech, the promise is kept balanced; the language, whose meaning comes in heart should be known as genuine (the speech soil). (Shahi Nirajī) 1496 A. D. (death)—*Shahādutul-Haqīqat*);

likhī nazm sab maûjū, yo maî Hindavī Kar āsān 'I have written all the verses (nazm) interesting. Thus I make Hindi easy (to understand), (Shekh Ashraf-1503 A. D. *Nauṣār Makhtūtāt* p. 18);

Hindī bolô kiyō bakhān, jekar parsād kā muj gyān, I described the Hindī speech, whose blessings (or gifts) I know, (Shah Burhānuddin Jānam Bījāpurī, 1582 A. D.).

Mullāh Wajahī (17th Cent. A. D.), the famous poet and prose writer of Dekhini, has also used the word Hindī in the same sense. In the Introduction to his *Sabras* (1625 A.D.) he writes—*'Hindsostān mê Hindī zabān sô is latāfat is chandā sô nazm aur nasr milākar gulākar yaû nai bolā'*. In India taking from Hindi tongue, some words and verses and mixing them with poems and expressions he told thus'.

Abul Fazl (1551-1602), the great Moghal Chronicler, gives a better picture of the contemporary languages of India in his *Aīn-i-Akharī.*[6] He also describes the art of writing and painting (Ain-34). Writing about the languages of India he remarks that many languages are spoken throughout the wide extent of Hindostan and among the different languages themselves, although there is

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[1] *Ibid.* Vol. 1, p. 224-25.

[2] *Padmāvat Upasamhār*-1.

[3] It is to be mentioned here that the word bhāṣā has, from a very early date, been used to distinguish the vernaculars from the language of the elites whereby is usually meant Sanskrit. The point has, already been discussed. See Supra Chap. I. Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions, in *Harṣacarita*, a poet Iṣāṇa by name as Bhāṣākavi.

[4], [5] Quoted from *Hindi Sāhitya Kosh*, Vol. I, 1958, 'Hindi' p. 888, on which this portion is mainly based.

[6] *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl-i-Allāmi, Translated. by Col. H. S. Jarrett. Vol. 3, p. 119.

common interintelligibility, one can find innumerable diversities. The languages enumerated by him are those of:—

(1) Delhi — (probably the same as Hindi/ Hindavi of Amir Khusro)
(2) Bengal — (Bengali)
(3) Multán — (probably the Multani dialect of Sindhi or Lhanda)
(4) Márwár — (the Marwari of Rajputana)
(5) Gujarát — (Gujrati)
(6) Telingánah — (Telugu)
(7) Marhaṭṭa — (Marathi)
(8) Karnátik — (Kanarese)
(9) Sind — (Sindhi)
(10) Afghan of Shal (the land between Sind, Kabul and Khandahar — probably Pashto)
(11) Beluchistán — (Balochi)
(12) Kashmír — (Kashmiri)

We find in this list two south Indian languages *viz.* those of Telingana and Karnatik, the lands forming the southern limit of Akbar's empire. The mention as also the recognition of Mārwarī as an independent language may be adduced the political importance of Rajputana.

The first mention of the word Hindī by any Hindu is found in the following letter written by Sri Parkāsdās (1666 Oct.), the personal assistant of Rāmsiṃh, the son of Sawāī Rājā Jaisiṃh to Sri Kalyān Dās, the Dīwān of Amber. "*so aisī bhâti Kāgaj ek Hindavī parwānā Śrī Mahārāj (Jaisiṃha) ji ko Sri Mahārāj Kâwar jeke taî āye baṇavāyo hai.*" 'thus a paper like this, a Hindavi *Parwānā* is made to (sent to) Srī Mahārāj (Jaisiṃh) through the Mahārāj Kâwarjī'. (*Jaipur Records*).

Mirzā Khān (1676) the first writer of a Braja Bhāsā grammar calls the lexicon of three hundred words which he analyses in Persian as '*Lughāt-i-Hindī*' in *Tahfatul Hind.*

A note on 'Urdū' and 'Hindustānī' may not be out of place here.

'Urdu' or 'Ordu' is a Turkish word meaning 'royal camp'. It came to India most probably with Babur and was at first used for a royal camp. How the word came to be used for language involves the history of at least two or three centuries. The Muslims used the vernacular of Delhi, Meerut and also of some parts of Hariyana as the language of communication between them and this form of speech being taken to southern States of Bijapur and Golkunda etc. became the language of literature and the court and was known as Dekhinī, the word being used as a synonym to Hindavī. In Rekhṭa, a poetic style, the words of Arabic and Persian were also used and by and by the language of this style of poetry was itself known as Rekhtā.

Shāhjahān took his capital from Agra to Delhi. The markets in the royal palace for the nobles and the royal ladies came to be known as '*Urdū-e-Muallā*'. The language used in this *Urdū-e-Muallā*, later on, freely used words and phrases of Braja also. This language which contained a larger number of Perso-Arabic words was known as '*Zabān-i-Urdū-e-Muallā*'. Before Walī Aurangābādī's coming to northern India, this language was not used for poetic compositions. Taking inspiration from the Dīwān of Walī many educated and cultured Musalmans adopted it for poetry and found it more suitable and elite in comparison to Dekhini. Gradually the word Mualla and then Zabān were dropped and the bare word Urdū came to be used for the polished language of Musalmans. About the formation of this language Inshā Allāhkhān (1808) writes '*yahā (Shāhjahānābād) Ke shush bāyānô ne muttalaq hokar mutādad zabānô se acche acche lafz nikāle aur bāze ibāratô aur alfāz mê tasarraf karke zabānô se alag ek nayī zabān paidā kī jiskā nām urdū rakkhā*,'The literateurs of this place (Shahajahanabad), assembling together, took good words from the current language and making some changes in the expressions and words, produced a language—separated from other languages, and gave it the name Urdū' . (*Dariyā-e-Latāfat* p. 4). Refer also '*bādshāhô, aur umrā aur unke darbāriyô aur hāzirvāshô se Urdū Kī sanad lenī cāhiye*, 'The certificate (of proficieney) of Urdu should be taken from Kings, the nobles and courtiers and their attendants'. (*Ibid.* p. 65).

According to Prof. Sherani *'Khān Sāheb (Sirājuddin Alī Khan) ghāliban pahle shakhs hai jo urdū ka lafz baī mānī zabān istemāl mê lāye hai* 'Khān Saheb is probably the first person to use the word Urdū for a language' (*Oriental College Magazine*-1931- P. 14). According to some scholars the word was first used in the sense of a language by Musahafi.

The word 'Hindustānī' was first used for a language by Babur (see Supra p.47). During the time of Shahjahan (1627-1657) the word is found in *Tārikh Farishtā* and *Bādashāhnāmā—nagmaye sirāyāne hindostānī zabān* (*Bādashāhnāmā*). In Hindi literature the word Bhāsā, Hindustānī or Hindustanī was probably first used as a synonym of 'Hindī or Hindavī' by Swami Prāṇanāth (1638-1751 V.S.)—*Binā hisābe bolià / mīne sakal jahān // sabko sugam jānke / kahûgī Hindustān // baḍī bhāsā aihī bhalī / jo sabmê jāhera,* 'I have been speaking without accuracy in the world. Now knowing it to be accessible to all, I will speak Hindustani. This language is very good, it is known among all'. *Kulajamasvarūpa Kurān Sanandh-Chaüpāī* (15-16).

As the enterprising scholars, travellers and missionaries from Europe conducted enquiries and sojourn throughout the little known parts of the world during the early part of seventeenth century in order to broaden their horizon of knowledge they found the Indian sub-continent also considerably interesting to them and quite a few among them contributed extensive notes on the different aspects of culture and language of the people during their time. Records are available to show that quite a number of notices on the current language situation of India were given by many of these personalities. A detailed and chronological account of such language notices from these scholars and missionaries etc. is furnished by Sir George A. Grierson in the Introductory Volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India.* While reference to the appropriate volume regarding these details could be made, here it is considered appropriate by the writer that a mention of the important names and their works may be made before this chapter could be closed.

The earliest notice of the Indian languages appears to have been by Edward Terry in his "Voyage to East Indies" published in 1655 A.D. After this the names of Fryer (1673), Ogilby (1673), Andreas Muller (1680), John Chamberlayne (1715), Johann Friedrich Fritz (1748), La Croze (1742), Bayer (1717), scholars around St. Peters Academy (1728) , Daniel Messerschmidt (1727), Schultze (1748), Beligatti (1771), Iwarus Abel (1782) and Adelung (1806) have been mentioned as notable and their contributions have been discussed in detail by Sir George A. Grierson. Adelung's 'Mithridates' is only a resume of all the linguistic learning of the eighteenth century and has been considered by Grierson as a link between the old philology and the new.

For an assessment of the works of these scholars, travellers and missionaries etc. it is only proper that the analysis done by Sir George A. Grierson may be quoted here for the benefit of the readers.

"A consideration of this early stage of the enquiry into the languages of India will show that during the 17th and 18th centuries there had been laborious accumulation of materials, but hardly any scientific study. Such study could not indeed have been expected in those days. The necessary materials, though increasing gradually from decade to decade, were throughout too scanty for it to have been possible. Nevertheless the period was marked by a steady advance in knowledge beyond the older belief that all languages were derived from Hebrew. In the early years of the 17th century the existence in India of Sanskrit, the sacred literary language, became known, and from this, as a sort of corollary, there arose the belief that besides it there was in addition one general colloquial form of speech used by the vulgar over the whole continent. A further development of this belief was the curious error that that colloquial language was Malay, a kind of *lingua franca,* before which the indigenous speech was disappearing. It took many decades to wipe out this misapprehension and its consequences. The existence of more than one spoken language was the next discovery. This was first associated with collection of alphabets, apparently as mere curiosities and without any reference to the languages for which they were employed. But the knowledge thus gained of diverse alphabets led to a suspicion

of the existence of diverse tongues, and this, in its turn, led to the making of collections of versions of the Lord's Prayer, at first full of blunders, but becoming more and more complete and more and more accurate as the years went on. These collections invited comparisons of their contents, and suggested the first beginnings of comparative philology. It is at this stage that the great names of LaCroze and Bayer come into prominence. They began to make rudimentary classifications of languages based on comparisons of the numerals and similar words, and succeded in tracing the connexion between the alphabets of Tibet and India, a fact which was destined in later days to have a far-reaching importance. They got into communication with the great pioneer missionaries of Southern India, and, with their help, enriched the mass of the materials available for study. In fact, as is shown by Amadutius's preface to Beligatti's 'Alphabetum Brammhanicum', it was on their researches that all subsequent investigations of the period were founded; and it was by following their methods that Iwarus Abel and Adelung were able to make the great advance in scientific exploration that is associated with their names.

At the end of the period we find that Europe had a fairly clear idea of the names and general characters of the principal Indian languages, and that its scholars had begun to compare one with another. The old philology thus on its deathbed gave birth to the new. The materials for classification had been collected and set in order, but no general classification had yet been attempted."*

The end of the eighteenth century as is known to all scholars of philology is famous for the great philological discovery of Sir William Jones regarding the connection of Sanskrit with the languages of Europe. Sir William Jones had not only shown the way for comparative philological studies of the different languages but had also made his own observations regarding the modern languages of India. Notwithstanding the fact that these speculations on modern languages of India were on subsequent researches not established but anyhow the problem was laid down by him and was further pursued by Serampore missionaries. It is here that the writer comes to the close of the chapter of enquiries into modern Indian languages of the 'mediaeval period', as the writer has chosen to call it, which extends from the period of Hem Chandra (12th century) to the period of Sir William Jones i.e. end of the eighteenth century. Subsequent works will be subject of forthcoming chapters.

*_Linguistic Survey of India_, Sir G.A. Grierson, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 9-10.

CHAPTER III

Modern Period from 1787 upto 1901

(i) Indo-European Family
(ii) Dravidian Family
(iii) Tibeto-Burman Family
(iv) Austric Family
(v) Studies in Census Reports & Gazetteers

CHAPTER III

MODERN PERIOD

(i) Indo-European Family

Aryan Sub-Family

I Indo-Aryan Branch :

The introduction of Sanskrit (Skt) language in Europe through the translations and studies by Sir Charles Wilkins and Sir William Jones attracted a host of European scholars to the study of Skt. and the modern Indian languages specially those connected with Skt. The study of Indian languages had already begun in European countries in the 17th Century for practical purposes, but no attempt towards a 'linguistic study' in the real sense of the term was witnessed until 1816 when William Carey, the Baptist Missionary, published his report on the position of Indian languages.

In 1801, however, H. T. Colebrooke contributed a paper 'On the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages' in *Asiatick Researches* (Vol. VII, Art VII, pp. 199 ff) in which we find reference to some of the modern vernaculars. He refers to Hindi—its two dialects, one laden with Prakrit words and the other with Persian words, but does not give any name to them. He gives a few words from Skt. and deals with their development and use in Hindi. Then he mentions Gaura, commonly called Bengalah or Bengali, the language of Gaur or the country of Bengal. He further refers to Maithila or Tirhutiya, the language used in Mithila. Reference to Uriya, Mahratta and the language spoken in Gujarat or Gurjara is also found. Regarding Gujarati he observes that the language is 'very nearly allied to the Hindi tongue'. In the end he refers to Penjábi, Rekhtah—'the language of the court of Hindustan'—and Braj-Bhákhá or Vraja Bháshá. The last one is mentioned as the language of the country around Mathura 'still spoken with much purity through out the great part of Antarbed or Doab'.

William Carey published a number of grammars and dictionaries of different languages. The report of Carey, though not scientifically accurate, is the pioneer work dealing with Indian vernaculars. Thirty-three languages have been considered in the Report. No Dravidian language, except Telinga and Kurnata, has been recognised and no distinction has been made between language and dialect. Following are the names of languages recognised by Carey:

Sungskrit, Bengalee, Hindee, Kashmeera, Dogura (*i.e.* Dogri), Wuch (*i.e.* Lhanda), Sindh, Southern Sindh, Kutch, Goojuratee, Kunkuna, Punjabee or Shikh, Bikaneer, Marawar, Juya-Poora, Ooduya-poora, Harutee, Maluwa, Bruj, Bundelkhand, Mahratta, Magudha or South Bahar, North Koshula (*i.e.* Avadhi), Mythilee, Nepal, Assam, Orissa or Ootkul, Telinga, Kurnata, Pushtoo or Affghan, Bulochee, Khassee, Burman.

After Carey's report for about 20 years we do not find any attempt at linguistic study of the Aryan languages. In 1837, W. H. Wathen brought out [1]'*A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Sindhi Language*'. Here, Wathen gives a strong argument that the Sindhi is elder than either the Braja Bhakha or Pure Hindi of Upper India. It has a more regular and elaborate inflexion of cases and tenses than the either.

During the years 1838-1843 the issues of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (JASB) published a number of grammars and vocabularies of modern Indian languages from the pen of Major Robert Leech[1]. These are mainly skeleton grammars, meant for the use of beginners.

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[1] (a) 'Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky and the Panjabi languages with vocabularies of the Baraky, the Pashai the Laghmani, the Cashgari, the Teerhi, and the Deer dialects. (*JASB* Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 538 ff., continued on pp. 608-620 of the same volume, also pp. 711 to 732, 780-787.)

(b) *JASB* Vol. VIII, 1839 pp. 1-16 Grammar of Pashtoo or Afghanee.

(c) *JASB* Vol. XII, 1843 Pt. II p. 1086 ff. Dialect of Bundelkhand.

In 1843, J. B. Eastwick contributed to the *JASB* a paper 'A Vocabulary of Scindee Language' (Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 1-22). It gives English words with their equivalents in the dialects of Sar and Lar, probably the Siraiki and Lari of Trumpp and other later scholars.

In 1849, the Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson published his article 'Observations on the Grammatical Structure of the Vernacular Languages of India' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. III, Pt. I, Art VII, pp. 71 ff). Here, Dr. Stevenson recognises the existence of at least two language families in India. He observes, "From the roots of the Himalayas to the Southern most point of Ceylon and from the India Caucasus to the confines of Assam, we have a number of languages and dialects more or less allied to one another, mostly composed of too great elements. To the north of the river Krishna, generally speaking one of these elements prevails and to the south of that river the other is the predominating principle".p. 71. To the former he gives the name of Skt. element but to the latter he gives no name but holds that it is in no way the Skt. one. He gives a cautious note about the classification of the languages of India, and remarks that Mohammedan rule and Musulman intercourse have introduced in all these languages a greater or less portion of Arabic and Persian words which are carefully to be observed. Then there is a note on Skt. element in non-Skt. or the southern family of languages. Dr. Stevenson's paper is continued in the Second part of the same volume of the Journal. p.l. ff. He discusses here the question of the Indefinite and Definite articles in Indian languages, and also deals with cases with their respective suffixes in the Indian Vernaculars specially of Northern family.

The same volume of the Journal contains 'A grammar of the Jataki or Belohcki Dialect' by Lieut. Burton. (*JBBRAS* Vol. III, Pt. II, Jan. 1849, Art. IX, pp 84ff.) Jataki is described in this article as 'the rough and uncultivated dialect, a corrupted form of the Multani, itself a corruption of the Panjabi'. According to Burton the corrupted dialect of Panjabi used in Sindh is known to the people by three names *viz.*,

(1) Siráiki—(the name derived from Siro [Upper Sindh] where it is spoken),

(2) Belochki—(so named because of the predominance of the Beloch clan in the area where it is spoken), and

(3) Jatakī—(the name derived from the name of Jat tribe the original inhabitants of that part).

Four years later, Sir Erskine Perry published his famous paper 'On the Geographical Distribution of the principal Languages of India, and the feasibility of introducing English as a *Lingua Franca*', in the *JBBRAS* (Vol. IV, Pt. II, Art. I, pp. 289 ff.). This paper is probably the first attempt to give a correct estimate of the linguistic situation in India. The author is aware of the limits of his study and he realises that in the existing state of knowledge, any such sketch cannot be anything more than an approximation to the truth. He observes that the limits of two neighbouring languages often occur in wild unexplored and unpeopled tracts of the country so as 'to prevent the tracing of a precise boundary line'. Next, he points to the 'complicated intermingling of languages' created by the extending of the language of the governing Hindu races over the territory of their neighbours. In support of the second statement, he cites the example of Canarese, Marathi and Tamil, each extending into the territory of the other and thus causing a language-mixture.

He rejects the Brahamanical divisions of Indian languages into Panch Gaura and Panch Dravid, as founded on unscientific principle. Then, he discusses the position of Southern languages called Tamiloid by him, and quotes various authorities with whom he sometimes differs and sometimes agrees. He comes to the conclusion that 'the whole of India may be divided between two classes of languages—the language of the intruding Arians or Sanskritoid in the North, and the language of a civilized race in south of India, represented by its most cultivated branch of Tamil'.

Sir Perry includes the following languages in the first family (called Arian, Sanskritoid or Northern Family by him);

(1) Hindi—with its 8 dialects *viz.*, (a) Hindustani or Urdu, (b) Brij Básha, (c) Rangri Básha, (d) Panjábi, (e) Multáni, (f) Jataki, (g) Sindhi and (h) Marwadi ;

(2) Kashmiri;

(3) Bengali—with one dialect *viz.*, Tirhuti;

(4) Gujarati—with its dialect Kachi giving a footnote 'Kachi or the language of Cutch might, probably, have been better classed under Hindi';

(5) Maráthi;

(6) Konkani; and

(7) Urya.

It is to be noted here that Perry considers Konkani as an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi, thus contradicting his own statement, 'Advancing towards the north, we are met by the intruding languages of a different family, of which Marathi, or its dialect Konkani is the southern most representative'. p. 294.

He includes 6 languages in Turanian or Tamiloid family (which will be dealt with Dravidian family). Perry does not recognise any third family of languages in India.

Then, Perry deals with each language separately and gives an approximate linguistic boundary of each. Thus he is the first authority who deals with the question of linguistic areas, which became so much known in later times as to attract the attention of almost all the scholars in the field.

Dealing with Hindi, he observes that Brij Basha and the Panjabi are the two most cultivated varieties of Hindi. Rangri Basha is the name given contemptuously by the invading Marathas to the Hindi spoken in Bundelkhand. Certain vocables of Hindi are discussed as examples. While discussing Gujarati he observes that Kachi and Sindhi are quite intelligible to Gujarati-speakers but Kachi seems to be a transition dialect between Sindhi and Gujarati. Regarding Konkani, Perry holds that it appears to be no other than Marathi, with a large infusion of Tulu or Canarese words and it seems that Perry has included Konkani as an independent language in his list because of this large-scale infusion.

The second part of the article dealing with the feasibility of English as a *Lingua Franca* of India is notable for being an early attempt towards solving a problem which has been and is still a very controversial point in the field of Indian languages.

Dr. Stevenson's article in Volume III is continued in the 4th Volume of the Journal also. p. 15 ff. Here Singhalese has been classed with the Northern family. The author discusses some forms of personal pronoun, on the basis of which he divides Indian languages in the two classes already mentioned. Gujarathi, Singhalese, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Uriya and Scindian (whether Sindhi ?) are included in the Northern family but Lar, a dialect of Sindhi, is classed with the Southern family. But the classification is based on obvious phonetic similarities only.

The same volume of the Journal contains Stevenson's 'A Comparative Vocabulary of the Non-Sanscrit Vocables of the Vernacular Languages of India' (in two parts - 1st. Vol. IV. Pt. I, Art. V, pp. 117-131 ; and the 2nd. Vol. IV, Pt. II, Art. II, pp. 319 to 339). Here, Stevenson discusses the question of the borrowing of Dravidian words by different Aryan languages, treated possibly for the first time. The treatment is no doubt full of inacuracies but is remarkable because of being an early attempt.

Max Müller in his '*Lectures on the Science of Language*', delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in the months of April, May and June, 1861, refers to the languages of Aryan family in his eighth lecture but there is nothing remarkable so far as the classification of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars is concerned.

Six years later, appeared the '*Outlines of Indian Philology*' by John Beames, which according to Sir George Grierson is 'the first attempt to prepare a scientific general account of all the languages then known to be spoken in India'[1]. Beames had already contributed a paper 'Outline of A Plea for the Arabic element of Hindustani' to the *JASB* (1866, Vol. XXXV, Pt. I, pp. 1-13). In the last two paragraphs of the article, Beames deals with Hindi and its 17 dialects, giving their names and the places where they are spoken. Beames thinks Marathi, Gujaratti, Sindhi, Ooch, Panjabi, Dogra,

[1] *JRAS*-1902, p. 723.

Cashmeree, Parbuttea, Moonugee and Palpa as 'more or less Hindi', but points out the difficulty of selecting a standard because of the difference of vocables, declension and conjugational system in different languages.

In the first chapter, Beames deals with 'Classification of Languages'. After giving a broad classification of Indo-Germanic, Semitic and Turanian families of language, he comes to Aryan class (which he calls Indic). He includes the following 11 languages in this class: Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Marathi, Gujerati, Nepalese, Uriya, Assamese, Kashmiri and Doghra. He gives the status of independent language to Punjabi and Sindhi which were considered by Perry as dialects of Hindi, and adds three new languages *viz.* Nepalese, Assamese and Doghra to the list of Sir Perry. Then he gives 8 chief dialects of Hindi *viz.* Maithil, Māgadh, Bhojpurī, Kośalī, Brij Bhāṣā, Kanoujī, Rājput dialects (which are very numerous according to him) and the Bundelkhand dialect (perhaps the Rangri Basha of Perry). Thus he adds 5 more names *viz.* those of Maithil, Māgadh, Bhojpurī, Kośalī and Kanoujī. But he does not mention the Marwadi of Perry.

Regarding Punjabi he holds that it has many dialects so much so that every district may be said to have one or even more than one dialects. Then he gives 4 dialects of Sindhi *viz.* Siraiki, Lar, Ooch and Kachi; two dialects of Marathi *viz.* Koṅkanī and Dakhinī, the last one an addition ; and 4 dialects of Nepalese (also called Parbattia or Paharia) *viz.* Palpa, Kumaon, Gurhwāl and Tharū. Beames includes Singhalese (classed under Northern Family by Stevenson) in Dravidian class.

In the second chapter 'On the Distribution of Indian Languages' Beames gives the linguistic boundaries of different languages. This being the first attempt of the kind, it is considered necessary to give an appropriate extract, relevant to the problem, from Beames' above quoted work.

"In the mountain ranges between the Punjab and the Valley (10) of Cashmir, the DOGHRĀ dialect or dialects are spoken, and in the Valley itself CASHMIRI.

From the Indus on the west to the Sutlej on the east, and from the mountains to the neighbourhood of Mooltan, we find PUNJABI. This language is scarcely spoken alike in any two towns. The purest PUNJABI is spoken between the Rivers Ravi and Beas, and generally the further south you go the wilder and more remote from the Hindi Standard becomes the speech. *Punjābī* is really nothing more than a dialect of Hindi, and is probably descended from the *Śāraswatī Prākṛta,* but by virtue of having a different alphabet it has come to be considered a separate language.

South and east of the Sutlej, *Punjābī* fades away imperceptibly into Hindi. The exact boundary cannot be fixed. On the banks of the Sutlej you are among Punjabis ; travelling eastwards to the banks of the Jumna you find yourself among Hindustanis.

The HINDI covers a greater area than any other Indian dialect. The western boundary may be placed about Sirhind (76° 30′ long., 30° 45′ lat.), and goes side by side with *Punjābi* south-westwards through the deserts of Patiala and Bhawulpoor, till it meets *Sindhi* near Jysulmere. It then turns westwards through Oodeypore, where it is conterminous with *Gujarātī* and *Mahrāthī.* About Indore the three languages meet. From this point the Vindhya range bounds it to the south as far as the Sone, which it follows northwards to Sirgooja, thence skirting the Sonthal and Rajmahal hills to the Ganges, which it crosses at or near 87° 45′ long., and goes in a line due north to the hills. These boundaries are of course approximate only. Except where natural barriers, as mountains or seas, occur, we nowhere find one language (11) leaving off, and another beginning at a given spot. Thus the *Hindi* of Purneah, as you go eastwards, gets more and more tinged with *Bengali,* till at last you reach a point where there is no *Hindi* at all traceable in it; but it is impossible to point out the exact spot where you cease to hear *Hindi* or begin to hear *Bengali.* Similarly, in Central India, it would be difficult to fix upon a point where the language ceased to be *Hindi* and began to be *Mahrāthī,* or *Gond,* or *Kole.*[1]

[1] It would be useful if persons living on frontiers between two languages would collect and publish facts tending to fix the exact limits of each. The books at present accessible are, in many instances, I am convinced, wrong on this point.

BENGALI begins where *Hindi* leaves off, somewhere between Purneah and Dinajpore, and is bounded on the north by the hills as far as Assam, where it blends into *Assamese*. Thence turning south it is bounded by the hills which lie east of the Brahmaputra; till it fades away about Chittagong. In this last place the dialect is a a curious mixture of bad *Hindi* and corrupt *Bengali*. The western boundary of *Bengali* is formed by the Rajmahal hills, and southwards through Bancoorah and Midnapore to the Subanrikha, which it follows to the sea.

ASSAMESE, which is closely akin to *Bengali* is spoken along the valley of the Brahmaputra from Gwalpara to Sudiya.

URIYA extends along the seacoast from the Subanrikha to near Ganjam ; landwards its boundary is uncertain, it melts gradually into the *Khond* and other rude hill dialects and coexists with them. In Bustar and the neighbourhood some classes speak *Uriya* and some *Khond*. I am informed that *Hindustani* and *Bengali* are much used as a means of intercourse between different classes. If this be true, it is only (12) another instance of the strong tendency of *Hindustani* to supply the place of a *lingua franca* in all parts of India.

The whole of that net-work of low hills, whose northern-most point abuts upon the Ganges at Sikrigalli, while its southern ranges look down upon Nagpore, the part of India least known to Europeans, is inhabited by the wild Koles, Gonds, and other Turanian tribes. The nine languages of class 4 of the Turanian family occupy this region. The distribution of them cannot be given with any approach to accuracy. Its more accessible portions are encroached on from the east by *Bengali*, the west by *Hindi*, and the south by *Telugu*. The languages themselves are daily losing ground, and receding before the more civilized forms of speech which hem them in.

The *Gond*, one of these languages, passes near Nagpore into *MAHRĀTHI*, which is in point of area and general importance second only to Hindi among Indian languages. From Nagpore it goes northwards to Indore, then southwards in all ill-defined directions to Surat, where it meets the sea. From Indore to Surat the boundary between it and *Gujarāti* is vaguely laid down in books, and I have met no one who could give me accurate data. Bhil tribes in the hills of Khandeish occur here, speaking a *Kole* dialect. From Nagpore the southern line of *Mahrāthī* runs through Berar to Bejapore, and thence through the Belgaum and Dharwar districts to the sea, somewhere south of Goa, where it blends into *Canarese*.

GUJARĀTĪ is bounded by *Mahrāthī* on east and south, on the north it merges into Hindi in Marwar and Oodehpore. To the west it meets *Kachī* and *Sindhī* about 70°15′.

KACHI occupies the isolated peninsula of Kach.

SINDHI is spoken in the valley of the lower Indus from (13) Mooltan to the sea ; on the east it merges into the *Rajpootana* dialects of *Hindī*, and on the west into the *Beluch* dialects.

About Ganjam on the East Coast *TELUGU* is first heard, and it prevails all down the coast to Pulicat, close above Madras. Its northern boundary is conterminous with *Uriya*, the *Kol* dialects and *Mahrāthī*. West of Hydrabad it meets the cognate *Canarese*, and goes thence to the eastern boundary of Mysore, whence it is conterminous with *Tamil* as far as Madras.

The *TĀMIL* area is bounded on the north by *Telugu*, and extends south to Cape Comorin, and along a small part of the western coasts to Trivandram. On the west it is bounded by the Ghauts and the Nilgiris and the eastern boundary of Mysore, till it meets the *Telugu* near Cuddapa. It is also spoken in the north of Ceylon.

The *MALAYĀLAM* begins about Trivandrum, and extends northwards between the Ghauts and the sea to Mangalore, where it yields to *Tulu* and *Canarese*.

CANARESE is spoken throughout Mysore and Canara. Its northern boundary is conterminous with *Mahrāthī*.

TULU or *Tuluvu* is spoken in a small area round Mangalore, along the Malabar Coast; *KUDUGU* is Coorg.

To return now to the Himalayas where the various dialects are mixed together in great confusion ; on the northern Assam frontier are found,

in the following order from east to west, the *Aka, Abor, Doflā, Mīrī, Mishmī,* next to these is *Booteā,* which carries us as far east as the Teesta. Sikkim, or the country between the Teesta and the Singhaleela range, contains the *Lepchā* and *Limbū* dialects.The Sikkim Terai gives us the *Dhimal, Bodo* or *Mechi,* and *Koch,* which latter (14) also occupy the plains of Koch Bihar, and the northern parts of Rungpoor, Dinajpoor, and Purneah.

In Nepal, according to Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Campbell's researches, we find a perfect maze of dialects. Beginning from the Singhaleela range, we find *Limbū* or *Kirānta,* which goes west as far as the Dudkoosi River (86°44', Atlas of India). Sherwill found the Gurungs in the higher parts of Singhaleela closely connected with whom are Murmis. Along the lower hills are the Magars, who extend to the west as far as Palpa. Somewhere about here we should apparently place the *Bramhū, Chepang, Hāyū* or *Vāyū,* and *Kusumbha.* In Central Nepal are the *Newār, Pahri,* and *Bhramo* (a dialect of *Magar*), also the *Dárâhi* or *Dorhi, Denwár,* and *Paksya.* The *Tháru* live in the Terai, between Chumparun and the Khatmandoo Valley, as far west as the River Gandak. These last four are classed among Indo-Germanic languages. The rest are Turanian, with more or less infusion of *Hindī.* The *Parbattiā or Páhárid,* a dialect of *Hindi,* is spoken all over Nepal and is the court language. In Chapter I I have called it *Nepalese.* West of this again comes the *Palpa* and then *Thaksya, Sunwār,* and *Sarpā,* the dialects of Kumaon and Gurhwal, which carry us on to the *Milchān* of Kunawur, the *Hundesī,* and *Tibarskad* north of it. West of this come the *Dogra* dialects of the Punjab hills.

On the southern Assam frontier we have the numerous *Nāgā* and *Singhpho* dialects, the *Mikir* and *Angami,* the languages of the Khassia and Jaintia hill-men, the *Boro* in Cachar, and the *Gāro* in the hills of that name. The Kookies occupy parts of Tipperah and Chittagong, and the Mugs Arracan and Chittagong. The wild tribes of the (15) interior are understood to speak an infinite variety of dialects but the published statements are not clear enough to admit of the geographical position of each tribe being distinctly fixed".[1]

In 1868, Beames published 'Bhojpuri Dialect of Hindi' in *JRAS* (Vol. III pp. 483 ff.) and again in 1871 another paper 'On the treatment of Nexus in the Neo-Aryan languages of India'., in the same Journal (Vol. V, pp. 149 to 163).

In the first article he deals with the Bhojpuri dialect and its position. This article seems to form a part of his 'Comparative Grammar'. In the second article Beames deals with the two periods in the development of Neo-Aryan languages. In the 1st period, he includes Prakrits and in the second Neo-Aryan languages. He discusses the development of Sanskrit words into Prakrit and Pali. The second half of the article deals with the numerals of the Neo-Aryan Languages.

Then we come to 1872, one of the most remarkable years in the history of the study of Indo-Aryan Languages. This year witnessed the simultaneous publication of the results of the researches carried out by three great scholars in the field of Indo-Aryan Linguistics. The first work is the first volume of John Beames' *mangum opus* the '*Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan Languages of India*', the second is Trumpp's '*Grammar of Sindhi Language*' and the third is the first instalment of Rudolf Hoernle's '*Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gaurian Languages*' in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal. From this year started the publication of the famous Indological Journal the '*Indian Antiquary*', under the able editorship of J. Burgess. It supplied themes interesting to the scholar, the man of science, the politician, the educationist, the missionary, the general reader and the tourist.

Beames had commenced the work on his Comparative Grammar already in 1866, but it could be published in a book form only in 1872. This is the first work which covers the whole ground of the linguistic study of Indo-Aryan. "The arrangement and treatment of the subject are admirable. None but those who themselves persue scientific enquiries in the isolation of an Indian station under the pressure of official work can fully appreciate the difficulties of such a work".[2] The different aspects of Indo-Aryan Philology have been thoroughly analysed. This work formed, for many

[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21.

[2] Hoernle-'On Beames' Grammar', *Indian Antiquary*-Vol. V, 1876, p. 119.

years, the basis of the linguistic study of Indo-Aryan languages and has been quoted, in some way or other, by almost all the scholars in the field. The language chapters of many of the Census Volumes (specially those of Punjab and N. W. Provinces, 1881) have used Beames' Comparative Grammar almost as exclusive authority.

In his grammar, Beames has dealt with 7 languages *viz.* Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bengali. He does not include Nepalese, Assamese, Kashmiri and Doghra (which he includes in Indic class in *Outlines of Indian Philology*) in the scope of his study. He starts his analysis with a comparative study of words in the 7 languages, and draws the conclusion that 'the spoken Sanskrit is the fountain from which the languages of Aryan India originally sprung : the principal portion of their vocabulary and the whole of their inflectional system being derived from this source'. Then he deals with the development of Indo-Aryan from Indo-European to Prakrits through Vedic and Sanskrit and gives a brief account of different Prakrits. Next, he discusses non-Aryan words in Indo-Aryan and classifies the 'materials which have entered into the composition of the seven languages' into three groups. Following the nomenclature of the native grammarians he calls them Tatsama, Tadbhava, and Deśaja.

While discussing the Tadbhava element, Beames remarks that Gujarati is 'after all a little more than a dialect of Hindi'. Then, he deals with the question of controversy between the Aryan languages and observes that there exists 'a sort of rivalry between the Aryan languages, or rather between the three principal ones, Hindi, Marathi and Bengali, each considering itself superior to the other'. He gives a detailed account of Hindi and gives the following remark regarding the affinity of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. 'All the other languages of the group were originally dialects of Hindi, in this sense that Hindi represents the oldest and most widely diffused form of Aryan Speech in India. Gujarati acknowledges itself to be a dialect of the Sauraseni Pkt., parent of Hindi. Panjabi, even at the present day, is little more than an old Hindi dialect. Bengali, three centuries ago, when began to be written, very closely resembled the Hindi still spoken in Eastern Behar. Oriya is, in many respects, more like Hindi than Bengali.' p. 33. Then he gives a comparison of Skt. and Arabic words in Hindi and mentions the name of Urdu in an ironical way. 'By a curious caprice, Hindi, when it uses Arabic words, is assumed to become a new language, and is called by a new name, Urdu, but when Punjabi and Sindhi do the same they are not so treated.' p. 39. On the question of Panjabi being considered an independent language, he holds that any such claim rests more upon its phonetic system and its stores of words not found in Hindi, than upon any radical affinities in its structure of inflexions. Then he deals with the question of alphabets and scripts.

The Section 29 (pp. 96-108) deals with the extent of the country over which each of these languages is spoken. He gives the linguistic boundary and not only the geographical one. Here he mentions the different dialects of the languages and elaborates his classification of '*Outlines of Indian Philology*'. Regarding Bengali he holds that there are various dialects, but names only four *viz.* the Northern, the Sourthern, the Eastern and the Central, the nomenclature being based on the geographical divisions of the province and not on political or ethnological ones. In Sindhi he mentions only 3 dialects (in place of 4 in his previous book) and the names are also different. In the end he gives an account of the literature of the languages and clearly mentions his fears regarding the imposition of Bengali on Oriya speakers, which may lead to a more harmful result. The problem of linguistic contact does not remain untreated. The later portion of the Volume I deals with phonology of the Aryan languages, mainly on historical points giving Skt. sounds and their development in different languages.

Vol. II (published in 1875) and Vol. III (published in 1879) of the Comparative Grammar deal with declension and conjugation respectively.

Beames continued his research later on also, the results of which were published every now and then in the Journals of Asiatic Society and the volumes of *Indian Antiquary*. Although in his later works

he was mainly concerned with questions of literature and geography, for his '*Outlines of Indian Philology*' and the Volumes of the '*Comparative Grammar*' Beames may be considered as the founder of Modern Indo-Aryan Linguistics.

Trumpp's '*Grammar of Sindhi Language*' is a complete grammar of the language in the sense that it deals in detail with all the grammatical aspects. The introduction deals with the origin of Sindhi from Skt. through Pkts. and is intended for those only, who wish to penetrate more deeply into the origin and nature of Sindhi. Cognate words from different sister languages have been given for the purpose of comparison. According to Trumpp, Sindhi is 'beset with more intricacies and difficulties than any of its Prakrit sisters'. p. 8. Though it has a common origin with its sister tongues, it materially differs from them. Then, Trumpp enumerates the following three dialects of Sindhi, *viz.*,

(1) Lāṛī—the name derived from Lāṛū, the name of Lower Sindh.
(2) Sirāikī—the name derived from Siro—the name of Upper Sindh, and
(3) Tharelī—from Tharu—after the name of the Thar desert.

The essays of Hoernle,[1] as is clear from their title, form the theme, which received an elaborate treatment in his Comparative Grammar. In the introductory essay Hoernle deals with the name Gauṛian, a collective name given by him to all North Indian languages derived from the Skt. Nine languages *viz.*, Oṛiyā, Bengālī, Hindī, Naipāli, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhī, Panjābī (or Gurmukhī) and Kashmirī have been included in Gauṛian. These languages are divided in two groups---the grouping being based on certain 'striking grammatical peculiarities' *viz.*, the use of *-ne* in the agentive case and the adjectival character of genitive. These are possessed by all languages except Oṛiyā and Bengālī and hence they form one group while the rest form the other. Then he deals with Hindī and gives two distinct forms of the language--the High Hindī and the Low Hindī. While mentioning the Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic elements in High Hindī, Hoernle considers the former forming the basis of High Hindī and the latter the basis of Urdu. Low Hindī is again divided into two great classes, of which Brij Bhāshā and Ganwārī are typical representatives, the former occupying the western and the latter the eastern part of Hindi area, the division running parallel to 80° East Longitude. To the western class belong besides Brij Bhasha, the Dialects of Gwalior, Alwar, Jaipur and the Marwar and to the eastern the Ganwārī (of Benares), the Baiswārī of Audh, the Maithili of Tirhut and other dialects (indeed without giving any name). The Ganwārī forms a sort of transition between Bengālī and Hindī. Further Dr. Hoernle deals with the affinity of Gauṛian and totally disagrees with the statement of Dr. Caldwell, who considers Gauṛian languages 'as having a Scythian basis with a large and overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis with a small admixture of a Scythian element'[2]. In the end he gives a prospective view of further enquiries leading to the classification of Gauṛian languages which may affect the classification of the Dravidian languages also. The other essays deal with different aspects of grammar. He classifies the Gauṛian languages in three groups—the classification being based on the mode of declensional forms in each language. The first group has only Marāthī—possessing the most Prakritic and the least Gauṛian element ; the second comprises Hindī, Naipāli, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī—being the pure Gauṛian or the most advanced one—and the third class includes Bengāli and Oṛiyā—being intermediate between the preceding two.

Here it may be mentioned that all the three scholars, Beames, Trumpp and Hoernle have emphasised the importance of Prakrit dialects on the origin of Indo-Aryan languages.

In the first two volumes of *Indian Antiquary* appeared different papers by Beames, Hoernle, Kittel and Growse, all of them dealing mainly with different grammatical problems. Nothing remarkable is to be seen so far as the classification of languages is concerned.

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[1] 5 essays in three series in *JASB*.
(1) Vol. 41, Pt. I, 1872 (pp. 120 to 174)-first three essays. (2) Vol. 42, Pt. I, 1873 (pp. 59 to 108)-4th essay.
(3) Vol. 43, Pt. I, 1874 (pp. 22-67)-5th essay.

[2] *Comp. Grammar*. p. 38.

In the year 1874 George Campbell published his '*Specimens of Languages of India*,' which gives a list of English words (the one published in Vol. 35—1866 of JASB) with their equivalents in different languages of India. He has divided the languages of India in different groups but the grouping is not based on one principle. It is sometimes linguistic and sometimes purely geographical. Among the Aryan languages, he includes Hindi, Bengalee,Mahrattee, Guzeratti, Oorya and Assamese. He includes Punjabi into 'Punjab languages' and marks two varieties of it *viz.*, the Punjabi of Lahore and the Punjabi of Multan, by the latter he means perhaps the Multani dialect of Punjabi. He gives a new class of '*the Languages of Behar*', and includes in it the vernaculars of Patna, Gya, Champarun, West Tirhut and East Tirhut, East Purneah and West Purneah, but gives no name to any of them. He includes Nepalese in Thibetan or Bhootea group.

The same year, appeared two articles in the third volume of *Indian Antiquary*. The first article 'Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency' by John Wilson[1] is an extract from the Bombay Administrative Report for 1872-1873. Here the author deals with names and boundaries of different languages spoken in the Presidency. He gives the names of different tribes and also gives a sketch of their customs. Speaking of Konkani he says that it is kindred to Marathi. But he remarks that the language of the southern district (the name is not given—but perhaps the writer has Southern Konkani in view) differs from Marathi as much as Gujarati differs from Marathi. Regarding Sindhi he says that it has large infusion of Arabic and Persian words in it. He also deals with Gujarati, Kachi and Kanarese.

The Second article 'on the boundaries of the Maratha language' by W. F. Sinclair[2] is a rejoinder to the article of Wilson. It clarifies some controversial points regarding the boundaries of Marathi.

In the year 1876, appeared S. H. Kellogg's '*A Grammar of the Hindi language*' in which are treated the High Hindi, Braj and Eastern Hindi of the Ramayana of Tulsi Das as also the colloquial dialects of Rajputana, Kumaon, Avadh, Riwa, Bhojpur, Magadh, Maithila etc. This grammar describes all the grammatical aspects of the language in full detail. In the fifth chapter of the book which deals with the dialects of Hindi, Kellogg enumerates the following dialects of Hindi spoken in the area bounded by Himalaya mountains in the north, by the Narmada river and Vindhya mountains in the south, by the Panjab, Sindh and Gujerat in the West and by Bengal and Chutia Nagpur in the east and south east.

(1) The dialects of Rajputana—Marwari, Mewari, Mairware, Jaipuri and Haroti,

(2) The Himalayan dialects—Garhwali, Kumaoni and Nepali,

(3) The dialects of the Doab—Braj and Kanauji, and

(4) The Purbi or Eastern dialects — Avadhi, Riwai, Bhojpuri, Magadhi and Maithili, to

which may be added the Old Baiswari of the Ramayana of Tulsi Das. Then Kellogg deals with each dialect separately.

In 1877, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar delivered the first Wilson Philological lectures before the University of Bombay. These lectures were published in series in the *JBBRAS* in 1889 and the following year and finally in book form in 1914.

In 1875 was published Fredrick Drew's '*The Jammoo and Kashmir*' which for the first time presented systematic account of languages and dialects spoken in the Jammoo and Kashmir Territories. Thirteen languages and dialects have been enumerated. The author pointing out the dialectal difference in the languages of the territory, remarks, 'It would be possible, no doubt, to make a greater number of sub-divisions, since the speech is apt to vary in these mountain countries within very short distances, the greater number of subdivisions one makes, the less, of course, will be the difference between most of those named, the

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, August 1874, pp. 221. ff.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. III. p. 250.

differences are very marked indeed". p. 462. In the language map that is appended to the book some dialects have been massed into groups on the basis of mutual comprehensibility. On that principle the thirteen dialects are classed under five different languages. The classification is practical and useful, and the marked geographical boundaries of those groups enable us to ascertain their distribution with accuracy. There is yet another classification indicated by the bracketing on the left hand side of the list.[1]

The following is the list :

Aryan (Southern Division)

- Dōgrī
- Chibhālī
- Rāmbanī
- Bhadarwāhī
- Pādarī
- Dialect of Dodā
- Kishtwārī
- Kashmīrī

They constitute two separate groups. The rest two groups do not come in the range of Indo-Aryan, hence no mention about them here.

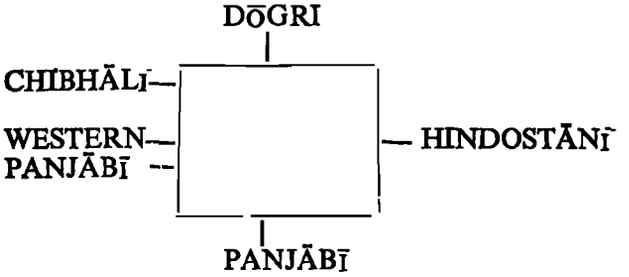
About Dōgrī, Drew remarks that it differs considerably from Hindostānī ; but whether or not in such a degree as would justify us in calling it a distinct language. The relationship of Panjābī to Hindostānī is very similar, while there is a difference between Dōgrī and Panjābī which is not so great as that between either of them and Hindustānī. Many points of this last are common to Dōgrī and Panjābī. Drew further observes that the structure of Dōgrī is such that it is possible to take a Hindustānī grammar and without recasting it, replace the Hindustānī with Dōgrī forms. Appendix B contains words of Dōgrī, recommended by Sir George Campbell (in the JASB Vol. 35, 1866) as well as fitted to try the relationship of various languages.

Dōgrī is spoken by the village people of the outer hills and of the strip of plain at their foot, from the Ravi to a little west of Chinab (eastward of Ravi, the people of the outer hills have a speech closely allied to, if not identical with, our Dōgrī). It is spoken purest by those who have not come much into contact with other races ; especially is to be heard pure and unmixed from the mouths of women, who from their seclusion and little intercourse with strangers, are the most likely to preserve the indigenous speech. Drew notices a mixture of Dōgrī, Panjābī and Hindustani in towns and especially in Jammoo.

Coming to Chibhālī, Drew observes that it differs from Dōgrī by no means so much as Dōgrī does from Hindustānī, but perhaps in the same degree as it does from Panjābī. At the the first sight one should not think that there was any important difference between Dōgrī and Chibhālī, but these two languages, in motion, have a greater amount of difference.

Chibhālī is closely allied to that form of Panjābī which is spoken in west of the Jhelum, in the country, called Pothwar (this latter called Pothwārī by natives).

The following diagram reproduced from the book shows the relationship of these speeches.



The diagram shows Dōgrī and Panjābī equidistant from Hindostānī, and at a less distance from each other than either is from Hindustānī. Chibhālī and Western Panjābī are shown at equal distances respectively from Dōgrī and Panjābī but with a less distance between them than there is between those two.

In 1878 appeared *'A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies'* by R. N. Cust. This work is a compendium of the previous researches done in the field, a fact which author himself admits frankly, 'I claim scarcely a word or a line as my own, my book is essentially a compilation'. Nevertheless, the book has its value since it puts at one place almost all the informations about the languages of East Indies. Following the previous authorities he rejects the terms Turanian as vague, Tamulic or Scythian as incorrect, and non-Aryan as unduly wide. Then he gives the basis of giving names to languages. Sometimes they are based on physical

[1] See *infra* p. 74.

features of the country *e.g.* Pahari, Parbatiya, sometimes on political divisions, *e.g.* Bengali, Gujarati, sometimes on the name of the tribe speaking the language e.g. Dogri, Uriya, Chibhali, Gond etc.. The difficulties in the location of language areas put forward by Sir Erskine Perry have been repeated by Cust but with greater emphasis. He mentions that the Census volumes have given a good help in locating the linguistic areas. Then he deals with the principles of classification and also with different migrations on the Indian soil. He divides the languages of East Indies into 8 families — the division being provisional, based on presumed ethnological affinity.

Cust includes 14 languages in the Indic branch. Kafiri, Dardui, Kashmiri, Brahui and Sinhalese have been included in the group along with other well known languages of Aryan family treated by Beames and Hoernle. The reasons of the inclusion of Brahui into Indic branch, as given by the writer, shall be dealt with Dravidian family.

Further Cust describes the different languages separately, giving in each case the linguistic boundary. It is in this book that we, for the first time, find the numerical strength of the speakers of different languages, perphaps taken from the Census-volumes.

He starts with Punjabi and mentions its following dialects :

(1) Multáni and (2) Uch in extreme south
(3) Jugdwáli (probably akin to Multáni)
(4) Jathki
(5) Pothwari, (6) Chibhali and (7) Dogri.

The last three and the third being new names.

He gives 8 dialects of Sindhi *viz.* Jathki, Sirai, Lari, Vicholi, Thareli, Kacchi, Jadgali and Mendh or Mung dialect, the last two being new names.

Coming to Hindi he observes that Panjabi, Nepali and Gujarati, for many reasons, may be grouped as dialects of Hindi (but he does not give those 'many reasons'). The dialects of Hindi are numerous. In the Appendix he includes 58 dialects[1]. Then follows a discussion about Hindi, Urdu and Dekhani. He gives 10 dialect-fields of Hindi each with several dialects. Then discussing the central position of Hindi he remarks that 'all Aryan dialects must be classed with Hindi, as a kind of common linguistic reservoir'. p. 49.

Mr. Cust deals in detail with the problem of language mixture. He holds that, at the points where two languages meet, it is but natural that a new language may spring up and he gives the name "hybrid" to this type of language. Now, while speaking of these hybrids, Cust observes that the meeting of Hindi with Kolarian, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman families of languages had produced a great many new dialects which may be called "Semi-Kolarian or Semi-Dravidian or Semi-Tibeto-Burman". In Semi-Dravidian group he gives the names of Chentsu, Ramusi, Lambadi, Korwar and Hulahi. Under the Semi-Kolarian dialects he gives the names of more languages of the Bhils in Bombay, Rajpootana and Central India. The names are Nimari, Hulba, Purja or Tugara, Bhuttia of Bastar added by dialects of Bhogtuhs, Kharwars Byga, Binjwar, Punka, Mehra and Katya. He calls the term Larya or Chutesgurhi as conspicuous. Among the Semi-Tibeto-Burman dialects he gives Durahi, Dah, Denwar, Kuswar, Tharu, Bhuksa, Pakhya,. and Gadi.

Regarding Nepali he holds that it may be a 'Hindi dialect'. Among the dialects of Bengali he gives the Dialects of Purneah, Rungpur, Kuch, Sylhet, Rabha, Meeyang and Chittagong. Regarding Assamese, he expresses fear of its being subjugated by the neighbouring Bengali. Coming to Uriya, he rejects the view of Sterling who calls it 'a tolerably pure Bhasha of Bengali.' He is of the view that the dialect on the frontier, where Uriya meets Bengali, is quite different from the one spoken on the frontier of Telugu. Because of being the language of a state where linguistic substratum has been very prominent, it has absorbed a lot of words from other families in it. On the authority of Burnell, he divides what he calls the linguistic expression of Konkani, into three dialects : (1) The Northern, (2) The dialect of the Goa territory and (3) The dialect of a particular class of inhabitants of South Kanara. The second one he calls Goadesi or Gomantaki. He mentions the dialect of Nagpur as a separate one. Speaking of the difference between Marathi and Konkani, he, following Wilson, holds that the difference is as great as that between Gujarati and Marathi. The Desi dialect of Marathi is also mentioned.

He observes Gujarati is itself 'shut in betwixt the Sindhi, Hindi and Marathi and occupies

[1] Given at the end of this Section.

the smallest area of all." p. 60. He gives 3 dialects of Gujarati *viz.* Surati, Kathiawari and Ahmedabadi, the first being a mercantile dialect.

Lastly he deals with Sinhalese, the last of the Aryan tongues and gives three dialects of it *viz.*, Elu—the archaic form of the language used for poetical compositions, the dialect of Veddahs and of Rodiyas. Then there is a passing reference to the language of Maldive islands.

Two years later, Rudolf Hoernle published his '*Comparative Grammar of Gauḍian Languages* with Special references to Eastern Hindi'. Here, Hoernle expands the theme put by him in his essays which appeared 6 to 8 years back, in a more elaborate manner. The original plan of the author was to write a 'grammar of Eastern Hindi accompanied by short notes pointing out its Gauḍian affinities', but it took the shape of a Comparative grammar of the Gauḍian languages. The paragraphs headed 'affinities' and 'derivation' are intended to provide materials for the Comparative study of Gauḍian languages. The manner of the treatment of the subject cannot be described in a better way than in the words of the author himself. 'Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindi, most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' 'Comparative Grammar', but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter'. Preface.

Starting his analysis with the enumeration of the languages of the Skt.-stock—seven in number, the same as in the work of Beames, he discusses the relationship between Eastern and Western Hindi (E.H.+W.H.), which he had already dealt in his essays. He remarks that E. H. and W.H. are as different from each other as Bengali (B.) or Panjabi (P.) are supposed to be from the collective term Hindi. The likeness between E.H. and B. is closer than that between E.H. and W.H.. The same holds good of W.H. and .P.. Hoernle concludes his remark on E. H. and W.H. affinity as, 'In short W.H. and E.H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than dialects as P. H. and B.' On the question of linguistic boundaries Hoernle observes that only centre and not the entire area of a particular language can be fixed with certainty because of the language mixtures on the borders. Then he deals with the boundary of Hindi.

Hoernle considers Garhwali, Kumaoni and Naipali as apparently dialects of one great language for which he gives the collective name the Northern Gauḍian speech. In Sindhi (S.) he recognises the three dialects marked by Trumpp. Speaking of Kacchi, a dialect of Gujarati he observes that though it is a distinct dialect 'its true affiliation whether to Sindhi or Gujarati (G.) appears to be still doubtful'. Besides Konkani and Dakhani, he mentions a third dialect of Marathi, that of Southeast. He endorses the classification of Beames as regards the dialects of Bengali. In Hindi area he distinguishes 8 dialectic varieties. The names are the same as given by him in his essays or Beames in his *Outlines*. The dialects of Hindi are divided into two groups. The first group comprises the western dialects *viz.*, those of Western and Eastern Rajputana, of Braj and Kanauj. The second group comprises the dialects of Benares, Tirhut and Behar. Baiswari the central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation, because it sometimes agrees with E. H. and sometimes with W. H., but in spite of that Hoernle classifies it with W. H.. Then Hoernle treats the Arabic element in Hindi and mentions Urdu with the remark, 'hence Urdu and High Hindi are really the same language as they have an identical grammar and differ merely in vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible'. Further, Hoernle deals with the grammatical points distinguishing E. H. from W.H. and gives parallel forms from P., Oriya (O.),B.,S.. Then, Hoernle draws out two conclusions—the first is the same as already remarked that the E. H. and W.H. should be treated as two distinct languages. The second conclusion, which is more important, is that the Gauḍian languages divide into two large groups, the one extending over the eastern half of Northern India and comprising E.H., B. and O. and the other covering its western half and including W.H., P., G., and S.. He gives them the name of Eastern and Western Gauḍian.

Now coming to the grouping of Marathi (M.) and Naipali (N),Hoernle gives the points in which Marathi and Naipali differ from Eastern and Western Gauḍian. He gives many grammatical points in support of his statement. He concludes that they constitute two separate groups and he gives them the names of Southern and Northern

Gauḍian respectively. Then Hoernle remarks that at a more remote period of the glottic history of India there was one language with dialectal varieties, which were gradually broken up in different languages. These were further divided into two groups — the one comprising the Northern and the Western Gauḍian and the other the Eastern and Southern Gauḍian.

Then follows a detailed account of the Prakritic origin of the Gauḍian languages. Hoernle, quoting various Pkt. grammarians, describes different Apabhraṃśas and deals with various points of agreement and disagreement among these languages. Then Hoernle gives his theory of inner and outer group of Indo-Aryan basing his statement on two great immigrations of the Aryan people in India. Hoernle remarks that the Aryans, although having the same language with two dialectic varieties, came in two different periods. The language of former group forms the basis of Magadhan element and that of the latter group the basis of Sauraseni. The former constitutes Eastern and Southern Gauḍian languages and the latter Northern and Western. Then Hoernle marks the following four periods in the Linguistic History of Indo-Aryan.

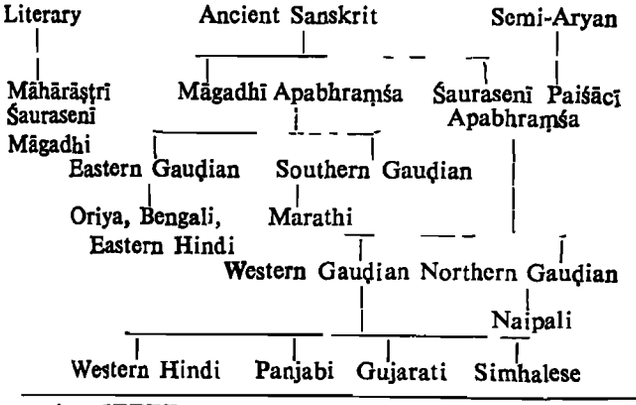
(a) the first—when Magadhan tongue in some form was the only Aryan vernacular in North India.

(b) the second—when the Sauraseni tongue was there beside Magdhan.

(c) the third—when these were broken, each into two speeches, the Western and Northern Gauḍian and the Eastern and Southern Gauḍian.

(d) the fourth—when these four speeches were subdivided into several Gauḍian languages.

Hoernle gives the following table to show the affinity of languages.*



In 1881, J. Gerson Da Cunha's monograph On 'Konkani Language and Literature' was published for the Bombay Gazetteer. In the beginning, the writer defines the geographical limits of the Konkan land, with rough estimate of the speakers of Konkani as one and half million. Then he discusses the origin of the name Konkani giving the names Lingua Cancana or Lingua Canaria erroneously used by the Portuguese for Konkani and Kanarese, often confusing the one for the other. He distinguishes 'Konkani dialect of Marathi' from 'the Konkani proper' and observes, 'A cursury glance at the works written in the Konkani dialect of Marathi and in the Konkani proper, will manifest palpably enough the difference subsisting between the two'. He quotes Murrey Mitchell as remarking, 'The language is neither more nor less than debased Marathi with a considerable admixture of Gujarati and Hindustani'. Commenting on Beames, the same authority (Murrey Mitchell) says 'there is another dialect of Marathi which might almost be reckoned an additional language differing from Marathi nearly as much as Gujarati does, and this is known by the name of Konkani. It extends from Goa to Honavar. Instead of calling Konkani another dialect of Marathi it would perhaps be more to the purpose to designate it a cognate language or one more allied to Marathi'. p. 2-3.

The attention of the Orientalists towards the existence of Konkani as quite distinct from, though cognate with, Marathi and other allied tongues of the Aryan group, was drawn even in the first half of the 19th Century. Elliot, in 1847, wrote, 'A dialect of the Konkani is spoken in all the tract north of Sadashivgad and Marathi is the language of the mountains immediately above it'. p. 3-4. Christian Lassen following the authority of Ellis and Mackenzie, referred to it as a distinct member of the Indo-Aryan family of languages.

Then, Cunha speaks of the criterion to distinguish a language from a dialect, and gives a parallel example, 'An Italian for example can understand all Italian dialects easily enough, whether Genoes, Tuscan or Piamontese, but with considerable difficulty Portuguese or Spanish, the latter being independent languages of the same family or group of tongues'. He further remarks, 'Having applied this test to Konkani it has been observed that a

* p. XXXVI.

Marathi does not understand it as easily as he understands the dialects of Marathi such as Konkani, Nagpuri or Khandeshi in relation to the Deshi or that spoken in and about Puna'. Again, a dialect has not as a rule any subdialects but Konkani has three distinct dialects *viz.* the northern generally known as Kudali spoken in the district of Savantavadi ; the middle Goadesi or Gomantaki spoken in the Goa Territory with considerable variation and the southern or that spoken by the Konkani colony settled in Kanada.

Cunha says that a more scientific method to determine the exact relation of Konkani to Marathi is to record the differences in the ordinary terms of their vocabularies and in their phonetic and morphological changes. Then he comments on some words of ordinary use in Konkani, Sanskrit and Marathi.

Then, Cunha comes to the relation of Konkani to Marathi and remarks, 'It is said that the Marathi language is the nearest to Skt. of all the vernacular languages of India, but as far as ordinary expressions in use are concerned Konkani may perhaps claim to be not only the southern most, but also the more closely allied representative of the North Indian or Aryan family of language. Although, Konkani has many words in common with Marathi and is perhaps more influenced by it from its close proximity, than by any of the neighbouring Dravidian languages of the Coast, still there are words current among the Konkanas, which cannot have been derived from Marathi'. p. 6.

Then he gives a few examples of grammatical forms and a few brief remarks on the origin of the word Konkana and on that of the Konkani languages. He observes, 'Now with regard to the origin of the Konkani language it seems that it is one of the Gauḍian languages of the North Western group imported into the Konkana by a colony of Brahmanas from the north. And notwithstanding the lapse of centuries it is admitted that it still bears stamps of Brahmanical influence.' Then follows the history of the settlement of Konkan and again a remark on the affinity of the Konkani language. Having referred to the tradition concerning the descent of the Konkani Sanavis or Senvis from the Trihotry or Mithila Brahmans of the Gauda division, it would certainly add some support to this statement, if one could trace genealogically the Konkani language from the Maithili. He points out certain identical verbal forms used by Bengali and Konkani. He marks some other analogies in manners, customs and sectarian particularities existing between the Bengali and Konkani Brahmans which may, perhaps, give a support to their common origin and also to the affinity existing between their languages.

Cunha gives here the history of the development of Konkani words and discusses, in detail, the borrowings at irregularly succeeding periods from the Dravidian languages especially Kanarese and Portuguese.

Cunha concludes that the elements entering into the composition are mainly Skt., in a lesser proportion Dravidian, closely allied to Tulu and Kanarese, Persian and lastly Portuguese. He surmises the findings of his discussion by calling Konkani a distinct language, cognate with Marathi with a predominance of Sanskrit words and a faint Dravidian element.

After 1881, some articles on languages appeared in different journals but they were mainly concerned with grammatical points. Nothing remarkable regarding the classification could come out. Sir George Grierson had also come in picture and he had contributed some articles on Indo-Aryan languages in different journals, especially the Journal of Asiatic Society.

It may thus be seen that by the time the plan of a Linguistic Survey of India was proposed by George Bühler before the Vienna Congress in 1886, the study of Indo-Aryan languages had reached the following stage.

A. The following languages and dialects had come to the picture.

	DIALECTS
(1) PUNJABI . .	(1) Multáni or Uch (2) Jugdwáli (3) Jathki (4) Pothwári (5) Chibháli (6) Dogri (7) The Dialect of Gudees of Chamba

	(8) The Dialect of Kooloo or Kooloohi	
	(9) The Puhári of Kangra Districts.	
(2) SINDHI . .	(1) Jathki	
	(2) Sirai	
	(3) Lári	
	(4) Vicholi	
	(5) Tharéli	
	(6) Kachhi	
	(7) Jadgáli	
	(8) Mendh or Mung Dialect.	
(3) HINDI . .	(1) Hindustáni or Urdu	
	(2) Dekhani	
	(3) Hinduri	
	(4) Gurhwáli	
	(5) Kumáoni	
	(6) Bhatti	
	(7) Bagri	
	(8) Braj or Bruj	
	(9) Kosali or Awadhi	
	(10) Baiswári	
	(11) Kanoji or Kanauji	
	(12) Rangri or Rangri Bhasha	
	(13) Alwári	
	(14) Jypuri or Jeypuri	
	(15) Bikaniri	
	(16) Marwari	
	(17) Harouti	
	(18) Udaipuri/Udipuri	
	(19) Ujáyini	
	(20) Bundéli	
	(21) Baghéli or Bhagéli	
	(22) Ganwari (grāmavārī of Hoernle)	
	(23) Bhojpuri	
	(24) The Dialect of Patna	
	(25) The Dialect of Gya	
	(26) Maithili	
	(27) Mágadhi	
	(28) The Dialect of West Purnea	
	(29) Chentsu	SEMI-DRAVIDIAN
	(30) Ramusi	SEMI-DRAVIDIAN
	(31) Lambádi	SEMI-DRAVIDIAN
	(32) Koráwur	SEMI-DRAVIDIAN
	(33) Hulábi	SEMI-DRAVIDIAN
	(34) Bhil	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(35) Chutesgarhi or Larya	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(36) Nimári	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(37) Hulba	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(38) Purja or Tugara/Tagara	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(39) Bhuttia of Bastar	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(40) Bhogtuh	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(41) Kharwar	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(42) Byga	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(43) Binjwar	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(44) Punka	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(45) Mehra	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(46) Katya	SEMI-KOLARIAN
	(47) Durahi/Darahi	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(48) Dah	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(49) Denwar	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(50) Kuswar	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(51) Tharu	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(52) Bhuksa	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(53) Pakhya or Pakkya	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(54) Gadi	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
	(55) Riwai.	SEMI-TIBETO-BURMAN
(4) NEPALI . .	Palpa.	
(5) BENGALI . .	(1) Standard dialect	
	(2) Northern dialect	
	(3) Southern dialect	
	(4) East Purneah dialect	
	(5) The Dialect of Rangpur	
	(6) The Dialect of Kuch or Cooch	
	(7) The Sylhet dialect	
	(8) Rabha dialect	
	(9) Meeyang dialect	
	(10) The Dialect of Chittagong	
	(11) Mahomedan dialect —of Mahomedans in the Province of Bengal.	
(6) URIYA . . .	(1) Northern dialect	
	(2) Southern dialect	
	(3) Western dialect	
	(4) Goomsur	
	(5) Kalahundi dialect	
(7) MARATHI . .	(1) The dialect of Wild Hill Tribes	
	(2) Desi	
	(3) Dakhini	
	(4) Nagpuri	
	(5) Konkani	
	(6) Goadesi or Gomantaki*	
	(7) Dialect of the Roman Catholic Community of Mangalore in Madras.*	

*Burnell, A.C., in '*South Indian dialects*' has included these as subdialects of Konkani and so has D. Cunha, who considers it as an independent language.

(8) GUJARATI or GUJRATI . .	(1) Surati (2) Kathiawari (3) Ahmedabadi (4) Dialect of the Mercantile Caste in Bombay (5) Dialect of Bhils of West Satpura Range (6) Pauriya,
(9) SINHALESS or SINGHALESE .	(1) Elu (2) Dialect of Veddah (3) Dialect of Rodiya (4) Dialect of Maldive
(10) ASSAMESE or ASAMESE.	

B. By 1886, the following persons, along with others,* had made notable and outstanding contributions in the field of the study of the Indo-Aryan languages as regards their classification and the linguistic theories connected with them.

(1) Carey, William	1801—1820
(2) Leech, Robert	1838—1844
(3) Perry, Sir Erskine	1853
(4) Beames, John	1866—1895
(5) Kellogg	1876—1892
(6) Trumpp, Ernest	1860—1874
(7) Hoernle, Rudolf	1872—1886
(8) Bhandarkar, R. G.	1877
(9) Cust, R. N.	1878
(10) Grierson, G. A.	(a few articles)

Grierson had written the following books and papers by the time the Linguistic Survey was proposed.

(1) Notes on the Rangpur Dialect (*JASB.* XLVI Pt. 2, 1877, pp. 186-226).

(2) On the Rangpuri Genitive (Proceedings ASB, 1878, p. 64).

(3) A Handbook of Kayathi Character, Calcutta, 1881.

(4) An Introduction to the Maithili language of North Behar (*JASB* XLIX and LI Pt. I Special Nos. 1881-82).

(5) Hindi and the Bihari dialects (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. LXXIII, 1881, pp. 363-379).

(6) Seven Grammars of the dialects and sub-dialects of the Bihari language—8 parts (Calcutta 1883-1887).

(7) Essays on Bihari Declension and Conjugation (*JASB.* LII, Pt. I, 1884, pp. 119 ff.,).

(8) A comparative Vocabulary of the Bihari Languages, compiled in collaboration with R. Hoernle, 1885.

(9) Selected Specimens of the Bihari Language—edited and translated (*ZDMG.* XXXIX, pp. 617-673, Pt. I, The Mithila Dialect ; XLIII. pp. 468-524, Pt. II. The Bhojpuri Dialect).

C. Although the study of Indo-Aryan languages had attracted a host of scholars and a good deal of work was also done in the field, there still remained various problems awaiting further researches for their solution.

The questions of linguistic boundaries and language mixtures have always been points of dispute. The areas where languages of different families meet, or where the languages of the same families meet or the dialects of the same language meet, were and are still of great interest. It is but natural that a hybrid language or dialect,as the case may be, is apt to arise there. But a thorough analysis had not been made regarding their proper classification. The dialects of Hindi denominated under Semi-Dravidian, Semi-Kolarian or Semi-Tibeto-Burman were still to be studied in detail. The names of these dialects had been taken from tribe-names but nothing notable had been done as regards their grammatical structure and general characteristics, which distinguish them from their neighbouring sisters.

The classification of Konkani remained doubtful. It had not yet been ascertained whether it should be treated as a dialect of Marathi or as an independent language and if treated as an independent language to which language or dialect—Marathi or Maithili, the latter suggested by G.D. Cunha—should it be more closely allied.

Some dialects were treated as belonging to two languages *e.g.* Jathki (Sindhi and Punjabi), Ramusi (Hindi and Telugu), Gumsur (Uriya and Khond).

Some names *e.g.* dialects of Patna and Gaya are misnomers.

*A detailed list of works on Indo-Aryan languages is given with general bibliography.

The term Hindi had been so wide as to include even those dialects which were later on treated as dialects of other languages e.g. Kumaoni and Gurhwali.

II. Dardic Branch (Group)

By providing a separate sub-head of 'Dardic Branch' for describing the history of studies on Dardic languages of the north-western frontiers of India, it is not the intention of the present writer to indicate that he subscribes to the view of Grierson who, in his Linguistic Survey of India works, had established the Dardic Branch of languages as a separate branch from the Indo-Aryan Branch of the Aryan sub-family. Although earlier in 1866 Dr. Leitner in his studies had already recognized the Dardic languages as distinct from the Indo-Aryan, it was Grierson, who, by the time of his completion of the great survey, provided this particular group of languages with the status of an independent branch. However, on the basis of Georg Morgenstierne's great exploration and studies of the languages of the north-west frontiers of India as also on the basis of subsequent studies by others, the Dardic languages are now generally recognized as belonging to the Indo-Aryan Branch.

In 1834, Munshi Mohan Lal contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a paper 'Further information regarding the Siah Posh tribe or reputed descendants of the Macedonians (*JASB* Vol. III. p. 76ff.). Speaking of their language, he remarks that it 'is mixed with that of Hindustani, Persian and Afghani'. Though the author gives no name to the language, yet he seems to refer to Kafiri only.

Four years later started appearing in the different numbers of the *JASB*, the series of grammars and vocabularies of different Indian languages written and compiled by Robert Leech. In the September Issue of the Journal were published the Vocabularies of Laghmani, Cashgari, Tirahi (also spelt Teerahi) and Moghal Aimko.[1] Although Leech did not say anything about the affiliation of these languages, his vocabularies continued to be the only authoritative reference on these languages, until Grierson's volumes of Linguistic Survey were published.

In 1844, Robert Leech contributed to the Journal 'A Grammar of the Cashmere Language' (*JASB* Vol. 13, Pt. I, pp. 397 ff.) . About the origin of the language, Leech remarks that it is without doubt of Sanskrit origin but has been considerably corrupted by the number of Persian words grafted on it by the Mahommedan conquerors of the province. It differs slightly in almost every Pergunnah (the writer points the dialectic differences of the language). The dialect spoken at Kishtewar is, as might be expected, a mixture of Cashmere and Punjabee. Then follows a grammar of the language which is continued on p. 553 ff. also. Then there is a vocabulary of nouns.

For the next ten years no further work on these languages appears to have been done. Sir Erskine Perry in his paper 'On the Geographical Distribution of the principal languages of India & C' (*JBBRAS*. vol. IV, Art. I, pp. 289 ff.) mentions Kashmiri and classes it with the northern group in which he includes languages of the intruding Aryans or Sanskritoid. In the same number of the Journal, Dr. Stevenson gives a notice of the language while dealing with the Non-Aryan vocables in Aryan vernaculars. But beyond these mere notices we do not come across any references about the affiliation of the language.

After about a decade appeared in the *JASB* a paper 'On the language of the Siáh Posh Káfirs, with a short list of words, to which are added specimens of the Kohistáni and other dialects spoken on the northern borders of the Afghanistan &C' by Capt. H.G. Raverty (*JASB* Vol. 33, 1864, pp. 267 ff.). Here Kohistani is referred to along with Pashai, Barakai, Kash Kari or Chitrali and Beluchki languages. Mainly there are notes on vocables but discussions on affinities of languages are almost ignored. The paper ends with a comparative vocabulary of Siah-Posh, Kohistani, Pashai, Barakai, Beluchki and Kash Kari.

In the year 1866, Capt. Godwin Austin submitted to the *JASB* 'A Vocabulary of Balti and Kashmiri' (JASB. Vol. 35, Pt. I, pp. 233 ff. and 267 ff.) Besides vocables the paper also contains phrases and dialogues.

[1] *JASB*, Vol. 7, Pt, II. pp. 780-787.

The same year, in a special number of the journal appeared 'Vocabulary and Grammatical forms of Kashmiree', by L. Bowring (*JASB* Vol. 35, Spl. No. App. D.). Here he remarks that 'Kashmiri is certainly allied to the Indian languages rather than to the Persian'.

In the appendix C of the number, we find vocables of Kashmiri along with those of Sanskrit, Persian etc.

In the same year was published 'Results of Tour in Dardistan, Kashmir, Little Tibet, Ladak, Zanskar in 1866' by G.W. Leitner. It contains the vocabulary (Linguistic, Geographical and Ethnographical) and dialogues in the Astori, Ghilghiti and Chilasi dialects of Shina, with occasional notes. It also contains appendices containing dialogues in Arniya, Khajuna and Kalashai, illustrative of forms in the Comparative Grammar of the Dard Languages. Here we find for the first time a comprehensive picture of the languages spoken in and around 'Dardistan', the name given to the country by Leitner. These papers presented the theme of Dr. Leitner's later famous work *'Dardistan'* published in 1889.

John Beames has included Kashmiri in the Indic class of the Indo-European family in his *'Outlines of Indian Philology'*.

In his *'The Jammoo and Kashmir'* Frederic Drew has attempted, as has already been discussed earlier, to present a complete picture of Jammoo and Kashmir, the land, the people and the language etc. A separatate chapter is devoted to languages (Chapter. 21, pp. 462ff.). Thirteen languages and dialects have been enumerated. Drew observes that these are not all the languages and dialects spoken in Jammoo and Kashmir. He refers to the numerous dialects and sub-dialects of Kashmir, but he does not give any name to them. The basis of his classification is on 'marked geographical boundaries'. In other division he marks four groups *viz.*

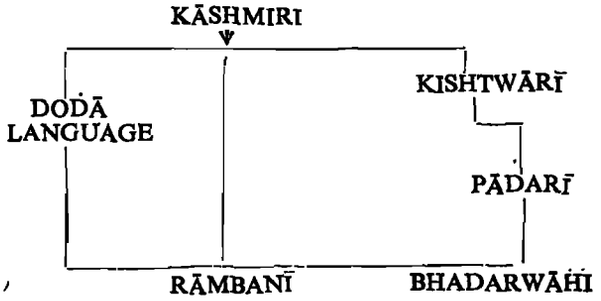
(1) Comprising of . (a) Dogrī and
(b) Chibhālī

(2) Comprising of . (a) Rāmbanī[1]
(b) Bhadarwāhī
(c) Pādarī
(d) Dialect of Dodā
(e) Kishtwārī and
(f) Kashmīrī

(3) The group comprising of . . . (a) Dialect of Dah
(b) Dialect of Astor
(c) Gurez or Dras and
(d) Dialect of Gilgit.

This last group he names as Dard group. The fourth group belongs to Turanian and comprises of the languages of Baltistan, Ladakhi and Champas.

Mr. Drew gives a diagram illustrating the relationship of the languages of the 2nd group which form the proper Dardic branch. The diagram is reproduced here, in a more or less rough form, the exact scale as given by Drew has not been followed.



About Kashmiri he remarks that it is of great interest for its elaborate inflexions and for the relation, both in vocabulary and grammar, which it bears to the Sanskrit.

Kashmiri is never heard in the Jammu Darbar... Kashmiri is a language not easily acquired. Attempt on establishing the affinities of this language can only be made if the language is perfectly or at least clearly mastered.

Drew describes the linguistic affinities of the languages of Jammoo and Kashmir as following: "Kashmiri has hitherto been spoken of as a language quite by itself, unlike any other spoken tongue and not allied, except in the distant way in which all the Aryan tongues of India are allied to one another, with any neighbouring speech. But in the middle Mountain region are found several dialects (classed under Pahari) allied in different degrees to Kashmiri, having, in these differing degrees, those characteristics by which Kashmiri is so easily recognised.

[1] Languages from a to e of group 2, Drew includes in 'Pahari dialects'.

These intermediate dialects are Rāmbanī, Bhadarwāhī, Pādarī, the language of Dodā and Kishtwārī. There is a gradual passage to be traced from Dogrī through those Pahāri dialects to Kashmīrī. Rāmbanī may be taken as the halfway stage between Dogrī and Kashmīrī, while Bhadarwāhī, Pādarī, the Dodā language and Kishtwārī show marked advances from that stage towards Kashmīrī".

"Rāmbani is equidistant from Kashmīrī and Dogrī and is not to be understood either by a Dogra or by a native of Kashmir who has had no experience of any other Pahāri dialect. Those dialects, as of Dodā or Kishtwār which are between Rāmbanī and Kashmīrī may be understood by a Kashmīrī and possibly also by a native of Ramban. The group of the five dialects above are more closely allied together".

Of Dard-Dialects he speaks that the Astori dialect includes or coincides with the speech of Dras and of Gurez.

In the Appendix B, at the end of the book, comparative vocabularies of Rāmbanī, Bhadarwāhī Pādarī and Kishtwārī as also of Kashmīrī are given.

There is a language map illustrating Tibetan, Dard, Kashmīrī, Pahāri and Chibali as well as Dogrī, all shown with different colours.

In 1876 was published in the extra--Number of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the 'Detailed Report of Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir &c.'[1] by Sir George Bühler. After having given a detailed description of the MSS purchased by the Govt., Bühler gives a passing reference to the current languages of Kashmir also. He observes that Kashmiri is one of the languages descended from Skt. or rather from one of the dialects of which the classical Skt. was formed. It differs, however, very considerably from all its Indian sister tongues. Nearest to it comes Sindhi but the differences between Sindhi and Kashmirī are greater than those between Sindhi and Gujarati or Hindi.

The same year R. B. Shaw published his paper 'On the Ghalchah language (Wakhi and Sarikoli)' in the *JASB* (Vol. 45, pt. I. pp. 139ff.). Shaw has compared here the Galchah and Dardu dialects (Dardu being represented by Arniya). He calls them to be cousins if not sisters and remarks that this more distant relationship seems to be typified in their speech. The declensional and conjugational resemblances of Galchah and Dardu are marked as also the likeness in the vocables. Half of the verbal inflexion is almost the same in the two languages. He then remarks that the radical similarity between the Galchah and Dardu proves that the present connection is not a result of an accidental contact of two races from opposite quarters. He further remarks that if Galchah and Dardu were offshoots, detached respectively from the Persic and Indic races, at a period when the languages of the two races had aleady assumed their present distinct types, they could scarcely, in isolated valleys, severed from one another by snowy ranges, have worked back their dialects in the direction of primitive unity. In the end, Shaw speaks of Indian and Persian tongues, and observes, 'as the forefathers of the Indian and Persian races remained longest together of all the Indo-European tribes and their languages show consequently the closest mutual affinities of all the great divisions of the Aryan family; so also among the minor tribes of those two sister races, the Galchahs and Dards appear to have remained together longer than the rest of their kindred and their dialects consequently show greater coincidences than any other two which can be picked from both sides of the border between Indian and Persian speech'. Then follows a grammar of the language appended by a comparative table showing the connection of the Galchah languages with Dardu, Indian and Persian tongues.

In 1878, Shaw contributed another paper to the Journal of the society entitled 'Stray Arians in Tibet' (JASB, Vol. 47 Pt., I, p. 26ff.). In this, Shaw has given a description of the Brok-Pa or the high-landers tribe belonging to the Dard race. After giving a notice of the *Ruzmet* and *Rushen*. i.e. the highborn and lowborn classes of the tribe, Shaw discusses the question of Dardic advent to the land.

The subgroups of Hanu, Dah and Garkhon have also been mentioned. Shaw gives a casual notice of Astori and remarks 'to carry the linguistic

[1]. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII Extra No. pp. 1ff.

inquiry a little further back, a comparison with Dr. Leitner's account of the Astor form of the Dard language will show that the speech of the Dras Brok-Pas is almost identical with that of the Astor or Hazora who are one of the chief branches of the Dard race in Dardistan, only divided by the river Indus from Gilgit'. Then some grammatical forms of the Dard dialects spoken by the Brok-pas of Dah Hanu and Dras are discussed. There is a separate complete grammar of Dras but in case of Dah Hanu only the sounds are discusssed. The paper ends with a comparative table of a few words of the above dialects.

In *'A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies'*, Cust has not dealt with the Dardic speeches separately. He classes three of them *viz.* Kafiri, Dardui and Kashmiri, with Indic family. About Kafiri Cust remarks that it is the language of the Siah Posh Musalmans. He quotes Trumpp for marking an affinity between the Kohistani and Kafiri.

Dardui, according to Cust, is affected by the neighbours and in most parts people are bilingual e.g. Dardus of Palas and Koli. Cust includes Khajuna (a language unclassified by that time as also still today) in this language. He enumerates the following Aryan dialects of Dardui.

(1) Gurezi
(2) Astori
(3) Gilgiti
(4) Durel
(5) Koli
(6) Palas
(7) Chilas

Coming to Kashmiri he remarks that it is perfectly unintelligible 'to strangers'. It embraces Jammoo and Pahari race. Five other dialects viz. Rambani, Bhadrawahi, Padari, Doda and Kishtwari are grouped as dialects of Kashmiri. On the authority of Prof. Bühler, he marks 3 varieties of Kashmiri viz. (1) the Kashmiri, with a large number of Sanskrit words, used by Pundits, (2) the Persianized form used generally by the Mohammedans, and (3) the third, the Kashmiri used by womenfolk, which, according to Cust, is the purest form of the language.

In 1884, appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society a paper 'Dialects of tribes of the Hindukush', by Col. Biddulph (*JRAS* Vol. 16, Art VI, pp. 74ff.). An extract from Buddulph's work, this paper presents the grammar and vocabulary of Khajuna or Boorishki language. The paper is continued in the next volume of the journal (Vol. 17 p. 89ff.), Here we find a sketch of the grammar of the Shina languages as spoken in the Gilgit district. A vocabulary also follows. Biddulph gives a note on Khowar, the language spoken by the Kho tribe in the Chitral valley. A grammar and vocabulary of the language are also appended.

As pointed out earlier the history of studies on the Dardic languages which are spread along almost inaccessible regions of the Indian Frontiers for obvious reasons does not present much by way of detailed and for that matter theoratically worthwhile studies to reckon. Even so, considering the special nature of the problems of studies of the area the work of the pioneers in the field can in no way be underestimated. All these works and studies as have been recounted here found their suitable use made by Grierson who through his detailed disquisitions through the pages of the Linguistic Survey established the Dardic group of Languages as a separate Branch. It would be relevant, therefore to make a rapid recapitulation of the languages and the authors responsible for either their suitable studies on the languages or for their giving notice to some of these languages during the periods preceding the famous year of 1886 by which ideas of Linguistic Scholars on Linguistic Survey of India were crystallised. Considering the special nature of the problems of studies of the areas the works of the pioneers in the field can, in no way be underestimated.

A. It is found that the following languages and dialects had been recognised.

(1) KASHMIRI . .	(a) Rāmbanī (b) Bhadarwāhī/Bhadrawāhī (c) Pādarī (d) Dodī (e) Kishtwārī/Kishtewārī
(2) DARDUI or SHINA	(a) Gurezi (b) Astori (c) Ghilghiti/Gilgiti (d) Arniya (e) The Dialect of Dras (f) Brokpā of Dah Hanu (g) Durel (h) The Dialect of Palas (i) Chilasi (j) Khowar, or the Dialect of Chitral

(3) LAGHMĀNI
(4) PASHĀI
(5) KALSHĀI
(6) KASHKARI/CASH-GARI
(7) TEERAHI/TIRAHI
(8) DEER DIALECTS
(9) KOHISTĀNI
(10) KĀFIRI or THE LANGUAGE OF SIAHPOSH

B. The following persons had made notable contributions to the Dardic Studies.

1. Leech, Robert	1838—1844
2. Leitner, Dr. G.W. . . .	1866—1889
3. Drew, F.	1875
4. Shaw, R. B.	1876—1878
5. Cust, R. N.	1878
6. Biddulph, Col.	1880

(ii) Dravidian Family

Although some grammars and dictionaries of the languages of Southern India were written in the 18th Century and the Europeans (mainly the tradesmen) had started the study of these languages for practical purposes, nothing remarkable was done for the linguistic analysis, in the strict sense of the term, of these languages before the second decade of the 19th Century. In the beginning, the European scholars were inclined to suppose that the southern languages as well as the northern ones, were derived from Sanskrit (Skt), the divine tongue. Carey, Wilkins and Colebrooke were of this opinion. Colebrooke in his article 'On Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages' published in *Asiatick Researches* (Vol. V, 1801, Art. VII, pp. 199 ff.) supports the two fold classification of the Indian languages by the Pandits into Panca Gaura and Panca Dravira. He includes Tamil (Tamulic or Tamulian), Mahratta, Canara, Telingah (Tilanga) and Guzarati in the latter class. William Carey, although he has included Telinga and Kurnata in his list, has not mentioned the name Dravidian in his Report on the position of Indian vernaculars, published in 1816.

Mr. Campbell (*Telugu or Telinga grammar*, 1820) was the first scholar to contradict the affiliation of Dravidian tongues to the Aryan ones. He pointed out the mode in which a large number of words from the sacred language of the Brahmans were imported in all the southern tongues, giving the latter the appearance of a derivation from Skt. It would be interesting to reproduce from the note to the Introduction of his '*Grammar of The Teloogoo Language*' the arguments of Campbell in support of his stand regarding Dravidian Languages as against the prevailing mistaken notions. In his note Campbell has recorded, "In support of what I have ventured to advance, in the preceding introduction, on the subject of the structure and derivation of the Teloogoo language, it is peculiarly gratifying to me to be allowed to quote the high authority of my friend Mr. Francis W. Ellis, at the head of the Board of Superintendence for the College of Fort St. George, as contained in the following observations with which he has favoured me. The knowledge which this Gentleman possesses of the various spoken dialects of the Peninsula, added to his acquirements as a Sanscrit Scholar, peculiarly qualify him to pronounce a judgment on this subject.

The real affiliation of the Telugu language appears not to have been known to any writer, by whom the subject has been noticed. Dr. Carey in the preface to his Sanscrit Grammar says—"The Hindoostanee and the Tamil, with the languages of Gujarat and Malayala, are evidently derived from the Sanscrit, but the two former are greatly mixed with foreign words. The Bengalee, Orissa, Maratta, Kurnata, and Telinga languages, are almost wholly composed of Sanscrit words". In the preface to a Grammar of the Telugu lately published by him he, also, says—"The languages of India are principally derived from the Sanscrit &c. The structure of the most of the languages in the middle and north of India, is generally the same, the chief difference in them lies in the termination of the nouns and verbs, and in those deviations from Sanscrit orthography which custom has gradually established in the countries where they are spoken. The languages of the south of India, i. e. The Telinga, Karnatic, Tamil, Malayala, and Cingalese, while they have the same origin with that of the north differ greatly from them in other respects, and especially in having a large proportion of words, the origin of which is unascertained". To this testimony Dr. Wilkins adds the weight of his authority, when he says in his preface to his grammar of the Sanscrit—"the Tamil, the Telugu, the Carnatic, the Malabar, together with that" (the idiom) "of the Marratta states and of Gujarat so abound with Sanscrit, that scarcely a sentence can be expressed in either of them without its assistance". Mr. Colebrooke, also in his dissertation on the Sanscrit and Pracrit languages in the 7th Vol. of the Asiatick Researches, though he has not given so decided an opinion, yet, by including these under the general term Pracrit, appropriate only to dialects of Sanscrit derivation and construction, by the tendency of his remarks appears to favour the received notion of their origin; he states indeed in express terms that the Tamil (which word he writes Támla, deducing it from Támraparṇa the Sanscrit name of the river of Tirunelvéli) is written in a character which is greatly corrupted from the present Devanagari, and that both the Carnata and Telingana characters are from the same source. In arrangement the two latter, which are nearly the same, certainly follow the Nagari, but in the form of the letters, mode of combination, and other particulars, there is no resemblance; and the *Tamil is totally different*, rejecting all aspirates, and having many sounds which cannot be expressed by any alphabet in which the Sanscrit is written.

It is the intent of the following observations to shew that the statements contained in the preceding quotations are not correct; that neither the Tamil, the Telugu, nor any of their cognate dialects are derivations from the Sanscrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and that they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanscrit has, in latter times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connection.

The members, constituting the family of languages, which may be appropriately called the dialects of Southern India are the high and low Tamil, the Telugu, grammatical and vulgar; Carnátaca or Cannadi, ancient and modern; Malayálam, or Malayálam, which, after Paulinus a St. Bartholomæo may be divided into Sanscrit (Grandonico-Malabarica) and common Malayálam, though the former differs from the latter only in introducing Sanscrit terms and forms in unrestrained profusion, and the Tuluva, the native speech of that part of the country to which in our maps the name of Canara is confined.

Besides these, there are a few other local dialects of the same derivation, such as the Codugu, a variation of the Tuluva spoken in the district of that name called by us Coorg; the Cingalese, Mahárashtra and the Oddiya, also, though not of the same stock, borrow many of their words and idioms from these tongues. A certain intercommunication of language may indeed, always be expected from neighbouring nations, however dissimilar in origin, but it is extraordinary that the uncivilized races of the north India should in this respect bear any resemblance to the Hindus of the South, it is nevertheless, the fact that, if not of the same radical derivation, the language of the mountaineers of Rajmahal abounds in terms common to the Tamil and Telugu. The Telugu, to which attention is here more specially directed, is formed from its own roots, which in general have no connection with the Sanscrit, nor with those of any other language, the cognate dialects of Southern India, the Tamil, Cannadi &c. excepted, with which allowing for the occasional variation of consimilar sounds, they generally agree; the actual difference in the three dialects here mentioned is in fact to be found only in the affixes used in the formation of words from the roots; the roots themselves are not similar merely, but the same."[1]

Further in the Introduction at p. XVI. Campbell concludes,

"I submit that he (Dr. Carey-quotation the same as given above in Ellis's notes) has given an erroneous view of the structure and derivation of the Teloogoo. In common with every other tongue now spoken in India, modern Teloogoo abounds with Sanscrit words, perhaps it has a greater proportion of them than any of the other southern dialects nevertheless there is a reason to believe that the origin of the two languages is altogether distinct".

The same year was published John Mackerrell's *'Grammar of the Carnataca Language'*. He calls Carnataka as the universal language of the dominion of Late Tipoo Sultan. He refers to Telugu, Tamil and Carnataca as the principal languages of the southern India.

Mr. Ellis carried the investigations further and showed that the chief languages of the peninsula viz. (1) Karnataca, (2) Telugu, (3) Malayalam, (4) Tulu, and (5) Tamil belong to one family, the last named being the most cultivated (Preface to Rottler's Tamil Dictionary, 1834). Rev. W. Taylor suggests that the Tamil and Skt. languages belong to essentially distinct stocks. He further thinks that there was originally one simple homogenous dialect spoken by the rude aborigines from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin of which the Tamil is the cultivated representative (Vide, *Ibid,* Introduction).

In the year 1838, Lieut. Robert Leech contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vo. VII, Pt. I, pp. 538 ff.) the 'Epitome of the Grammars of the Brahuiky, the Balochky, and the Panjabi languages' with vocabularies of various other languages spoken in the North West Frontiers. He mentions Brahuiky as spoken through out the Khanship of Kelat. A vocabulary of the language containing ordinary general words and phrases is given by Leech in the same volume of the Journal (pp. 608-620). This skeleton grammar and the brief vocabulary provided ground for further studies and classification of Brahui.

In 1847, Mr. O. Manger contributed to the JASB (Vol. XVI, Pt. I, pp. 286 ff.) his paper 'Specimen of the Language of the Goonds as spoken in the District Seonee, Chuparah, comprising a vocabulary and Grammar & c'. The author presents in this article English words with their Gondi equivalents, with notes on gender, declension etc., But there is nothing notable as regards the classification of the language.

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[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 1–3.

In the year 1849 appeared in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*JBBRAS* Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.) a paper 'Remarks on the origin and languages of the Aborigines of Nilgiris suggested by the papers of Captain Congreve and the Rev. W. Taylor on the supposed Celto-Scythic Antiquities in the South India (published in the 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science Nos. 32-33; 1847)' by the Rev. B. Schmid, with a note by Rev. Dr. Wilson, the Honorary President of the Society. Here Mr. Schmid, agreeing with Mr. Taylor, holds that 'the Todavars had the same Buddhistic ancestors as the Tamulians'. As regards the language of the Todavars, Schmid, basing his study on the analysis of 500 words—besides many phrases explanatory of grammar and construction, observes that 'the Todavar Language is a genuine but very rude dialect of the ancient Tamil, the words of which are in many cases so greatly changed, but changed according to rules, that only a deeper study enabled me to recognise the identity of both languages, and the comparison of these Todavar words with the Budagher and Canarese words shows to evidence that the Tamil, Todavar, Budaghar and Canarese languages are links of closely connected and unbroken chain of dialect of one original language, and that the Todavar dialect is by far more closely connected with the Tamil than with the Canarese'. Following Dr. Ruckert, Professor of the Oriental Languages, in the University of Berlin, he holds that 'the Tamul language has a remarkable analogy with the Tartar dialects'. Referring to a paper of his, which was read to the Ethnological Society of London 1848, concerning the Tamulians and Todavars and the cognate tribes of India, he observes 'that the original inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras had immigrated into India from the Himalaya and were pushed forward to the farthest by the other mountain tribes speaking Sanscrit and Hindi dialects and immigrating at a later period'. Dr. Wilson in his note agrees with the author on the point of affinities of the language with Tartars and refers to Prof. Westergaard as expressing the same view in 1842.

The same volume of the Journal contains Rev. Dr. Stevenson's article 'Observations on the Grammatical Structure of the Vernacular Languages of India' (in three parts, 1st, Vol. III, Pt. I, No. XII. Art VII pp. 71-76; 2nd. Pt. II No. XIII Art I pp.1-7; and 3rd. Pt. II No. XIV Art III pp. 196-202). Dr. Stevenson remarks that in India we have a number of languages and dialects more or less allied to one another, mostly composed of two great elements. To the north of the river Krishna, generally speaking, one of these elements prevails, and to the south of that river the other is the predominating principle. The languages of the south, which comprise what he calls the Southern family of languages, have a strong family resemblance but the prevailing ingradient in their structure is not Sanskrit. A large number of words have been imported in the Southern family from Skt for expression of ideas connected with religion, law, the sciences and the arts of civilized life. A greater or less proportion of Arabic and Persian words has been introduced in these languages by the Muhammedan rule. The second part dealing with certain grammatical features contains casual references to Tamil and the third part has nothing remarkable as for the Dravidian tongues.

The article of Dr. Stevenson is continued in the Fourth Volume of the same Journal (1853. No. XV, Art II, pp. 15-20). Here he discusses the forms for the first and second person pronouns in Indian vernaculars. He holds that the pronouns of the Southern family are more allied to the Turanian family than to the Skt. The southern family, so far as pronouns are concerned, is allied to the languages of Arabia and Syria on the one hand and on the other hand to the Chinese family. Making the *'ni'* form of Tamil 2nd person, the nucleus of comparison, Dr. Stevenson includes the following languages in one group (having cognate forms), Tamil, Malayalim, Telugu, Canarese, Kurgi, Todava, Uraon, Rajamahali, Gondi and Tuluva. His discussion is based mainly on very obvious phonetic similarities among the words in different languages. He mentions the names of some languages of the Tibeto-Burman family but without any remark on their kinship.

The same volume contains another paper of Dr. Stevenson 'A Comparative Vocabulary of the Non-Sanscrit Vocables of the Vernacular Languages of India (in two parts; 1st. No. XV, Art. V, pp. 117 to 131; 2nd. No. XVII, Art. II, pp. 319-339). Firstly, he gives some words, which are corruptions of Skt. in different vernaculars. Then Dr. Stevenson gives a good many words of non-Skt origin and gives the cognate forms from Dravidian tongues. He considers these words as being borrowed from Dravidian languages in the northern vernaculars. His treatment, though unscientific in many points, is remarkable for being probably the first attempt of its type.

By this time, the Journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal (also Asiatick Researches) had brought out some valuable papers on the tribes of Himalayan regions and Central India from the pen of B. H. Hodgson of Nepal. Hodgson had started the publication of his Comparative Vocabularies of tribal languages in JASB for the purpose of providing ground for comparison and determination of the linguistic affinities of these languages. In 1848 appeared his paper 'Aborigines of Central India' in JASB (Vol. XVII, Pt. II pp. 550 ff.) with a Comparative Vocabulary of the Aboriginal languages of Central India viz. Singhbhúm Kol, Sonthál, Bhúmij, Uráon, Múndala, Rájmahali, and Gondí. Here he remarks that the affinity between these languages is so striking that the first five may be safely denominated as dialects of the great Kol languages. He establishes a connection between the language of the hillmen of Rajmahal and Bhaugalpur ranges and the language of Kols. Following Elliot, he points out that the language of the Gonds of Vindhia has much resemblance, both in vocables and structure, to the cultivated tongues of the Deccan.

Sir. Erskine Perry, in his paper 'On the Geographical Distribution of the principal languages of India and the feasibility of introducing English as a Lingua Franca' (JBBRAS, Vol. IV, Pt. I, 1853, pp. 289 ff), as already observed, laid the foundation of the scientific classification of Indian languages of the two great families.

After having pointed out his initial difficulties in demarcating the linguistic boundaries, Perry refers to the two fold division of Brahmins, depending mainly on geographical considerations and rejects this classification as being based on 'no scientific principle' and conveying little accurate information. But it is remarkable that this binary division is the same which the increased knowledge of philology in the present day enables us to adopt. Then he speaks of the wide extension and diffusion of what he terms the Tamiloid language as very strong. He quotes different authorities in this connection. Pointing out the affinity between the different Dravidian tongues, he quotes Reeve who (preface to Canarese Dictionary) maintains that 'the affinity between the Teloogoo and Karnataca is so great that frequently it is only necessary to change an initial or an inflexion to make the correspondence complete'. He quotes Ellis as showing both the languages to be cognate with Tamil. On the authority of Buchanan, he holds that the Tamil speaking inhabitants can make themselves intelligible in the areas where Malayalam is the vernacular (thus pointing out the close affinity between the two languages). Following the same authority, he establishes a strong resemblance between Tuluva and Malayalam. Lastly he quotes Harkness as establishing a close alliance between the Tamil and the language spoken by the Todas in Nilgiris. He mentions the inhabitants of the mountains of Coorg as speaking a language called Kodagu. He points out that the language of the mountain tribes of Rajmahal, dividing Bengal from Behar, abounds in terms common to Tamil and Telinga. He also refers to the likeness between the Toda and the Brahui on the mountains of Sindh. Lastly, on the authorities of Rask and Lassen, he includes Cinghalese and the language of Laccadives and Maldives in the Southern group.

After these arguments, Sir Perry reaches the conclusion that 'the whole of India may be divided between two classes of languages—the language of the intruding Arians or Sanscritoid in the north and the language of a civilised race in the south of India, represented by its most cultivated branch, the Tamil'. Sir Perry includes the following languages in the Turanian or Tamilod or Southern Family.

(1) Telugu or Telinga, (2) Karnátaka, (3) Tamil, (4) Malayálam, (5) Tulu and (6) Gondwani (?).

He gives the linguistic boundaries of all these languages. Describing the limits of the Gond language he observes that these tracts form quite an oasis in Uriya and Telinga languages. He remarks that 'the collation of the vocabulary of the Gonds with the languages of the South would seem to leave little doubt that we may safely classify Gondi as a member of the Tamiloid family'. Speaking of Tamil and Telinga, he traces the history of the country where they are spoken and defines their boundaries. About Canarese he points out the controversy existing between Marathi and Canarese in the districts of Dharwar and Belgaum. Of Malayálam and Tulu he observes that they each appear to be in a course of gradual extinction.

In 1853, Prof. MaxMüller, the great Indologist, in a letter[1] to C. Bunsen, divided the so called Turanian languages into two groups—the Northern and the Southern. The Southern group, again he observes, consists of 6 classes—Taic, Malaic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Munda and Tamulic. It is for the

[1] See footnote 1 p. 92.

first time that an independent family of languages viz. Munda a name given to the family by Prof. MaxMüller, has been recognised. The Tamulic languages, which according to Hodgson comprised even the Lohitic (later on known as Tibeto-Burman) are more clearly defined here and the Munda and Tamulic languages, often considered to belong to the same stock, are also distinguished.

In 1855, Rev. H. Bower contributed a paper 'The Tamil Language and Literature' to *Calcutta Review* (Vol. XXV, pp. 158-196). Here he gives the number of Tamil speakers as more than eight millions. According to him it is more or less connected with Canarese, Maleali and other dialects of the Madras Presidency. Bower quotes Babington, the translator of Beschi's Grammar as remarking, 'The Tamil is not derived from any languages at present in existence and is either itself the parent of the Telugu, Malealam and Canarese languages or what is more probable, has its origin in common with these in some ancient tongue, which is now lost, or only particularly preserved in its offsprings'. Then Bower discusses the Skt loan words and remarks that the Higher Tamil is almost entirely free from Skt words and idioms.

The following year B. H. Hodgson submitted to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. XXV, Pt. I, 1856, pp. 31-38) the comparative vocabulary of Toda, Kota, Badaga, Kurumba and Irula under the title of "Aborigines of Nilghiris". In the note that follows, the differences between Toda and Kota and the affinities between Badaga and Kurumba (which are said to be lying midway between the former two) have been pointed out. In another article 'Aborigines of the Eastern Ghats', in the same volume of the Journal (pp. 39ff.) B. H. Hodgson gives the comparative vocabulary of Kondh, S'avara, Gadaba, Yerukala and Chentsu tongues, characterizing the Chentsu language 'as being entirely corrupted Hindi and Urdu, with a few additions from Bengali', Hodgson points to the general habit of relinquishing their mother tongue by the aborigines of Central Himalayas and giving way to the Khas languages. The Khas language, remarks Hodgson 'though originally and still traceably Tartaric, has been yet more altered by Arian influences than even the cultivated '*Dravirian tongues*'. It is for the first time that the collective term Dravirian, although Hodgson includes other languages which were later on classed under Munda family, has been used for the languages of Southern family, hither-to-fore known as Tartaric or Tamiloid or Tamulic. Then Hodgson gives a prospective view for further study of the Indian vernaculars which may lead to show affinities among the several cultivated and uncultivated Turanian tribes of India to each other and to certain other tribes lying beyond India towards Burmah and Tibet.

Hodgson's paper is continued in the same volume of the journal (No. 6 pp. 498 to 522). It contains remarks on the affinities of the Aborigines of Nilghiris, dealt in detail. He remarks, "The Badagas are considered to be as old as Todas who are of course *Dravirian or Tamulian*". Hodgson observes that the affinity between Todas and Kurumbas has been maintained by the united voices of Ellis, Campbell, Westergaard, Schmid and Elliot, in short all the highest authorities in the field. Hodgson discusses the Tartaric and Turanic affinities of the Dravirian tongues.

The same year witnessed the publication of Bishop Caldwell's *magnum opus 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages;* 'what has ever since been the foundation of research into the tongues of Southern India'. (Grierson. L. S. I., Vol. I, Pt. I, Introduction, p. 14). Here, for the first time, a group of Indian languages has been treated with full details. The work has not only presented a systematic study of the south family, it has rather stimulated other workers in the field to work on similar lines for other families. John Beames who first wrote a Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Aryan languages, covering the complete ground of study, frankly admits that it was only when he saw the Comparative Grammar of Caldwell that he felt the need of writing a Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan languages.

Caldwell begins with a strong emphasis on the need of a comparative study of the South Indian languages and remarks 'that none of the South Indian Languages can be thoroughly understood or appreciated without some study of the others'. Commenting on Mr. Hodgson's numerous and learned papers on the Tamulian languages of India, Caldwell remarks that 'they leave the Dravidian or Tamulian languages, properly so called, wholly untouched'. Caldwell agreeing with Prof. Rask, observes 'that the Dravidian languages are to be affiliated, not with the Indo-European, but with the Scythian group of tongues, and that the Scythian family to which they appear to be most closely allied is the Finnish or Ugrian'.

The object of this work, as Caldwell himself states in the beginning is 'to examine and compare the grammatical principles and forms of the various Dravidian languages, in the hope of contributing to a more thorough knowledge of their primitive structure and distinctive character'. Then Caldwell speaks of Tamil as undoubtably the oldest, the richest and the most highly organized of the Dravidian languages—in many respects the representative language of the family. Then the writer gives the linguistic boundary of the Dravidian family and refers to Gujarathi, Marathi (with its offshoot, the Konkani) and Uriya as the bordering languages. He also refers to Hindustani and Hebrew as being the languages spoken in the midst of Dravidian territory. Refering to the feasibility of any other language becoming the lingua franca of South India, Caldwell observes, 'neither English nor any other foreign tongue has the slightest chance of becoming the vernacular speech of any portion of the inhabitants of Southern India'. He observes that the indigenous Dravidian languages may be expected successfully to resist the encroachment of every other tongue.

Under the Sub-heading 'Enumeration of Dravidian languages' Caldwell includes 9 languages, exclusive of the Rājmahāl, the Urāon, the Brahui, viz. Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayālam, Tulu, Tuda, Kōta, Gond and Ku and deals with each language separately.

Tamil (proper spelling Tamiṛ) is pronounced erroneously Tamul by Europeans. It includes two dialects, the classical and colloquial or the ancient and modern called respectively the Shen Tamil and Koḍun Tamil, differing from one another so widely that they might almost be regarded as different languages. Then Caldwell gives the territory of Tamil. Beyond India, Tamil is spoken in Pegu, Penang, Singapore, and other places in the further east. The coolies of Mauritius and West Indies colonies are mostly Tamilians.

Coming to Telugu, the Andhra of Skt. writers, Caldwell takes it to be next to Tamil in respect of antiquity of culture and glossarial copiousness. Europeans called it Gentoo from the Portuguese 'Gentiles' meaning 'hearth'. The geographical limit of the language is also given.

Caldwell discusses the name Canarese (Skt. Karṇāṭaka) in the footnote and gives the area where it is spoken. On the authority of other scholars, whose names he does not mention, he includes Coorg or Kodagu under the denomination of Canarese and remarks that it has generally been considered rather as an ancient and uncultivated dialect of Canarese, modified by the Tulu, than as distinct language. Then he quotes Rev. Mr. Mogling, who states that Coorg is more closely allied to the Tamil and Malayalam than to Canarese. The speech of Badagars, he considers, as undoubtably an ancient Canarese dialect. It has also two dialects, the ancient and the modern. Caldwell describes the territory of Malayalam and observes that all along the coast of Malabar, Tamil is rapidly gaining upon the Malayalam. About Tulu he observes that it is an idiom holding a position midway between the Canarese and the Malayalam, but nearly resembling the Canarese.

Regarding Toda, Kōta, Gond and Khond, Caldwell observes that they are entirely uncultivated, destitute of written character and comparatively little known. For each language, Caldwell gives geographical boundaries. He considers Kota as a very old and rude dialect of the Canarese. He thinks the language spoken by Iruḷar and Curba or Curubars (or Tam. Kurumbars) as being rude Tamil. Goand is the other name of Gond and Kund and Ku the other names of Khond. Then Caldwell gives the approximate numerical strength of the speakers of each language. The total number of speakers of the Dravidian tongues is given as 32,150,000. Caldwell excludes, from the range of his study, the idioms of Ramusies, the Korwars, the Lambadies, the Vedars, the Malearasars and various other wandering predatory or forest tribes. The Lambadies speak a dialect of Hindustani, the Ramusies and the majority of Korwars a patois of Telugu. Caldwell also excludes the languages of certain rude tribes of Central India, which had lately been grouped under 'Tamulian'. He holds that the languages of Kōls and Sūras might naturally be supposed to be allied to the Gond or Ku (because of being neighbouring dialects), but which, though they contain a few Dravidian words, belong to totally different family of languages. Then he rejects the possibility of including the languages of the North Eastern Frontiers of India under the Tamulian. He also discards the name Niṣāda language of MaxMüller and the general negative appellation, Non-Aryan or Unsanskritic.

On the evidence of the brief vocabulary of the tribe inhabiting Rajmahal hills contained in the Asiatick Researches (Vol. V), and a list of words of the language of the same people, Caldwell concludes that the Rajmahal idiom is in the main

Dravidian. About Brahui, he opines that it contains not only Dravidian words, but a considerable infusion of unquestionably Dravidian forms and idioms, in consequence of which the language has a much better claim to be classed with Dravidian than any of the languages of Nepal or Bhutan which had been styled as 'Tamulian' by Hodgson. But Rev. Caldwell does not include Brahui, or Rajmahali, and Uraon in the list of Dravidian tongues, because, 'the Dravidian element contained in those languages bears but a small proportion to the rest of their component elements'.

Discussing the general characteristics of these languages Caldwell states that they are not merely dialects in the popular sense of the term viz. as provincial varieties of speech but independent languages, no two of them being so nearly related as to be mutually understandable. Then he describes their characteristics. All except Canarese have their own characters, the character of Canarese being borrowed from that of the Telugu, but the Canarese language differs more widely from the Telugu than it does from the Tamil. Speaking of the affinity of Malayalam and Tamil, whom he thinks to be the most nearly related, he gives the historical background and observes that now the differences, though originally slight, have progressively increased because of the borrowing of Skt. words by Malayalam. Contradicting the statement of Ellis who thinks Tulu to be a dialect of Malayalam, Caldwell observes that the relation of Tulu to the Canarese is nearer than its relation to the Malayalam. He maintains that it differs widely and essentially from Tamil. Of the 5 cultivated languages the farthest removed are Tamil and Telugu. About the 4 uncultivated tongues Caldwell remarks. "If the cultivated Dravidian idioms differ so materially from each other it will naturally be supposed that the uncultivated idioms—the Tuda, the Kota, the Gond and the Ku—must differ still more widely from one another and from the cultivated languages".

Then Caldwell deals with each language separately, giving grammatical points in each case to prove its independent status. Then follows a discussion on Rajmahal and Uraon based mainly on the comparison of their vocabularies. Caldwell concludes that these languages also belong to the Dravidian family. Coming to Brahui, he enumerates the points in which it is allied to the Dravidian tongues and concludes that 'this language contains many grammatical forms essentially and distinctly Dravidian together with a small proportion of important Dravidian vocables'. He includes Brahui in the family from which Sindhi and the Punjabi have sprung. He remarks, 'The Brahui language considered as a whole seems to be derived from the same source as the Punjabi and Sindhi, but it unquestionably contains a Dravidian element, an element which has probably been derived from a remnant of the ancient Dravidian race incorporated with the Brahuis. The discovery of this Dravidian element in a language spoken beyond the Indus proves that the Dravidians like the Aryans, the Graeco-Scythians and the Turco-Mongolians must have entered India by the north-western route'. It is to be mentioned here that R. N. Cust in his '*A Sketch of the Modern languages of the East Indies*' published in 1878, observed that Caldwell had included Brahui in Dravidian family in his first edition but in the second edition of the grammar Caldwell revised his statement and he states that Brahui is 'derived from the same source as the Punjabi and Sindhi' p. 42. But this was the view held by the author in the first edition itself. In the second edition Caldwell does not revise his statement, but it is the repetition of his view already expressed in the first edition. It is strange how Cust could quote the sentence as being added by Caldwell in his second edition, although it is there in the first edition itself.

Then Caldwell discusses the name Dravidian and quotes the two fold classification of Pundits. Then follows a long argument in support of the fact that the Dravidian languages are independent of Skt. He traces the historical background and enumerates the various points of agreement and disagreement between Indo-European and Dravidian, nay the more wide term the Scythian family. He concludes 'They are neither derived from the Sanscrit, nor are capable of being affiliated with it; and it cannot have escaped the notice of the students of Comparative Philology that in every one of those particulars in which the grammatical structure of the Dravidian languages differs from the Sanscrit, it agrees with the structure of the Scythian languages or the languages of the central and Northern Asia'.

Then he discusses the Dravidian borrowings in the northern vernaculars. He finds the Scythian relationship with Dravidian languages most fully borne out by grammatical analysis and the comparison of vocabularies. Caldwell observes that

'the various particulars which were recently adduced to prove that the Dravidian family is essentially different from and independent of the Sanscrit may also be regarded as proving that these languages are intimately related to the Scythian group'. Then Caldwell gives many points of similarities between Dravidian and different old and classical languages viz. Old Persian, Skt, Proto-Indo-European. This is followed by an account of the literature of these languages specially of the Shen Tamil. The grammar contains Appendices. In the Section 3 there is a note on the glossarial affinity of Skt, West-Indo-European, Semitic and Scythian—particularly the Finnish dialects.

In the second edition published in 1875, Caldwell elaborates his statements, throwing some additional light on the subject. He has utilized the materials published in the meantime. He deals with the use of the Common term 'Dravidian' and gives a more detailed historical account than the one to be found in the first edition. This is the case in the description of the individual languages also. He adds Kodagu or Coorg (till now a dialect of Canarese) to list of the 5 cultivated tongues and includes Oraon and Rajmahal (classified with Dravidian provisionally in the first edition) in the group of uncultivated dialects. Regarding Kodagu he says 'it is not quite clear to me yet to which of the Dravidian dialects it is most closely allied. On the whole, however, it seems safest to regard it as standing about midway between Old Kanarese and Tulu'. He gives the name Maler to Rajmahal. Coming to Oraon he points to the probable connection of the people with Konkan from which, it is supposed, they derive the name Khuruk, by which they invariably call themselves. He gives the number of speakers of Dravidian languages as 45,660,032. About Brahui Caldwell holds the same view—not clear but controversial. Some portion of the Introduction has been transferred to the Appendix in the second edition.

After Caldwell, most of the scholars have dealt with these languages separately. Almost all the works are in forms of recasts on the work of Dr. Caldwell. Grammars and dictionaries of separate languages were brought out but a comparative vocabulary, a desideratum pointed out by Caldwell himself, could not be seen.

In 1861, MaxMüller in his *'Lectures on the Science of Language'* delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in the months of April, May and June, (in the 8th lecture) speaks of Turanian class of languages consisting of terminational and agglutinative languages and comprising all the languages spoken in Asia and Europe not included under the Semitic and Aryan families, with the exception, though it is doubtful, of Chinese and its cognate dialects. He gives two great divisions of this class viz. The Northern and the Southern, the latter including four classes (1) Tamulic, (2) Bhotia, (3) Taic and (4) Malaic. In the Tamulic family he includes Canarese, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Gond, Brahui, Tuluva, Toduva and Uraon-Kol.

In 1866, Justice Campbell contributed to the *JASB* (Vol. XXXV, Pt. II, Special No : p. 1 ff.) his 'Ethnology of India'. He considers language as an aid to classifying the castes and tribes of India. He speaks of the structure of the languages of Aborigines as Turanian. They are neither like the mono-syllabic Chinese on the one hand nor on the other like those Arabian and African languages, which seem to form their changes by variations in the body of words. He observes that the wild tribes of the southern hills speak wild and primitive forms of the southern languages. The Carambars seem to be ancient Tamil speakers, the Maleasurs of the Western Ghats approach nearer to the Malayala. The Burghers and Kotahs speak a primitive Canarese, the Ramooses a language which seems to be for the most part Telagoo. Quoting a few of the peculiarities common between Ho and Col languages and the Dravidian tongues, he observes that the difference is so vide as to establish two distinctly marked groups. Coming to Brahui he compares some Brahui forms with Dravidian, Hindustani, Persian and the Punjabi and concludes, 'My impression is, that, if, instead of saying that the Brahui language is mainly Punjabee with a Dravidian element, Dr. Caldwell had said that it is mainly Arian (Indo-Persic) with a Turanian element, that would have been more correct. At any rate in so important a matter fuller enquiry is necessary' (p. 56).

The same volume contains a 'List of words and phrases to be noted and used as test words for the discovery of the radical affinities of languages, and for easy comparison'. (App. A.) by Campbell.

Appendix B gives specimens of Dravidian languages Tamul, Gond, Oraon and Rajmahalee.

The Appendix E is a grammar of Oraon under the Title 'Language of Dravidian Aborigines, Notes on the Oraon Language', by Rev. F. Batsch.

In 1867, Rev. R. A. Cole brought out his *'Elementary Grammar of the Coorg Language'*. In the preface of the grammar, the author gives a detailed description of the languages of Coorg. On the affinities of Coorg, Cole remarks, 'On comparing these sentences and words (which he gives in the end of the grammar) it will be seen that the Coorg words show a great affinity to the Tamul and Malayalam and, in many instances, to the Canarese especially the 'Hale Kannadi' or 'Old Canarese'. The grammar is appended by a vocabulary and specimens of Travel-talks for purposes of comparison with the other principal languages of Southern India viz. Canarese, Telugu and Tamil.

John Beames in his *'Outlines of Indian Philology'*, writing on the 'Classification of Languages' includes 12 languages in Dravidian class—the Dravidian class he puts into the Turanian family—*viz.* Telugu, Tāmil, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tuluvu, Kodugu, Tudu, Budugar, Irular, Kohatar, Brahui and Singhalese with a footnote on the last 'The large proportion of words of Sanskrit origin in the classical Singhalese or Elu, has led MaxMüller to class it with Aryan dialects'. Beames gives the linguistic boundaries of these languages.[1] In the Appendix A forms for first ten numerals are given in different languages—among which Northern Gondi, Khond, Telugu, Tulu, Yerukala, Khond are Dravidian.

In 1872, Col. Dalton in his *'The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal'*, in the Appendix VI, gives vocabularies of languages of some tribes viz. Oraon, Paharia, Gond, Khond, Savara or Saura, Rajmahali Paharia, Ramgarh or Naia Dumka. Forms of Tamul, Telugu Canarese and Tulu are also given.

Rev. John Wilson published his article 'Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency' in the third volume of *Indian Antiquary*, (August 1874, pp. 221.) Here Wilson gives the geographical limits of the Kanarese and speaks of Konkani, an Aryan language, as borrowing a great many words from the Kanarese.

In the fifth Volume of *Indian Antiquary*, Rev. G. U. Pope published his article 'Notes on the South Indian or Dravidian family of Languages' pp. 157ff.) Here Pope repeats the old theory that Dravidian languages have their origin from Indo-European stock. He gives various grammatical points in support of his statement. But it is strange to go back to a theory which had been hazarded twenty years back by Caldwell. His article is continued in the same volume (Vol. V pp. 297 ff. pp. 360 ff.).

In the 8th Volume of the Journal published in 1879, Rev. E. F. Kittel wrote a remark on the paper of Pope (pp. 47-51). Kittel had already contributed another article 'Notes concerning the Numerals of the Ancient Dravidian' in the Second Volume of *Antiquary* pp. 24-25). This paper has been commented in the same volume (p. 79) and Kittel has answered to some of the querries in the same volume on page 124. Pope's article is continued in the 8th volume (pp. 80-81). Here Pope gives some words with notes on their affinities.

In 1878, A. C. Burnell contributed to the *Ind. Ant.* an article 'Notes on the Malayalm Language', an essay of F. W. Ellis printed by Burnell Vol. VII. p. 275 ff. It gives a detailed history of the Malayalam language. It is to be mentioned here that Burnell had already published his great work *'South Indian Palaeography'* in 1872, which saw its second edition in 1878.

R. N. Cust in his *'A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies'*,[2] gives a brief note on the occupation of India by the speakers of the languages of the different families. He tells that the first in the field of Central India were the Kolarians. Next in time, arrived the Dravidians from the North Western Frontier entering Sindh by the Bolan Pass and leaving traces of their archaic languages in the Brahui.

Cust has included the following languages in Dravidian family.

(1) Tamil with two dialects
(2) Telugu with 4 dialects
(3) Kanarese with 3 dialects
(4) Malayálim with 4 dialects
(5) Tulu
(6) Kudagu
(7) Toda
(8) Kota
(9) Khond with 3 dialects
(10) Gond with 9 dialects.
(11) Oraon with 2 dialects
(12) Rajmaháli
(13) Keikádi, and
(14) Yerukála

[1] See Chapter III Section I pp. 60-62.
[2] See Chapter III Section I pp. 66-67.

Cust does not class the Brahui with Dravidian languages. He quotes different authorities on the problem of the affinity of these languages and gives the distinctive features of this family. Then he discusses each language separately, giving in each case the linguistic boundaries and notices of literature and script. He marks 'three less important dialects' of Tamil other than Shen and Kodun viz. two spoken by a scant population of Pagan hillmen in the Nilgherries, the Irular and Kurubars and one by the Malerasas. Following the authority of Burnell, he mentions the dialect of Tanjore as the dialect of the Brahmins of Tanjore. He also notices another dialect spoken by the Vellulers of the Shervarog Hills.

About Telugu he observes that no dialects have been recorded by grammarians but the language-field impinges on the Uriya and Marathi of the Aryan family, the Gond and Khond, uncultured members of the Dravidian family and the Savara of the Kolarian family and it is natural that some hybrid dialects might have sprung up in those areas.

Of Kanarese he mentions no dialect except the dialect of Badagas or Burgers which he considers as a very ancient form of Kanarese.

Regarding Malayalam (Malayalim) he remarks that a dialect of this language is spoken by the forest tribes on the western slopes of the Annamulli range and a more remarkable one by the Mappillas of the Western Coast and the inhabitants of the Laccadive Islands. The inhabitants of the Minikoi island speak a language called Mahl, a corrupt dialect of Malayalim and quite unintelligible to strangers.

About Tulu he says that it differs far more widely from the Malayalim than Malayalim does from Tamil. It differs not so widely from Kanarese still less so from Kudagu. Cust doubts the cultivatedness of Kudagu and calls it an independent language. Although the Language Field is small there are still some dialects but not distinctly named. He speaks of Toda as a language presenting a different and interesting variation of the Dravidian Family. It was originally Old Kanarese and not a distinct language. The language of Kota, Cust considers, as decidedly Dravidian with certain analogy to Tamil and yet more nearly allied to Kanarese than any of the sister languages. He holds that in Khond several dialects are marked, as might be expected in a language which comes into contact with the Uriya of the Aryan and the Telugu of the Dravidian family. The standard is quite uncertain but there are separate dialects at Goomsur, Daringabadi, Rumes and in the Orissa Muhals. It is quite distinct from Gond and has a closer resemblance to Tamil and Kanarese than to Telugu and Gond.

Coming to Gond, he devides it into two broad dialect groups—the northern and the Southern. The former consists of Gayeti, Rutluk, Naikude, Kolámi, Mahadeo and Raj and the latter includes Maria, Maree, Gotta and Koi or Koitor. A close affinity of the Gond language to Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese has been pointed out. There are a great many Hindi loan words and on all sides there are transitional forms of debased admixture of Gonds with adjoining great tongues.

He calls the Oraons as Pagans intermixed with Mundaries. It is why it is sometimes wrongly designated as a Kole language. Regarding Rajmahali he observes that the speakers have maintained their unmistakably Dravidian tongue notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the superior Aryan races and the encroaching Kolarian.

On the authority of Hunter's Comparative Vocabulary and the accounts of Hislop, Cust includes Keikadi in the Dravidian tongues and remarks that the language approaches nearer to Tamil than to other languages of the family. Nothing further is known of the language which is only provisionally entered as a separate language. The probability of its subsidence into a dialect of Tamil on a more intimate acquaintance is pointed out by Cust. He provisionally classifies Yerukala with the Dravidian tongues because except the vocabulary of Hunter and Hodgson no other account of the language is available.

After Cust no remarkable work is to be seen in field of Dravidian Linguistics until Grierson and Konow started their work on Linguistic Survey. Some articles were, however, published now and then in different journals but they dealt with some points of grammar only. Nothing remarkable was done as for the classification or the affiliation of these tongues.

To sum up, by the year 1886, when the plan of a Linguistic Survey of India was proposed by George Bühler before the Vienna Congress, the study of the Dravidian languages had reached the following stage :

A. The following languages and dialects had come to the picture:

Dialects

(1) TAMIL
- (1) Shen Tamil
- (2) Kodun Tamil
- (3) The dialect of Irulars
- (4) The dialect of Kurubars or Kurumba
- (5) The dialect of Malerasas
- (6) The dialect of Tanjore
- (7) The dialect of Vallulars

(2) TELUGU
- (1) The dialect of Buster
- (2) The dialect of Jeypore
- (3) The dialect of Ramusis
- (4) The dialect of Korwar

(3) CANARESE or KANARESE
- (1) The dialect of Badagars or Burghees
- (2) The dialect of wild Hill tribes
- (3) The Archaic dialect

(4) MÁLAYÁLAM or MALÁYALIM
- (1) The dialect of the forest tribes of Annamulli
- (2) The dialect of Mappillas
- (3) Mahl (Minikoi Islands)
- (4) The dialect of Laccadive Islands

(5) TULU or TULUVÁ

(6) KODAGU or COORG

(7) TODA

(8) KOTA

(9) KHOND or KU
- (1) The dialect of Goomsur or Gumsur
- (2) The dialect of Daringabadi or Daringabaddi
- (3) The dialect of Orissa Mùhals

(10) GOND
- (1) Gayeti
- (2) Rutluk
- (3) Naikude
- (4) Kolámi
- (5) Mahadeo
- (6) Raj
- (7) Maria
- (8) Maree
- (9) Gotta
- (10) Koi or Koitor

(11) ORAON also called KURUKH and DHANGAR

(12) RAJMAHAL or RAJMAHALI also called MALER

(13) KAIKADI or KAIKARI

(14) YERUKALA

(15) BRAHUI

B. The names of the following persons, besides several others, have been notable for outstanding contributions in the field of Dravidian Linguistics—the classification of languages and linguistic theories:

(1) Mr. Campbell	1820
(2) Brian H. Hodgson	1825-56
(3) F. W. Ellis	1834-70
(4) Robert Leech	1838-44
(5) Rev. Robert Caldwell	1840-75
(6) Sir Erskine Perry	1853
(7) R. N. Cust	1878

Cust had also been one of the strong supporters of Bühler's proposal of Linguistic Survey at the Vienna Congress.

C. There had been a controversy over the affiliation of the Brahui. It had not been decided as to which family—whether to Aryan or to Dravidian—should this language be classed.

The affinity of Dravidian family had been a problem. It had not been ascertained as to which great family should it be affiliated to, or not to be at all affiliated to any family of languages and to be treated as a separate family of languages. The Scythian origin of Dravidian had been in an uncertain position. Lately, in 1876 and subsequent years, observations, especially by Pope, had been made that the Dravidian languages have their origin from Indo-European Stock—a theory which had become obsolete by the time under review.

(iii) Tibeto-Burman Family

The Tibeto Burman speakers or the Indo-Mongoloid people, to use a wider term, of India known as *Kirātas* in Indian literature, occupied the north eastern and Eastern India, the Central and Eastern Nepal, North Bihar, North and East Bengal, Assam and the present Nagaland, N.E.F.A. and Sikkim and Bhutan, a section of them spreading even upto Ladakh and the Kinnaur district of modern Himachal Pradesh. But their earlier history has all through been obscure and except for a few attempts, still remains obscure.[1]

Bharata does not mention any of their speeches in *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He, on the other hand, puts a ban on their speech along with those of the Barbaras, Andhras and Dramilas/Dramiḍas.[2] The probable reason for such ban has already been discussed earlier. These people have been assigned Śaurasenī in dramatic performances.

In *Gītālaṃkāra*, a language named *Kirātī* has been mentioned, but in absence of any positive linguistic evidence we can not say anything certain about the language on the basis of the mere name. Neither the Prakrit grammarians nor Yuan Chwang make any mention of language of these people. We don't get any reference to their speech in the mediaeval period also.

It would be seen that the field of Tibeto-Burman (Tib-Burm.) languages has been unusually extensive and most imperfectly explored. For about two decades in the beginning of the 19th Century, no work was done as regards their study. Only a few passing references to these languages are to be met with—those too mainly in context of tribal studies. As a matter of fact, the ethnological studies had been the main factors leading to the Linguistic Studies. As remarked by Sir George Campbell language has been taken as a help to the ethnological studies and in most cases it has proved to be an accurate guide. Whatever had been done as regards the study of Tib. Burm. languages in the beginning was only for the purpose of ethnological study. This family comprises the largest number of languages in India, and no other part of the world of equal extent has as many languages as the North-East Frontiers of India. In the beginning, only a few stray vocabularies of these languages were published by European authors, mostly missionaries and Government servants. These vocubularies provided basis for a comparative study of these languages leading to establishing ethnological affinites between their speakers.

In the year 1808, Mr. J. Leyden contributed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a paper 'On the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nation' (*Asiatick Researches* Vol. X, pp. 158 ff.). In this paper the writer has noticed the following languages mostly spoken in Burma.

Indo-Chinese Languages

Polysyllabic	Monosyllabic
1. Maláyú	8. Bárma
2. Jáwa	9. Mon
3. Búgís	10. T'hay
4. Bima	11. Khomén
5. Batta	12. Law
6. Gála or Tagálá	13. Anám
7. Rakhéng	

Their interrelation, on syntactical points, has also been discussed, but the affinities are weaker in points.

After nearly one and half decades, Captain J. D. Herbert communicated to the Society a vocabulary of Kanáweri spoken in the Territory of the Rajah of Bussahir, in the Punjab. Some words of Tibetan are also to be found here. (*Asiatick Researches*. Vol. 15, p. 417, ff., 1825).

Three years later appeared in the *Asiatick Researches* the first paper of Mr. B. H. Hodgson 'Notices on the languages, literature and Religion of Buddhas in Nepal and Bhot' (Vol. 16, p. 409 ff. 1828). In subsequent years the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal came out with a number of papers on the tribes and their speeches from the pen of Hodgson. He contributed to the Society Comparative Vocabularies of a number of languages spoken by the tribes of N. E. Frontiers and in most cases his work had been pioneer one, providing grounds for further researches. This paper, though chiefly intended to give an outline of Buddhistic doctrines and canonical works as prevailing in Nepal, has some remarks on the Newari language. It is characterised as 'the proper language of Nepal' and has 'much in common with that (language) of Bhot or Tibetan'.

[1] for details see '*Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti*' of Prof. S. K Chatterji, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1951.

[2] Supra chapt. I,§2. pp. 14 & 15.

Hodgson observes that Newari 'an inferior and poorer dialect' is, in substance, distinct from all the numerous dialects of the Sanscrit origin although 'consequently obliged to borrow more extensive aid from the copious introduction of Sanscrit' (p. 410) a fact confirmed by later research works. The Parbattya Bhasha by which Hodgson probably means Nepali, has been described as the speech of Gorkhas, 'so generally diffused, that, in provinces west of Ghogra, it has nearly eradicated the vernacular tongues' (p. 415). It has also been characterised as one of the Indian Prakrits, brought in the hills by colonies from below.

In 1833, Hodgson contributed to the Society another paper 'Origin and classification of the Military tribes of Nepal'.[1] Here we meet with some casual reference to Khas, Magar and Gurung tribes, and there is a long list of the subtribes of these tribes. It is to be noticed here that many of these names were, in later works, used as names of dialects and languages of these tribes.

Four years later, we have Rev. Nathan Brown, a Missionary in Assam with his article 'Alphabets of the Tai language', published in JASB (Vol. VI. Pt. I, 1837, pp. 17 ff.). Rev. Brown took a very keen interest in the people and their language, and from time to time, he contributed vocabularies of different languages spoken by these people. In this paper, Brown observes that Ahom, a branch of the Tai language is spoken with some variations by the Khamtis, the Shyáns, the Láos and the Siamese. Here by 'some variations' the writer means probably the dialectal differences, although he does not say anything specifically about them. The language is almost extinct and there are but a few traces of it in the present dialect of Assam.

The same year, N. Brown contributed another paper 'Comparison of Indo-Chinese languages' (JASB, Vol. VI. pp. 1023 ff.). Rev. Brown has communicated, in the paper, some vocabularies in pursuance of a proposal made through the Christian Observer, for collecting short vocabularies of all languages between India and China. The article starts with short notices of Manipurí, Songpú, Kapuwi, Koreng, Marám, Champhung, Luhuppa, Northern, Southern, Central Tangkhul, Khoibu and Maring. Here again he asserts that Siamese, Láos, Shyán, Khamti and Ahom are all merely dialects of the same original family which is called Tai. Aka and Abor are observed as being closely allied to each other. One fifth of the 'Aka words agree with Mishimi' and a large number with Singhpho, Manipur and Bármese. The Mishimi tribe has been classified in three classes Mdi Mishimi, Taron or Digáru Mishimi, and Maiyi and Meme Mishimi. About Singpho and Jili, he remarks that the latter is only a dialect of the former and 7/10 of its words are taken from Singpho. Gáro has considerable relation with these two. Then we have the vocabularies of the above languages *viz.* Aka, Abor, Mishimi, Burmese, Karen, Singpho, Jili, Gáro, Manipuri and Songpu.

The following year appeared in the JASB (Vol. VII, Pt. I, 1838, pp. 56 ff.) an article 'Remarks on the Comparison of the Indo-Chinese languages' by Rev. W. Morton. It contains Bengali and Assamese vocabularies with words from some Tib-Burman languages *viz.*, Koreng, Jili, Khamti and Siamese. It also contains a note on the application of Roman alphabets to these languages. But nothing worth mentioning as regards the classification is to be found here.

In 1840, Mr. A. Campbell contributed to the Society his 'Note on the Lepchas of Sikkim".[2] Here he characterises Lepcha as a written language and gives a vocabulary of it. Following the authority of Csoma de Koross, he holds that these characters and the language itself have no affinity to the Thibetan nor to any dialect of it, nor to the dialect of any other oriental language known to him.

The same number of the Journal contains another paper of A. Campbell 'Note on the Limboos and other Himalayan tribes hitherto unrecognised" Here are given the names of diffeernt Limboo tribes. Vocabularies of Limboo, Moormi and Haioo are also to be found. Under the sub-heading 'Classification of Mountaineers and Tarai men in Eastern Nipal and Sikim' are included the following tribal names, which, later on, served as basis for giving the language and dialect names :

Khas, Magur, Gurung, Bhotiah, Lepcha, Moormi, Limboo, Keranti, Haioo, Mech, Dimal, Garrow, Tharoo, Dhanwar, Batur, Kebrut, Amath, Maraha and Dhanook.

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[1] JASB, Vol. 2, 1833, pp. 217 ff.

[2] JASB., Vol. IX, Pt. I, pp. 379 ff,

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 595 ff,

The Volume XI of the JASB contains a vocabulary of the Koonawur language (Pt. I, 1842, pp. 479 to 550), by Lieut A. Gerard. Words of Milchan, Bhoteea or Tartar, Theburskud are also found. There is a brief grammar of the Koonawur with some words and sentences.

Five years later appeared in the same Journal[1] B. H. Hodgson's paper 'On the aborigines of sub-Himalayas' (Vol. 16, 1847, pp. 1235 ff.) Reference is made to the following tribes:

Rongbo, Siéna, Káth Bhotia, Serpa, Sunwar, Gurung, Magar, Murmi, Newar, Kiránti, Limbu, Lepcha, Bhutanese or Lhopa.

The paper contains vocabularies of Sérpá, Bhutanese or Lhópa, Lepcha, Limbu, Kiránti, Múrmi, Néwár, Gúrúng, Magar and Súnwár. In this, as in several other papers, B. H. Hodgson has tried to establish his hypothesis of a Tamulian or Tamulic people and tongue comprising all the aboriginal people and languages. He had been advocating the plea of a Tamulic race as opposed to the Aryan and as occupying the larger tract of the country. Not only this, Hodgson has also pointed out that affinities of the Tamulic race and tongues may be established with Mongoloids and Caucasians inhabiting other parts of Asia.

The above mentioned paper of Hodgson is entitled 'Comparative Vocabulary of the several languages and dialects of the Eastern Sub-Himalayas from the Kali or Ghogra to the Dhansri'. Here he observes that 'in the eastern sub-Himalayas, the Indian Prakrits have hardly been able to make a single cognisable impact upon any of the numerous vernaculars of the people, with the sole exception of the Khas or Prabatia Bhasha, which is a mongrel tongue'. The vocabularies are continuations of the previous article.

The following year, Hodgson contributed to the Society a paper 'On the Chepang and Kusunda tribes of Nepal' (Vol. XVII, Pt. II pp. 650 ff.). It contains a vocabulary of the language of the Chepang with a comparative list of words of Tibetan, Lhopa and Chepang.

The following year appeared in JASB vocabularies of other languages communicated by Hodgson in the paper 'On the Aborigines of the Eastern Frontiers', (Vol. 18, 1849, pp. 967 ff.). Commenting on N. Brown's remarks about Burman, Singpho, Nága and Abor languages, he observes that they are very close relatives and they should not be separated into different families as they sometimes have been. The vocabularies are of Burman (written and spoken), Singpho, Namsang Naga, Nowgong Naga, Tengsa Naga, Abor-Miri and Sibsagor Miri.

This year, we come across another important name, that of Rev. Wm. Robinson, who had devoted a larger part of his life, working amidst these people and contributing a number of vocabularies and other papers relating to these tribes and their speeches. He contributed to the Society his "Notes on the languages spoken by the various tribes inhabiting the Valley of Assam and its mountain confines" (Vol. 18, Pt. I, 1849 pp. 183 ff.,). He starts with discussions on Bengali and Assamese as well as Bhotia. He then refers to Kácháris or Borros and remarks that closely allied to them are Hojái Kácháris, Kochis, Medai Kochis, Phulguriyas, Hermias, Mechis, Dhimals and Rabhas. The differences between them are rather nominal than real. Then, there are two separate grammars of Káchári and Miri. This paper contains the vocabularies of Bhotiá, Chánglo, Gáro, Káchári Abor and Miri.

The paper is continued in the same number of the Journal on p. 310 ff. A few links of relation have been pointed out between Khamti and Siamese. Notes on the grammatical peculiarities of Singpho, Naga (Námsangiyá's dialect) and Mikir are also given. There is, however, no note on affiliation of these languages. Mention is also made to Kassisas. Vocabularies of the above languages are also found.

In the following year appeared Nathan Brown's paper on 'Aborigines of the North-East Frontiers'[2] forwarded to the Society by Hodgson, containing the comparative vocabularies of 4 dialects of the Naga tongue, the Chutia, Ahom, Khamti, Laos, and Siamese. Brown suggests that Burmese is half brother to Tibetan (probably the source of our present nomenclature). This would bring Tibetan, the Lhopa or Bhutanese, the Burmese, the Singhpho, the Naga & c. into a kind of family union. The dialects of Naga are Mithan Naga, Tablung Naga, Khari Naga, and Angami Naga.

The following year Rev. Robinson communicated to the Society a paper 'Notes on the Dophlás and the peculiarities of their language". Here Dophlá is characterised as having a very close

[1] JASB, Vol. 19, 1850, pp. 309 ff.

[2] JASB. Vol. 20, 1851, p. 126 ff.

alliance with the dialects of the Miri and Abor. The paper contains a grammar and vocabulary of the Dophlá language.

In 1854, appeared in JAOS (Vol. IV, Art. IX pp 317 ff.) Nathan Brown's Paper 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Sgau and Pwo Karen Dialects'. Here Karen is described as belonging to the family of Tatar languages and as being very similar to several dialects of the Nagas and other hill-tribes of Assam.

In the year 1953 Hodgson contributed to the JASB a paper 'On the Indo-Chinese Borderers and their connection with the Himalayas and Tibetans' (Vol. 22, pp. 1 ff.). Hodgson submitted the vocabularies of Burmese, Khyeng, Kami, Kumi, Mru, Sak, (all included in the Arrakan Group); Burmese, Talien, Tunglhoo, Shan and Siamese (included in the Tenasserin group). In the note appended to these vocables, Hodgson observes that remarks on affinities among the languages are avoided for want of completion of the Comparative Vocabularies. As a matter of fact, in the absence of the complete set of vocabularies a comparative study is almost impossible and the establishment of affinities among different tongues is far from accuracy. He hints on the prospect of analysing the Himalayan tongues which may help in determining the amount of Turanian and Aryan elements in the Indian vernaculars and also in asserting the general affinities of the Indian Mongoloids. Then there is the comparative vocabulary of the above languages.

The same number contains another paper of Hodgson 'On the Mongolian affinities of the Caucasians'. (pp. 26 ff.). Here the question of the words in different languages, regarding their genuineness and borrowing, is discussed. The old theory of the Tamulic element is repeated here also.

The following year Rev. Francis Mason contributed to the Journal of American Oriental Society a paper on 'The Talaing language' (Vol. IV, 1854, Art. VII pp. 277 ff.). Here Mason points that a greater diversity of languages is found in further India than in any other region of equal area. He observes that the miscegination caused by the mixing of Tartars, Chinese, Malays and Indo-Europeans in this particular area has greatly helped in the diverstiy of languages often leading to even language admixtures. He describes the geographical conditions of the habitat of the speakers of the language, as being so rough as to cause segregation and complete aloofness of one tribe from the another, thus considerably adding to the numerousness of these languages. The syntactical structure of the language is also discussed. Although Mason has in a painstaking manner denied all affinities between Talaing and any other language family, whether Aryan or Dravidian or Tibeto-Burman, he has said nothing plausible about the possible origin of the language, by origin is meant the family affiliation of the tongue. Strangely enough, Rev. Mason on the basis of Lieut. Tickell's article on Koles appearing in a previous number of JASB, has tried to establish affinities between Talaing and Kole *i.e.* Moondah languages and the people as well. The basis of his statement are two words *viz.*, Moan the present name of the Talaings and Moond the ancient name of the Koles. There is undoubtedly a phonetic resemblance between these words but is it sufficient to establish an affinity between two languages ?

But the year 1853 is not remarkable so much for the above papers as for the letter 'On the position of the Turanian languages' written by the renowned Orientalist Prof. F. MaxMüller to Chevalier Bunsen (Published in Christianity and Mankind Vol. III, 1854). This letter presented an epoch-making discovery in the field of Indian Linguistics, setting aside all the previous works by different authorities. Here, for the first time, an independent family of languages, comprising the languages spoken by the Kolarian tribes has been recognised. The family which bears the name Mundah has no affinity with either the languages of Southern India known as Tamulic or with the speeches of North Eastern India, later on grouped under Tibeto-Burman. Although the basis of the paper has been the extensive work of Hodgson in his papers on the tribes and their languages and his various vocabularies, yet it opens a new field, unnoticed till then, of investigation of the vernaculars of India. All the later researches on Kolarian languages were more or less based on this letter.[1]

Two years later, Rev. Robinson contributed to the JASB another article 'Notes on the languages spoken by the Mishmis' (Vol. 24 Pt. 1, 1856).

Robinson observes that the lingual peculiarities of the Mishmis, however, separate them into three distinct divisions. Adopting the name

[1]Unfortunately, I could not get the book and hence, I could not go through the original letter. The reference is entirely from Grierson and Cust.

of three great tribes among whom these differences of languages prevail, we may class them into three groups. (1) The Medu Mishmis, (2) The Taying or Me-me Mish-mis and (3) The Mijhu or Maijhu Mishmis. The geographical areas over which these tongues are spoken are defined. Then we have grammars of Taying and Mijhu Mismi, appended by their vocabularies.

The next five years could witness no remarkable work on T. B. languages. Some one or two papers were published in JASB but they dealt with the languages of Burma, with which we are not concerned here.

In the 8th lecture entitled 'Morphological classification' in the Lectures on Science of language, Prof. MaxMüller gives the characteristics of the Turanian languages and discusses the name Turanian. He divides the Turanian family in two groups *viz.* the northern and the southern. In the Appendix-III of the book under the title 'Genealogical Table of the Turanian family of languages', Max-Müller includes the following sub-families (classes) under the broad division—the Southern :—

(1) Taic-including Siamese, Ahom, Khamti & Laos.
(2) Malaic
(3) Gangetic
(4) Lohitic
(5) Munda
(6) Tamulic

The Gangetic and Lohitic classes comprise all the T. B. languages. The Gangetic class is again divided into two sub-classes *viz.*

(1) Trans-Himalayan—having

(a) Tibetan
(b) Horpa
(c) Thochu-Sifan
(d) Gyarung-Sifan
(e) Manyak Sifan
(f) Takpa, and

(2) Sub-Himalayan—including

(a) Kenaveri
(b) Sarpa
(c) Sunwar
(d) Gurung
(e) Magar
(f) Newar
(g) Murmi
(h) Limbu
(i) Kiranti
(j) Lepcha
(k) Bhutanese
(l) Chepang

The Lohitic group includes the following languages:—

(a) Burmese
(b) Dhimal
(c) Kachari Bodo
(d) Garo
(e) Changlo
(f) Mikir
(g) Dophla
(h) Miri
(i) Abor-Miri
(j) Abor
(k) Sibsagor-Miri
(l) Naga tribes-East of Sibsagor (Mithan)
(m) Naga tribes-Namsang
(n) Naga tribes-Nowgong
(o) Naga tribes-Tengsa
(p) Naga tribes-Tablung, north of Sibsagor
(q) Naga tribes-Khau, Jorhat
(r) Naga tribes-Angami, South
(s) Singpho
(t) Kuki
(u) Khyeng
(v) Kami
(w) Kumi
(x) Shendus
(y) Mru
(z) Sak
(a 1) Tunghlhu
(b 1) Ho

In 1865, Rev. H. A. Jäschke contributed a paper entitled 'Note on the Pronunciation of the Tibetan language' to the JASB (Vol. 34, Pt. I, p. 91 ff.). It is appended by a vocabulary of Tibetan.

The following year Godwin Austin's 'A Vocabulary of Balti and Kashmiri' appeared in the JASB (Vol. 35, Pt. I, pp. 233 ff.).

John Beames in his '*Outlines of Indian Philology*', follows, in the main, the classification of MaxMüller as regards the T. B. languages, but gives a new nomenclature, although quite identical, to his Sub-Himalayan. He calls it Himalayic and adds the following new names to the list of MaxMüller :—

(a) Bramhu
(b) Vāyu
(c) Kusundā
(d) Tibarskad
(e) Hundesī
(f) Darāhī or Dorhī
(g) Denwār
(h) Pahrī
(i) Kaswār
(j) Pakhyā
(k) Thaksyā

In the Lohitic group he enumerates 26 languages. He adds the following names to MaxMüller's list:—

(a) Mechi
(b) Aka
(c) Mishmī
(d) Kassiā (Cossya)
(e) Mug
(f) Rukheng
(g) Koladyn river dialects
(h) Munipooree dialect
(i) Koreng dialects
(j) Karen dialects

Mr. Beames has, however, omitted some speeches noticed by MaxMüller

The appendices A and B of the book contain words for numerals upto ten and common pronouns respectively in the following languages :

Tibetan, Bootea of Kunawur, Lhopa Bhotea, Takpa Bootea, Milchana, Tibarskad, Sumchu (Koonawar), Thaksya, Gurung, Murmi, Limbū, Lepchā, Kiranti (to be noted that only one of the numerous Kiranti dialects is given here), Magar, Newār, Pahri, Sunwar, Dofla, Abor, Miri, Mikir, Angami, Naga, Singpho Kakhyen (numerals only), and Milchan and Magar (pronouns only).

The following year was published *'A Comparative Dictionary of the languages of India and High Asia'* by W. W. Hunter. This dictionary may be said to be a compilation of all the lexical details available at the time. An attempt towards the classification of these languages is also made but it is not very clear. Sometimes the basis of the classification is geographical while in some cases it is syntactical. It is more or less mixed, lacking in accuracy. He has divided the Tibeto-Burman languages in many groups.

In the Nepal group (East to West) he includes

1. Serpa
2. Sunwár
3. Gúrung
4. Múrmi
5. Magar
6. Tháksya
7. Pákhya
8. Newár
9. Limbu

In the Kiranti Group (East Nepal) are included:

1. Kíranti
2. Rodong
3. Rúngchenbung
4. Chhingtángya
5. Náchhereng
6. Wáling
7. Yákha
8. Chourásya
9. Kulungya
10. Thulungya
11. Báhingya
12. Lohorong
13. Lambichhong
14. Báláli
15. Sángápáng
16. Dumi
17. Khaling
18. Dungmáli

In the group Broken Tribes of Nepal have been enumerated:—

1. Darhi
2. Denwár
3. Pahri
4. Chepáng
5. Brámu
6. Váyu
7. Kuswar
8. Kusunda
9. Tharu

The North-East Bengal group comprises:—

1. Bodo
2. Dhimal
3. Kochh
4. Garo
5. Káchári

The group 'Eastern Frontier of Bengal' includes:

1. Manipuri
2. Mithan Nágá
3. Tablung Nágá
4. Khári Nágá
5. Angámi Nágá
6. Námsáng Nágá
7. Nowgong Nágá
8. Tengsa Nágá
9. Abor-Miri
10. Sibsagar Miri
11. Deoria Chutia
12. Singpho.

Lepcha and Bhutani (otherwise known as Lhopa) are unclassified.

Hunter has also given the names of Burmese and Siamese languages but they are not given here because of lying outside the scope of our present study.

In the year 1869, Lieut. W. J. Williamson communicated to the society 'A Vocabulary of the Garo and Koch dialects'[1]. It is a simple vocabulary with no notes either on the characteristics or on the classification of these languages.

The following year John Beames contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society an article 'On the Magar language of Nepal'. (JRAS Vol. IV, Art. IV, pp. 178 ff.). Here Beames notes that the Magar tribe is distinguished from the tribes of the Terai on one hand and Murmis and Gurung etc. on the other. The language is adjacent to Hindustani in the south and Tibetan on the north, hence the traces of the Hindustani influence are clearer in the language of the lower level. Magar words are borrowed from varied sources *viz.* Hindi, Arabic, Persian and Tibetan. Then follows a grammatical note on the vocables of the Magar.

Beames concludes that Magar is a language of the Tibetan family and the race who speak it probably came originally from the neighbourhood of Lhasa. Under the Gorkha influence a large number of Hindi words have crept in the language.

In the year 1872, was published *'The Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal'* by Capt. E. T. Dalton. In different Appendices, which this book contains, we find the vocabularies of the different languages referred to above. Most of these vocabularies are

[1] JASB, Vol. 38, Pt.I, 1869 pp. 14 ff.

taken from different numbers of JASB. There are a few notices of some of the languages in the book. Dalton holds that the linguistic affinities and physical characteristics of the Manipuris clearly connect them with the Nagas and Kukis. The languages of Moirangs, Kukis, Kumuls, Murrings, Luangs and Koupuis and those of Meitheis and Manipuri bear a strong resemblance to one other.

Two years later, appeared George Campbell's *'Specimens of Languages of India'* including those of the Aboriginal tribes of Bengal, the C. P. and the Eastern Frontiers. The preface contains a short notice of Coches, Meches, Cacharees, Mekirs Garos and Tipperah tribes. References to Cachree, Garo, Kookee, Lao Shai dialects and Khumi are also to be met with. The languages of India are classified by Campbell in different groups—the criterian for his classification is sometimes geographical (particularly provincial) boundaries, and sometimes the syntactical structure of the languages. In some cases, especially in case of the aboriginal tribes, the ethnological points are also held in view.

Among the Thibetan and Bhootea languages are included:—

1. Mech
2. Cooch
3. Lepcha

4. Nepalese.—It is quite strange as to how Campbell could include it in Tibetan group, when it had some seven years back been classed with Aryan group.

5. Newar
6. Limboo
7. Magar

In the 'Shan and Cacharee dialects of Assam' are included:—

1. Assamese
2. Ahom
3. Khampti
4. Aiton
5. Cacharee
6. Hojai
7. Mikir

Under the group 'Dialects of the Tipperah, Chittgong and Cachar Frontier' are included:—

1. Cachari
2. Garo
3. Tipperah Hill dialect
4. Lushai
5. Khumi
6. Mro
7. Mugh

The following speeches are also included in the preceding group:

1. Kuki of Cachar
2. Kuki of Tipperah

} Marking perhaps the dialectal differences in the Kuki

3. Hellamee of Tipperah
4. Hill Tipperah
5. Muneepooree
6. Mikir
7. Angamee Naga

Then under 'the languages of Hills surrounding Assam and Cachar' are included:

1. Manipuri
2. Kuki
3. Khasi
4. Singpho
5. Naga of Luckimpore
6. Naga of Seebsaugor
7. Miri

In the languages of the North East of Assam are enumerated:

1. Aka
2. Duffla
3. Miri
4. Abor
5. Sulikata Mishmees
6. Degaru Mishmees

The following dialects of Naga are given:

1. Miklai Naga
2. Hati Garya Naga
3. Dop Darya Naga
4. Abhay Purya Naga
5. Tablungia Naga

Among the languages of the 'Tribes inhabiting the Khasi and Jynteah Hills' are included:

1. Khasi
2. Synteng
3. Battoa dialect
4. Amwee dialect
5. Lakadong dialect

The above classification of Campbell, as already observed, shows that the writer was more inclined towards presenting a geographical distribution of languages than towards giving a true linguistic classification. As a matter of fact, the T. B. languages are not studied here from linguistic point of view, that is why the exact affiliation of different languages is doubtful in this work.

The following year, Capt. John Butler presented to the Society 'A rough Comparative Vocabulary of two more of the dialects spoken in Naga Hills'. The dialects described are Lhota Naga and Jaipuria Naga.[1]

The same number of the Journal contains a paper 'Notes on Manipuri Grammar'[2] by G. H. Damant. The language is said to contain many peculiarities found in the allied dialects of the

[1] JASB Vol. 44, Pt. I, 1875, pp. 216 ff.

[2] *Ibid* pp. 173 *ff.*

Kukies and the Koupuis. Damant has discussed some points of grammar which show the difference as well as the resemblance between Kookis and Manipuris.

The same number contains another paper by Butler 'Rough notes on the Angami Nagas' (JASB Vol. 44, Pt. I, pp. 333 ff.). It contains a short grammar with some short English sentences and their equivalents in Angami Naga. A vocabulary is also appended.

R. N. Cust in his *'A sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies'* rejects the terms Turanian and Tamulic as being objectionable and applies the term Tibeto-Burman to these languages. He divides the family, although his arrangement is admitted as entirely provisional by him, into the following 8 groups.

Group	No. of Languages	No. of Dialects
1. NEPAL	13	16
2. SIKKAM	1	1
3. ASSAM	16	23
4. MANIPURCHITTGONG	24	8
5. BURMA	9	10
6. TRANS-HIMALAYAN	8	23
7. CHINA	6	..
8. ISLAND	10	3
TOTAL	87	84

In the Nepal group he adds the following six more names to the list of Hunter.

1. Kiranti (Included in Kiranti group by Hunter)
2. Pahri
3. Vayu
4. Chepang
5. Kusunda
6. Bramhu

(2–6: Included in the Broken tribes of Nepal group by Hunter)

Mr. Cust gives separate notes for each language. He gives 17 dialect of Kiranti[1]. Hayu or Vayu is a language of high antiquity. It has a complex structure and is unintelligible to others. Chepang and Kusunda have linguistic affinity with Lhopa of Bhutan. Sunwar is spoken in the north of Magar and Gurung areas, although the speakers are adopting Hindi. Cust hints at the need of reclassifying Darahi, Denwar, Dahi, Kaswar and Pakhya, which have been shown as the dialects of Hindi.

The second group *i.e.* the Sikkam group has only Lepcha with two dialects *viz.* Rong and Khamba.

The Assam group includes the following languages:—

1. Mishmi—with three dialects viz. Chulikota, Digaru and Mijhu, each of them almost amounting to distinct languages
2. Abor
3. Miri
4. Aka
5. Dophla
6. Deoria Chutia
7. Dhimal
8. Kachari or Bodo
9. Singpho
10. Jili
11. Namsang Naga
12. Khari Naga
13. Angami Naga
14. Mikir
15. Garo
16. Panikoch

Kachari has the following 11 dialects:

1. Rabha
2. Mech
3. Hozai
4. Mechee
5. Kudi
6. Batar or Bor
7. Kebrat
8. Pallal
9. Ganga
10. Marahi
11. Dharel

The Namsang Naga has the following dialects:—

1. The Namsang or Jaipuria
2. Banapara or Joboka, also called Sibsagar and Abhaypurya
3. Tablung or Mithan and Mulung

The Khari Naga has the following dialects:

1. The Khari or Hatigarya
2. Nougong or Deka Huning
3. Tengsa or Dop Darya
4. Lhota or Miklai

The Angami Naga has the following dialects:—

1. Angami
2. Rengma
3. Arung
4. Kutcha

The fourth group includes twenty-four languages:—

1. Manipuri
2. Liyang
3. Maring
4. Maram
5. Kupui
6. Tangkhul
7. Luhupa
8. Tipura
9. Khungui
10. Phadung
11. Champhung
12. Kupome
13. Andro
14. Sengmai
15. Chairel
16. Takuimi
17. Anal
18. Namfau
19. Kuki
20. Shendu
21. Banjogi
22. Pankhu
23. Sak
24. Kyau

[1] To be enumerated at the end of the chapter.

Kupui has two dialects :

1. Puiron
2. Sombu

Kuki has 4 dialects :

1. Lushai
2. Old Kuki
3. Thadu or New Kuki
4. Hallami

With Burma group we are not concerned here.

The Trans-Himalayan group comprises of the following languages:—

1. Gyarung
2. Thochu
3. Manyak
4. Takpa
5. Horpa
6. Kunawuri
7. Tibetan or Bhotia
8. Bhoti of Lho

Kunawuri has the following six dialects :—

1. Milchan
2. Tiberskad or Bunan
3. Sumchu
4. Luhrung or Kanam
5. Lidung or Lippa
6. Sugnum

Tibetan or Bhotia comprises the following dialects:—

1. Serpa
2. Ngari-Khorsum
3. Dokkthol
4. Hortsang
5. U-Kompo
6. Chona
7. Khan
8. Balti
9. Dah
10. Ladakhi
11. Zanskari
12. Champas
13. Kaigili
14. Spiti
15. Lhopa or Bhotani
16. Changlo
17. Bhotia of Twang

The China group does not come in the scope of our work. The Island group is annexed to this family but actually it does not belong to it.

Besides these classifications, Cust has also given the geographical areas in which these speeches are prevalent. He has quoted from different authorities and has expressed his points of agreement and disagreement with them.

After Cust we meet with a few scattered grammars and vocabularies of the Tibeto-Burman languages, but nothing worth mentioning is to be had as for the linguistic classification.

In the year 1880 appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XII, Art. VIII, pp. 228 ff.) an article 'Notes on the locality and population of the tribes dwelling between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi Rivers' by G. H. Damant. This paper gives the following tabular classification of the Tibeto-Burman Family of languages.

TIBETO—BURMAN FAMILY

THE KACHARI—KOCH SUB-FAMILY

HOJAI or HILL KACHARI	MECH	KOCH	RABHA	GARO	CHUTIA	TIPPERAH
LALONG		BANIA or PANI	PATI	ABENGYA		
		TINTIKIYA	MATRAI	ATONG		
		DASGAONIYA	RANGDONIYA	ACHIK		
		HARIGAONIYA	SONGGA			
		PALI				
		RAJBANSHI				
		HAJONG				

THE KUKI SUB-FAMILY

NEW KUKI	OLD KUKI	LUMYANG	MANIPURI	LUSHAI	SOKTE	SHINDIE or POI	KABUI	CHERU
THADO	BETE	ANAL	LOOE				POERON	MARING
CHANGSEN	RANGKHOL	NAMFAN	SENGMAI				SONGBU	
SHINGSOL	RANGLONG		UNDRO					SAIBU
KHLANGAM	KHELMA		CHAIREL					
	CHOHTE							
	AIMOLE							
	POOROOM							
	MUNTUK							
	KOM							
	KOIRENG							
	KARUM							

THE MIKIR SUB-FAMILY

MIKIR

THE WESTERN NAGA SUB-FAMILY

MAO
MIYANGKHANG
MARAM

ARUNG
KUTCHA
QUOIRENG
or LIYANG

RENGMA

ANGAMI
TENGIMA
CHAKROMA

LUHUPA
TANGKHOL
PHUDANG
KHONGOE

THE CENTRAL NAGA SUB-FAMILY

LHOTA | SEMA | HATIGORIA | RENGMA | NAGA OF MELLOMI | NAGA OF PRIMI | MEZAMI

THE EASTERN NAGA SUB-FAMILY

TABLUNG | SANGLOI | BANFERA | MUTONIA | MOHONGIA | NAMSANGIA

Then follows a list of about 30 words of English with equivalents in the above languages and dialects.

The following classification of Tai Family is also given.

THE TAI FAMILY

KHAMTI
PHAKIAL

AITON
SHAN

MAN

AHOM
(extinct)

To sum up, by the year 1886, when the plan of the Linguistic Survey of India was proposed by Bühler before the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, the study of Tibeto-Burman Languages had reached the following stage :

A. The following languages and dialects had been noted:—

NEPAL GROUP [1]

1. MAGAR
2. GURUNG
3. MURMI
4. NEWARI/NEWAR
5. KIRANTI—with the following 17 dialects :—
   1. Rodong
   2. Rungchenbung
   3. Chinghtangya
   4. Nachereng
   5. Waling
   6. Yakka/Yakha
   7. Chourasya
   8. Kulungya
   9. Thulungya
   10. Bahingya
   11. Lohorong
   12. Lambickhong
   13. Balali
   14. Sangpang
   15. Dumi
   16. Khaling
   17. Dungmali
6. VAYU
7. BRAMHU/BRAMU
8. CHEPANG
9. KUSUNDA
10. SUNWAR
11. LIMBU
12. THAKSYA
13. PAHRI

[1] I have followed the classification of R. N. Cust for the grouping of the languages of this family, because it is the most appoximate to the accepted classification

14. THARU
15. KUSWAR
16. DARHI*
17. DENWAR*

SIKKAM GROUP

LEPCHA
(a) Rong (b) Khamba

ASSAM GROUP

1. MISHMI
   (a) Chulikota
   (b) Digaru
   (c) Mijhu
2. ABOR
3. MIRI
   (a) Abor Miri
   (b) Sibsagur/Sibsagor Miri
4. AKA
5. DOPHLA
6. DEORI-CHUTIA
7. DHIMAL
8. KACHAR/CACHARI or BODO
   (a) Rabha
   (b) Mech
   (c) Hozai/Hojai
   (d) Mechee of Bhutan Dwar
   (e) Kudi
   (f) Batar
   (g) Kebrut
   (h) Dallah
   (i) Ganga
   (j) Marahi
   (k) Dharel
9. PANI-KOCH
10. SINGPHO or KAKHYERN
11. JILI
12. NAMSANG NAGA
   1. Namsang or Jaipuria
   2. Tablung or Mithlan and Mulung
   3. Banpara or Joboka (also Sibsagor & Abhaypurya)
13. KHARI NAGA
   (a) Khari or Hatigarya
   (b) Nowgong or Deka Huning
   (c) Tengsa or Dopdarya
14. ANGAMI NAGA
   (a) Angami
   (b) Rengma
   (c) Arung
   (d) Kutcha
15. GARO
16. MIKIR
17. KOCHH

MANIPUR-CHITTAGONG GROUP

1. MANIPURI
2. LIYANG
3. MARING
   (a) Khoibu
4. MARAM
5. KUPUI
   (a) Puiron
   (b) Sombu
6. TANGKHUL
   (a) Northern
   (b) Central
   (c) Southern
7. LUHUPA
8. TIPURA
9. KHUNGUI
10. PHADUNG
11. CHAMPHUNG
12. KUPOME
13. ANDRO
14. SENGMAI
15. CHAIREL
16. TAKUIMI
17. ANAL
18. NAMFAU
19. KUKI
   (a) Lushai
   (b) Old-Kuki
   (c) New-Kuki or Thadu
   (d) Hallami
20. SHENDU
21. BANJOGI
22. PANKHU
23. SAK
24. KYAU

TRANS-HIMALAYAN GROUP

1. GYARUNG
2. THOCHU
3. MANYAK
4. TAKPA
5. HORPA
6. TIBETAN or BHOTIA
   (a) Serpa
   (b) Ngari-Khorsum
   (c) Dokkthol
   (d) Hortsang
   (e) U-Kompo

*Also enumerated as dialects of Hindi (Cust).

(f) Chona
(g) Khan
(h) Balti
(i) Dah
(j) Ladakhi
(k) Zanskari
(l) Champas
(m) Kaigili
(n) Spiti
(o) Lhopa or Bhotani
(p) Changlo
(q) Bhotia of Twang

7. KUNAWARI
   (a) Milchan
   (b) Tiberskad or Bunan
   (c) Sumchu
   (d) Luhrung or Kanam
   (e) Lidung or Lippa
   (f) Sugnum
8. BHOTIA of LHO
9. GYAMI
10. SOKPA

SIAM & TENASSERIN GROUP

1. TALAIN/MON
2. SHAN
3. ANNAMITIC
4. SIAMESE
5. AHOM
6. KHAMPTI
7. LAOS

B. The following persons had made outstanding contribution in the field of Tibeto-Burman languages:

1. Hodgson, B. H.	1828-1856
2. Brown, Rev. Nathan	1833-1850
3. Campbell, Dr. A.	1840
4. Robinson, Rev. Wm.	1851-1856
5. MaxMüller, F.	1840-1872
6. Hunter, W. W.	1868
7. Campbell, Sir George	1866-1874
8. Dalton, Capt. E. T.	1872
9. Cust, R. N.	1878

Although much had been written about these languages, yet most of these writings were only in stray forms. Many languages and dialects still remained unrecognised. The problem of their affiliation and grouping seems to have been practically untouched. The attempts on their classification were mostly unsystematic—in many cases even speculative—and had no sound linguistic basis. A Comparative grammar was still a *desideratum* and so was a comparative vocabulary.

(iv) Austric Family[1]

The Austric speaking people, who, at one time, were spread through the entire length and breadth of the country, were known to the Aryans as *Niṣādas*. The words *Sabara* and *Pulinda/ Pulindra—Kolla and Bhilla* in later periods—were also used for them. They have been mentioned in many Sanskrit works, sometimes as the people inhabiting the out-skirts of Aryan pale and sometimes as people of very low origin living on degraded occupation[2] These people, in course of time, were mixed, in many parts of the country, with the later immigrants, the Dravidians and the Aryans. A large number of words from their speech were borrowed by the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages.[3]

Regarding their language, no reference, whether direct or indirect, is to be found in the Dravidian and Aryan literatures. Bharata has described two (and if we include Vānaukasī also three) dialects viz Śābarī and Cāṇḍālī in his *Nāṭyaśātra*[4]. From their names they appear to be non-Aryan Austric speeches, but as I have already discussed elsewhere, these dialects were Indo-Aryan tongues, learnt by the Austric people having those names, with a large number of non-Aryan, *melccha* as Bharata calls them, words.[5] The later Prakrit grammarians, and Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the rhetorician, also mention and describe these two names as dialects of Prakrit.[6] Nothing more is found in the ancient works about these languages.

The writers and historians of Mediaeval period are almost silent on the Austric speeches. Amir Khusro does not mention any of their dialects and so does Abul Fazl.

The first half of the 19th Century could hardly witness any work on the languages spoken by the aborigines of Central India. In his Report on the position of Indian Vernaculars William Carey has not mentioned any of these speeches.

In 1840, however, Lieut. Tickell contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal his paper on the 'Grammatical construction of the Ho Language', (JASB Vol. IX, Pt. II pp. 997 ff.). It is probably the first account of any language of the Kolarian family. This is an elementary grammar describing the various aspects of the language. The same volume of the Journal contains a vocabulary of the Ho language by Tickell. Here English words are given with their Ho equivalents. But nothing is said about the linguistic affinity of the language.

Eight years later, Mr. Brian Hodgson, to whom we are greatly indebted for vocabularies of various languages here-to-fore unrecognised, submitted to JASB a paper on 'The Aborigines of the Central India," containing comparative vocabularies of Singhbhoom Kol, Sonthal, Bhumij, Uraon, Mundala, Rajmahali and Gondi. As observed by Hodgson himself the purpose of compiling these vocabularies was 'to see the ethnology of India conducted upon the most extended scale, with careful weighing of every available item of evidence that is calculated to demonstrate the unity or otherwise of the Tamulian race'. This statement of writer indicates that in beginning all the studies of the Central tribes were, in the main, aimed at an Ethnological Survey of India and language was taken only as a help for the purpose.

In this paper, Hodgson has pointed to a 'strong affinity' among the speeches enumerated above. These affinities are found to be so strong enough as to enable one to safely denominate the first five languages *viz.*, Singhbhoom Kol, Sonthal, Bhumij, Uraon and Mundala, as dialects of the great Kol language. A further connection between these languages and the languages of the 'Hillmen' of the Rajmahal and Bhaugulpur ranges is also pointed out. He provisionally classes them under one common name *Kol*. These strong resemblances make him convinced of the realization of the hypothesis put forth in his essay on the Koch, Bodo

[1] Although during the period under review in this chapter the languages referred to were classified by almost all the Scholars in the field under the name 'Kolarian'. The heading of the chapter 'Austric Family' is preferred in the context of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India nomenclature.

[2] See Supra Chapter. I p. 16.

[3] For details see 'Kol Jātir Saṃskṛti' of Prof. S. K. Chatterji, in *Sāṃskṛtikī*. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 63-96.

[4] *Supra* Chapter p. 16.

[5] *Supra* Chapter p. 16.

[6] *Supra* Chapter p. 31-32.

[7] JASB Vol. XVII, Pt. II pp. 55 ff.

and Dhimal, 'to wit that all the Tamulians of India have a common fountain and origin like all the Arians'. Here it may be pointed out that these hypotheses and establishments of Hodgson were proved to be unauthentic by later researches. But they are, nevertheless, remarkable for being pioneer attempts in the field.

In 1854 appeared the famous letter of Prof. MaxMüller 'On the Classification of the Turanian Languages', written to Chevalier Bunsen in 1853 and published in *'Christianity and Mankind'* (Vol. III). This letter may be said to lay the foundation of all later researches on the Kolarian languages. Here for the first time, the languages of the central aborigines were recognised as forming an independent family of their own and the common name Munda was given to them by MaxMüller. Before the publication of this letter all the languages of this family were treated as belonging to the Tamulian family, as the Dravidian family was then known. Not only this, many languages spoken by the Himalayan tribes also were included under the common name 'Tamulian'. It is in this letter that the Tibeto-Burman languages were for the first time treated as forming a separate family from Dravidian.

Dr. Stevenson mentions the speeches of Singhbhoom Kol, Sonthal, Hill tribes and Mundala Hill tribes in his article 'Observations on the grammatical structure of the vernacular languages of India' published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. IV, 1853 pp. 15 ff.). He classes these speeches with Tamil, Canarese and other Dravidian tongues—the classification being based on obvious phonetic resemblances in words of their first personal pronouns with those of the Dravidian tongues.

Here it may be mentioned that Sir Erskine Perry has not noticed any of the Kolarian languages in his paper 'On the Geographical Distribution of the Principal Languages of India and the feasibility of introducing English as a *Lingua Franca*' (*JBBRAS* Vol. IV, 1853 pp. 289 ff.).

In 1853, Rev. Francis Mason contributed to the Journal of the American Oriental Society a paper on 'The Talaing Languages' (Vol. IV, Article VII, pp. 277 ff.). In this article Mr.Mason, on the basis of Tickell's article on Ho and Koles, tries to establish an affintiy between Talaing and Kol. The basis of his establishment is the name Moond, the ancient name of the Koles looking identical with Moan, the present name of the Talaings. But this affinity is rather weak in point and is more of a speculative character than of authoritative and logical one.

In 1857, Mr. Hodgson contributed to the *JASB* another paper on 'The Aborigines of the Eastern Ghats'.[1] In this paper Hodgson submitted six more vocabularies 'in pursuance to his purpose of submitting to the Society upon an uniform and in successive series, samples of all languages of the Non-Aryan races of India'. (p. 39). The languages are Kondh, Sávara, Gadaba, Yerukala and Chentsu (indeed only five, though mentioned six in the note). In the note that follows Hodgson deals with his old theme of establishing affinities between all the languages of the Turanian tribes. Here Hodgson uses the word 'Dravidian' for 'Tamulic', but includes even the Munda languages in it.

In the eighth chapter of his *'Lectures on the Science of Language'* MaxMüller divides the Turanian languages into two great divisions, *viz.*, the Northern and the Southern; the Southern division again being subdivided into 6 classes *viz.*, Taic, Malaic, Gangetic, Lohitic, Munda and Tamulic. The Munda class consists of Singhbhum Kol, Sonthal, Bhumij and Mundala of Chota Nagpur. In the Appendix III of the Volume there appears a detailed list of all the Turanian languages classed genealogically.

Sir George Campbell's 'Ethnology of India' (JASB Vol. 35, Pt. II Special Supplementary No. pp. 1 ff.), although intended to give an outline of the ethnological studies, deals with some languages, especially those of the tribes, here and there. He asserts that although language might be too much taken as a sure guide, it is always of great assistance for ethnological studies. He observes that a few vocables are said to be found in these languages as common to Dravidian tongues and some other Turanian languages. But the greatest resemblance is said to be not to the nearer Mongolians, but to the most distant Finns, and it is at the same time admitted that there are at least great

[1] JASB Vol. 25, pp. 39 ff.

indications of a special connection with the Australian Negritoes. It may then generally be said that both in physique and in the structure of their language, the Aborigines present a type analogous to that of the Negritoes of the South Seas, Paupans, Tasmanians and others, as well as to the nearer Negritoes of Malacca and the Andamans.

Campbell further observes that the points of structure common in the Aboriginal languages, are of widest character. This brings him to the fact that by the test of language, the Aboriginal tribes may be divided into two great classes, having very few vocables in common. The first great division is that of the tribes speaking dialects radically allied to the civilized languages of the South, commonly called Dravidian languages. The second or northern division of the Aborigines occupies the great part of Chota Nagpur division and adjoining tracts. They are 'Larka Coles', 'Hos', 'Bhoomiz', 'Moondah', 'Santhals' and wilder tribes of the border hills, all speaking dialects of a language very different from Dravidian. He refutes the establishment of MaxMüller regarding the Kolarian languages and points out that they are not quite unconnected with any other family but have some similarity of structure with Dravidian tongues. He quotes the similarities, pointed out by Bishop Caldwell, in support of the statement.

He observes that the vocabularies of the aboriginal languages are not very complete and these have to borrow from their neighbouring tongues a number of words so much so that only a small portion of the vocables remains as their own. Here he discusses the different words connected with 'Kol' and gives the common name 'Kolarian' to the tribes, the very name being applied to the tongues spoken by these tribes by him and other scholars. He quotes Capt. Dalton as mentioning a considerable tribe, called Khorewahs, speaking much the same language as that of the Lurka Koles. Quoting Samuells, he writes that Juangas speak a strange language, and he gives a few words, some of which seem like those of the language of Santhals. He speaks of the Kaur people as speaking an undoubtably Kolarian language.

The monograph of Campbell is followed by an article 'The Koles of Chota Nagpur' by Capt. E. T. Dalton. Here Kolarian is mentioned as being spoken by Moondahs, Hos and Santhals. It seems to have no affinity to the more eastern tongues so far as has yet been discovered. Dalton points out that there is sufficient resemblance between the Kheriahs and Moondas in language. The language of Puttons and Juangas shows a similarity with the language of Moondahs.

The same volume of the Journal contains a number of Appendices, generally giving grammars and vocabularies of different languages.

Appendix B.—'Comparative Table of Aboriginal Words', contains words of 2 Kolarian languages *viz.* (1) Hos or Singbhoom Kols, and (2) Sonthals.

Appendix F.—'Brief Vocabulary of the Moondah and cognate languages of the Kolarian type'—supplied by Dalton. It contains the vocables of the following languages—Moondah, Ho, Kherriah, Puttons or Juang, Sonthal, Bhumiz and Coour.

Appendix G is a reprint of Tickell's Ho Grammar from a previous number of the *JASB*.

The same year appeared the book *'Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces'* a collection of different papers of Rev. Stephen Hislop edited by Richard Temple. It contains vocabularies of Gondi, Gayeti, Rutluk, Naikudi, Kolami, Madi, Maria or Mádia, Kuri or Muási, Keikadi, Bhatrain and Parja. But there is no note on the affinities of these languages.

In the first chapter 'Classification of Languages' of *'Outlines of Indian Philology'*, Beames enumerates the following speeches under the name Kol, which is shown as belonging to the Southern Group of the Turanian language.

1. Sonthāl
2. Kol or Chyebassa
3. Bhumij of Purulia
4. Mandali of Nagpoor
5. Kolehan or Ho
6. Khond
7. Gond
8. Uraon
9. Rājmahāli

It is to be noted here that the last four of these really belong to the Dravidian family. The Appendix A of the book contains words for first ten numerals in different languages of Himalayan tribes. It contains the words for Kole or Ho and Sonthal also.

The *'Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan languages of India and High Asia'* of W. W. Hunter published in 1867, containing almost all the lexical details of Non-Aryan languages available so far, is based on the vocabularies of Hodgson, official records and manuscripts as also on some other sources which have not been mentioned.

The languages dealt have been classified in many groups, the basis of classification being the same as adopted by previous authorities. In the Central Group by which he probably means the Kolarian tongues, Hunter has included Ho (Kol), Singhbhum Santhali, Bhumij, Uraon, Mundala, Gondi, Rajmahali, Gayeti, Rutluk, Kolomi, Naikudi, Madia, Kuri, Keikadi, Khond, Savara, Gadaba, Yerukala and Chentsu. Many of these tongues belong to the Dravidian family. The classification is purely geographical with a little of ethnological but nothing particular from linguistic point of view.

In the year 1869, Rev. L. D. Skrefsrud, a Norwegian Missionary to the Sonthals, published his *'Grammar of Santhali language'*. Here Skrefsrud speaks of Santhali as a language spoken by a people called by foreigners the Sonthals or Santals. It is spoken with hardly more than a dialectal difference in common by Santhals, Kolhes, Kodas, Mahles, Birhors, Mundahs, Hos and Korkos. The grammatical structure of Santhali is as superior to other Kolarian speeches as that of Sanskrit to the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars. He classes Santhali in Turanian family of speech.

The grammar deals with all the details of the language, with some hints for learning the language for beginners.

In his grammar Skrefsrud has noticed the following tribes of the Sonthals:—

1. Hāsdak	7. Tuḍa
2. Kishu	8. Baske
3. Murmu	9. Chore
4. Muṇdrī	10. Paoria
5. Memrom	11. Besra
6. Soren	

It is remarkable that in the Census Reports of India of 1881, many of these names have been returned as speech names from C. P. and Behar.

In 1871, Babu Rakhal Das Halder contributed to the JASB 'An Introduction to the Mundari Language'. (Vol. XL, Pt. I, pp. 46 ff.). Here Halder notes that 'the Mundari is a dialect of the language which was at one time universally spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of the plains of Bengal, but has since been superseded by the language of the Hindus, when the latter occupied the country centuries ago. That aboriginal tongue is now to be met with in the western highlands comprising Birbhum, Manbhum, Singhbhum, the Chutia Nagpur territories and some parts of the Central India and is in its various forms known as Sonthálí, Ho, Mundárí, Korwá, Kuri, and traces of it may be found in the dialects of some hill peoples in Nepal, Bhútan, Assam and Burma. The great dialectal differences in the old language had doubtless arisen from the fact that it was only spoken and never written, by a primitive people spread over an extensive area of country, a people whose mutual communication could not have been of a frequent nature.' p. 46. What the original name of the language was, is uncertain. The name Mundari is applied to the dialect used by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Chota Nagpur plateau. The paper contains a vocabulary of Mundari language also.

The same volume of the Journal contains an article 'Names of birds & C in four of the aboriginal languages of the Western Bengal' (pp. 103-7) by V. Ball of Geological Survey of India. The languages are classed in two classes viz., (1) Munda—comprising (a) Ho or Larka Kol of Singhbhum and (b) Santhal, and (2) Oraon—consisting of (c) Kol of Chutia Nagpur and (d) Male or Rajmahal Paharia. The classification is geographical and ethnical. The paper supplies some material for comparative study.

In the following year appeared the *'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal'* by Capt. E. T. Dalton, in which the writer has tried to draw up an account of the tribes in Bengal from all available sources of information. He starts with quoting the opinions of Hodgson regarding the possible affinity of Munda and refers to Logan as pointing a linguistic affinity between the Kasias of Assam and the Kols, but he himself does not say anything about it. He further observes that the language of the Santals, the Mundas and Kharrias of Chutia Nagpur, the Bhumij; and the Hos is 'Kolarian' and though there are some slight dialectic differences, these tribes have no difficulty in understanding each other. The Savage Korwa of Sirguja speaks a language less readily comprehended by the Munda or Ho, yet when we examine it critically, we find that it evidently belongs to the same family. The Kurs and Muasis of the C. P. speak the same language. Here he points to the hybrid language formed due to mixing up of the Kolarian tongue —especially the Kur and Muasi—with the language of Bhils. He then describes the area where these languages are spoken. Writing on Juangs under the subheading 'linguistic affinities', he observes that their language is not a different one. A great many of terms used

by the Juangs for the most familiar objects are common to the Hos and Santals, but a great many words from Oriya have also entered the language because of the long contact of these people with Oriya speakers. A few words cannot be connected with any Aryan, Dravidian or Kolarian language. In the end he surmises that the Juang language approaches more closely to the Kharria than to the other Kol tongues.

Appendix V (pp. 235 to 242) contains tables showing the different dialects of the Mundas or Kol languages, compiled for Col. Dalton by Babu Rakhal Das Haldar, Asstt. Commissioner of Chutia Nagpur with vocabularies of Khasi and Talain languages added for the purpose of comparison. The languages are Mundari, Santal, Korwa, Kharria. Juang, Ho, Kuri or Muasi, Talain or Mon, and Khasi. It is noticeable here that the Savara or Saura has not been included in this group but in Dravidian group.

In *'Specimens of Languages of India'*, (including those of the Aboriginal Tribes of Bengal, the Central Provinces and the Eastern Frontier), published from Bengal Secretariat Press, George Campbell points out that though intermixed with the Dravidian aborigines, the Kolarians have retained their own language.

Under the group 'Aboriginal languages of Western Bengal'—which are certainly of Kolarian type—Campbell includes the following languages.

1. Sonthalee of Sonthal Pergunnah
2. Sonthalee of Midnapore
3. Sonthalee of Bancoorah
4. Sonthalee of Maunbhum
5. Bhumij of Maunbhum
6. Kol or Kor of Singhbhum
7. Juang of Orissa Jungles

Here the first four geographical divisions of the Sonthalee language probably refer to the dialectal variations of Sonthalee. It is to be noted here that in a later work (R. N. Cust dealt below) these four dialects have been marked but no separate nomenclature has been given to them.

Mundari of Lohardugga has been included under the group 'Further languages of the Aborigines of Western Bengal and Behar'. In the 'Aboriginal languages of C. P.' are enumerated:—

1. Koorkoos
2. Mehto
3. Bygas or Binjwars
4. Punka
5. Mehra
6. Katya
7. Raj Gond, and
8. Maria Gond

But it is obvious that many of these do not belong to the Kolarian family.

This classification of Campbell is purely geographical. The tribes have been grouped both on geographical as well as ethnological basis and linguistic classification has not been given such weight as is required for a truely linguistic work.

In his *'A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies'* R. N. Cust while describing the different immigrations on the Indian soil, writes that the Kolarians are the first to settle down in the Central India. He quotes the opinions of different scholars regarding the classification and affinities of these languages but has not added any comment of his own. He includes the following languages in the Kolarian family with a note that the classification is provisional and not final.

1. SONTHAL
2. MUNDARI, BHUMIJ, HO or KOLE
3. KHARIA
4. JUANG
5. KORWA
6. KUR
7. SAVARA
8. MEHTO
9. GADABA
10. MAL PAHARIA

He observes that Sonthali is a 'beautiful and vigorous language and is superior to its sister-languages'. He marks four dialects of the language but does not mention their name or area of speech.

On the authority of Dalton Cust combines Hos or Larka Koles and Bhumijs with Mundari. He observes that Mundari has 'several dialects diverging very considerably from each other' but he has named only one *viz.*, Mankipati which he characterises as purer than other Kolarian tongues. Cust points out that at the points where it meets with Bengali, Oriya and Hindi language mixtures may be noticed. This language is also spoken by Birhors.

The Juang and Kharia languages approach nearer to each other and have some words identical with Mundari and Sonthal. The Juangs also include Malhars and Puttooahs. The Kur or Kurka also known as Muasis occupy Mahadeo hills.

Regarding Savara he opines that they are quite old people referred to even by Pliny as Suari and Ptolemy as Sabaroe. But their language seems to be dying out and nothing is known of the language beyond some Vocabularies.

Gadaba spelt otherwise as Gudba has words identical with Korku, Kol and Sonthal languages.

Mal Paharia, also known as Naika Dumka, is altogether different from Rajmahali.

To sum up, by the time Bühler proposed the plan of a Linguistic Survey of India before International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna in 1866, the study of Kolarian languages had reached the following stage.

A. The following languages and dialects had been recognized.

(1) SANTHALI/SANTALI/SONTHALEE
with four dialects *viz.*,
(a) Santhali of Sonthal Pergunnah
(b) Santhali of Midnapore
(c) Santhali of Bancoorah
(d) Santhali of Maunbhum
(2) KOL
(3) BHUMIJ
(4) HO or LARKAKOLE
(5) SAVARA or SAURA
(6) GADABA/GUDBA
(7) MALPAHARIA/NAIKA DUMKA
(8) KORWA
(9) JUANG/MALHAR/PUTTOOAH
(10) KHARI
(11) MUNDARI
(a) Mankipati
(12) KUR/KURKU/MUASI/KURI/COOUR
(13) KOLAMI/KOLOMI*
(14) PARJA*
(15) BHATRAIN
(16) MADIA*
(17) MARIA*
(18) MADI
(19) NAIKUDE*
(20) RUTLUK*

B. The works of the following authors have been outstanding in the field.

1. Hodgson, B. H.	1825-1856
2. Tickell, Lieut.	1840
3. Campbell, George	1866-1874
4. Dalton, E. T,	1866-1872
5. Hunter W. W.	1868
6. Cust, R. N.	1878

C. The study of Kolarian languages was still in the stage of infancy. A vast field was still unexplored. Various languages and dialects had remained altogether unrecognised. The problem of their classification and affiliation was yet to be solved. It was not yet decided as to what great family should these languages be affiliated to. The hybrids, formed due to the admixture of these languages with those of other families, had yet to be dealt with in detail.

*Treated as dialects of Gondi in almost all the latest works and rightly too.

(v) Census and Gazetteers

In the eighteenth and the subsequent paragraphs of the report by the Committee, which sat in the year 1878 to consider the suggestions for the general Census of India in 1881, there is the following statement regarding language—

"The table of races and nationalities should, we think, be restricted to an exposition of the actual ethnical elements that go to make up the population of a country. In this view we consider that the information may be of great practical value. It would not only illustrate, as in the last census, the strength of foreign element to be found in India, but it would throw further light upon the distribution of the natives themselves according to provincial and linguistic distinctions.

An important question, however, is the definition of the term nationality. As regards foreigners, whose nationality is for the most part pronounced, there is no difficulty, but it is not easy in the case of the various native races which inhabit the different provinces of India.

Two tests instinctly suggest themselves, *viz.*, those of language and birthplace, but it is clear that either of them is insufficient without the other.

We propose, therefore, in the enumerators return to give two sub-columns under nationality, so as to show both the language of birth and the place of birth. At the same time we do not conceal from ourselves that even this arrangement will not in all cases suffice to convey a correct idea of a person's race or nationality. We, therefore, propose to add a note to the heading 'Place of Birth' for the instruction of the enumerators to secure the insertion in that column of correct particulars regarding British-born subjects, foreigners and persons of mixed parentage".

Thus, and with this purpose in view, was introduced the language statistics in Census. The definition of the term 'mother-tongue', which was given in the instructions to enumerators was that it meant "the language ordinarily spoken in the parental home of each person," and it is believed that the definition proved quite satisfactory. The figures showing the languages spoken lead to the conclusion as to how large a proportion of the inhabitants of a province or state were born in the province or state, how much emigration or immigration went on in that province and, in a word, how homogeneous the population of that province was.

Before 1881, the year when a general Census on all India basis was taken, however, some rare and unsystematic references to languages mostly in connection with birthplace, are to be found. In the Census of the Island of Bombay (taken on the 4th Feb. 1864) mention is made to Maratha, Canarese, and Goozurathee with the habitat and the numerical strength of their speakers.

In the report on the census of the Madras Presidency for 1871 (Vol. I, Chap. VI, p. 67 ff.) under the subheading 'Linguistic Divisions', the compiler Mr. W. R. Cornish has marked six well defined linguistic boundaries—those of Ooriya, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu and Canarese. The districts in which these languages are spoken are given as also the number of their speakers. Cornish remarks "besides these six Dravidian languages (Ooriya is included in Dravidian along with Tamil and others), the hill tribes of certain districts have dialects of their own". The names of dialects have, however, not been specified by the compiler. There is a map illustrating the languages spoken in each district of the Presidency, which shows beside the aforesaid languages the areas of Sowrah and Khond. Konkani is referred to as the dialect spoken in several parts of South Canara district, the speakers being originally immigrants from Konkan. Gujarati is also mentioned, although indirectly, as the language of the silk-weavers from Gujarat who have their colonies in almost all the large towns. Notice has also been taken of the migration of the Tamil people from North to South.

In the Report on the Census of Bengal 1872 (Chapt. V) by Mr. H. Beverley, we find references to many languages. Bengali is spoken by 37 to 38 million people. The people of Orissa and Assam are referred to as speaking two distinct languages both allied to Bengali. The upcountry Hindustanis are referred to as speakers of Hindee. Some of the inflexions used in the vulgar dialect exhibit a remarkable affinity with the language of Bengal (the indication may be to Maithili or Magahi). Following the authority of Mr. William, Census-in-Charge of Oudh, Beverley holds that the language of Tharus has no affinity with any Aryan language. Hindee or a patois of it is spoken by Buihars, Binjhia or Binjhiwars, Kaurs or Kauravas, Kisans, Nageswar or Naksia tribes. Bhumijs speak a language of Mundah and Kurs, Kurkus or Korakus speak the same language as spoken by the Korwas. Oraons speak a language allied to Tamil, Gond and

other Dravidian languages. On the authority of Col. Dalton, he holds that Asur, Bhumij, Birhar, Ho, Kharria, Koru, Korwa, Muasi, Munda and Sonthal speak a Munda language or a language closely allied to it. The language of the Mishmis or Singphos approxmiates to that of the Karens, Burmese, Kukis, Nagas and Abors. The language of Khamtis closely resembles Siamese. The language of Deori Chutiyas in Lakhimpore is Chutiya and bears a close affinity to Boda and Naga dialects.

In the Census of 1881 we find separate data collected for each language and dialect. The enumerator's schedules were framed to show not dialects but languages in the more comprehensive sense of the term. A dialect is shown under the heading reserved for the language, of which it is a form, and not separately. The compilers of the provincial reports were given the task of bringing together or omitting any information as regards to dialects. But the system laid down in the rules was not successful and there are to be found a number of undoubted cases where dialects have been given instead of languages and still more numerous are cases where distinct languages are not more than a dialect of some language.

Table VIII is divided into one main statement and a supplement. In the main statement are shown all languages which appear in the language returns of more than six states—the feudatory states appertaining to a Province not being counted separately from that province. All languages not included in the primary statement are shown in the supplemental table. The general result of the Census of 1881 may be summed up as follows :—

All the separate languages thus shown number 162, but a number of these should certainly not be classed as languages; two of them are distinctly dialects; in two cases a very similar but differing name is applied to the same language (Khand & Khond; Kaikari and Kaikadi); in five cases the languages are mixed and in one instance (Madrasi) the tongue is given by a name which the people of Northern India apply to the Madras Tamil and Telugu and appertaining more to a race than to a language, as it comprises at least six languages any of which may be spoken by the race in question. There are in addition 17 languages which belong to Asia outside India, 28, are European and one is African, leaving 116 different Indian tongues which for the most part may be designated more correctly as languages than dialects. Hindi and Hindustani are shown as two separate languages with a note, 'it is quite clear from the returns that Hindi is distinctly separate language from Hindustani, the latter being a compound of Hindi, Persian, Arabic and Turki'.

There are separate notes, arranged in order of numerical strength, for all the languages. In each case, the linguistic boundary is clearly defined. If a language is scattered in more than one province which is usually the case with bigger languages, the number of speakers in different provinces is given separately. In some cases e.g. Canarese, the historical background of the country where the language is spoken, is also given. For the languages of the Punjab D. Ibbetson is very often quoted. The following languages are returned in the All-India Census.

EUROPEAN :—*

ARMENIAN (classed as Asiatic language in the N. W. Provinces' Report). AUSTRIAN, CELTIC, DANISH, DUTCH, ENGLISH, FINNISH, FLEMISH, FRENCH, GAELIC, GERMAN, GREEK, HUNGARIAN, IRISH, ITALIAN, LAP, LATIN, MALTESE, NORWEGIAN, POLISH, PORTUGUESE, ROUMANIAN, RUSSIAN, SCOTCH, SLAVONIC, SPANISH, SWEDISH, SWISS, WELSH.

ASIATIC :—

ARABIC, BALOCHI or BELUCHI or BILOCHI—With one dialect.

(a) Southern Dialect or MAKRANI

BURMESE (Besides Burmese the following other languages have been returned from Burmah):

ARAKANESE, CHAW, CHIN, CHOUNGTHA, DAINET, KAREN or KARENNEE, KWAYMEE, MALAY, SALONE, SHAN, SHANDOO, TALAING, YEBEIN.

CHINESE, HEBREW, JAPANESE, PASHTO : two dialects.

(a) Hard or Peshawari called PAKHTU

(b) Soft or Kandahari called PASHTU

PERSIAN (D. C. J. IBBETSON of the Punjab has classed the following Vernacular headings as Persian).

(a) Fársi, Afghánfársi, Kabuli, Afgháni, Irani, Khorasani, Kandahari.

*D. Ibbetson has, in the Punjab Report, classified them according to their families.

SIAMESE, TURKISH or TURKI

AFRICAN :—

Only one language *viz.* ABYSSINIAN has been mentioned. In the table the figures for AFRICAN LANGUAGES are given, but the names of these languages, except Abyssinian have not been given.

INDO-ARYAN or INDIC[1]

I(a) HINDUSTANI and

(b) HINDI

In the general Report and All India Table these are shown as separate languages. They have been treated likewise in the Reports and Tables of Berar and Madras also. But in Central Provinces, Mysore, Coorg, the Punjab and even in N. W. Provinces which returned the highest number, they are treated as one language under the name either Hindi or as is generally the case Hindustani. In the Report and Table of Bengal Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu have been placed in one column *i.e.* to say they have been treated as one and the same language. In the general table practically no dialect is recorded. On the basis of the Provincial Reports and Tables the following dialects of Hindi would be noted :

Ahráni (C.P.), Ahiri (Berar) [Whether the same dialect with variant spellings] Araki, Banjári or Labani, Labháni, Basori [In C. P. Banjári and Labháni are combined, in Berar shown as alternative names], Karandhi, Baipari, Bhámti, Bháti, Bhupáli, Bundelkhandi or Bundeli (the former in C. P. and the latter in Berar), Beldari, Bhili, Bhuti, Braj, Bagri (*vide* D. Ibbetson, the Punjab§ 310), Chatrapuri, Chattisgarhi, Dangcharhi, Dohori, Gándá, Gaolani (Berar), Gaulán (C.P.) [Whether to be treated as alternative names of the same dialect or as separate ones ?], Gawári, Ghisadi, Gurindi, Gwáliari, Halbi, Hawási, Játi, Katiá, Kewati, Khari, Kirári, Kolhati, Ladsi, Lodhi, Márwári, Chitári. Maheshwari, Parwári, [C. P. dialects spoken by Bania caste.] Mussulamáni; Urdú, Malvi, Mathuri, Moghi, Nimári, Odhia, Párdhi, Ponwari, Powarí, Rajjhar, Rajputi, Rámosi, Ranchhodi, Rangri, Sunkari, Wadari [C. P., but in Madras Report it is classified with Telugu).

In the Report of Madras the Compiler Mr. McIver has combined DEKHINI with HINDUSTANI which has again been included as a dialect of HINDI, though with a larger number of speakers.

Mr. Edmand White, the Compiler of the N. W. Provinces Reports and Tables has given the following dialects of Hindi, indeed on the basis of Hoernle's 'Comparative Grammar'.

WESTERN HINDI

Marwari* or the Western Rajputana dialects; Eastern Rajputana dialects, Brajbhasa*, Kanauji.

EASTERN HINDI

Baiswari or Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Magadhi.

But no separate figures are given for them.

Mr. Denzil Ibbetson of the Punjab has mentioned the Purbia dialect of Hindi as the "the dialect of that swarm of immigrants from the North Western Provinces consisting chiefly, I believe, of inferior castes from Oudh and from Allahabad and its neighbourhood, who have come into province with the troops, still compose the mass of the Camp followers of all but frontier regiments from so large a portion of the Hindi servants in the east of the province and are known in the Punjab as Purbias".

2. GUJERATI/GUJARATI/GUZRATI/GUJRATI; Dialects—Káthiáwári, Pársi, Takankar, Pardhi, Putnool (Madras Report of McIver), Cutchi**.

3. MARATHI or MAHRATTI (called Hindvi in the Mysore Report): Dialects—Barari, Dakhani, Konkani, Mixed Marathi & Hindi; Mixed Marathi &Uriya.

Konkani is an interesting dialect. The general report gives the following account of the language :

'Konkani is the local dialect of Portuguese settlement. In addition to the comparatively small European element in the language as it is spoken in the Goa Territory, there is a little Canarese and more Marathi. To the south of Goa the language changes its character again, and is more mixed with

[1] In the general Report no classification like Indo-Aryan and Dravidian etc. is given. In the Reports of the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, Madras, Berar and Mysore they are classified into families. In the former two, the classification of R. Hoernle is followed. In Madras, Mysore and Berar the basis of classification is R. N. Cust. In Bengal, the languages have been classified as belonging to the same province and to other provinces.

*Already noted above.

**In general Report of India there is a note on Cutchi 'It is properly a dialect, and has been included under the Guzrathi in the Bombay returns, but it is stated by the reporter for Baroda to be an admixture of Guzrati and Sindi' (§ 287)

Dravidian words and constructions so that what is known in the tables of the Bombay report as Konkani is really no homogenous tongue at all, but a convenient term for the collection of dialects spoken along the coast..... In Madras it is described as the house—language of the Goanese Christians, the Sarasvat Brahmins, the Konkani Brahmins, the Deshast Brahmins and of some other thirty castes. These people are all settlers in the South Canara. It has but a small European element, and in the north contains more Canarese and still more Marathi, and to the south becomes mixed with Dravidian words and constructions'. (§ 266. p. 201).

In the Census of The City and Island of Bombay, Konkani is designated as an Indo-Portuguese language. GOANESE*, later on recognised as a dialect of Konkani, has been recognised as 'a mixed form of Portuguese'.

4. PANJABI/PUNJABI/PUNJAUBI.

In the general report no dialect of Panjabi is mentioned, but in the Panjab Report Mr. Ibbetson has given the following four types of the main dialects of the language.

(1) The Eastern Panjabi or the dialect of the Malwa.

(2) The Central dialect, the standard type of the language spoken in its highest purity in the Manjha or the tract lying east and south of Lahore and including the holy city of Amritsar.

(3) The Western or the Pacchāda dialect.

(4) The Eastern Panjabi dialect of which the type is POTWARI.

The Pacchāda dialect grows more and more corrupt as we move west-wards till it becomes the HINDKO in the Mid-Indus Valley, still a Panjabi dialect, though with a large admixture of Persian and Pashto words.

The Eastern Panjabi dialect gradually changes to the south and southwest into a dialect of the Salt range which is more akin to the Western Panjabi.

JATKI.—The position of Jatki is contested. Ibbetson observes that 'it apparently deserves to rank as a separate language; and if not, it is a dialect of Sindhi transitional to Panjabi, being at least as much Sindhi as Panjabi.'

5. BANGALI or BENGALI.— No mention to any dialect, although dialectal variations according to geographical divisions of the province have been noticed. The dialect of Nadia has been selected and cultivated as the standard speech (*vide* Assam Report by Driberg, § 185).

6. ASSAMESE (No dialect)

7. OORIYA or URIYA or ORIYA

8. KASHMIRI

9. SINDHI or SINDI

(a) Jatkī—(Ibbetson, D.)

Besides these, the following languages classed under Northern Gaudian by Ibbetson, on the authority of Hoernle, have been mentioned:

10. NEPALESE

11. DOGRI

(a) Gujrī

12. PAHARI

13. GARHWALI (Grouped with Pahari in Punjab, but in India Report shown separately).

14. KUMAONI or KUMAUNI

Other Languages.

15. SINHALESE } Whether the different names of the same language?

16. SINGALESE }

17. SANSKRIT

18. NAGARAM—(India General Report, made up of Marathi and Hindustani).

19. MAKRANI—(General Report; admixture of Beluchi & Sindhi.)

As noted above, some mixed languages are also returned *e.g.* Ooriya mixed with Hindi, Telugu and Bengali, but they are not very clear. Here it may be noted that in the Tables of Madras, Mr. McIver has entered, in many columns, two languages, *i.e.*, the number in one Column is for two languages *e.g.* CANARESE & HINDI; GADBA & TELUGU; HINDUSTANI & TELUGU etc. Although McIver has said nothing about them, these are clearly the cases of bilingualism, which became a regular feature in the later Census Reports.

*According to the Report of Central Provinces by Drysdale (T.), it includes GOESE and PORTUGUESE. All these names probably are the different denominations of Goanese.

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

1. TAMIL†

Kurumba, Irula, Yerukala } Returned in Madras Tables & Report as also in the General Report.

(Irula includes Ionla of Madras)

2. TELUGU*

Yanádi, Waddari } Returned in Madras and General Report.

(Wadari is classed wih Hindi in C. P. Report)

3. CANARESE or KANNADA or KANARESE

Treated as independent languages in some States	Badaga	Holia
	Kota	Kanari
	Toda	Karnatic
	Kodagu or Coorg	
	Golari	

4. MALAYALAM

Malabari

5. TULU Combines TULUVU according to General Report.

6. GONDI

Bhariá	Madewar
Bhatri	Khondi
Dhánuhári	Gwári
Bhumiá	Koi
Máṛi	Kamári
Gotte	Kulámi or Kolámi
Máriá	Manné
Náiki	Párdhi
Pahári	Túri
Pardhani	Kharia Gond
Pathári	Balia
Lajhari**	Gayeti

Although these names are included in the Berar and C. P. Reports under Gondi, it is to be noted that Pardhi is classed with Hindi in the C. P. Report. KHONDI and KOI, according to Caldwell, are the different names for the same language *viz.* KHOND which has been treated as an independent language in almost all the previous works on Dravidian linguistics. Even in the General Report and the Madras Report it is treated as an independent language. KHARIA GOND has been classed with KOLARIAN FAMILY in the General Report, on the authority of Mr. Bourdillon of Bengal.

7. KHOND.—In the Bengal Report KANDH is shown as a constituent of the Dravidian group. In the General Report the same language is given in the table but there is no separate note. Are these two names KHOND and KANDH identical?

8. ORAON or URAON/DHANGAR

Shown separately in the Bengal Report, but in the General Report it is observed that Dhangar should be classed with Uraon. (*Vide* India § 293, Bengal § 377).

9. MALER

10. TODA

11. KOTA

12. YARUKALA

13. KAIKADI, KAIKARI } Though returned separately are the different names of the same language, includes TIRUGOLI.

14. BRAHUI

In the Madras Report LAMBĀDI is returned. McIver describes it as the speech of a wandering people —tribes of gipsy carriers, whose origin is very doubtful, and whose language is a mosaic of many languages. In Madras, they are called indifferently Lambádi and Brinjarrī, and as a rule, they claim a Marathi origin. Whatever is the structure of their speech, the Lambadi is laregly interspersed with Dravidian words. It is probable that Lambadi is only a Madras synonym for Labanaki, returned from Panjab. LADA, another language shown in Madras, is also another branch of the Lambadi dialect.

TIBETO-BURMAN

As no classification has been made of the Indian languages in the General Report, there is no mention of a name like Tibeto-Burman or Dravidian or Austric or Indo-Aryan. The name Tibeto-Burman, given to a class of languages, does not occur in the Bengal Report, nor in the Report of Assam, the province which returns the highest number of speakers of these languages. In the Reports of the Punjab and Madras, however, which give a detailed classification of the vernaculars of the respective provinces, we find the name Tibeto-Burman used for the group of languages which have been grouped otherwise in Assam and Bengal.

In Bengal, these languages have been grouped as :

(1) The languages of Northern Borders (includes Nepalese or Paharia also);

(2) The languages of Northern Frontiers;

†According to the Berar Report of E. J. Kitts, Tamil includes ARVI, KOMAT and DRAVIDI. According to the C. P. Report ARVI and DRAVIRI (perhaps the same as DRAVIDI) are synonyms for the TAMIL language.

*CHENTSU amalgamating CHENCHU, a dialect returned as peculiar to Madras is merely a corruption of Telugu hence it should be combined with the same.

**Is it the same as Rajjhar, included in Hindi, in the C. P. Report?

(3) The languages of the Assam Valley; and

(4) The languages of the Eastern Borders.

In the Assam Report of Driberg these languages have been classed as Non-Aryan languages of Assam. They have been further classified into the following groups of languages:

I. BODO or BORO—including

KACHARI or CACHARI* (combines KOCH)

Mech, Rabha [closely connected to Kachari (Assam § 187)] Lalung, Chutia, Garo or Garrow, Tippera or Tipperah, Mikir, Hajong.

II. AKA, DAFLA, MIRI, ABOR & MISHMI-group—comprising of these languages.

III. THE SHAN LANGUAGES including—

Ahom, Deori, Khamti or Khampti, Phakial, Aitonia.

IV. THIBETAN or TIBETAN

Bhutanese (the language of Bhutan Bhutias, Thibengia Bhutias and Towang Bhutias).

V. NAGA GROUP

Singpho

VI. KUKI GROUP

Manipuri

VII. KHASI or KHASSIA

Besides these the following Tibeto-Burman languages have also been returned, although they have not been classed**.

1. LEPCHA
2. KACHIN
3. MUGH
4. SYNTENG
5. KANORIA
6. LAHULI or LAHALI
7. NEWAR or NEWARI
8. LADAKHI
9. LIMBU or KIRANTI

KOLARIAN or AUSTRIC FAMILY

No name as such occurs in the India General Report. The name Kolarian has been used for a class of languages in the Madras Report of McIver. The following speechnames are returned.

1. KHARRIA or KHARIA
2. KOL
3. KORKU } grouped as KUR Dialects
4. NIHAL or NAHALI } in the C. P. Report.
5. SAVARA
6. SONTHALI
7. GADABA
8. MUNDA
9. KUDA
10. BHILI
11. MOWASI

Besides these speeches, the following have also been returned, but they remain altogether unclassified.

1. BHEEL
2. BHUIN
3. NAGPURI£
4. UNSPECIFIED
5. WILD DIALECTS
6. BYGANI with the following dialects:—
   a. Bhunjia
   b. Binjhwari
   c. Birjia

As the speeches have not been classified in the General Report of Census for 1881, the above classification has been attempted on the basis of the provincial reports and the notes on each language given in the general all India report. As some of these speeches have been classed on the basis of mere hints in the reports, their groupings which have been attempted on not too sound data are being offered here with some amount of uncertainty.

A comparative study of the description of languages in Census Reports and general philological works (books and journals) upto 1881, would show that the former is mainly aimed at presenting language statistics whereas the latter are more concerned with the grammatical details of the languages.

The following speech-names returned in the Census Reports do not appear in the general philological works, that is to say these names are recognised for the first time in the Census Reports:—

1. Ahráni/Ahiri
2. Araki

*In the General Report there is a note by the Compiler 'I am unable to explain what is the peculiarity of the Cachari language, whether there is any essential difference between it and Assamese or whether it is merely a dialect of the latter.'

**The Tibeto-Burman languages from Punjab or Upper Himalayas are given in Ibbetson's note. App. II.

£Probably the language of the coollies from Chota Nagpur migrated to Assam.

3. Banjári/Labani/Labháni†
4. Basori
5. Karandhi
6. Baipári
7. Bhúpáli
8. Bhámti
9. Beldari
10. Chatrapuri
11. Dangcharhi
12. Dohori
13. Gándá
14. Gaolani/Gaulán
15. Gawari
16. Ghisadi
17. Gurindi
18. Gwáliari
19. Hawási
20. Játi
21. Kewati
22. Khari
23. Kirari
24. Kolhati
25. Ladsi
26. Lodhi
27. Chitári
28. Maheshwári
29. Parwári
30. Mussulmáni
31. Malvi
32. Mathuri
33. Moghi
34. Odhiá*
35. Párdhi
36. Ponwari
37. Powari
38. Rajjhar
39. Rajputi
40. Ranchhodi
41. Sunkari
42. Wadari—(All these speeches are included as dialects of Hindi)

43. Pársi
44. Takankar } Shown as dialects of Gujrati
45. Putnool

46. Barari ... Shown as a dialect of Marathi

47. Bunan
48. Pangiali } Shown under 'The Languages of the Higher Himalayas of the Punjab'.
49. Lahuli

50. Sánsi
51. Báwaria
52. Thalai } Shown as 'Miscellaneous dialects of the Punjab'
53. Khetráni

54. Gújari ... a dialect of Dogri
55. Nagaram ... (made up of Hindustani & Marathi)

56. Nihali/Nahali
57. Mowasi } Kolarian Languages
58. Kuda

59. Yanadi ... Shown as a dialect of Telugu

60. Golari
61. Holia } Shown as a dialects of Kanarese

62. Bharia
63. Bhatri
64. Dhanuhári
65. Bhumiá
66. Madewár
67. Gwari
68. Kamari } Shown as dialects of Gondi
69. Manné
70. Pahari
71. Pardhani
72. Turi
73. Balai

74. Bhunjia
75. Birjia } Unclassified
76. Nagpuri

GADDI/GUDDI and HINDURI returned as the Pahari languages of the Eastern Hills are treated as dialects of Hindi in general works, and so are CHENTSU (another name for Telugu in Census Reports) and LAMBADI (of Marathi Origin largely interspersed with Dravidian words).

KUCCHI/CUTCHI is shown as a dialect of Gujrati in Census Reports whereas in general works it is treated as a dialect of Sindhi.

BHEEL, BYGANI and BINJHWARI which remain unclassified in the Census Reports are shown as dialects of Hindi in general works.

GAZETTEERS

The Gazetteers of different provinces and districts, published by provincial governments to present the history, culture, religions, castes and customs etc. of the people, were also studied with a possibility of getting some direct or indirect references to the spoken languages. But it could not yield any satisfactory result. In most of the Gazetteers published prior to the 1881 Census the languages spoken in particular districts are only named without any note on their classification etc.

†Also Labanaki or Labanki of Punjab.

* Also Odki from Punjab (whether different name used for Oriya ?).

Literature is described in greater details than languages. Important works on different languages/dialects have been quoted for reference.

We quote from the Gazetteers of the North West Provinces edited by E. T. Atkinson a few examples of such cases.

BUDAUN[1]—Language.—"The language of the peasantry is the Hindi usually spoken in this part of India. It may be said to differ from the Urdu or Hindustani of the educated classes, chiefly in the fact that the latter has a more complicated vocabulary. The difference is, however, rather one of alphabets than of structure, the former language being printed in Devanagari or Sanskrit, and the latter in the Arabic or Persian character".

GORAKHPUR[2]—Language.—"The language of the common people is a peculiar variety of Bhojpuri dialect. It, in many cases, approaches Bengali than Hindi; but would probably be just as unintelligible to a native of Bengal proper (excluding Tirhut) as to one from Agra. Bishan Dutta Pande has written on this subject a book which should be printed".

The note is followed by a reference to the Appendix to J. R. Reid's 'Azamgarh Settlement Report', which is a short grammar of the language by Crooke.

AZAMGARH[3]—Language—"Azamgarh is included in the area which, according to Dr. Hoernle, is that of the Eastern Hindi or Bihari Language and Bhojpuri dialect. The relation, geographically, of this area to that of the other dialects and languages of Northern India will be readily seen from the excellent map in Dr. Hoernle's Grammar of the Gaudian languages".

Reid's Azamgarh Settlement Report is quoted here also for reference.

Similar short notes on languages are to be found in case of other districts also.

In the Gazetteers of the Central Provinces by Charles Grant we find scanty references where the language spoken is merely named.[4]

In the Gazetteer for the Haiderabad Assigned Districts commonly called Berar edited by A. C. Lyall, we find the reference to the Maratha language and literature. Telugu is also noted as spoken by 17395 people[5].

In the District Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency, the most elaborate and exhaustive in the series, the references to languages are of the following three types.

In case of some districts, there is no reference to any language at all e.g., Ahmedabad, Baroda, Riwakantha, Narukot, Cambay and Surat States, Kolhapur, Kathiawar etc.[6].

In case of a few districts, the notes on languages are very small and of general nature e.g. Nasik (Vol. 16, 1883) etc. In the Vol. IX, Pt. I, Guzarat Population Gazetteer 1901, there is the following note about the languages under the sub-heading Hindus.

"Gujarati is spoken and written between the Mount Abu and Daman including Kathiawad in Kacch. In Kacch a dialect called Cutchi, which is more Sindhi than Gujarati is spoken but not written" p. XIV. On the following page the names Kathiawadi, Surati and Marvadi, as the dialects of the respective districts, are given without any note.

And thirdly, in many of the Gazetteers, published after the Census of 1881, the language statistics are given on the basis of 1881 Census. Reference could be made to Gazetteers of Dharwar (1884, Vol. 22 at page 46), of Ahmednagar (1884. Vol. 17 at page 46), of Kanara (1833, Vol. 15, Pt. I at page 114) and to those of other districts.

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[1] *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N. W. Provinces of India*, compiled by H. C. Conybeare and edited by E. T. Atkinson, Allahabad, 1879, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 53.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 372.

[3] *Ibid.*—but the editor is F. H. Fisher—1883, Vol. XIII Pt. I, p. 99.

[4] *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, Edited by Charles Grant, Nagpur, 1870, pp. 37, 63, 139, 223 and 501 etc.

[5] *Gazetteer of the Haiderabad Assigned Districts commonly called Berar*, edited by A.C. Lyall, Bombay 1870 p. 220, also pp. 224-25.

[6] *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, edited by James M. Campbell, Ahmedabad, 1879, Vol. IV; Baroda, 1883, Vol. VII; Riwakantha etc., 1880, Vol VI; Kolhapur, 1886, Vol. 24; Kathiawar, 1884, Vol. VIII.

APPENDIX I

(a) Note on Proceedings of Government Records relating to the Linguistic Survey of India.

(b) Copies of Proceedings of Government Records relating to the Linguistic Survey of India by G. A. Grierson.

(A) NOTE ON PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNMENT RECORDS RELATING TO THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

On the invitation of Prof. Bühler, on behalf of the Organisation Committee for the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna from the 27th Sept. 1886[1], Messrs. G. A. Grierson and R. Hoernle, "the Oriental Scholars, whose attendance in official capacity", was thought "highly desirable", attended the Congress as official candidates of the Govt. of Bengal (later on treated as official candidates of Govt. of India).[2]

On the 29th Sept. in the Aryan Section of the Congress, was read a note by Messrs. Grierson and Hoernle, supported by Barth, Cust, MaxMüller etc. "proposing a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, nearer and further, not only as they exist at present time, but as far back as manuscripts can take us."[3]

The proposal was formally made by Dr. Bühler, seconded by A. Weber and carried by acclamation. Messrs Roth, Kielhorn, Jacobi, Bhandarkar, Bendall, Winternitz, Temple, Kuhn, Geiger, Stein, Jolly, Macdonell, Leland and Cust, besides several others, lent their support to it.

A letter[4] was subsequently sent by the President of the Congress to the Govt. of India forwarding copies of the resolution and urging upon the Govt. to make necessary arrangements to accomplish the task.

The Govt. of India appreciating the importance of such a work which would be not only of literary interest but also of some political importance, because its results should bring the official class into easier and closer communion with the people, besides proving to be "of advantage to vernacular education and to foster the growth of provincial sentiment", wrote to the Govt. of Bengal,[5] to invite Mr. Grierson to draw up a detailed paper dealing fully with the enquiry to be undertaken, and also "showing approximately the probable cost of the scheme and the agency through which it should be carried out and the time which it might be expected to occupy", keeping in view that "the paper is to be circulated to the local Govts. whose suggestions (regarding finances) would be invited", because the Govt. of India was "not prepared, in the existing financial exigencies, to sanction any considerable expenditure beyond what Provincial Govts may be willing to provide from their own revenues."

On 28-29th June 1887, Grierson submitted a long note[6] to the Govt. of Bengal giving an outline of the scope, probable expenditure and the agencies of the work. Mr. Grierson suggested that, although the enquiries of each language family would be better placed under one expert officer, for the Aryan family the enquiries 'might with advantage be, to a certain extent, provincilized,' because of the large number of speeches, and all the Provincial Officers, (to be known as Asstt. Director), each responsible for a language or a group of languages, should for the sake of uniformity, be under one officer, to be called for convenience Director, responsible for the whole Survey. A skeleton grammar suitable at once for all the Indian languages of Aryan family should, at first, be concocted at a meeting of Asstt. Directors and then the whole of India with Aryan languages be mapped out probably (and also conveniently) district wise. A grammar should be written for each dialect/language. All the grammatical forms of the standard language should, then, be printed on the left hand with a few test sentences and these bound work-books should be circulated among intelligent school-masters in one-off-the-way village in the interior with instructions to write against each word the corresponding word in their own local dialects and in return each teacher could be promised a reward of a rupee or two or in special cases upto 10 rupees for the best work. These completed books after corrections by Sub-Inspectors of Educational Deptts., should be submitted to the Provincial Directors who would afterwards compile grammars.

[1] Letter No. 5, dated University, Vienna, the 8th April, 1886.

[2] Letter No. 193, Simla, the 26th June, 1886.

[3] Proceeding 5 of Home (Public) Deptt. June 1887 Nos. 311-329. p. 11.

[4] Letter No. 38, dated Vienna, the 26th Oct. 1886.

[5] Letter No. 1063, dated Simla, the 16th May 1887.

[6] Letter No. 1611, dt. Gaya, the 28th-29th June 1887.

For vocabularies Grierson suggested the process of collection on the line of his *'Behar Peasant Life.'* The time was estimated as 3 years—2 years for grammars and 1 for vocabulary.

About Dravidian languages Grierson suggested a similar plan but hoped it to be easier and less expensive because of the localization of these languages in Madras Presidency. For other languages Grierson would prefer the help of missionaries with provision for awarding handsome honoraria. The search of manuscripts might preferably, according to Grierson, be combined with the work done for Sanskrit Manuscripts.

Grierson suggested 14 Assistant Directors, with an approximate expenditure of Rs. 3,63,800 for the entire survey for three years.[1]

The note of Grierson was forwarded to the Govt. of India by the Bengal Govt.[2], along with two letters from Sir A. Croft, D. P. I. Bengal and Mm. Maheshchandra Nyayaratna, Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The Govt. of Bengal, emphasising the need of such a work, endrosed the scheme, which 'would not be easy to improve on' (Sir A. Croft). Giving the details of the scheme and expenditure the Bengal Govt expressed their willingness to contribute one fourth (i.e. Rs. 45,150 in all) of the total expenditure on Aryan Family. But this govt., was, also like others, as will be seen later on, not very enthusiastic in view of the considerable financial objections, which might come from other Govts. and suggested that the entire scheme might be postponed "until such time as money can be afforded".

Letters were, subsequently, addressed by the Govt of India to different Presidencies and Native States, forwarding the scheme and requesting them "to inform how far they would be prepared to cooperate (financially and technically) in the furtherance of the project in view."[3]

The response was not very encouraging. There was unanimity of views regarding the value of work, but financial restrictions, which have always, even to-day (1967), impeded such scientific and literary activities were put forward by all the Govts.[4] Most of the Govts. forwarded opinions of local experts[5], who in their own ways interpreted, and at times elaborated too, the entire scheme and added a number of alternative suggestions, many of which were too ambitious to be followed[6]. Dearth of skilled specialists and officers, whom Bühler had thought to be in plenty in India "giving their services voluntarily" was another main difficulty[7]. Some Govts. favoured the reprinting of already existing works[8]. Burma neither favoured the idea of its being included in the general plan nor was ready to carry on the work alone[9], and the Hyderabad Residency, although appreciating the value of the work, wanted it to be merged with Archaelogical Survey.[10] Some Govts. were against the establishment of permanent offices with monthly payments and preferred the entire work to be done on the basis of honoraria (which to them appeared to be an effective stimulus) on the condition of work done satisfactorily and with reasonable promptitude.[11] Some Govts. expressed their unwillingness to contribute anything financially and even those ready to pay would prefer very small amounts, that too with a lot of restrictions.[12]

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[1] Grierson had already sent a note to Mr. W. W. Hunter, giving in brief, the scheme of survey and the process of work and Hunter sent a letter to the Govt. of Bengal giving his own views therein. (Letter dated 14th Feb. 1887 from Hunter).

[2] Letter No. 59, T. G. dt. Darjeeling, the 26th Sept., 1888.

[3] Letters No. 221-228, dt. Calcutta, the 12 Feb. 1889.

[4] Letter No. 117, dt. Lahore, the 10th April, 1889 (Punjab Govt), Letter No. 476, dt. Ootacamund, the 8th Aug. 1889 (Madras Govt.), Letter No. 4941-237, dt. Nagpur, the 16th Aug. 1889 (C.P.), Letter No. 409G, dt. Hyderabad Residency, the 5th Nov. 1889 and others in Progs. of Home Deptt. Feb.. 1895, No. 253-279.

[5] Rev. J.N. Cushing from Burma, C.J. Lyall from Assam, Dr. Oppert, V. Kristmana Chariyar and Sheshgiri Sastriyar (Joint Report) from Madras, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar from Bombay, W. Crooke, and F.S. Growse from N.W. Provinces, Lt. Col. W.F Prideaux and Dr. J. P. Stratton from Rajputana.

[6] Letter of Madras Govt. op. cit.

[7] Almost all Govts.

[8] Assam & N.W. Provinces.

[9] Letter No. 452-26N, dated Rangoon, the 19th March 1889.

[10] Letter No. 359, Hyderabad, 8th July 1891.

[11] Bombay (Bhandarkar's opinion), Madras, N. W. Provinces.

[12] Bombay, Rajputana, etc.

The result was, as might be expected, that the idea of a linguistic survey for the whole of India was decided to be abandoned. But Grierson, a man of enormous zeal and infallible devotion, like a perfect *uttamajana* who, to quote Bhartṛhari, never leave the work begun unfinished in spite of all the difficulties (*vighnaiḥ punaḥ punarapi pratihanyamānāh, prārabdhamuttamajanāh na parityajanti*), carried on the work and suggested in 1891[1] a "smaller undertaking which would cost the Govt. little or nothing beyond the cost of printing and postage." The scheme was to have a complete collection of specimens, with translation, of every language and dialect spoken not only in British India, but also in Independent States, Nepal and Burma, in other words to prepare a sort of *catalogue raisonne* simultaneously with the Census of 1891. He was ready to do it all alone in his 'highly earned leisure time', with the help of a clerk and arrangements for printing. In this scheme, the specimens to be written in local script and Roman character were, when completed, to be appended with a bibliography to be prepared by Grierson himself.

The revised scheme of Grierson was sent to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal,[2] who approving the scheme of Grierson in toto, suggested the name of Grierson, as many Govts. and individuals also did, as "the fittest Officer to be placed on special duty in charge of the operations."[3]

Finally the scheme was approved by the Govt. of India, as a preliminary step towards the greater survey and the work was assigned to Dr. Grierson. Letters were addressed to different Govts. asking them to correspond directly with Grierson and supply the names of officers and other informations as and when required by him.[4] A grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum for three years was made to Grierson for meeting the necessary expenditure.[5]

Grierson forwarded printed forms to different local Govts. with printed instructions to get them filled by district officers[6].

Grierson subsequently wrote to the Govt. of India, informing that as the first stage was almost complete, for editing and arranging the specimens he should be put on special duty as the work required travelling and entire devotion of energies.[7] As for himself, he was anxious to get the survey through and was willing 'to forgo my chances of promotion to a Commissionership during the next two years and be content with being kept in my present pecuniary position.'[8]

But the Govt of India was not ready to spare his services and asked him to complete the first stage of the enquiry and leave the work for the moment[9].

Nevertheless, Grierson continued his work amidst financial difficulties and procedural impediments and prepared the rough lists of languages for some provinces e.g. Bengal, Lower Provinces, North-West Provinces and Oudh, Rajputana and Bombay[10].

In a long letter Grierson reporting the progress of his work to Hewett, the Home Secretary to the Govt. of India, expressed his desire to go on furlough and urged him to make arrangements for paying him a fixed monthly addition (honorarium) to his furlough pay, so that he could devote the period to the completion of the work[11]. A similar letter was sent to Bolton of Bengal Govt. also[12].

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[1] Note of Grierson dt. 19th March 1891.

[2] Letter No. 233 dt. Calcutta the 26th Feb. 1895.

[3] Letters No. K. 1225, dt. Calcutta, the 4th Sept. 1895.

[4] Letter No. $\frac{3 \text{ Public}}{223\text{-}227}$ Calcutta, the 5th Feb. 1896.

[5] Office Memorandom No. $\frac{3 \text{ Public}}{230}$, dt. Calcutta, the 5th Feb. 1896.

[6] Proceedings Foreign Deptt. (Internal) June 1896.

[7] Letter of Grierson dt. 10th June, 1896.

[8] Letter of Grierson dt. 5-2-95 (Photostat).

[9] Letter of Hewett, dt. 26th June 1896.

[10] Letter of Grierson, dt. 4th Dec. 1897.

[11] Letter dt. 4th Dec. 1897.

[12] Letter dt. 17th Jan. 1898.

On further enquiry from Govt. Grierson submitted the accounts of expenditure and informed them that work would be finished in approximately 2 to 3 years.

The ceaseless efforts of Grierson for the work bore fruit in the end and Govt. of India informed him their willingness to recommend him for a temporary appointment on Rs. 2,000 a month and remain in active list of Civil Servants, with official designation 'On Special Duty with Linguistic Survey'.[1] The recommendation was sent to the Secretary of State for India on the 10th March 1898[2] and on 5th May 1898 Grierson was telegraphically informed of the sanction of his deputation as O.S.D.[3]. After that Grierson continued the work for two years which was further extended later on[4] and he went to England where he continued his work.

Regarding the process of work, the rough lists prepared on the basis of the completed printed forms, already mentioned, were circulated, among others, to different scholars in India and abroad for criticism and suggestions.[5]

In 1901, Grierson was invited to prepare a Chapter on languages of India for the General Census Report and also for different Provincial Reports.[6]

Some of the extracts would show the expenditure incurred on official maintenance.[7]

Grierson would report to the Govt., every month, the progress of the Linguistic Survey. One report is being given here as specimen.[8]

This, in brief, is, as these printed extracts will show, the story of the beginning of the monumental work of Grierson. But these extracts are by no means complete, because many of the papers are either not transferred to National Archives of India or in many cases have been destroyed, so much so that at times the link between two extracts seems broken.

A few photostat copies of letters to and from Grierson are being given here to show the interest and devotion of Grierson for the work.

During the progress of the work on Linguistic Survey before 1900 a considerable controversy arose about 'The Story of Prodigal Son', being circulated for specimen translations, owing to its being an extract from Bible and containing the word cow/swine in it. It was feared lest the entire scheme might be taken as a religious propaganda and hurt the religious feelings of a section of natives. A few letters of Grierson and the local Govts. are being given in photostat as specimens.

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[1] Letter of Hewett, dt. 25th Feb. 1898.

[2] Letter No. 78, (1898) dt. Cal. 10th March 1898.

[3] Telegram No. 726 dt. 5th May 1898.

[4] Proceedings, Home Deptt., (Public), Nov. 1899. No. 280-282.

[5] Proceedings of Home Deptt. Nov. 1898, No. 139-143 also of Oct. 1891 No. 97.

[6] Proceedings, Home (Census) Deptt. May 1901 No. 3 pt.B.

[7] Proceedings, Home Deptt. Sept. 1898, Dec., 1890, July 1898.

[8] Proceedings, Home Deptt. (Deposit) Jan. 1901 & Feb. 1901/March 1898.

(B) COPIES OF PROCEEDINGS OF GOVERNMENT RECORDS RELATING TO LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA BY GRIERSON

HOME 1886 DEPT
PUBLIC A
Proceedings June
Nos. 43-54

Progs No. 46

p. 8

No. 281 T. R. dated Darjeeling, the 14th May 1886.

From—P. NOLAN Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Revenue Deptt.

To—The Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

With reference to Mr. Mackenzie's letter No. 14, dt. the 8th Jan. 1886, regarding the deputation of Mr. Grierson & Dr. Hoernle as delegates to the International Congress, Vienna, I am directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of the G. of I., copy of a letter No. 5, dt. 8th April 1886, from Mr. G. Bühler, Lld., C.I.E., suggesting the deputation of Mr. G. A. Grierson & Dr. Rudolf Hoernle as Govt. delegates to the International Oriental Congress to be held at Vienna from 27th Sept. to 2nd Oct. 1886.

No. 47

No. 5, dt. University, Vienna, the 8th April, 1886.

From—G. BUHLER, Esq. Lld. C.I.E.

To—The Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Educational Deptt.

I have the honour to forward in the name of the Committee of Organisation, a copy of the invitation to the Seventh International Oriental Congress, to be held at Vienna from the 27th Sept. to the 2nd Oct. 1886, and to request the favour of your bringing it to the notice of His Honour the Lt. Governor.

(2) At the same time the Committee ventures to express the hope that the Govt. of Bengal will be pleased to send Delegates to the Vienna Congress, and it begs to specially mention G. A. Grierson esq. B. C. S. (on leave in Europe) and Dr. R. Hoernle, of the Bengal Education Deptt., as oriental scholars whose attendance in an official capacity would be highly desirable.

(3) In order to make the deputation of Delegates from India less expensive and more practicable, the Committee has asked the Directors of the Austrian Lloyd to issue for members of the Congress three monthly return tickets from Bombay to Trieste at reduced rates. Though the negotiations are still pending, there is every (p. 9) prospect that they will be successful. I shall have the honour to communicate to you the final result, as soon as it is known. But I can safely state even at present that a sum of Rs. 2,500 will amply cover all the expenses of a Delegate to the Congress.

No. 193 of 1886

Progs. 54

p. 11

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Deptt. of Finance & Commerce Salaries, Establishments etc.

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, HER MAJESTY'S SECY. OF STATE FOR INDIA

Simla, the 26th June 1886.

MY LORD,

(1 & 2 regarding the deputation of Mr. J. F. Fleet, of B.C.S., Epigraphist to the G of I as official candidate to attend the Vienna Congress.)

3. We take this opportunity of transmitting a copy of papers cited in the annexed list, from which it will be seen that the Bengal Govt. and the Organisation Committee of the Seventh International Oriental Congress propose that Mr. G. A. Grierson of the B.C.S. and Mr. A.F.R. Hoernle of the Bengal Educational Deptt. should also be deputed to attend the Congress as Govt. delegates.

4. Under ordinary circumstances it would probably be unnecessary that more than one delegate should represent the Govt. of India at the Congress; but as both Messrs. Grierson & Hoernle happen to be in Europe on furlough, and as the qualifications of these gentlemen as Oriental scholars are of a high order, we think they might with advantage be permitted to attend the Congress as delegates of the Indian Govt. If your Lordship sees no objection to

this proposal, we would recommend that Messrs. Grierson & Hoernle may be allowed such reasonable expenses as may be incurred by them in travelling from their residences in England or Germany to Vienna and back, and the period during which they may be in attendance at the Congress may be allowed to count as service. In the event of these recommendations being sanctioned we shall be glad if Your Lordship will cause the necessary communications to be made to Messrs. Grierson & Hoernle.

We have the honour to be
MY LORD

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants
Sd/- DUFFERIN

etc.

No. 964

Copy forwarded to the Govt. of Bengal for information & communication to Mr. Grierson & Dr. Hoernle.

CALCUTTA RECORDS

HOME 1887 DEPT

PUBLIC

Proceedings—June

No. 311 to 329.

page 11

Proposed investigation into the Vernacular Languages of India. Proposed grant to Mr. G. A. Grierson of an honorarium of Rs. 3,000 *for writing a Grammar of the Languages of Behar, and a Glossary of agricultural terms in use there.*

Prog. No. 311

No. 38, dated Vienna, the 26th Oct. 1886

From—The President of the Seventh International Oriental Congress, Vienna.

To—The Secretary to the Govt. of India.

I have the honour to forward herewith copies of a resolution passed by the Aryan Section of the Seventh International Oriental Congress, recommending a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India and the collection of the ancient manuscripts containing vernacular works. I have the honour to request the favour of your bringing it to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy in Council.

I may add that I fully concur in the views of the Aryan Section, and that I trust that they will meet with consideration which in my opinion they deserve.

Prog. No. 312

Extract from the Proceedings of the Aryan Section of the International Congress of Orientalists, held in Vienna in the year 1886.

Sept 29th

READ—A note by Messrs. Grierson and Hoernle, supported by Messrs. Barth, Bendall, Cowell, Cust, MaxMüller, Sir Monier Monier-Williams, Messrs. Rost, Sayce and Senart, proposing a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, nearer and further, not only as they exist at the present time, but as far back as mss. can take us.

Proposed by Dr. G. Bühler, seconded by A. Weber, and carried by acclamation:—'That this Section strongly urge upon the Government of India that the present is suitable time for the commencement of this most important work.

'Just now there happens to be in India a number of scholars who have made the vernaculars of that country their special duty.

"The search for Vernacular manuscripts could be conveniently united with that of Sanskrit ones, now being conducted by officers of Government, who might be requested to spend a fixed proportion of their funds on vernacular mss.

'The survey of the vernaculars as they exist at present could be carried out by the subordinate officers of the Education Deptt. with the least possible expenditure of trouble and money. They should be in each Presidency or Province under the supervision of one or more skilled specialists, who would no doubt, in many cases give their services voluntarily.'

I agree to the above

(Prof) R. VON ROTH (Präsident der Arischen Section)

(Prof.) WEBER (Vice-Präsident der Arischen Section)

(Prof.) CH. MICHEL (Ghent, Belgium) } Secretäre der
(Dr.) HANUSZ (Vienna) } Section

(Prof.) KIELHORN (Göttingen)

(Prof.) H. JACOBI (Kiel)
(Prof.) R. G. BHANDARKAR (Poona)
(Prof.) ERNST FLEISCHEL V. MARXOW (Vienna)
(Prof.) CECIL BENDALL (Brit. Mus. London)
(Prof.) E. WINDISCH (Leipzig)
(Mr.) E. GUIMET (Lyons)
(Dr.) J. KIRSTE
(Dr.) R. SIEGER
(Dr.) M. WINTERNITZ } (Vienna)
(Dr.) B. HIRSCHBAND

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(Dr.) J. KARLOWICZ (Dresden)
(Prof.) M. STRASZEWSKI (Krakau)
(Capt.) R. TEMPLE (B. S. C.)
(Dr.) R. ROST (Chief Librarian, India Office, London)
(Prof.) E. TEZA (Pisa)
(Prof) E. KUHN (Munich)
(Dr.) THUMAYAN (Vienna)
(Dr.) W. GEIGER (Munich)
(Dr.) O. CODRINGTON (London)
(Prof.) E. LEUMANN (Strassburg)
(Dr.) E. MÜLLER (Bern)
M. MACAULIFFE (Esq. B. C. S.)
(Mr.) L. FEER (Paris)
(Prof.) A. LUDWIG (Prague)
(Dr.) M. A. STEIN (Budapest)
(Dr.) W. CARTELLIERI (Vienna)
(Dr.) W. SOLF (Kiel)
(Prof.) TOMASCHEK (Vienna)
(Prof.) F. RUEHL (Königsberg)
E. DORRINGTON (Esq.)
(Prof.) A. KAEGI (Zürich)
(Prof.) J. JOLLY (Würzburg)
A. MACDONNELL (Esq. Oxford)
J. T. PLATTS (Esq. Oxford)
(Dr.) J. SKLENAK (Vienna)
C. G. LELAND (Esq. U. S. A.)

Prog. 313
p. 13

Dated Calcutta, the 23rd November 1886.

From—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., B. C. S., and Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE

To—The Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

WITH reference to your No. 964, dated Simla, 3rd July 1886, forwarded to us by the Government of Bengal, we have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter received by us from the Secretary of State for India, No. R. S. & C. 1556, dated 13th August 1886, and to say that we gratefully accepted the offer therein made, and attended the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna as delegates of the Indian Government.

The following is the brief account of what we saw and heard there:—

27th September
Monday

The following Sections were then constituted:—

1. Arabic
2. Semitic
3. Aryan
4. African & Egyptian
5. Chinese and Polynesian

We enrolled ourselves as members of the Aryan Section, and shall confine our remarks to it.

At the first sitting of the Section officers were appointed; viz.—

Prof. R. Von Roth—President
Prof. A. Weber & Prof. C. Lignana—Vice Presidents
Prof. Ch. Michel & Dr. J. Hanusz—Secretaries

The session then adjourned till 2 p.m. when business was regularly begun. The first person called upon to read his communication was Mr. Grierson. He had two papers to read, one a short note suggesting a systematic survey of Indian vernaculars, and the other a historical sketch of mediaeval Hindi poetry. He requested to be allowed to postpone reading the latter for a day or two as it was not quite ready, and in connection with the note, laid on the table a set of the grammars of the Bihar dialects, and a copy of Bihar Peasant Life, as specimens of what the Government of Bengal was doing in the way of surveying the vernaculars in its territories. Dr. Hoernle and Dr. G. Bühler spoke in support of his proposal, and it was finally agreed to postpone any formal resolution till his paper on Hindi poets, which was fixed for the following Wednesday, should have been read.

* * * *

29th September
Wednesday
p. 15

Next followed Mr. Grierson's paper on Hindi Poetry. It's full title is "The Mediaeval Vernacular Literature of Hindustan with Special reference to Tulsī Dās".

At the conclusion of the paper his note regarding a Survey of the Vernaculars of India was again brought forward, and an animated discussion arose as to the best means of forwarding the suggestions contained in it. One of the speakers, we may mention, was Mr. C. Leland (Hans Breitmann), the eminent Rōmani scholar. He drew attention to the fact that the American Government was now holding a very similar survey of the dialects of the North American Indians. Nearly every scholar in Europe, who was unable to attend the Congress, and who was interested in the subject, had written a short note warmly supporting the proposal. A printed copy of the note, and what they wrote, is appended to this letter. Finally, Dr. Bühler made a formal proposition on the subject, which was seconded by Prof. Weber of Berlin and carried by acclamation. The following is the report furnished to the *Times* on the proposition:—

"Mr. Grierson had, on the previous Monday's session, proposed a general and detailed survey of the various dialects spoken in North India; and a resolution was proposed by Prof. Bühler, of Vienna, and seconded by Prof. Weber, of Berlin, urging on the Govt. of Br. India the propriety of commencing this most important work. It happened that in India at this moment many specialists could be found who would give voluntary assistance. The officials employed by Govt. to search for Skt. mss. could, at the same time, search for the equally important works in the mediaeval vernaculars. The resolution was carried by acclamation and signed by all the scholars present."

The opinion of the *Athenaeum* on the proposal is as follows:—

"The sitting of the Aryan Section was fittingly commenced by a motion as practical as it is important, on the necessity of instituting systematic research into the languages of India..... The motion was warmly received, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Government of India, which has completed its Gazetteer, may now see its way to a scientific survey of the manifold languages of the country."

We have given the quotation in order to show that a survey such as was proposed is considered as needed, that the proposal itself is practical, and that the expense to the Government need not be heavy. We trust that when the formal proposal reaches the Government of India in due course from the authorities of the Congress, it may be deemed worthy of consideration. A printed copy of the resolution is added to the note hereto appended, and, with regard to it, we shall shortly be prepared to submit a scheme for its realization, in more or less detail, for the consideration of the Govt.

* * *

30th September
P. 16

Prof. E. Kuhn, of Munich read an important paper on the dialects of the Hindoo Kush on materials furnished by Capt. Tanner, of the Survey Deptt. which were collected during the last Afghan War. Prof. Kuhn was of the opinion that these dialects, together with Kashmiri, and the Romani of the Gypsies, formed a special group among the languages of the Indic branch of the Aryan family. A lively discussion followed, in which, amongst others, Mr. Leland, Prof. Hunfalvy. Dr. Burkhard and Mr. Grierson took part. The point which excited most criticism was the theory that Rōmani belonged to this family of languages. To this we, as well as some others, were unable to agree.

The question of Gypsies was next handled by Mr. C. Leland, the well known "Hans Breitmann", and probably the greatest master of the Rōmani language and lore in the world. His paper dealt with the origin of the Gypsies. He concluded a most interesting paper with the statement that he had found that there actually existed in the Punjab a wandering race, who called themselves Rōm and spoke Rōmani.

Mr. Leland does not profess to be well acquainted with the Indian Vernaculars, and this final statement immediately gave rise to the most lively criticism on the part of the Indian scholars then present. Dr. R. Cust, Mr. Macauliffe, Capt. Temple, and both of us all united in being unable to confirm his opinion. That these are in India argots, or slangs, or thieves' languages, or artificial trade languages, there can be no doubt but no proof could be asserted of the existence of a so called Rōmani language in that country. Mr. Grierson who had studied Rōmani both in Europe and in India, was disposed to believe that Mr. Leland's former identification of Rom, "a Gypsy" with the Doms of India was the only tenable one, and that, so long as his researches have gone, without at present speaking positively Rōmani was most closely connected with the languages of Eastern India. The points urged were too technical to repeat here.

It may be noted here that on the following Saturday, Mr. Leland took Mr. Grierson to some

Hungarian Gypsy Musicians, where he endeavoured to stay long, but what he heard only strengthened his opinion that the Bhojpūrī Magahiya Dom is very nearly related to the Gypsies of Europe.

NOTE

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In laying on the table a copy of 'Bihar Peasant Life', and a complete set of the 'Grammars of the dialects and sub-dialects of the Province of Bihar', I would ask to be excused for drawing attention to the fact that they were a first attempt at a systematic survey of the language acually spoken in a given tract of Br. India.

A glance at any one of these books will show how radically the real language—the mothertongue of all classes, rich and poor, educated and uneducated alike in Bihar, differs from the so called Hindī and Hindustānī languages which have hitherto been the only languages of Northern India known to students.

I would now urge the necessity there is of making a systematic attempt at finding out what are the actual languages spoken at present day throughout India, and what relics there are of their past history.

Firstly, the actual state of affairs at the present day. We have the Neo-Aryan languages of India at present roughly classified into Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Punjābī, Sindhī, Hindī, Bangālī, Asāmī, Oriyā, Kashmīrī and Singhalī to which by a process of fisson Bihari has lately been added as a younger sister. As having, in manner, attended at the birth of the last named, I naturally take an interest in her condition, but that does not prevent my seeing that what is the case with her is in great measure the case throughout all India, and specially in Hindustan. That is, that the literary or Government language of any tract is widely different from the language actually spoken by the people. In some cases this is only a question of dialect, but in others the polite language learned by Europeans, and by natives who wish to converse with Europeans, is totally distinct both in origin and in construction from that used by the same natives in their homes. In the course of future years, no doubt, through the agency of railways and the printing press, the literary language will in many cases become the norm of half-conversation but at the present that is not the case. The fact is, and it is one that should be faced, that no where in Hindustan is the language of the village the same as the language of the court and of the school. This is true to a certain extent all over the world, but in India the difference between the two languages is peculiarly great. Before a poor man can sue his neighbour in the court he has to learn a foreign language, or to trust to interpreters, who fleece him at every step; and before a boy can learn the rule of three he has to learn the foreign language in which it is taught. In some parts of Hindustan this difficulty exists in greater degrees than in other but it is always more or less present.

As the tracts ruled by each Government are very large, a multiplicity of court languages would be a manifest inconvenience, but there is no reason why the European official should not learn the vernacular *patois* or language (I care not what it is called) of the district committed to his care. This has hitherto been a practical impossibility to the average official for whose aid no grammars or dictionaries existed, and for this purpose, I undertook the preparation of the Bihārī grammars, which have, I believe, been found useful. The Magistrate need no longer have recourse to an interpreter, and can now, after a minimum expenditure of labour, converse with a witness in the latter's mothertongue.

So much for the practical side of the question. I believe that similar vocabularies and sets of grammars for the whole of India would be not only equally (p. 20) practically useful, but would also be of assistance to students of philology in Europe and to missionaries. The Hindustānī* hitherto studied, though a useful *lingua franca*, is but a camp jargon, and Urdū and Hindī, which are founded on it, are mere inventions of the closet, and nowhere vernaculars. They are hence nothing but misleading to European students.

*I use these terms in the sense in which natives use them in the part of India where my lot has been cast. By Hindūstānī, I mean that useful *lingua franca*, understood by everyone all over Northern India, borrowing something from each of many languages, but nowhere a vernacular. By Urdū, I mean that form of Hindūstānī which has been elaborated by Musalman pedants in their books, which is overloaded with Arabic and Persian words, and understood only by learned Muhammadans. Similarly, by Hindī, I mean the Pundit-ridden form of Hindūstānī which is overloaded with Sanskrit words, and understood only by learned Hindus. Urdū differs from Hindī not only in its vocabulary but in its idioms, and above all, in the collocation of its words. This last, and not the vocabulary is considered by Hindu scholars the true discriminating test. This Hindi is often called Jābanī by natives.

In talking to Europeans, natives will sometimes use Hindī for the language of Sūr Dās, and Tul'sī Dās, but they rarely do so amongst themselves, preferring the terms Braj, Baiswārī, and so on.

Secondly, the relics there are of the past history of the languages of India.

Here I must confine myself to Hindustani, for I do not pretend to have any acquaintance with the older literatures of other Indian languages. In my paper on the mediaeval literature of Hindūstān which I propose to read at this Congress, I hope to be able to show that, from the 13th Century down to the present day, there is a rich mine of literature awaiting the labour of the student. This literature is of every variety, commentaries on Skt. works, histories (with dates), epic-poems, collections of sonnets, huge anthologies, treatises on medicine, mathematics and grammar, in short, every object with which we are familiar in Skt. and others besides. These books were all written in the vernacular and their authors meant them to be understood by the unlearned and thus they reflect the progress of the languages of India from the era of the Prakirt writings down to this century. What a mass of ore awaiting the furnace of European science?

I believe, therefore, that the time is ripe for commencing *a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India, nearer and further, not only as they exist at the present moment, but as far back as Mss. can take us.*

Such a task is beyond the power of private enterprise; but I am persuaded that the Government which has carried out the statistical survey of India, and which has such literary powers at its command as those which conceived the idea of and carried out the great Gazetteer of India, would not shrink from such a survey as I now refer, if it were proposed with all the weight of authority which belongs to this Congress.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

Votre proposition me parait tout-à-fait opportune et je pense qu'il n'est pas un indianiste qui ne se feliciterait de la voir adopter. Pour moi, jene puis que vous remercier sans réserve de vouloir bien la faire, et je ne doute pas qu'elle ne soit unanimement appuyèe par le Congrès. La seule réserve que je voie à faire c'est la médiocrité, pour ainsi dire, forcée de toute enterprise officielle. Pour être bien faite une pareille enqûete devrait être faite partont par des Grierson et des Hoernle, et il est á prévoir que cela, n'arrivera pas souvent. Mais à ceci encore il y aurait remède en confiant la direction générale de l'enquête a des mains capables, avec pleins pouvoirs d' empêcher l', enterprise d'aboutir à un amas informede paperasseries.

A. BARTH

(Author of "The Religions of India")

The proposal to institute a systematic and scientific enquiry as to the facts of the spoken language of Northern India seems to me one eminently worthy of the consideration of the Government of India. Mr. Grierson's observation are mainly concerned with Hindūstān in the narrowest sense of the term, i.e., thc Ganges Valley; but I may mention, that when I was in Rajputana last year I saw a draft proposal of similar character by the Reverend J. Traill, Missionary at Jeypore, with reference to the systematic preservation of the vernacular literature of that region. All those interested in the work of European Societies like the English Dialect Society ought to do their utmost to encourage schemes for India like these.

CECIL BENDALL M. A.

(Prof. of Skt. in Univ. College, London)

I shall not be able to attend the Vienna Congress, but I hereby approve of your proposal. Your bringing it forward will certainly help to turn the attention of European scholars to the subject. I heartily wish you all success.

E. B. COWELL

My remarks given aboye* make no difference whatever in my entire concurrence in Mr. Grierson's proposal. Few officers in my time could converse freely with the villager in his own *bōlī* or understand his servants talking with each other. I have no doubt that fewer still could do so now, and yet it must be the cause of the cruel injustice, and, in the case of a local disturbance, great political risks; for a few words spoken in time to the leading people will often settle a difficulty.

ROBERT CUST

(Hony. Secy to R.A.S.; Author of "Modern Languages of East Indies".)

In course of my joint labours with Mr. Grierson; connected with the "Comparative Bihari Dictionary", a copy of which is also before the Congress, I have gained the conviction that a

*Not printed here. They are on minor matters of detail. G. A. G.

linguistic survey of India, such as the proposed, would be specially desirable at the present time. I would, therefore, very cordially join in recommending it to the formidable consideration and support of the Congress.

RUDOLF HOERNLE

(Extract) I am strongly in favour of more being done by scholars for the many local dialects of India. Their neglect and the ignorance about them will assuredly lead to their deterioration. Men like Beames, Growse, Hoernle, Pargiter, Temple, Grierson and Crooke have done and are doing most useful and valuable work in this respect, and I trust the Government will encourage and support them, for how is the education of the countless millions of India to be affected except through the homely vernaculars ?

A modest beginning might be made by the publication of a single volume, enumerating all the more important local dialects of Hindi, and explaining *generally* the most prominent points in which the structure of each differs from the High Hindī. Then specimens might be given, such as a portion of the Sermon on the Mount, translated into as many of these dialects as possible (perhaps in parallel columns).

MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS

(Extract) I should gladly have supported your proposal of a linguistic survey. You know from my lectures on language how much importance I attach to the study of dialects. Language lives in dialects, and dies in classical literature. If you have the right men to do the work, it should certainly be done. Burnell did something of the same kind. The great danger in India seems to me that undertakings started by good men fall often into the hands of less competent persons, so that more harm than good comes from them. Against that you would have to guard. Could you not combine your forces with those of the Ethnological Survey, which in Mr. Risley's hands promises well ?

I quite agree with you that the modern dialects should be studied in the popular literature also, as far back as it can be reached.

MAXMULLER

(Extract) I would fully and cordially endorse all you say and suggest, and shall be ready to support your proposal. It applies to Northern India in the first place, Bengal, Central India, N.W.P., the Punjab, and perhaps in a lesser degree to the Marāthī and Gujarātī districts. It would least affect the Dravidian languages, in which an unbroken stream of vernacular literature has been instrumental in preventing dialectic divergence those 800 years. Any one who has studied your publications must have been struck with the fact that without a knowledge of these many vernaculars it will be impossible to get at the unwritten literature, at the manners, customs, superstitions, proverbs and c. of those millions. I have not the least doubt that the Congress will heartily cooperate with you in commending the scheme of Govt.

R. ROST

By "British India" Mr. Grierson evidently means those portions of India in which literary or official languages are used. I quite agree with him in hoping that the dialects actually spoken in the districts by the side of the cultivated dialect should be preserved and recorded for philological use. Modern scientific philology has long recognised their importance. Before that work can be successfully accomplished, however, a training in phonetics is required on the part of the observer. What Spitta Bey has done for the Arabic dialect of Cairo is a model of what should be done for all 'uncultured' dialects.

A. H. SAYCE

P. 22

Jé ne puis qu'approver chaudement le voeu que vous souhai ten de faire appuyer par le Congrès des Orientalistes. Il serait du plus haut intrêt pour la langue telle quélle vit dans la bouche du peuple, et non ces materiaux decevants que nons fournissent des idiomes remaniés par un travail scholastique. Les enseignements qui sortiraient de cette e'tude auraient, je pense, le plus grand prix non seulement pour la période moderne du developpement linguistique, mais aussi pour des temps plus ancien. Il nést pass, pour comprendre l'histoire de l'Inde, de méthode plus sûre que de remonter patiemment du présent et du connu au passé plus obscur. De toutes façons le plan que vous proposer, s'il est mis en oevre avec le soin et l'exactitude dont vous avez vous même commencè par donner des modèles, meriterait d'avoir sa place à côté des autres "Surveys" dont l'initiative et la continuation perseverante font taut d'— honneur au Gouvernement de l'Inde.

E. SENART

No. 316

No. 491 dt. Calcutta, the 28th February 1887
From -A.P. MacDonnell, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To—The President of the 7th International Orient. Congress, Vienna.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 26th October 1886, forwarding a copy of a resolution passed by the Aryan Section of the Seventh International Oriental Congress on the subject of a systematic survey of the Vernacular languages of India and the collection of ancient mss; and in reply to say that the subject-matter of your letter will be in due course taken under the consideration of H.E. the Governor General in Council.

No. 317

No. 338, dt. Calcutta, the 23rd March 1887

From — P. Nolan, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.

To — The Secretary to the Government of India.

I am directed to submit for the consideration and orders of the Government of India, a copy of a letter, dated the 11th February, 1887, in which Mr. G. A. Grierson of the B.C.S., applies for an honorarium on account of the literary work which he has done at the request of the Government.

2. With the approval of Sir Ashley Eden, Lt. Governor of Bengal, Mr. Grierson undertook at the beginning of 1881, to write a grammar of the languages of the province of Behar. This grammar has now been completed and has been printed at the cost of the Bengal Government in 8 pts. during the last 5 years at the Bengal Secretariat Press; Pt. VII and VIII are now being printed off. In 1883 Mr. Grierson also proposed, and, under the encouragement of Sir Rivers Thompson, undertook the preparation of a glossary of agricultural terms in use in Behar. This work was completed in 1885 and has been entitled by Mr. Grierson 'Bihar Peasant Life'. It is, as stated by the author, a 'discursive catalogue' of the surroundings of the life of the Behar ryot. This book was also printed in the Bengal Sectt. Press at the cost of the Government. Lists appended to this letter show what distribution of copies of the books has been made.

3. I am to observe that in the Lt. Governor's opinion Mr. Grierson has done a very valuable service in facilitating the acquisition of a knowledge of the real vernaculars of Behar, and this work he has accomplished by the expenditure of much time and labour. Sir Rivers Thompson would recommend that an honorarium of Rs. 3,000 should be presented to Mr. Grierson.

4. A copy of each of the books referred to in this letter is sent herewith.....etc.

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Prog. 318

Dt. Calcutta, the 11th Feb. 1887

From—G. A. Grierson, Esq.

To — The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General & Revenue Deptts.

The last part of the Grammars of the Bihar dialects is now in the press, and will shortly be published. The parts which have been published before this have been very well received both in this country and in Europe, as is shown by the reviews, of which I enclose copies.

Bihar Peasant Life has also been long enough before the public to enable one to judge of the estimation in which it is held in Europe. I enclose copies of the articles of various Indian and European papers in which it is reviewed.

I believe I may say without boasting that both these works have been very favourably noticed, and that they have been found of some use in Government administration.

They have occupied the greater portion of my spare time for the past seven years; and if we except two short periods of Sp. duty, amounting altogether about two months, and the salaries of two Sub-Inspectors of Schools, for a short period, they have not cost Government a penny, beyond the cost of printing. I believe that there are several instances in other provinces of officers who have written works of this nature, being granted honoraria. Such honoraria are paid on the sanction (p. 15) of the Government of India, which will no doubt, be able to find precedents in its office.

If such precedents exist, may I express a hope that it may be considered whether I have a claim to an honorarium or not.

With regard to the short period during which I was on Special duty, I may add that I have, on the other hand, been twice on leave while these works were on the stocks, and that during the whole of my leave I have cheerfully worked at them.

(*Distribution list of the Bihari Grams & Bihar Peasant Life*).

Progs. No. 319—326—Bihari Grammar & Bihar Peasant Life.

Prog. 327

No. 1063 dated Simla, the 16th May 1887.

From — A.P. MacDonnell, Secretary to the Government of India.

To — The Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, General (Misc.) Deptt.

With reference to Home Department endorsement No. 964 dated 3rd July 1886, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter No. 38 dated 26th October 1886, from the President of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna, forwarding an extract from the proceedings of the Aryan Branch of the Congress recommending that a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India should be undertaken. I am at the same time to enclose a copy of a joint report dated 23rd November 1886 by Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.S. and Dr. A.F.R. Hoernle, in which reference is made to same subject.

2. The exploration of the really national vernacular dialects of India and their scientific treatment by comp. philology is, in the opinion of the Governor General in council, a work not only of literary interest but also of some political importance because its results should bring the official class into easier and closer communion with the people. It is also in the opinion of H.E. in Council likely to prove of advantage to vernacular education, and to foster the growth of provincial sentiment. H.E. in Council considers that upon these grounds the assistance of Government may fairly be claimed towards an undertaking of the kind. But the exposition of the subject in the papers forwarded, though containing interesting hints, is somewhat indefinite. There is an extensive mediaeval or modern literature awaiting systematic exploration and much to be (p. 28) learned about the limits and peculiarities of the dialects of the family of provincial languages descended from the Sanskrit and the best way to commence the proposed investigation would, it appears to the Governor General in Council, be to request Mr. Grierson, who has already devoted much consideration to the subject, to write a paper dealing with the enquiry to be undertaken as a work which the Government of India desires to prosecute on the lines suggested at the Congress, and on the understanding that the paper will be circulated to local Governments whose suggestions would be invited as to the practical measures necessary for giving effect to the scheme. But looking to the existing financial exigencies, the Government of India is not prepared to sanction any considerable expenditure beyond what Provincial Governments may be able or willing to provide from their own revenues, and this consideration should be kept in view in drawing up the programme.

3. I am accordingly to request that, with the permission of His Honour the Lt. Governor, Mr. Grierson may be invited to draw up a detailed paper as above indicated, which should also show approximately the probable cost of the scheme, the agency through which it should be carried out and the time which it might be expected to occupy.

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No. 143 of 1887

GOVT. OF INDIA

DEPTT. OF FINANCE & COMMERCE
BONUSES & HONORARIA

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT CROSS, G.C.B.

Her Majesty's Secy. of State for India.

Simla, the 18th June 1887.

My Lord,

We have the honour to refer to your Lordship's favourable consideration an application (Letter No. 338 dated 23rd March 1887, and enclosures) submitted by the Government of Bengal for the grant to Mr. G. A. Grierson, of the B.C.S., of an honorarium of Rs. 3,000 for writing a Gram. in 8 parts of the languages of the Province of

Behar, and also for preparing a glossary of agricultural terms in use in Behar. Copies of both these books have already been forwarded to your Lordship.

2. Under the circumstances represented by the Bengal Government, and having regard to the fact that Mr. Grierson has expended time, labour and money on works of public usefulness, which he carried through in addition to his ordinary duties, we strongly recommend that the proposal made by the Bengal Govt. may be sanctioned.

We have the honour to be,

MY LORD

Your Lordship's most obedient & humble servants

Sd/- DUFFERIN
F. S. ROBERTS
T.C. HOPE
A. COLVIN
G. CHENEY
A. R. SCOBLE
J. B. PEILE

No. 3048

Copy forwarded to the Home Department for information.

By Order

J. E. O'CONOR
Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of India

HOME DEPTT. PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS

1887-June

Notes

p.1

Report of G. A. GRIERSON, Esq. on his late deputation to the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna as a delegate of the Government of India.

Home Deptt. The 25th Nov. 1886

MY DEAR MR. PEILE— Grierson (C.S.) who with Hoernle represented India at the Vienna Oriental Congress, has returned to India and has sent in his report which I am having printed. As the sole reward of his labours, he hopes he may be recommended by us to the consideration of the Bengal Government with a view to getting a fairly healthy station where he can carry on his researches into the Hindi language. He is, as you know, engaged in a Hindi Dictionary, parts of which have been published and have been warmly approved by philologists, both in India, England and in the continent of Europe.

With your permission, I might write D.O. to the Bengal Secretary to say that Grierson has merited the approval of the Government of India and recommending him to the consideration of the Lt. Governor. This might be of use to one of the most deserving, unobtrusive, and in his own way able officers in the Bengal Service.

Yours truly,
A.P. MacDonnell.

My dear MacDonnell,

I see no objection to your doing as you propose.

Ever yours sincerely,
J. B. Peile
File A.P.M. 27-11-86

* * *

DIARY No. 1737

From G. A. Grierson Esq., B.C.S. dated the 23rd November 1886.

Submitted for orders.

Grant of money for search of Skt. MSS. to Govts. of Madras, Bombay, Bengal & Burma.

J.L.M. 312.86

To Secretary — The proposals are—

(1) that a proportion of the money now devoted to the search for Skt. mss. should be spent on a search for vernacular mss.;

(2) that a survey of the vernaculars as they exist at present should be carried out by the subordinate members of the Education Departments under the supervision of one or two specialists in each province who would give their services voluntarily.

Local Govts. might be asked their views as to these proposals. We may ask all local Govts., though the inquiry is not so much required in Madras & perhaps Bombay as it is elsewhere in India.

J.P.H. 6. 12. 86

This is not a very urgent matter. It may stand over till January next. Bring it up on Jan. 3rd.

Submitted A.P.M. 7. 12. 86

U.C. 3. 1. 87

To Secretary. J.P.H. 3. 1. 87

This may stand over for another month till we have more leisure.

A.P.M. 4. 1. 87

(P. 3)

BENGAL SECRETARIAT
The 7th Jan. 1887

My Dear MacDonnell,

If no action has as yet been taken on my report of the Vienna Congress, I would ask to be allowed to withdraw it, in order that Dr. Hoernle who has now returned, may submit a joint one with me.

If I am permitted to withdraw it, will you kindly have the printed copies of the Report sent to me, so that they may be used for the necessary alterations.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON.

This may be allowed. Send Mr. Grierson three copies of his report.

A.P.M. 7. 1. 87

Calcutta
The 11th Jan. 1887

My Dear Grierson,

There is no objection to your withdrawing your report on the Vienna Congress on which no action has as yet been taken. I send you four printed copies of the Report as requested. I find that the President of the Congress has addressed the Government of India on the subject of a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India. The question will receive attention in due course.

Yours sincerely,
A. P. MacDonnell

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.S.

p.4

UTTARPARA
The 14th Feb. 1887

My dear Peile,

I have not liked to trouble you about the proposals of the Vienna Congress till the pressure of the Jubilee arrangements had passed over. But this week will bring the end, and I am anxious to place the matter before you with as little delay as possible.

I enclose an extract from the Proceedings of the Congress together with a Note by Mr. Grierson explaining his own views. Personally, I think they contemplate, a somewhat too wide area of the research for Government to undertake, unless it is prepared to meet a considerable expenditure. His proposals embrace three distinct enquiries.

1st into the vocabularies of the vernaculars throughout India;

2nd into their grammatical structure ;

3rd into their literature.

If the Government sees its way to an average expenditure of Rs. 40,000 per annum for 5 years, I believe the whole might be accomplished, and a memorable work would be done both for India and for Oriental Scholarship in Europe. I think also that the Calcutta University, which receives no grant whatever from the State, would be induced to cooperate in regard to supervision and printing.

But if the Government is not prepared to meet so large an out-lay, the first and third proposals might be carried out at an expenditure of about Rs. 25,000 a year, with aid from the Universities. The investigation of grammatical structure is a work which required long and patient labour, which may with propriety be left to private scholarship. I doubt if works like the great grammars of Beames, Caldwell, and Trumpp can be called into existence by State machinery or produced to order. I think that Government would do its duty, in this respect, by including the grammatical enquiry as a recognized branch of the research, and holding out encouragement by pecuniary assistance to scholars in the publication of their personal researches.

The first branch of the investigation dealing with the wood framework of the vernaculars must, I believe, be carried out by an organisation somewhat on the lines suggested by Mr. Grierson. He

is eminently qualified to direct the whole, and I have satisfied myself that there are at present officers and missionaries, and native scholars in each province who would be his willing collaborateurs.

The third branch should, for the present, be confined to the search after vernacular mss., the purchase and transcription of the rarer ones, and a record of the existence and of the places of deposit of the rest. I am submitting proposals to the Calcutta University with a view to the editing and translating the early Bengali literature, but this is a slow and laborious work which, in my opinion, falls within the province of private scholarship, aided and encouraged by the Universities, rather than in the sphere of direct state effort.

It will be seen that, throughout, I contemplate the probability of the Universities discharging a duty which they have not yet very fully recognised, namely, the advancement of learning. I have sounded my colleagues in the Calcutta Syndicate, and all I can say at present is that, if I come back to India next cold weather in connection with technical education, I believe an effective start will be made by the Calcutta University in this direction.

The first step to be taken by the Government is to decide as to whether it will take up the work under central direction and on a well considered plan. This might best, and most economically, be decided by retaining Mr. Grierson in Calcutta for a month to advise the Government of India and to submit a detailed scheme for the (p. 5) working operations. I understand that Mr. Grierson will shortly complete his present special work in Bengal Secretariat and that he will be available for the purpose. But, in the present initial stage, I have not thought myself justified in making any direct enquiry on this point.

It does not seem needful to trouble you, at greater detail, until the first step is decided on by the Government of India. I beg, however, to add that I personally feel convinced that the Government will accomplish a great and much needed work if it takes up this matter, and that it will aways be personal satisfaction to myself to render any assistance that can be derived from the experience I have gained in conducting the statistical survey during the past 16 years.

I am,
Sincerely yours
W. W. Hunter

To the Honourable J. B. PEILE, C.S.I.

NOTE

In my opinion such a survey should divide itself into three branches :—

Grammatical
Vocabulary
&
Literary.

As already explained, the whole must, for its ultimate success, be under the supervision of one person for the whole of India, who has had experience in such researches. Unless the work is done to scale, it will become simply what Mr. Barth describes as a mass of *paper asseries*. The whole benefit of the work will consist in the fact that its various members can be conveniently compared with each other, and unless there is a certain amount of uniformity, this cannot be done. It will be the business of the supervising officer to keep himself in constant communication with all the officers working under him, and to see that the scheme is working properly. He can also, perhaps, take a portion of the actual survey work of a province or part of a province himself, and especially take in hand the literary branch for a great portion of Northern India.

The Grammars and Vocabularies should be drawn up by provincial Assistants. There are a number of Government officers in various parts of India who would, no doubt, be willing to do this work in their spare time for a moderate addition to their pay, giving each a small office establishment to help him with the rough work. Some provinces would require two or three of these assistants, and others perhaps only one.

The actual materials for the grammatical work could easily be got by the medium of village Gurus, with the assistance of Officers of the Education Department. This is the way I surveyed Bihar, and it succeeded very well. Forms of Hindi

Grammar were distributed to them, and they were instructed to write opposite each the corresponding word in their own *bôlê*. A reward of a rupee or two should be promised to every Guru who did his work well, with a few special prizes of 5 rupees to those who did it best. The best way of getting at the local Vocables is to take some book like my Bihar Peasant Life and to have it translated throughout in interleaved copies district by district. This would require a couple of sharp Sub-Inspectors of Schools (p. 6) to be detailed in each province for the work for about three months. They could spend another three months in arranging the materials for the provincial Assistants to throw into final shape. This method was found successful in the case of Bihar Peasant Life. With the appointment of these Sub-Inspectors, I do not think that the provincial Assistants would require any further office establishment.

The materials for information regarding the literature of the dialects which have literatures must be collected in another way. The best way which I can suggest is that the search for Skt. mss. should be enlarged so as to include vernacular mss.

I have myself collected lists of the names and works of nearly a thousand authors of Hindustan and Rajputana, and this could be used as a foundation to go upon. I should be able to collect a deal more information by directing searches according to the knowledge of vernacular literature which I have gained in compiling this.

In laying down the above lines, I do not mean that they should necessarily be immutably followed in every province. They will have, as a matter of course, to be varied according to local circumstances, but the broad principles which I have sketched out should remain the same everywhere.

For the Non-Aryan races, especially we should be able to count on a great deal of missionary help, and in many places Native gentlemen would, I am certain, joyfully give us much gratuitous assistance.

I may mention that, in my own experience, I have got invaluable materials from educated native ladies up-country, whose husbands took an interest in the work.

G. A. GRIERSON

* * *

I discussed this matter some time ago with both Mr. Grierson and Dr. Hoernle. I told them that it was impossible to take up the matter until we got rid of the extreme pressure of current work. When we got to Simla I told them we could take it up.

A.P.M. 24. 2. 87

Calcutta

The 10th March, 1887

My Dear Grierson,

I have to acknowledge, with thanks, your note on a linguistic survey, forwarded with your D.O. of the 7th instt.

Yours sincerely,

A. P. MacDonnell

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.S.

J.P.H. 7. 4. 87 — Regarding the honorarium to Grierson —

No honorarium was promised.....Mr. Grierson appears to be entitled to an honorarium. Perhaps it may be thought that Rs. 3,000 is too high a reward but I don't think it should be less than Rs. 2,000.

To Honorable Member :—The Bengal letter is in error, I believe, in saying that Mr. Grierson volunteered to prepare the 'Glossary'. Sir Rivers Thompson, stuck with the utility of Mr. Crooke's Glossary of Agricultural Terms for the N. W. Provinces, asked Mr. Grierson to compile a similar one, and this Mr. Grierson did. This is my remembrance. The correspondence passed through the Department of the Bengal Secretariat in which I was in charge.

I am personally cognizant of the fact that Mr. Grierson expended time, labour and money on his works, which were carried through in addition to his ordinary work; and I think that, instead of Rs. 3,000, we might well say to Bengal that, having regard to the value of the works, they might, it they wish, give the author as much as Rs. 5,000. That sum would still, I think, be small.

A.P.M. 11. 4. 87

(p. 8)

Mr. Grierson has expended time and money on work of public usefulness, and I should be glad to allow him some compensation. I think, however, that we need not go beyond the Rs. 3,000 recommended by Bengal. I trust that the Financial Department will ask the Secretary of State to allow that sum.

I make this proposal partly with regard to further work of the same kind which I should like Mr. Grierson to be encoraged to undertake. I therefore put with these papers, for consideration of the Finance Department the other set relating to a Resolution of the International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna. The exploration of the really national vernacular dialects of India and their scientific treatment by Comp. Philology is, in my opinion, a work of some political importance as well as one of literary interest, because its results will bring the official class into easier and closer communion with the people who are now held at arm's length by the use of what is virtually a foreign tongue. The advantage in regard to vernacular education will also be great, and I have always been strongly impressed with the value of provincial literatures as tending to keep alive a provincial sentiment instead of a tame monotonous centralization. Of course, any undertakings in this direction have now to be checked by financial exigencies, and to propose any large and costly scheme would be quite out of place. But I think the Government of India should not remain quite inactive. At the same time it will be seen that the exposition of the subject in the papers below, though containing interesting hints, is somewhat vague. There is an extensive mediaeval or modern literature awaiting systematic exploration and much to be learned about the limits and peculiarities of the dialects of the family of provincial languages descended from the Skt. I could not venture to propose any considerable expenditure beyond what the Provincial Government may be able and willing to provide from their own revenues. But search for Skt. mss. is not far from completion and the search for vernacular mss. may take its place.

Perhaps the best way to commence would be to ask Mr. Grierson to put the subject on paper more fully as a work which the Govt. of India desires to prosecute on the lines suggested at the Congress and on the understanding that this paper will be circulated to the Local Governments for the suggestion of practical measures for giving effect to it, and, when this has been done, Mr. Grierson might be allowed to visit all the provinces with a view to settling and organising their agency to be employed in consultation with the Local Governments and also the method of work. He will enlarge his own knowledge in doing so, and will help us to the data for hereafter giving unity to the work by central review and control. He would require nothing but a moderate deputation allowance to cover travelling expenses when so employed. If the Financial Department has no objection to the trifling initial cost thus contemplated, the papers may be submitted to His Excellency.

J.B.P. 12. 4. 87

FINANCE DEPTT.

To Asst. Secy.

(P.9)

The Home Department is, at present case, recommending the grant of Rs. 3,000 to Mr. G. A. Grierson of the B.C.S. for writing the 'Bihari Grammar' and 'Behar Peasant Life' on the ground that he has expended time and money on works of public usefulness.

The Hon. Member in the Home Department further proposes to depute Mr. Grierson to visit the various provinces in connection with the exploration of the ruling national vernacular dialects of India, and their scientific treatment by Comp. Philology, for whch it is proposed to grant him a moderate deputation allowance to cover travelling expenses when so employed.

Submitted — W.N.H. 15. 4. 87

To Secretary— The honorarium of Rs. 3.000 proposed for the work done by Mr. Grierson will come from Bengal Provincial Revenues. It will require the sanction of the Secretary of State, if this Department agrees to the grant.

2. The Home Department proposes the further special employment of Mr. Grierson in initiating a search for vernacular MSS. This proposal will involve Mr. Grierson's deputation to the several provinces, and the cost involved in this deputation must be paid from Imperial Revenues. Such a deputation would not require the sanction of the Secretary if it did not exceed the term of 6 months, but as the Secretary of State must be referred to for the honorarium for the work he has already done, as the further work proposed is similar in character, and as it is preliminary to

operations which will ultimately involve considerable expense, it will be best that the proposals should be stated to the Secretary of State (if this Department agrees to them) in the dispatch asking for sanction to the Rs. 3,000.

3. The nature, extent, and cost of the operations which may be undertaken as the result of Mr. Grierson's deputation will depend on the view taken of the question by the local Governments and the cost will be paid from Provincial Revenues. O'C. 20-4-87.

To Hon. Member — We may agree to recommending Rs. 3,000 to the Secretary of State.
A. C 21.4.87

As regards the other matter, the present proposal is merely that Mr. Grierson draw up a programme of work—a paper on the possibilities of investigation. This will cost nothing. It is only when it is afterwards referred to Local Governments and actual investigation begins that cost will be incurred.

We can have no objection to the Home Department enquiry regarding the possibilities of dialectic Survey, its probable cost, agency through which it should be carried out, and the time which it might be expected to occupy.

J.W. 21. 4. 87

HOME DEPTT.

Submitted

A.K. 25. 4. 87

The Secretary of State may now be addressed to as regards the honorarium, and Mr. Grierson asked to draw up a paper for circulation to Local Governments and at the same time to furnish the estimate which the Financial Department requires.

J.L.M. 25. 4. 87

To Secy. J.P.H. 25. 4. 87

SIMLA RECORDS
HOME PUBLIC-A.
February 1889
Progs. Nos. 146— 152

Proposal of the Vienna International Oriental Congress for a systematic Survey of the Vernacular Languages of India.

Prog 146. P.6

No. 59 T.G. dated Darjeeling-the 26th Sept. 1888

From — H.J.S. COTTON, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To — The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1063, dated 16th May 1887, transmitting the proposals of the Vienna International Oriental Congress, that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India. The papers were, as desired by Govt. of India, sent to Mr. Grierson for report, and I am now to submit a copy of Mr. Grierson's letter, dated 29th June 1887, and of the observations recorded thereon by the D.P.I. No. 169, dated 9th January, 1888, for the consideration of the Supreme Government. The Lt. Governor regrets that, as the papers were accidentally mislaid, there should have been unnecessary delay in dealing with the case in this office.

P.7

2. It appears from Mr. Grierson's note, which was laid before the Congress, that his object is to secure a thorough examination of the Vernacular languages of India, not only as they exist at the present moment, but also as they have been in times past, as far as any procurable mss. exist. The scheme includes the whole field of linguistic research, in which Oriental scholars have laboured for at least a century. The policy hitherto persued has been to leave such investigations to those who are stirred to undertake them by their own impulses, whether they are in public service or not, Government only interfering to offer suitable assistance and occasionally to reward exertion. The distinctive feature of the present project is that it contemplates the prosecution of these researches, under the direct responsibility of Government on an organised and uniform plan. The Lt. Governor entirely agrees with the Govt. of India as to the importance of the undertaking and the desirability of giving effect to it, if possible. The great interest the proposal excited at the Oriental Congress is sufficient evidence of (p. 7) the importance which is attached to it by competent Oriental scholars. There is no doubt that the work would lead to extremely valuable results if properly conducted. Its successful accomplishment must, however, depend—

first, on financial considerations, and secondly, on the efficiency of the agents into whose hands it may be entrusted.

3. Mr. Grierson's scheme, which is herewith submitted, appears to afford to a practical basis of operations, and Sir Alfred Croft has expressed an opinion that it would not be easy to improve on it. But although it is sufficient on other respects, it fails to give any adequate estimate of the expense likely to be involved in the undertaking. It is clear that Mr. Grierson's proposals have been fettered by financial exigencies, and that he has been induced to frame his programme on a very economical scale, in the hope of its being sanctioned. He has not ventured on any estimate of what the total survey is likely to cost, or how it is likely to be apportioned among Local Govts. But as it is from this point of view that it must be considered by the various Administrations, who under the orders of the Govt. of India, will have to contribute among themselves to provide for the necessary expenditure, I am directed to make the following remarks on this branch of subject.

4. It is proposed by Mr. Grierson that there should be two General Directors—one for the Aryan and the other for the Dravidian languages. The Lt. Governor apprehends that Mr. Grierson himself would be the Director of the Aryan Group. He is now an officer of 15 years' service, and draws Rs. 1,500 (900 + 600) a month. If he were deputed on this Spl. duty for three years, it should, the Lt. Governor thinks, be on a salary of not less than Rs. 1,800 for the first year, Rs. 1,900 for the second year, and Rs. 2,000 for the third year. He would be an officer of at least 19 years' service before the work was brought to a conclusion, and the salary proposed is not more than he might expect to draw if he remained in the regular line of service. In addition to this, he would, of course, draw travelling allowance, which, it is estimated, would be on an average about Rs. 100 a month. For the three years of his deputation the cost of his appointment would, therefore, be Rs. 72,000, or an average of Rs. 24.000 a year. The Lt. Governor presumes that the cost of the Dravidian Director would not be less. If this estimate is accepted, the total cost of the two Directors would be Rs. 1,44,000 for three years, or an average of Rs. 48,000 a year.

5. Under Mr. Grierson's scheme there will be appointed 14 Provl. Directors, under the General Aryan Director, to each of whom it is proposed to allow Rs. 300 a month, inclusive of office establishment. The intention is to grant this allowance to Govt. officials, who have shown themselves to be specialists in the subject, in addition to their regular salaries. It is probable that this allowance would in all cases be sufficient, and in some it might be more than sufficient, but accepting the estimate, the cost of the Provl. Directorate will be Rs. 50,400 a year or Rs. 1,51,200 for three years.

No scheme is drawn out by Mr. Grierson for the Provl. Directorate under the General Dravidian Director. He merely writes—"Roughly speaking, I should say that Rs. 10,000 per annum should cover the whole of the rest of the expenditure." This seems a very low estimate when compared with the outlay proposed for the Aryan languages but the Lt. Governor is not in a position to improve upon it, and for present purposes it may be accepted.

6. Mr. Grierson's scheme contemplates that reward will be paid to local school masters for special work to be done by them. From paragraph 18 of his report, which refers to the Aryan Directorate only, it is inferred that he considers an allotment of Rs. 800, once for all, for the three years should be made for each of the larger provinces within the Directorate, and Rs. 400 for each of the smaller provinces. There are five large provinces and 4 smaller ones. The total estimate (p.8) for rewards in the Aryan Directorate during three years will therefore be Rs. 5,600 or Rs. 1,867 annually.

For the Dravidian Directorate no estimate is made for rewards. The amount to be devoted for this purpose is apparently included within the sum of Rs. 10,000 a year which should cover the whole of the rest of the expenditure.

7. Mr. Grierson makes no estimate for the office establishment of the two General Directors, or of the cost which will have to be incurred in Stationery & Printing. But these charges are likely to be considerable. The office establishment of each Director could hardly cost less than Rs. 250 a month, or for the two Directors Rs. 6,000 a year. It is impossible to say what printing and stationery would cost, but the amount would certainly be large; probably not less than Rs. 5,000 a year.

8. The following is a summary of what the survey may be estimated to cost on the lines indicated in Mr. Grierson's report :—

	Per Annum	For 3 Yrs.
	Rs.	Rs.
Two General Directors	48,000	1,44,000
14 Provincial Directors under the Aryan Directorate	50,400	1,51,200
Provincial Directors & rewards under the Dravidian Directorate	10,000	30,000
Rewards under Aryan Directorate	1,867	5,600
Genl. Director's Office establishment	6,000	18,000
Printing & Stationery, say	5,000	15,000
	1,21,267	3,63,800

9. Assuming this to be the total cost of a Survey of the vernacular langs. of India, it remains for this Government to consider (as must eventually be done by other Local Governments in regard to their own finances) what proportion of this cost, if the scheme were sanctioned, might fairly be expected to fall upon the Bengal Prov. It seems to the Lt. Governor to be clear that no portion of the cost incurred on the Survey of the Dravidian languages should be paid by this Government. It is true that such languages, as Khond, Oraon and Rajmahali, all found in Bengal, are classed as Dravidian, but it is proposed by Mr. Grierson that the enquiry in regard to them should be placed under the Dravidian Director. Similarly, the Aryan Director would conduct the investigations into the Uriya dialects of Madras. It is only with the Aryan Survey that the Bengal Government is concerned. Mr. Grierson enumerates 9 provinces over which the Aryan survey should extend, viz.—

Bombay	Central Provinces & Central India Agency	Rajputana
Lower Bengal		Nepal
Punjab	Assam	Hyderabad
N.W.P. & Oudh		

Looking to the importance of the Bengal Province, Sir Steuart Bayley thinks it would be reasonable that it should pay one quarter of the cost of the General Director, leaving the other 3/4 to be made up by the other provinces interested. One quarter of the cost would amount to Rs. 6,000 a year, and, following the same proportion, the share of the Director's office establishment would be Rs. 750 per annum. As the cost of Printing & Stationery would be much larger under the Aryan than the Dravidian Director (not less probably than two thirds to one-third), the proportionate one fourth share of the Bengal Province on this account would come to Rs. 833 a year. To these charges must be added the cost of two Provincial Directors (p. 9) which have been proposed for Bengal, viz. Rs. 7,200 a year as well as the cost of rewards, which is estimated at only Rs. 800.

Upon this calculation the Bengal Provincial charges would be—

	Per annum	For three years
	Rs.	Rs.
One-fourth share of Aryan General Director . . .	6,000	18,000
One-fourth share of his establishment . . .	750	2,250
Printing and Stationery . .	833	2,500
Two Provincial Directors. .	7,200	21,600
Rewards	267	800
Total	15,050	45,150

10. In addition to this outlay it must be remembered that the resources of the Bengal establishment would be impaired by the loss of Mr. Grierson's services during the period of his deputation on special duty, and by the diminished effectiveness of the two officers whom it is proposed to select as Provincial directors, their new duties being discharged in addition to their present official work. The estimate which has been prepared is obviously a very imperfect one, and it is only possible to take it in the most general way as a guide to expenditure likely to be incurred. As such, however, it furnishes a clue to what Local Governments may be called on to contribute towards a linguistic survey; and as far as the Bengal Government is concerned, the Lt. Governor will, I am to say, not object to pay from the Bengal Provincial revenues a contribution of Rs. 15,000 a year for three years, for the purpose. This contribution is the extreme limit which, in the present state of Provincial finances, and the urgent

demands which are being made on all sides for increased expenditure, this Government is able to afford. Whether the Survey can be carried out or not must depend on the co-operation of other Local Governments who have not yet been consulted, and the Lt. Governor is not aware how the project will be viewed in other provinces, and how far financial considerations will interfere with their offering assistance. It is probable that all will admit the importance of the work, but it is not known how far they will be able to aid in it. If they are able to aid, it will be necessary to give the scheme further consideration in regard to its practical application. I am, therefore, to suggest that a copy of the papers may be transmitted to Governments concerned for consideration; and if it is found that at the outset financial difficulties do not form a complete obstacle to further progress, that a conference may be held in Calcutta during the next cold weather, of such representatives of Local Governments as are able to attend, for the settlement of deails. If, on the other hand, financial objections are likely to be considerable and the efficiency of the survey is likely to be hampered by want of means, the Lt. Governor apprehends that it will be better to postpone the work altogether until such time as money can be afforded to carry it out completely and effectively.

I am to add that in this letter the Lt. Governor's observations have been exclusively confined to financial considerations. If these can be overcome, it will remain to arrange for the agency by which the work is to be done; but it is the opinion of Sir Alfred Croft, who has been demi-officially consulted on the subject, that competent Provincial Directors, as far as Bengal is concerned, will be found in the Education Department. There are officers also in the Civil Service, such as Messrs. Dutt and Barooah, who are highly qualified from their scholastic attainments to undertake the duties of a Provincial Director, and it has not escaped the Lt. Governor's notice that Mr. Grierson contemplates (see para 4 of his report) that the Director General should himself perform the work of (p. 10)one of the Provincial Directors. Mr. Grierson, who is already identified with the Hindi Group, would probably take that branch under his charge in any case, and the two Directors, who are assigned to Bengal would apparently be required for the Uriya and Bengali languages. But details of this nature would, in the Lt. Governor's opinion, be better settled at a conference.

Prog. No. 147

No 169 dt. Calcutta, the 9th Jan. 1888

From—Sir A. Croft, D.P.I., Bengal

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Deptt.

I have the honour to submit the report called for in your No. 836 dt. 12th July last, on the subject of a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India. I regret that I am compelled to submit it without being able to communicate the views of Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra on the subject. His opinions would have been most valuable, but I fear that his present illness makes it impossible to expect any early expression of them. Should any communication on the subject reach me, I will forward it later.

2. Mr. Tawney, on receipt of your letter referred to above, referred it for an expression of opinion to the four gentlemen named in the margin.

Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, C.I.E.

Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa.

Mm. Mahes Chandra, Nyayaratna, C.I.E. Principal of the Sanskrit College.

Babu Bireswar Chakravarti, Asst. Inspector of Schools, Chota Nagpur Div.

From the other three, excluding Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, I have received replies. Dr. Hoernle, who was associated with Mr. Grierson in the original proposal, gives his full support to the method of investigation now proposed by that gentleman. He adds:—"As a small evidence showing how much valuable vernacular literature there may still be found and recovered, I may mention that only a few weeks ago I received photographs of vernacular Mss. dating from the 16th & 12th Centuries respectively, which came from Oodeypore."

3. Babu Bireswar Chakravarti, who has special acquaintance with the Kolarian languages of Chota Nagpore, thinks there is little room for improving on the scheme proposed by Mr. Grierson, the value of which, he thinks, can hardly be overestimated. He is, however, of opinion that the survey for the whole India should be placed under the control of one officer, who may be styled the Director-General (D.G.), with three Directors for

the Aryan family, the Dravidian family, and the group of languages included under the term "others". Further, as regards the Aryan family, he is opposed to the plan of provincialisation; and thinks it would be better to give the Director the assistance of a Jt. Director, also a whole-time officer, for the languages of Bengal & Orissa, and to appoint Asstt. Directors not, as proposed by Mr. Grierson, for different provinces, but for different groups of languages, such as the Bengali group, the Uriya group, the Behari group, the Hindi group, and so on. A list of Asstt. Directors, grouped according to languages, and not according to provinces, is furnished, the number proposed being 14, as in Mr. Grierson's scheme. It will be evident that the proposals of the Asstt. Inspector on this point do not differ seriously from those of Mr. Grierson, except in the matter of cost. It was, I understand, in order to keep down the expenditure, that Mr. Grierson proposed that one of the provincial officers appointed for the Aryan family of languages should be responsible for all the languages of that family; and it was apparently with the same object that he abstained from proposing a D.G. of the whole-survey. At the same time there is no doubt that, if such an officer were appointed, much greater uniformity could be secured than under the proposed arrangement, especially in regard to the group of languages included under the head of "others", that is, the Kolarian, the Tibeto-Burman and indeed all outside the Aryan and Dravidian families. The practical difficulty as to appointing a Director for this group of languages is that they differ so widely among themselves that there is probably no person to be found in India who is acquainted with anything beyond a simple section of the group.

4. In the following passage the Asstt. Inspector expresses his opinion as to the inadequacy of private effort to cope with the difficulties involved in a philological survey of this group of languages :—

"That independent effort is unequal to accomplish the end desired, with any degree of regularity, even in the case of the least important family of languages, within a reasonable time, is a fact which admits no doubt. I am not in a position, to say anything about the Tib. Burm. family; but so far as the 'Kolarian' languages and dialects are concerned, I am aware of the existence of a faw grams. and vocs. more or less of a practical character. Amongst these, the best that I have seen are two—viz. a primer of the Mundari language(forwarded on (p. 11)a graml. basis) by the Rev. J. C. Whitley of the S.P.G. Mission at Ranchi; and the other the 'Ho-Kāji' or the Ho-language (a dialect of the Mundari) written by a native school master in Singhbhoom under my own directions. I cannot say whether Mr. Whitley's valuable labours have been recognised by Govt. in any shape; but the Bengal Education Deptt. has purchased 200 copies of the 'Ho Kāji' on Rs. 50 under the sanction of your office. This last named work is written in Hindi and can certainly be rendered into English. It is a combination of grammar and vocabulary and contains copious exercises on the formation of sentences and on translation. The chief merit of this little book consists in its comprehensiveness, and also in the fact that a man of fair-education can learn the dialect easily, or have a thorough insight into its formation, by its perusal, without requiring the help of a teacher. The work, therefore, is very nearly such, as is intended to be brought about by the proposed survey, with the only exception that it combines the grammar and the vocabulary in the same work; a better state of things, I believe, than to have the two elements separately, in the case of the 'little known' language at least. There are undoubtedly other similar works in the various languages or dialects of these families, but I venture to think that their number is still too small to justify any different treatment of the languages in connection with the general survey proposed". It may, however, be assumed that a series of books like the "Ho-Kāji" for the Kolarian and other languages of the group would meet all practical requirements.

5. A copy of the letter of Mm. Mahaes Chandra Nyāyaratna I submit *in extenso*. In the second paragraph the Pundit urges extreme caution in making the projected survey the basis of future changes either in the language of primary instruction, or in the territorial divisions of India. The warning is of course sound, but I understand that Mr. Grierson proposes nothing more than an enquiry, and it is perhaps premature to consider what action may or may not follow from the enquiry. The question of using the services of Deputy or of Sub-Inspector, referred to in the third paragraph, is a matter of detail which may be left for future consideration, and which would largely depend upon the qualifications of particular officers. Naturally, only those school masters who were natives of the particular district would be employed to ascertain the current forms of grammar and I do not suppose that Mr. Grierson entertains a different view.

6. With regard to vocabularies, the Pundit's proposal to substitute a string of standard vocables for such a book as 'Behar Peasant Life', on the

ground that "the current vernacular would often be found too poor to allow of a book in a cultivated form being translated into it", seems to indicate that he is not acquainted with the work in question, which is little more than a collection of the names of agricultural objects and processes. The question as to transliteration in paragraph 5 would be one of the first to receive attention. The difficulty to which reference is made is not confined to Bengal.

7. The result of the inquiries that have been made appears to be that little, if any, improvement on Mr. Grierson's draft scheme of operations is practicable. It would not be finally adopted without a conference of the officers who might be deputed to carry out the work, and the settlement of minor details could more fittingly be left to them.

8. I beg also to enclose a printed copy of the vernacular languages corrected by Mr. Grierson, who is anxious, if the list be reprinted, a proof may be sent to him for revise.

(P. 11)

Prog. No. 148.

No. 92, dated Calcutta, the 19th Sept. 1887.

From— Baboo MAHES CHANDRA NYAYA-RATNA, Principal, Sanskrit College.

To — The Offg. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

With reference to your endorsement No. 5104, dated the 29th July last, forwarding copies of papers about a proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, and asking an expression of my opinion on the subject, I have the honour to submit the following observations.

2. As regards the utility, from a scientific point of view, of the exploration of the real vernaculars of India, there can be but one opinion, and that opinion has found expression in the recommendation of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna. There can be no question also that facilities in the way of grammars or dictionaries or vocabularies, that such an exploration must be the means of putting in the way of those who may seek to acquire those vernaculars, would bring the administration more in touch with the people than is possible at present. Vernacular education, however, on the basis of the results arrived at by the proposed survey, and still more the fostering of provincial sentiment on such basis, are matters on which a consensus of opinion cannot well be asked for; and a state action, in the absence of such a consensus, would have a very bad effect. Extreme caution would therefore be needed, I think, on the part of Government in considering (p. 12) what changes, if any, in respect of the medium of primary instruction in any part of the country is to be made in the light of the knowledge brought to the proposed Linguistic Survey, and whether any new territorial demarcations are to be made on the lines indicated by the survey. An illustration will make it clear why I lay so much stress or caution in such matters. Mr. Grierson is an eminent specialist in regard to languages spoken in Behar. Now in his note read before the Vienna Congress, he says of Hindustani, which is one of the languages in use in Behar, that it is "but a camp jargon", and that it is "nowhere a vernacular". Hindustani is no doubt originally a camp jargon as the word Urdu still testifies. But so far as my own small knowledge of the matter goes, my belief is that Hindustani is the vernacular of all respectable Mahomedans in the towns of Behar and the N.W. Provinces, if by *vernacular* is meant one's "own mothertongue" which is Webster's rendering of *vernacular*. I have even heard it said that the best Hindustani is that spoken by the women of Delhi, thoroughly idiomatic and free from all bedmatic mixture of Persian and Arabic. The proposed survey will no doubt bring the real truth in regard to Hindustani being any one's vernacular or not; but what I have stated will show with what caution even the statements of a specialist are to be received. Suppose the Government of India accepted Mr. Grierson's *dictum* that Hindustani in its Urdu and its Hindi form is nowhere a vernacular, and interdicted accordingly the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction for Mahomedan boys, and substituted in its place some Hindi *boli*, a conflagration would be raised all over Northern-India, the consequence of which it is not easy to imagine.

3. I now come to the consideration of Mr. Grierson's suggestion for carrying out the survey he has proposed. His suggestions appear to me on the whole excellent. Unity of direction, uniformity of method, utilization of the Education Deparment and commencement of the work with the district as a unit, these have all my hearty concurrence. I fully concur also in his plan of writing down the grammar. Instead of leaving the supervision, however, with the Sub-inspectors of Schools, I would

be for leaving it with Dy. Inspectors, who, besides being District instead of Sub-divisional Officers, have the further advantage of being men of higher education and intelligence, as a rule, than Sub-Inspectors. I would also leave the work of writing down local grammatical forms and local forms of words likewise (in this I differ from Mr. Grierson) with such school masters only as are natives of the dt. where they are employed. The Dy. Inspector on receiving books filled up by different school masters would compare them and make any correction that, from his own knowledge, or such assistance as he can procure, might appear to him to be called for. Others besides school masters of course, may be asked to fill up the books. Missionary gentlemen, and still more educated native gentlemen and ladies, should of course be of great service in this respect.

4. In regard to vocabularies, I think Mr. Grierson's suggestion is not a good one. The compilation of vocabularies I would leave to the same agency as the noting down of grammatical forms. Nor do I think well of Mr. Grierson's plan of getting some book like *Behar Peasant Life* translated into the dt. language. In the first place the current vernacular of a dt. would often be found too poor in its vocabulary to allow of a book in a cultivated form being translated into it, and secondly, for purposes of comparison, strings of vocables in the different languages and dialects side by side would be of far greater service than translations of one and the same book into different languages and dialects. I would therefore suggest strings of vocables, properly classified in the standard language of province, under the supervision of Deputy Inspectors of Schools, be got to give the corresponding vocables spoken over each area.

5. Those who are to fill in the lists of vocables should be made clearly to understand what is required of them; otherwise the forms of words current in writing may often be given instead of their current colloquial forms. An illustration will make this clear. The written Bengali form for *word* is *Katha* and the spoken form in Calcutta and the part of the country adjoining is *Kata.* Without specific instructions, distinctions like these may be passed over, I am afraid. I shall add another example. The Sanskrit word *Dadhi* is used in Bengali books as equivalent of the English word butter milk, *dadhi* in Bengali is pronounced however, as *dadhi.* The corresponding spoken word again is *doi. Doi* is written *doi,* however, in the Bengali character, and transliterated would be *dai,* which would not correctly represent the sound of *doi.* Exact phonelic representation in Roman character, instead of transliteration, would, therefore, be necessary in representing Indian words in Roman character.

6. In regard to the proposed Director for the whole area, covered by the Aryàn languages of India, since this area embraces Bengal, the N.W. Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, the C.P. and Ceylon in part, there can be no difficulty about these Governments finding the money between themselves for paying a well-qualified full-time officer. Such an officer should (p. 13) I think, be a high official belonging to the Indian civil service, and should be a man of acknowledged ability, and possessed of the requisite knowledge. I know of no one in whom all these requisites are so well combined as in Mr. John Beames.

Prog. No. 149

No. 1611, dt. Gya, the 28-29th June 1887

From

G.A. Grierson Esq., Collector & Magistrate of Gya.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.

With reference to your No. 685 (Miscellaneous), dated the 6th instant, and covering a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department No. 1063 dated the 16th May 1887, to your address, calling for a detailed report with regard to the proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, I have the honour to submit as follows :—

2. Such an enqùiry would naturally divide itself into two heads, which it will be convenient to consider separately. One head will deal, with the present time, with the actual facts, as they now exist, of the vocabularies and literatures of the various vernaculars, and the second head with the history of their vernaculars, as illustrated by their

literatures from the earliest times. A subordinate branch of this second portion of the enquiry would deal specially with the linguistic history of the dialects, materials for which would be found available in the literatures once they were chronologically arranged. Under the former head would fall (to use the language of the Home Secretary's letter) the exploration of the really vernacular dialects of India, and under the latter their scientific treatment by Comparative Philology. The Comparative Philologist will combine the results of the exploration with those of the enquiry into the linguistic history.

3. Regarding the scope of enquiry, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to divide the languages of the Indian* Peninsula roughly into

Aryan

Dravidian

and others

The Aryan family is usually said to consist, in India, of 17 languages and in addition 114 dialects. This estimate includes, however, some dialects of Baluchistan and Afghanistan, the Parbatiya and Cognate dialects of Nepal, and the Sinhalese of Ceylon. The Dravidian family is said to contain 14 languages, together with 30 dialects and under the head of 'Others' fall :—

(a) The Kolarian family (10 languages; 5 dialects).

(b) The Tibeto-Burman family (languages in British India and Nepal, about 73; dialects, about 70).

(c) The Khasi family (1 language; 5 dialects).

(d) Tai family (3 languages).

(e) Mon-Anam family (2 languages).

These estimates are very rough, and founded upon admittedly most insufficient data, but they will serve to give an idea of the vastness and complexity of the subject to be dealt with, and of the manner in which I would suggest that the enquiry should be conducted. The enquiries into the grammar, vocabulary and literature of each of these families should be distinct and under independent supervision. Once these are complete, it will be time for the Comparative Philologist to continue the results to trace the mutual interaction of each other of the various families.

4. I think it would be best to place the enquiries into each family under the direction of one expert officer. It is evident, for instance, that a good scholar, familiar with the various Dravidian languages of Madras, would be better able to direct enquiries into the few Dravidian languages (Khond, Oraon and Rajmahali) of Bengal than any officer of Bengal, who only knows these three last mentioned languages. So also the Uriya dialects of Madras could be better investigated by an officer deputed from Bengal. For this reason I am not quite certain that it would be best to rigidly provincialize enquiries, that is, to attempt to divide the enquiries according to provinces rather than according to families of languages. At the same time, I think that the enquiries into the Aryan family might with advantage be to a certain extent provincialized, for the number of languages and dialects is so great that no one scholar could possibly master them all; but all the provincial (p.14) officers conducting the enquiry should be under one officer responsible for the whole Aryan family, so as to ensure uniformity of work within the limits of that family. Such an officer could perhaps take one of the provinces himself, in addition to his labours of general supervision. Absolute uniformity is not of much importance to a person who wishes to master only one vernacular of India, but to him who wishes to learn several and to the philologist who wishes to compare the various dialects of one family of languages, it is of the greatest importance to secure it. Unless the work is done to scale, it will become what Mr. Barth describes as a mass of *paperasseries.*

5. Taking, therefore, the enquiry into the Aryan family, the one likely to be the most important and the most complicated, I would begin as follows :

I would have one officer responsible for collecting the facts regarding that family for the whole of India, whom I shall call for convenience sake

*I exclude from consideration the languages of Further India because I do not propose to have any (even hearsay) acquaintance with them. But at the Vienna Congress a strong opinion was expressed by several eminent scholars that Further India should be included in the scope of Survey. Burma, as far as language goes, forms a country apart by itself, and the survey of its dialects would have few connecting links with that of the dialects of India. But the present time in which there is a Burmese Scholar, who is also well-known Comparative Philologist at Mandalay, is peculiarly suitable for commencing such an enquiry in that country.

the Director. In each province there should be one or more Assistant Directors, each responsible for a language or a group of languages as may be found most convenient. There are a number of Government officers in various parts of India who would, I hope, be willing to do the work in their spare time for a moderate addition to their pay, each being given a small office establishment to help him with the rough work.

6. Once the Director and his assistants were ready for work the first thing for them to do would be to meet together and concoct a skeleton grammar suitable at once for all the Indian languages of the Aryan family. This could easily be done after some little discussion. Once the form of this skeleton grammar is fixed, it must be adhered to rigidly throughout the operations. They would also arrange other details, such as a uniform system of spelling, characters to be adopted and so on.

7. This having been done, the whole of every portion of India in which languages of the Aryan family are current should be mapped out into local dialect areas. At first, probably the district will be the most convenient local area; but no doubt it will subsequently be discovered that sometimes a dialect area extends over two or more districts, and sometimes over only a portion of a district. For each dialect area a grammar will have to be written. When these dialect grammars are written, it will be found that dialect areas will group themselves naturally into language areas, and thus the first stage of the survey will have been completed.

8. For writing the grammars, I think that the following plan will be found the most successful. It has worked well in my hands. All the grammatical forms of the standard language of the province or portion of a province in which the inquiry is to take place are printed out on the foolscap paper down the left hand margin of the page. These pages are bound up into books, together with a number of test sentences in the same language, printed in the same manner. These books are distributed, say ten to each local area to some of the more intelligent village schoolmasters in one off-the-way villages in the interior, with instructions to write opposite each word in the standard dialect the corresponding word in their own local vernacular. In Behar this was done under the direct supervision of the Sub-Inspectors of Schools and no doubt similar agency would be available in other provinces of India. The schoolmasters could be promised a rupee or two if they did the work well,, and a special reward of, say, ten rupees could be offered to the one who did it best in each local area. The books thus filled up and revised and corrected by the Sub-Inspectors would then be submitted to the Provincial Director, who would be easily able to compile a grammar from them, being aided by other books of forms which he could have got filled up by educated native gentlemen or ladies* of the local area who took an interest in the work. At the same time, popular songs in vernacular could be collected in the local area, and printed, with translations at the end of the grammar.

9. So far I have dealt with grammar. Vocabularies can, I find, be better compiled for language areas than for dialect areas. The best way of getting at local vocabularies is to take some book like *Behar Peasant Life* and to have it translated throughout in interleaved copies, district by district. This would probably require a sharp Sub-Inspector of Schools to be deputed for the purpose to each language area. It takes about a fortnight, on an average, to work through the book in each district, and it would take about three months to arrange the materials for each language area, for each Provl., Director to throw into final shape.

10. In this way there will have been prepared, at comparatively small expense, sets of dialect grammars and one vocabulary for each Aryan language tract in India. The method proposed is one which has been already tried, and which has been carried out with some success.

11. Regarding the time it would take to completely survey a language tract, including the necessary time expended in carrying the matter through press, I would estimate it at two years for the grammars and one year for the vocabulary. This is based upon the supposition that the Provl. Director will be European (p. 15) specialists paid a moderate sum to devote a portion of their time to work. If native specialists possessed of the necessary accuracy and painstaking care can be found, their cheaper agency will enable their whole time to be devoted to the work, and will to some extent hasten its conclusion.

*Some of the most valuable books of forms which I have received came to me filled up by native ladies.

12. For the Dravidian languages, a plan similar to the one above sketched might be adopted, but it will be simplified by various considerations. In the first place, the Dravidian languages are so locally situated that they almost all fall within the limits of the Madras Presidency so that the survey could be practically conducted entirely under the supervision of the Madras Government. Again, I am informed that in Madras there are much fewer variations from the standard languages than in Northern India, so that the local areas can be larger, and consequently the expense be less.

13. For the other non-Aryan languages grammars and vocabularies already exist for some, and probably present necessities would be met by encouraging and aiding missionaries and others to write similar ones for the rest. Rewards could be offered and the books could be printed at Government expense. No doubt arrangement could be made in many cases with competent scholars to write such a grammar or vocabulary for lump sum down.

14. The materials for information regarding the literature of the dialects which have literatures must be collected in another way. The best way I can suggest is that the search for Sanskrit manuscripts should be enlarged so as to include vernacular ones. Search for Aryan and Dravidian mss. would be supervised by the Directors of those families. Selected works of importance could be printed or their printing aided by Government.

15. I have myself collected lists of the names and works of nearly a thousand authors of Hindustan and Rajputana and these could be used as foundation on which to commence. We would be able to collect a good deal of further information by directing searches according to the knowledge of vernacular literature which is thus rendered available.

16. I am asked to show approximately the total cost of the scheme, but I cannot do this more than very roughly.

17. We may assume that the following is the staff of Provincial Directors required for a survey of the languages of the Aryan family:—

Bombay	...	...	2
Lower Bengal	...	...	2
Punjab	...	...	2
N.W. Provinces & Oudh	...	...	2
Central Provinces & Central India Agency	...	...	1
Assam	...	...	1
Rajputana	...	...	2
Nepal	...	...	1
Hyderabad	...	...	1
		Total	14

I freely admit that the above is only a guess, but it is as near a guess as I can make it. I do not know how much it would be considered right to pay these Provincial Directors, but if we assume an average of Rs. 300 per annum for each, including his office establishment, the cost would be about Rs. 7,200 per annum for each of the larger provinces, and Rs. 3,600 for each of the smaller ones for three years. I do not know, however, if good enough men can be got on this pay. I am estimating that they are to do their work in their spare time, and to get the above in addition to their regular salaries.

18. Assuming that there will be 40 local areas in each of the larger provinces, and 20 in each of the smaller, and that Rs. 20 is granted for rewards to local schoolmasters in each area, the amount spent under this head would be Rs. 800 and Rs. 400, once for all, respectively.

19. The above is the nearest estimate I can give. It does not include the cost of printing or the pay of the Director for the whole Aryan family, who would have to devote his whole time to the work.

20. For the Dravidian family a whole time officer would have to be deputed, whose salary I cannot estimate; and roughly speaking, I would say that Rs. 10,000 per annum for three years should cover the whole of the rest of the expenditure.

21. For the other non-Aryan languages I have suggested a system of rewards and contract lump-sum, the total amount of which it is impossible for me to estimate.

(p. 16)

22. I think I have now answered all the questions put in the Government of India's letter. I have endeavoured to show how to make the scheme practically successful at as low a cost as possible. I have only to repeat here once more the paramount importance of the various grammars of each family being drawn upon a fixed well-considered scale and on a uniform plan.

23. For convenience of reference, I append a rough list of the various dialects of India, province by province, based chiefly on the general lists of Dr. Cust's book on the modern languages of the East Indies. I have included Ceylon, on account of the importance of Singhalese, which is closely connected with the Aryan languages of Hindustan, in the hope that the Govt. of that island may think proper to unite with the Govt. of India in the scheme of a linguistic survey. I have included Nepali on account of its close propinquity to Northern India and the necessity of our obtaining a knowledge of the vernacular languages of an important portion of our native army.

MADRAS

ARYAN FAMILY

Languages	Dialects
Hindi	Chentsu (Semi-Dravidian) Ramūsi Lambādi Korāwur
Uriya	(?) Gumsūr (See Khond, below)

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Tamil	Standard (literary & colloquial) Irular Kurubar Malearasa Vellular Tanjore
Telugu	Standard. Jaipuri Ramūsi (see above) Korawur (see above)
Kanarese	Badaga Dialects of the Hill Tribes
Malayālam:	Standard Dialects of the forest tribes Mappilla Laccadive Mahl
Tulu	Standard
Kudagu	
Toda	
Kota	
Khond	? Gumsūr (See Uriya above) Daringabaddi Rumes
Gond	Koi or Kai tor
Kaikādi	Spoken by wandering tribes of Deccan.
Yerukāla	

KOLARIAN FAMILY

Savara	

BOMBAY AND SIND

ARYAN FAMILY

Sindhi	Standard Jatki (? a dialect of Panjabi) Sirai Lāri Vecholi Thareli Kachhi
Hindi	Bhīl (Semi-Kolarian) Nimāri (Ditto)
Marāthi	Standard Hill dialects of Western Ghats Desi of Puna Dakhini Konkani Goadesi
Gujarathi	Standard Surati Kathiawāri Ahmadabadi Bhil (?) Pauriya (?)

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Kanarese	Standard

LOWER PROVINCES OF BENGAL

ARYAN FAMILY

Bihāri	Bhojpuri Maithili Magahi South Magahi (of Chutia Nāgpur)
Hindi	Bhogtah (near Palamau in Chutia Nagpur). Classed provisionally as Semi-Kolarian Hindi.
Bangāli	Standard Southern Eastern Western Dialect of Central Purniah (Semi-Maithili) Rangpuri Kuch Sylhet Chittagong Muhammadan

Uriya . . . Standard
Northern
Southern
Western

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Khond . . . Dialects of the Hill tribes of Orissa.

Orāon . . . Two dialects in Shahabad

Rajmahāli

KOLARIAN FAMILY

Sāontāli . . . Standard
Four dialects

Mundāri . . . Standard
Mankapati & two other dialects.

Kharia
Juang

Korwa

Mal Pahāria

TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

Tipura

Kuki . . . Lushāi
Old Kuki
Thadu or New Kuki
Hallāmi

Shendu

Banjogi

Pankhu

Sak

Kyau

Tibetan or Bhotia . Lhopa or Bhotāni

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PANJAB

ARYAN FAMILY

Pashtu . . . Peshāwari

Baluchi . . . Sulimani

Panjābi . . . Standard (Modern & Archaic)
Multani
Jagdwāli
Jatki (? a dialect of Sindhi)
Pothwāri
Gadi
Kuluhi
Pahāri

Hindi . . . Bhatti
Bagrai

TIBETO BURMAN FAMILY

Kunāwari . . . Milchan
Tiberskad or Bunan
Sumchu
Luhrung or Kanam
Lidung or Lippa
Sugnum

Tibetan or Bhotia . Kaigili
Spiti

N.W. PROVINCES AND OUDH

ARYAN FAMILY

Hindi . . Standard including Archaic, Mediaeval, and Modern; also various *Lingua francas* such as Hindūstāni, Dakhani and Portuguese Hindūstani.

Hinduri Garwāli / Kumaoni: The allotment of these dialects under Hindi is doubtful.

Braj
Kosali
Kanauji

Bihari . . . Baiswāri
Bhojpuri

CENTRAL PROVINCES

ARYAN FAMILY

Bihāri . . . Bhojpuri
Chattisgarhi

Hindi . . . Hulāhi (Semi Dravidian)
Bhil (Semi-Kolarian)*
Halba ,,
Parja or Tagara ,,
Bhattia ,,
Bhogtuh ,,
Kharwar ,,
Baiga ,,
Banjwar ,,
Panka ,,
Mehra ,,
Katya ,,

Uriya . . . Kalahandi

Marāthi Nāgpuri

*These are provisionally classed as Semi-Kolarian Hindi.

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Telugu . . . Bastar

Gond . . . . Gayeti, Rutluk, Naikude, Kolami, Mahadeo, Raj, Maria, Mari, Gotta

Orāon

Yerukāla

KOLARIAN FAMILY

Kur

Mehtu

Gadaba

BURMA

TIBETO BURMAN FAMILY

Burmese . . . Standard, Arakanese, Tavoyi, Ye

Khyeng

Kumi

Kami

Mru

Karen . . . Sgau, Bghai, Red-Karen, Pwo, Taru, Mopgha, Kay or Guikho, Toungthu

MON ANAM FAMILY

Mon . . . Standard

Palaung

TAI FAMILY

Shān

UNCLASSED

Silong . . . Language of the Mergui Archipelago

ASSAM

ARYAN FAMILY

Bangāli . . Rabha (Pāli), Mīyang

Assamese Standard

TIBETO BURMAN FAMILY

Mishmi . . . Chulikota, Digaru, Mijhu

Abor

Mīrī

Aka

Dophla

Deori Chutia

Dhimal

Kachāri or Bodo . . Eleven dialects

Songpho or Kakhyeru

Jili

Namsang Nāga . . Banapara, Tablang

Khiari Nāga . . . Naugong, Tengsa, Lhota

Angami Nāga . . Rengma, Arung, Kulcha

Gāro

Mikir

Changlo

Bhotia of Twang

KHASI FAMILY

Khasi . . . . Five dialects noted

TAI FAMILY

Khamti

Aiton

NEPAL & SIKKIM

ARYAN FAMILY

Hindi . . . . Darahi (classed provisionally as Semi-Tibeto-Burman)
Dah Ditto
Denwār Ditto
Kuswār Ditto
Thāru Ditto
Bhuksa Ditto
Pakiya Ditto
Gadi and others Ditto

Bihāri . . . . { Bhojpuri, Maithili }

Nepāli . . . . { Standard, Parbatya, Palpa }

TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

Magar

Gurung

Murmi

Newāri

Kiranti . . . Standard and 16 dialects

Vayu

Bramhu

Chepang

Kusunda

Sunwar

Limbu

Thaksya

Pahri

Lepcha . . . { Rong, Khamba }

CEYLON

ARYAN FAMILY

Singhalese . . . { Standard, Elu, Veddah, Rodiya, Maldive }

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Tamil . . .? Standard

RAJPUTANA

ARYAN FAMILY

Hindi . . . . { Rangri, Alwari, Jaipuri, Bikaneri, Marwari (? a distant language), Harauti, Udaipuri, Ujaini, Bhil(Semi-Kolarian) }

HAIDARABAD

ARYAN FAMILY

Marāthi

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Kanarese

Telugu

Gond

CENTRAL INDIAN AGENCY

ARYAN FAMILY

Bihāri . . . { Bundeli, Bhageli, Bhojpuri }

BARODA

ARYAN FAMILY

Gujarāti

MYSORE

DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

Kanarese . . . Standard (Archaic & Modern)

KASHMIR

ARYAN FAMILY

Kashmiri . . . { Standard, Rambāni, Bhadarwāhi, Pādari, Doda, Kishtawāri }

Dardui . . . { Gurezi, Astori, Gilgiti }

Panjabi . . . { Dogri, Chibhali }

TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

Tibetan or Bhotia . . . { Balti, Dah, Ladākhi, Zanskari, Champas }

MANIPUR

TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

Manipuri

Liyang

Maring—Khoibu

Marām

Kupui . . . { Puiron, Sombu }

Tangkhul
Luhupa
Khungui
Phadung
Champhung
Kupome
Andro
Sengmai
Chairel
Takuimi
Anal
Namfau

BAY OF BENGAL

Unclassed at present

Bojinjijida, Bojigiah, Akakol, Awkojawai, Balawa, Yerewa, Jarawa	Andaman Islands
Nicobari . . . , Shoboeng . . .	Nicobar Islands with several dialects

Govt. of India Central Printing Office—No. 970 A, H.D. 11-2-89—251.

P. 19
Prog. No. 150.

No. 3099, dt. Calcutta, the 6th December 1888

From

S. W. EDGERLEY, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 59-T-G., dt. the 26th Sept. last, submitting certain proposals in furtherance of the suggestion made by the Vienna International Oriental Congress that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

2. In reply I am directed to enquire whether, with reference to the present financial outlook, H.H. the Lt. Governor still adheres to the views expressed and the offer of pecuniary assistance made in the letter under acknowledgement. If so, H.E. in Council will consult other Govts. in order to determine what action should be taken in the matter.

No. 151

No. 21, Dt. Calcutta, the 5th Jan. 1889

From

P. Nolan, Esq., Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General Deptt.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India.

In answer to Mr. Edgerley's letter No. 3099 dt. the 6th December 1888, I am directed to say that the Lt. Governor desires to adhere to the views expressed and the offer of pecuniary assistance made in Mr. Cotton's letter 59-T.G. dt. the 26th Sept. last, in furtherance of the suggestion made by the Vienna International Oriental Congress that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

Prog. No. 152
P. 21

No. 221 to 228

From

A. P. MACDONNELL, Esq. C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Madras.
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay.
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of the N.W.P. & Oudh.
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.
The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.
The Chief Commissioner of the British Burma.
The Chief Commissioner of Assam.
The Resident at Hyderabad.

Calcutta, the 12th Feb. 1889.

Home Deptt.
Public

Sir,

I AM directed to forward the accompanying papers, detailed in the annexed list, on the subject of a proposal made by the Aryan Branch of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

2. I am to invite attention to para 10 of the letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 59.T.G., dt. the 26th Sept. 1888, and to request that the Government of India may be favoured with the views of H. E. the Governor in Council / H.H. the Lt. Gov. (& Chief Commr). / your views on the proposal and at the same time informed how far H. E. the Governor in Council / H. H. Lt. Gov. (& Chief Commr.) / you would be prepared to co-operate in furtherance of the project in view.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

A.P. MACDONNELL,

Secy. to the Government of India.

No. 229-230

Copy with enclosures forwarded to the Foreign / Finance Department for information.

By order

J. P. HEWETT

Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

ORIGINAL

HOME 1892 DEPTT

Public A. Progs. Aug. No. 198

Proposed Archaeological and Linguistic Survey of Hyderabad

No. 199 of 1892

From

T. Chichele Plowden, Esquire

Resident at Hyderabad.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department, Simla.

Dated Hyderabad Residency, 1st July 1892.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to Foreign Department endorsement No. 898 I, dated the 26th February 1889, forwarding papers regarding a proposal made by the Aryan Branch of the seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

2. His Highness the Nizam's Minister was addressed on this subject and asked to communicate the views of His Highness' Government regarding the proposal, and to state how far they would be prepared to co-operate in furtherance of the project. I now submit, for the information and orders of the Government of India, a copy of the following correspondence from which it will be seen that His Highness' Government, consider it expedient to carry out an archaeological survey of His Highness' territory simultaneously with a linguistic survey, and have now on the advice of Doctor Burgess, applied for the loan of the services of Mr. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bombay, for a period of 3 years on the same salary that he now receives viz. Government Rupees 1,000 per annum with a travelling allowance of Rs. 8 per diem.

It is also proposed that, with Mr. Cousens' approval, the services of Mr. Garrick, late of the Archaeological Survey Department, be secured, if possible for employment as a photographer in connection with the above project.

3. I would beg the favour of being furnished with the early orders of the Government of India, and with an expression of the views of the Governor General in Council as to the advisability of allowing Mr. Cousens so organize his own staff as proposed by the Minister.

I have etc.

Sd./- T. Chichele Plowden,

Resident.

No. 359

Hyderabad Deccan,
8th July 1891.

My dear Mr. Crawford.

With reference to my letter No. 132 dated 8th March last, on the subject of the proposal for a survey of the Indian Languages made by the Aryan Branch of the seventh International Congress held at Vienna, I now beg to inform you that a Committee consisting of nine officials of His Highness'

Government (Whose names are given below) was forwarded to consider the proposals of the Congress. After a good deal of deliberation it was suggested, that, as the work of a survey of the languages was one that, although very limited could not be accomplished without a great deal of research and expenditure of money, it would be advisable to take up at the same time as archaeological Survey of His Highness' dominions. Dr. Burgess of the above department, when last at Hyderabad, was of opinion that such Archaeological work could be accomplished in three or four years at an annual cost of thirteen or fourteen thousand Rupees and Dr. Burgess also expressed his readiness to furnish a batch of competent surveyors, for the above purpose.

The Committee, thereupon, resolves that as a survey of the languages may be considered to come within the scope of an Archaeological survey, both these important undertakings should be put in hand at the same time and that Dr. Burgess be asked to make a selection of the Establishment that would be required and to submit their names with the amounts of their salaries and other particulars.

The above proposal having met with the approval of His Highness' Government, I shall now feel much obliged if you will kindly ascertain and let me know whether the Archaeological Department of the Government of India have any objection to assisting His Highness' Government in the manner proposed and in stating what the probable annual cost of each work would be.

Yours etc.
Sd./- Asman Jah.
and others.

No. 1447

Hyderabad Residency,
8th August 1891.

My dear Nawab,

I am directed to reply to your letter No. 359, dated the 6th ultimo, on the subject of a linguistic survey of His Highness' dominion.

From your letter the Resident understands that you propose to have a linguistic and an archaeological survey carried on simultaneously, and that you wish an application to be made to the Government of India to depute men for the purpose from the archaeological Department.

I am to suggest the advisability of your consulting Mr. Burgess as to whether his department would be capable of undertaking a linguistic survey.

Yours sc.
Sd./- G. A. Crawford

To the Nawab
Sir Asman Jah, Bahon, K.C.I.S.

No. 438

Hyderabad (Deccan)
23rd June 1892.

My dear Mr. Irwin,

Referring to previous correspondence ending with Mr. Bosanquets letter No. 2954, dated the 23rd April last, on the subject of a combined Archaeological and linguistic survey of His Highness' Dominions, I now write to let you know that Dr. Burgess, having been consulted on the subject, has recommended that His Highness' Government should apply for the loan of the services of Mr. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bombay, as he is likely to be available at the time, and I now write to ask that the Resident will be so kind as to take necessary steps with that view. We should like Mr. Cousens' services to be made available for three years under His Highness' Government. He will receive the same pay that I understand he now gets viz : Government Rs. 1,000/- per annum. His Highness' Government will also be glad to allow him Travelling allowance at the rate of Rs. 8 per diem.

I think the best plan will be for Mr. Cousens to organize his own staff i.e. the scientific members of it, selecting his lower subordinates if possible, after his arrival at Hyderabad.

It should, I think, be made clear to Mr. Cousens at the outset, that the Linguistic survey will form part of the Archaeological Department in this State.

The Educational Department of His Highness' Government will probably be able to render some assistance in this direction, though the extent and quality of such help cannot be estimated until the work has begun, as we have no Dravidian scholar of any note in the service.

As Dr. Burgess considers that a photographer's services will be required, I would suggest that, with Mr. Cousens approval, Mr. Garrick, who

was recommended to this Government by the Government of India some time ago, should be secured if possible, for this duty. Should Mr. Garrick's services not be available for any reason, a properly qualified assistant might be obtained from the studio of our local Photographic artist Lala Deen Dayal. As it is very desirable to make a commencement of the work in the ensuing cold weather, I venture to hope that early steps will be taken to secure Mr. Cousens' services.

Believe &c.
Sd./- Asman Jah.

Foreign Deptt.

No. 3225 I.

From

The Under Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Resident at Hyderabad.

dated Simla, the 17th August 1892.

Sir.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 199 dated the 1st July 1892, regarding the application of His Highness the Nizam's Government for the loan of the services of Mr. Cousens for three years to carry out an archaeological and linguistic survey of His Highness' territory.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Government of India regret that they cannot spare Mr. Cousens' services, as his time will be fully occupied for some time to come with work in British territory.

3. The Government of India have, however, now under consideration a proposal to carry out an archaeological survey of Berar and the Central Provinces, under Mr. Cousens, and in the event of this work being decided on, there will be no objection, if His Highness' Government desire it, to include Hyderabad in the circle to be surveyed, a fair proportion of the cost being born by the Hyderabad State. This survey cannot be taken in hand until 1893-94 or possibly 1894-95.

4. As regards the proposed linguistic survey of His Highness' dominions, I am to inform you that this survey for British territory has been postponed for the present. A scheme is under consideration for collecting specimens of languages and dialects throughout the country as disclosed by the Census of 1891 and should this be carried out the Government of India will have no objection when investigating the varieties of the dialects of the Marathi, Canarese and Telugu languages which are understood to be the languages spoken in His Highness' dominions, to send Mr. Cousens and his party the necessary papers to fill up, if they are at that time engaged on archaeological work in Hyderabad.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) A. Williams,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 3226 I

A copy of the foregoing correspondence is forwarded to the Home Department for information.

By order.
A. Williams,
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Deptt.
Simla.
The 17th August 1892.

HOME DEPARTMENT

1895

PUBLIC A.

Proceedings—February

Nos. 253 to 279.

Proposed Systematic Survey of the Vernacular Languages of India.

NOTES

The President of the Seventh International Oriental Congress at Vienna forwarded an extract from the proceedings of the Aryan Branch of the Congress, recommending a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India. This extract*

*No. 327 in Public Prog. June 1887—No. 311-329.

was forwarded to the Government of Bengal with the intimation that the exploration of the really national vernacular dialects of India and their scientific treatment by comparative philology was in the opinion of the Govt. of India, a work not only of literary interest, but also of some political importance because its results were calculated to bring the official class into easier and closer communion with the people. It was also likely to prove of advantage to vernacular education and to foster the growth of provincial sentiment. Governor General in Council, therefore, considered that upon these grounds the assistance of Govt. might fairly be claimed towards such an undertaking, but His Excellency in Council, looking to the existing financial exigencies, was not prepared to sanction any considerable expenditure beyond what provincial Governments were willing to provide for from their own revenues. The Lt. Governor was requested to invite Mr. Grierson to draw up a detailed paper on the subject showing approximately the probable cost of the Scheme, the agency through which it should be carried out, and the time which it might be expected to occupy.

In Sept. 1888* the Lt. Governor submitted a report by Mr. Grierson with the observations of the D.P.I. Bengal. This letter and its enclosures should be read. Briefly stated, Mr. Grierson's proposals were that there should be two General Directors, one for the Aryan and the other for the Drav. languages; that there should be 14 Provincial Directors under the General Aryan Director; and that rewards should be paid to local school masters for special work to be done by them. The total cost of the scheme was estimated at Rs. 1,21,267 per anuum, or Rs. 3,63,800 for three years; and the Bengal Govt. was willing to contribute Rs. 15,000 a year for three years for its own Province. Whether the survey could be carried out or not would (p. 2) depend on the co-operation of other local Govts., but Sir Steuart Bayley was not aware how the project would be received by other Provinces, and how far financial considerations were likely to interfere with the other Govts., offering assistance.

The Bengal Govt. letter and enclosures (with connected papers) were forwarded to Local Govts. and Administrations** with a request for an expression of their views and information as to how far they would be prepared to co-operate in furtherance of the project.

The following is a summary of the replies to the Circular of this Dept. of 12th Feb. 1889. The letters are in print.

Madras† The Madras Govt. forwards a letter from the D.P.I., and says that it is not prepared to make any contribution from Provincial revenues towards the execution of the Scheme. The Govt. agrees with Mr. Grigg that no suitable agency exists for the work, and invites attention to his remarks as to the necessity for the chief Dravidian scholars in Europe first laying down the lines of enquiry. The subject is so vast that the Madras Govt. is of opinion that no useful results could be obtained within the brief period of three years, while its extension would indefinitely increase the expense of the undertaking.

Bombay‡ The Bombay Govt. forwards a letter from Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Professor of Oriental Languages in the Deccan College, and prefers his scheme, as given in the 9th paragraph of his letter enclosed, of granting honoraria to the General and Provincial Directors after the completion of the survey, instead of paying regular monthly salaries to them. With fixed salaries and allowances there would be no inducement to expedite the work. If the Govt. of India thinks it better to adopt the principle of fixed salaries, the Bombay Govt. would agree to pay Rs. 10,100 a year for three years, but, approving as it does the principle of rewarding the officers concerned by honoraria, it would prefer to contribute Rs. 21,720 in lump sum at the conclusion of the survey.

N.W. Provs. and Oudh@ The Govt. of N.W. Provs. and Oudh encloses copies of letters from Messrs. Crooke and Growse on the subject, which may be read. It says that the rustic dialects of these Provinces have already been examined, and there is little extant literature embodied in these dialects on which a philologist could work. There are, however, two parts of the provinces where a linguistic survey might profitably be made, but the Lt. Governor doubts whether the results of such a

*No. 146 in Public Progs. for Feb. 1889-Nos 146-152.
**No. 152 in Public Progs. for Feb. 1889 Nos 146-152.
†Letter No. 475-476 dt. 8th Aug. 1889.
‡Letter No. 1759, dt. 9th Sept. 1889.
@No. 2301-III-595A dt. 21st Nov. 1889.

survey would justify an expenditure of the scale proposed by Mr. Grierson. If the Govt. of India desires that such a survey should be carried out throughout the Empire, it is suggested that, instead of appointing a staff of salaried officers, to whom His Honour does not see his way to contribute, it would be preferable to have the work done on a system of honoraria for contributions of proved value.

Punjab* There are no funds available for the purpose, nor have the few officers with the necessary qualifications the leisure to carry on the work with the steady attention that would be requisite without serious injury to their other work.

Central Provinces† Mr. Crosthwaite, the Offg. Chief Commissioner, says, after consulting the Inspector General of Education and the Commissioners of Divisions, that there is no Specialist possessing the requisite qualifications for the work in those provinces. He would prefer that Asstt. Directors should be appointed not for different Provinces but for the different groups of languages. He is prepared to contribute Rs. 5,000 a year towards the project.

Burma** The Chief Commissioner considers it doubtful whether any useful purpose would be served by associating Burma with rest of India in the proposed survey. If such a work is carried out, it must be done separately; but, in the opinion of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Burma is not yet ripe for the proposed Survey, and it would therefore be advisable to postpone its execution.

Assam§ The Chief Commissioner forwards a note by Mr. C. J. Lyall, in which he strongly recommends that Assam should co-operate in the work. Mr. Fitzpatrick says that the matter is one on which he himself is not competent to offer any suggestions. He thinks that, not withstanding present financial difficulties, his successor could contribute about Rs. 11,000 to be spread over three years.

Hyderabad*** So far as Berar is concerned, the Resident regrets that no funds from the revenues of that Province can be contributed towards the furtherance of the project.

Mr. Fitzpatrick promises the submission of a separate letter regarding the Native State of Hyderabad.

This further report is awaited.

In addition to the above replies, the Foreign Deptt., to which a copy of Home Deptt. circular of 12th Feb. 1889 was forwarded for information, sends copies of the reports from the Agents to the Governor General of Baluchistan, Central India, and Baroda.

The Agent, Governor General £ in Baluchistan has no remarks to offer except to urge the great importance of vocabularies which are far more valuable than grammars.

The Agent for Central India@ reports that the Gwalior Council of Regency has signified its willingness to contribute towards the expenses of the survey on learning what contributions have been promised by other Native States and the Govt. of India. H.H. the Begum of Bhopal has contributed Rs. 1,000 and the Raja of Chattarpur has expressed his readiness to give such aid as may be appropriate and within the resources of the State. No other Chiefs in Bundelkhand or in Central India are willing to subscribe.

The Agent, Governor General,‡ at Baroda, states that the Durbar fully appreciates the object in view, and is quite willing to co-operate with the Bombay Govt. in carrying out, simultaneously, a systematic Survey of the Guzerathi language in Baroda Territory, and it undertakes also the search after old or medieval Guzerathi works as far as possible; but before taking any action the Minister desires to know what expenditure the Bombay Govt. is prepared to incur in this connection and what share thereof the Durbar will have to bear.

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*Letter No. 117, dt. 10th April 1889.
†Letter No. 4941-237, dt. 16th August 1889.
**Letter No. 452-26 N., dt. 19th March 1889.
Letter No. 2577, dt. 25th April 1889.
***Letter No. 409 G., dt. 5th Nov. 1889.
£From the Foreign Deptt. No. 1837 I, dt. 7th May, 1889.
@From the foreign Deptt. No. 3668 I, dt. 16th Sept. 1889.
‡From the Foreign Deptt. No. 4111, I, dt. 22nd Oct. 1889.

E.T. 13-12-89

J.L.M. 14-12-89

To Secretary—The Scheme of Mr. Grierson involved the expenditure of Rs. 3,63,000 sperad over three years. The Provl. Govts. that offer contributions are :—

Bombay	Rs. 30,300
(though it prefers a system of Honoraria)	
Bengal	Rs. 45,000
Central Provinces	Rs. 15,000
Assam	Rs. 11,000

Assistance would also be given by the Gwalior and Baroda Durbars. The Amount offered from Provl. sources is not much more than ¼ of the expenditure required.

Pg. 5

The Madras and Punjab Govts. are not prepared to co-operate at all, but the N.W. Provinces Govt., though it considers that only the langs. of Kumaun and those bordering on Central India and the Central Provinces require to be surveyed, would contribute if the remuneration was made by means of honoraria. Burma should, I think be left, as the Chief Commissioner proposes, out of any scheme for the present. The difficulty is now to find the money required, and it is doubtful whether the Finance Deptt. will provide the sum of nearly 3 lakhs for the work. At the same time the Home Deptt. should, I submit, insist that something should be done, and, if so much money cannot be got, it would be advisable to hold a conference in Calcutta and work out a system of survey to be paid for by honoraria.

J.P.H. 26-12-89

I think the scheme should be persevered with, but, before we go further, pl. send copies of the Provincial replies demi-officially to Mr. Grierson, with copies of his draft scheme, and the Bengal letter of 26th Sept. 1888, and ask him whether he has any criticisms to offer.

A.P.M. 27-12-89

(Confidential)

MY DEAR MR. GRIERSON—In forwarding the papers detailed in the annexed list, on the subject of a proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, I am to ask confidentially whether you have any criticism to offer on the matter.

Yours sincerely.
Sd./- J. P. Hewett

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq.,

Magistrate & Collector of Gya.

LIST OF PAPERS ACCOMPANYING

1. Letter from the Govt. of Bengal, No. 59 T.G. dt. 26th Sept. 1888, and enclosures.
2. Letter from the Govt. of Madras, No. 475-476, dt. 8th Aug. 1889, and enclosures.
3. Letter from the Govt. of Bombay, No. 1759 dt. 9th Sept. 1889 and enclosures.
4. Letter from the Govt. of N.W. Provs. & Oudh No. 2301-III-595A, dt. 21st Nov. 1889, and enclosures.
5. Letter from the Govt. of the Punjab No 117 dt. 10th April 1889.
6. Letter from Chief Commr. C.P. No. 4941-237 dt. 16th Aug. 1889.
7. Letter from Chief Commr. Burma No 452-26N. dt. 19th March 1889 & enclosures.
8. Letter from Chief Commr. Assam No. 2577, dt. 29th April 1889 & enclosures.
9. Letter from the Resident at Hyderabad No. 409G. dt. 5th Nov. 1889.
10. Letter from the Agent, Governor General in Baluchistan. No. 1997 dt. 29th April 1889.
11. Letter from the Agent, Governor General in Central India, No. 165G-403 dt. 6th Sept. 1889.
12. Letter from the Agent, Governor General in Baroda No. 10310, dt. 5th Oct. 1889.

Return requested.

(Confidential)

CAMP WAR

GAYA

The 15th January 1890

MY DEAR MR. HEWETT.—I have persued the papers you sent me with your (p. 6) confidential d.o. of the 2nd. instt., and, as requested offer the following criticism on them.

2. It will be well first to see what is the net financial result of the whole correspondence. The papers contain two estimates of the entire cost of the survey. The Bengal estimate puts it at Rs. 3,63,000, and the Bombay one puts it at Rs. 2,15,400. For reasons which will be subsequently stated, I consider the Bombay estimate too low. Assuming, therefore, roughly that the entire survey of the Aryan and Dravidian languages will cost Rs.3½ lakhs, and that the cost of getting grammars of "other languages" will be met independently, as is already done in Assam, I find that the various Indian Provs., have already promised about Rs. 1,02,450, and that further indefinite sums have been promised under certain conditions by the Govt. of Madras, of the N.W. Provs., and by various Rajput states. I don't know whether I am right in expecting that the Supreme Govt. will also make a grant towards the survey, on ground of its being a matter affecting Imperial interests; but if I am right in making this assumption, I do not see that there is any improbability in the total amount required being made up. In the estimate of 3½ lakhs, about one lakh represents the cost of the Dravidian survey. This would be nearly all borne by Madras, and as the Govt. of Madras considers that it had better to do its own survey, on its own system and could do so for less money, we can exclude that lakh for the present from the estimate. When we consider that the contribution of the N.W. Provs. would probably equal that of Bengal, that the larger Rajput states have as yet given no reply, and that assistance may be expected from the Supreme Govt., I anticipate no difficulty being experienced in raising the funds. If the N.W. Provinces give less than Bengal, it will be because the work has been partly done already, and if that be the case, the estimate of expenditure will also be proportionately reduced.

3. I have gone into the financial question, because, unless there is a reasonable prospect of funds for the project being forthcoming, it would be useless for me to offer any criticism on the proposals made. Regarding the expediency of the survey, the papers forwarded to me show a great unanimity. Not to mention general remarks, I would draw attention to what, (p. 7) the Govt. of N.W. Provs. says about Kumaun, to what the Govt. of C.P. says about its aboriginal dialects ("no one can be found who has as much as learned the elements of" certain dialects), to what the Revd. J. N. Cushing tells the Govt. of Burma about a large number of languages of which no one has any knowledge, and to what Mr. Lyall tells us about the Assam languages. It is freely admitted that there are many scores of tribes throughout India each only speaking a language which is unintelligible to the various Govt. officials with whom it may come into contact. I may cap this with one instance gathered from my own experience. Some years ago a European was tried before the High Court for an alleged murder in Tirhut. The witnesses were cultivators from the centre of Darbhanga District. They spoke what is known to every planter as Gáonwárí, and not an official in the High Court could understand them. Yet these men spoke a dialect which was the every day speech of about 7 millions of people.

4. The Govts. of Madras, Bombay, and the N.W. Provs. prefer a system of honoraria to paying Provl. Directors a fixed salary of Rs. 300 per mensem for a portion of their time. The Bombay Govt. adopts a proposal of fixing the honoraria at Rs. 5,000, and also suggests paying the General Director an honorarium of Rs. 8,000, instead of a monthly salary. Regarding this latter proposition, I shall make some remarks later on.

5. Regarding the proposal to pay the Provl. Directors on a system of honoraria, my criticism must depend on the meaning attached to the proposition. If it is intended simply to offer a reward of a definite or of an indefinite sum to the public generality, for the best grammar of a certain language, I am entirely against the proposal. The wrong men would volunteer for the work, there would be no official discipline, which would be most necessary for the purposes of enquiry, and there would be an entire want of uniformity in the result. I should prefer to have a series of grammars and vocabularies of uniform but moderate excellence, to having a number of works of varying excellence, some very good and some very bad. The essence of the survey, in my opinion will be official control. It is the want of the power of official control which has prevented the various

Asiatic Societies from doing the work, and which (p. 8) has prevented a systematic exploration of the more common Indian languages and out-of-the-way dialects, such as those of Naga Hills or of the Gonds of Orissa, which were of comparatively small importance for administration purposes, attracting attention and were reduced to writing years before an attempt was made to understand the lang. spoken by the 20 millions of Behar. To prevent this, to keep the whole in focus, to arrange for a complete systematic enquiry into the whole subject, a man at the head is absolutely necessary, having some sort of official control over the actual workers. Again, for this purpose, I would restrict my choice of superior agents, at least as regards the Aryan languages, to Govt. servants. Outsiders may possibly be better scholars, and, in isolated cases, may be better able to do the work, but they will not be trained in the School of official discipline. They will not have learned the lesson that it is necessary to follow instructions, once given, accurately and promptly, and if the Director is compelled to trust to them for help, he will never finish the work in the allotted time.

For this reason I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, as far as the Aryan languages are concerned, the Provl. Directors should be Govt. Servants, and I do so the more willingly because I am persuaded that the lists of Govt. Servants of all the Provinces concerned contain many names of gentlemen, Native as well as European, distinguished for their knowledge of native langs., and for their philological learning.

Such gentlemen would, I have no doubt, willingly work whether remunerated by a fixed salary, or by a system of honoraria, and I see no objection whatever to a system of honoraria, provided it is based on the following principles. In the case of each Provl. Director I would select my man—Mr. A—and would invite him to write grammar and vocabularies of dialects B & C, at his own expense, promising an honorarium of Rs. X on the completion of the work subject to the following conditions :—

(a) They must all be completed by a certain date.

(b) They must be done according to the authorised scale, as settled by the conference already proposed.

(c) The work to be done subject to the supervision of the General Director.

(p. 9) (d) The work to be done must progress at a uniform rate.

(e) He is to be given an allowance for establishment, but if he requires it, the honorarium may be paid to him partly in advance at the rate of Rs. Y per month, to pay for such establishment as he may require.

(f) He will be granted travelling allowance for journeys undertaken for the sake of the work.

(g) He will also be allowed to spend a sum not exceeding Rs. Z in rewards to *gurus* (or other similar persons) in addition to the honorarium, as suggested in my original note.

(h) The officers of the Education Deptt. (or such other deptt. as may be found most suitable in the local area) will be instructed to lend him every assistance in their power.

Subject to these conditions, I think that a system of honoraria would be just as good as a system of fixed salaries. The expense, too, would not exceed that of the system formerly proposed by me. To calculate the amount of honorarium which I would suggest, I would fix the average at a sum equivalent to Rs. 300 per mensem for three years, Rs. $300 \times 36 = 10{,}800$. I would therefore fix the average at Rs. 10,000 leaving a saving of Rs. 800, which I propose to utilize elsewhere. The amount of honorarium would vary with the work to be done by him. A native official drawing Rs. 500 a month would evidently be satisfied with a lump sum which, though handsome, would not satisfy a European official drawing Rs. 1,000 a month. I would therefore fix the average honorarium at Rs. 10,000, the maximum at Rs. 15,000 and the minimum at Rs. 8,000. Rs. 10,000 may seem a large sum, but, after all, it should be remembered that it is really less than the Rs. 300 a month originally proposed, and that we want very good men, who are either experts or are capable of becoming so, and that to obtain the services of such men, money must be paid.

The papers forwarded by the Bombay Govt. show that it is considered that my estimate for rewards to *gurus* is too low. I willingly admit this. My estimate was formed on the most economical basis, and I therefore now suggest the addition to

this sum of Rs. 800 saved out of the original Rs. 300 a month (p. 10) estimated for each Provl. Director. This would raise the allotment for rewards to *gurus* to Rs. 2,400 for the larger provinces, and to Rs. 1,200 for the smaller ones.

Bombay prefers one Provincial Director with three assistants to two Provincial Directors. There is no objection to it even if the system of honoraria is adopted. Let Rs. 20,000 be allotted as the honoraria for Bombay, to be divided as may be subsequently arranged, the Provl. Director and the Canarese assistants may be paid by honoraria, and the other two assistants by salaries, so long as the total of Rs. 20,000 is not exceeded.

The following, therefore, is a revised estimate of the cost of the survey so far as regards the Aryan languages. I do not discuss the Dravidian languages at present, but it may be noted that, without additional expenditure, the Dravidian Canarese of Bombay may be included in this estimate:—

General Director	Rs. 72,000
14 Provl. Directors @ Rs. 10,000 average each	Rs. 1,40,000
Rewards	Rs. 16,800
Genl. Director's office estbtt.	Rs. 9,000
Printing (Say)	Rs. 10,000
	Rs. 2,47,800

The total is the same as that of the Bengal Govt., though the items are somewhat different.

To this should be added an item which was omitted by the Bengal Govt.—see para 9 of my report. A man of calibre of Sub-Inspector of Schools, drawing, say, Rs. 50 a month, would be required for each Provincial Director for about 6 months to collect the materials for vocabulary. This has already been done for N.W. Provinces by Mr. Crooke. The cost for each Provincial Director would be about Rs. 300 and I would suggest that the Govt., if requested, should lend an officer for the purpose, the amount of his pay being deducted from the honorarium, or, if preferred, the amount could be met from the item of rewards to *gurus*.

This, I think, exhausts all that I have to say on the genl. question. I now ask leave to make a few remarks on some of the letters of the different Govts.

A—Letter of the Government of Bengal.

(a) **Enclosure from Sir A. Croft, paragraph 3.**

It was entirely in order to keep down expenditure that I abstained from proposing a Director General for the whole of Survey, and there is one doubt that, if such an officer were appointed, much greater uniformity could be secured than under the proposed arrangement. I may add that, if Govt. do me the honour (p. 11) of accepting the recommendation of the Govt. of Bengal, and making me Director of the Aryan Branch of the survey, it would be a labour of love to me to take up the supervision of the work of the other two branches as well. This is not that I pretend to know anything like all the languages dealt with, but because in the case of these languages, it is only suggested to encourage, by a system of rewards, Missionaries and others to write grammars and vocabularies for such as require them. This is already being done in Assam, but in other provinces some one will be required to set the ball rolling, to urge the matter on and to communicate with the proposed authors in the matter. It is hardly necessary to observe that the rewards for the grammars and vocabularies so produced would be nothing like so large as those offered in the Aryan Branch.

Amounts would be measured by hundreds, and not by thousands.

In the case of Dravidian languages, I only pretend to a slight acquaintance with one of them—Tamil—but the experience gained by me in directing the other branches of the survey might be found useful, and I might be a connecting link between officers working in different Presidencies.

(b) **Govt. of Bengal's own letter, paragraph 4.**

I necessarily abstain from making any remarks about the amount of my own pay. I would only draw attention to the fact that the Govt. letter was written a year and a half ago, and that I am now well in the 17th year of my service. In the ordinary course of promotion, I shall draw pay at Rs. 1,800 (1,500+300) a month within a few months.

One other point, in this connection, which I have hitherto omitted to mention. The actual work of the survey is estimated to last three years, but it will not start at once into full working order. The General Director will have to be appointed

two or three months in advance to arrange matters, and his deputation may, perhaps, be required to last two or three months after the conclusion of the survey, to wind up affairs.

p. 12

Paragraph 5. My estimate of Rs. 10,000 per annum for three years for the Dravidian languages was calculated as follows:—

Three Provl. Directors (as in the Aryan Branch) at Rs. 300 per month each = Rs. 10,800 per annum.

The Bengal Govt. letter takes no account of the third class of languages—"others". Paragraph 13 of my original note deals with them. I would in these cases let every province make its own arrangements with Missionaries, School masters, and others, offering rewards for the preparation of simple vocabularies and grammars. Something on the plan of the Ho Kaji or of Forbes' Manual of Hindustani, would be quite sufficient. There are 14 languages of the "Others" group in the Lower Province of Bengal. Of these about four have been already dealt with, and if an average reward of Rs. 500 is given for each, giving the author also the copyright of his book, the ten remaining would cost Rs. 5,000 to be spread over three years. This estimate is of course only approximate. The preparation of all the grammars would be under the supervision of the General Director for all India if such an officer were appointed.

B. The Letter of the Madras Government

The Madras Government approves the idea of survey but doubts if it could be done for the money. It also says that there are no officers in Madras competent to concoct the skeleton grammar and suggests that that portion of the work should be done in Europe. With every respect for the remarks of Dr. Oppert, I doubt if there are such a number of Dravidian dialects in the Deccan, as there are Aryan dialects in Hindustan. The multiplicity of dialects in the latter area is one of the most extraordinary features of the linguistic geography of India. There are, of course, dialects also in Deccan, but from inquiries I have made from natives of Madras and from Dravidian scholars they do not seem to vary with such rapidity over a small area. The *boli* does not change every 4 *Kos* as the proverb runs in Hindustan. Regarding the cost, the estimate of the Bengal Government for the Dravidian languages was for Rs. 1,16,000 of which Rs. 10,000 × 3 went for the salaries and establishment of Provincial Directors, the rest going for the salary of the Head Director and other minor items.

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The Madras Government prefers to give honoraria instead of salaries. There can be no objection to their doing it on the principles explained above. Let it be assumed, for the sake of argument, that 6 Provincial Directors with honoraria each of Rs. 10,000 are required for the twelve Dravidian languages of Madras, and other minor varieties of that class in other parts of India. This will cost Rs. 60,000. The remaining Rs. 56,000 should be amply sufficient for the preparation of the skeleton grammar in Europe, and for the expenses of the Central Supervising Board suggested instead of the Head Director.

C. The Letter of the Government of Bombay.

Paragraph 2 of Dr. Bhandarkar's letter.

I cannot agree that the General Director should be paid by an honorarium. He must be a full time officer. Even supposing he had only to deal with the Aryan family, he would have to actively supervise the preparation of over a 100 dialects. If his post is to be of any use, his supervision must be effective; he must be able to make his influence felt throughout the whole Survey.

Besides looking after his own local work, he will have to be continually on the move going about from centre to centre, and from province to province; and would have to correspond directly with at least 14 subordinates, not to speak of any correspondence he might have with gentlemen preparing grammars for languages falling under the class of "Others". How such an officer could find time to do any work, I do not understand. If his work does not include such active supervision, then his services should be dispensed with as soon as the survey is started, and the post should be again revived, at the conclusion, in order to wind up affairs.

Paragraph 9—The amount of honoraria suggested for Provincial Directors seems to me to be too small for an average. I have already given my reasons for believing that the average honorarium should be Rs. 10,000. I have also stated that the arrangement of Provincial and Assistant Directors is a matter of detail, which can be settled afterwards.

D. The Letter of the Government of the North Western Provinces.

Paragraph 2—"So far as is known there is little extant literature embodied in these dialects". I must respectfully express my strong dissent from this statement. I (p. 14) can name over 7 hundred works written in the dialects of the N.W. Provinces, and I am aware that this list, compiled by my own unaided exertions, is most incomplete. These books can, I believe, all be found in existence at the present day, though some were written as long as 1200 A.D.

Paragraph 3—Note that in the Kumaun Division the hill dialects have never been investigated or reduced to writing.

Mr. Crooke's letter Paragraph 3—I am well aware that much has been already done in the N.W. Provinces, but Mr. Crooke will be the first to admit that much remains to be done. What has been done, too, requires to be corrected and brought into system. Mr. Kellogg's work, though, out and away, the best Hindi grammar yet published, broke new ground, and its author being compelled to trust mainly to books fell into errors as to the actual languages. Mr. Reid's excellent grammar and vocabulary for Azamgarh can hardly be improved upon as to matter.

Paragraph 4—As far as vocabularies are concerned, Mr. Crooke's admirable agricultural glossary has now rendered the preparation of a vocabulary for at least a portion of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh unnecessary.

Mr. Crooke in his 5th paragraph has, I think, misunderstood the object of the second part of my proposal. This object will be found clearly given in paragraph 14 and 15 of my original note. Mr. Crooke's animadversions seem to be founded on the 2nd paragraph of the Bengal Government letter. No doubt to secure a thorough examination of the vernacular languages of India, not only as they exist at the present moment, but also as they have been in times past, as far as any procurable mss. exist, would be a great work, and would worthily occupy the attention of the Government of India, but it goes beyond what I proposed. My scheme was to utilize the Survey for cataloguing materials for such a work, and placing them at the disposal of scholars. Vernacular mss. were to be searched for and described, and selected works of importance could be printed, or their printing aided by Government. Mss. are not so much to be collected, as to be searched for and catalogued, exactly as is done at present in the case of Sanskrit mss.

The dialects of Rajputana are full of bardic chronicles, existing to the present day. I know of some 12 or 15 (p. 15) such chronicles, which, amid much that is fabulous, also contain much that is of historical interest. Tod, in his Rajasthan, is the only author who has ever attempted to deal with these chronicles, and there is no doubt a most valuable mine of historical documents in Rajputana still awaiting the explores.

Paragraph 8—In no way do I bind myself to utilize the Educational Department. Every province can select its own instruments. I have only said that in the provinces of Lower Bengal I have found that the Educational Department gave me very great help.

Mr. Growse's letter paragraph 4—It is true that a practical familiarity with a *patois* can only be acquired by intercourse and free conversation with the people who use it. But how, I ask, is free conversation, &c., to begin if one of the persons conversing does not know the *patios*? How many Government officers have acquired the practical familiarity referred to ? What about the Kumaun dialects referred to by the North West Provinces Government in its letter? The truth is that very few people are able to acquire a practical familiarity with a *patois* in the way described without further help. It is to make the way easy that these grammars and vocabularies are to be prepared. If one person can learn a language without a grammar, a hundred can learn it in a quarter the time with one.

Paragraph 8—Mr. Growse's proposal to publish *facsimile* reproduction of the oldest mss. has my fullest concurrence, but it only forms a very small part of the proposals for a survey.

E. Letter of the Government of the Central Province.

I would again draw attention to the statement as to the ignorance regarding many of the languages spoken in the C.P.

F. The Letter of the Government of Burma.

I would suggest that the great ignorance which exists regarding so many of the languages of Burma

is all the stronger reason for losing no time in endeavouring to make grammars and vocabularies of them for the use of Government Officers.

G. Letter from the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

The Assam Government's letter requires no criticism from me. Mr. Lyall's note so admirably meets the requirements of the case that no other remarks from me are necessary.

H. The Foreign Deptt.

I would point out we know nothing about what the Governments of important States like Marwar (Jodhpur), Mewar (Udaipur), Kashmir and Nepal will do to aid the survey. The first two States are particularly rich in bardic chronicles, and might be induced to print them, besides having grammars prepared of their dialects. The languages of Kashmir are practically unknown to European scholars, any information regarding them being contained in detached essays buried in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As no other method were available, the General Director might be asked to compile the substance of these essays into one grammar. There are, however, at least one or two Europeans in Kashmir who know the language well. The State of Nepal deserves special attention. We draw an important portion of our army from it. Some time ago it was proposed to encourage officers to learn the vernacular of their men, but, for want of grammars and vocabularies, it was found I believe, impossible to do so.

In the interest of our army alone, a thorough survey of the various Nepal dialects is very necessary.

I do not know if the Government of Ceylon has been communicated with on the subject, and with reference to this point, I would solicit a reference to paragraph 23 of my original note.

As requested, I return herewith the enclosures of your letter.

Yours sincerely,

G. A. Grierson.

P.S. I may as well mention that I have just applied for 8 months furlough from the 1st March next. If I can be of any use in Europe, in connection with this project, my services are entirely at the disposal of Government.

G. A. Grierson.

Submitted 31.1.90

Print. J.P.H. 1.2.90

To Hon. Member.

J.P.H. 11.2.90

I think it better to let this lie over for Mr. Lyall who is an expert on the question. It is a pity that such an undertaking should be allowed to drop for want of funds; but if Local Governments are not willing to help, I fear that the Government of India will not supply the the sinews of war.

A.P.M. 15.2.90.

GAYA

The 25th January 1891

P. 17

MY DEAR LYALL—We had such a short time to talk at the Bayley dinner, that I am not sure that I grasped all that you said about the Scheme for the Survey of Indian Languages. Is it definitely squashed, or only postponed till more men are available? In the latter case, would it be possible to work it only in successive cold weather, when men are available? That seems to me a possible way out of the difficulty. I should be really very sorry if the thing was abandoned altogether. Putting my own proposed connexion with it out of the question altogether, I have been and always will be of opinion that something of the sort is really wanted, and would be well worth a moderate expenditure. A beginning might even be made by cataloguing the knowledge already in existence. There is a good deal scattered about in various books, and the Home Department Library at least should have a complete collection on the subject.

Do you know that the Germans are working at Beluchi now?

What is this talk I see in the papers about reorganising the old Government of India records Could the two be combined?

Yours Sincerely,

George A. Grierson.

GAYA

THE 18th February 1891.

MY DEAR LYALL—Many thanks for your letter of the 10th. I won't pretend that it is not a great disappointment to me. This, not so much for my own sake, but because I fear that the chance of getting at much useful linguistic knowledge has been indefinitely postponed. However, it cannot be helped, and I am sure that you are just as sorry as I am for the loss to science.

Now, do you think that the Govt. of India could help me in this—to make a collection of specimens of every language and dialect spoken in India. That is not a thing that would require special men. I would gladly undertake the editing of the collection; so far as I was able, in my spare time, and no doubt others would help me. All that would be necessary would be to give me plenty of time, and to help me in printing, etc. I would suggest sending out forms to be filled up in every district, asking for the name of each dialect or language, and one or two other particulars, and giving a standard fable, or other extract for (p. 18) translation. A complete collection would be not only interesting but, I believe, valuable. What do you think? If you think there is any chance of such a scheme being accepted, I could make you a formal proposal. I don't want anything, of course, in the way of pay, only help.

Yours sincerely,

George A. Grierson.

Home Office

Calcutta.

The 10th March 1891.

MY DEAR GRIERSON—Forgive the delay in replying to your letter of 18th February. I have had a number of urgent and troublesome things to attend to.

I sympathise with you very sincerely on the subject of the linguistic survey, but there is no use in proposing anything which will require men to carry it out, when these even are not to be got, and cannot be obtained even for the most urgent administrative work. Luxuries must wait until necessities are supplied.

If you will formulate your plan for "making a collecton of specimens of every language and dialect spoken in India", I shall be very glad to take orders on it. I think I may say that the Government of India would gladly aid such an undertaking by bearing the cost of printing etc. and perhaps the work might usefully be dovetailed into the Census results. I don't much like the idea of circulating passages for translation into the language or dialect. Such translations, we all know, have a way of getting wooden and unidiomatic. Probably a specimen of simple narrative *e.g.* a deposition in Court, carefully recorded by an intelligent person who knew that he was not wanted to translate the villager's patois into Court language, but to take it down syllable by syllable, would be the best kind of thing to collect. But you will have to make very large allowances for personal equation. All this, no doubt, you have thought of, and had experience of in your dealings with the languages of Behar.

I leave for Simla on the 30th, and till then shall be glad to hear from you at Calcutta.

Yours Sincerely,

C. J. Lyall.

GAYA

The 19th March 1891

P 19

MY DEAR LYALL—Many thanks for your letter of the 10th. I enclose formal proposals as you kindly suggest. About the Specimens, there is a great truth in what you say. Translations are sure to be in many cases unidiomatic, but a series of translations of one standard passage has, on the other hand, great advantages in allowing comparisons to be made. The best plan of all would be to have both a translation of a standard passage, and an independent original sample narrative.

As you say, large allowances will have to be made for the personal equation, but even, after that, the result ought to be useful.

Yours sincerely,

George A. Grierson.

GAYA

The 27th March 1891

MY DEAR LYALL—Many thanks for your letter of the 24th.

I knew that a great deal had been done (under your auspices, was it not?) in Assam about the Tibeto-Burman languages, but does not a great deal remain to be done still? Government gives a list of 16 languages and 23 dialects for Assam alone and though his information is not up to date, many of his "uncertainties" remain to be cleared up. Excluding his China group, he gives 87 languages and 84 dialects as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family.

I should be very glad to get hold of the grammars published by the Assam Government. Who is the person to write to?

Would it be possible to you to stop at Gaya on your way up? I would show you Bodh Gaya. I am afraid we could not put you up ourselves, as we have a wedding coming off on Thursday, and our home is full, but I can easily get somebody to give you rest for the sole of your foot if we do not have room.

It is a long way to look forward to but if this would not be convenient to you, could you come to us on your way *down* from Elysium. We could then put you up, and would be delighted to do so.

Yours sincerely,

George A. Grierson.

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p. 20

I long ago discussed the file with Sir Philip Hutchins. The financial situation very much altered for the worse soon after the above notes were written, and we felt that it was useless to propose any expenditure whatever, much less such heavy expenditure amounting to 2½ lakhs (not including the Dravidian languages) as Mr. Grierson proposed, for such an object. A grave difficulty which also then pressed upon us and is I believe still somewhat urgent, is the inability to spare any men of the Civil Service for deputation on such work.

Sir P. Hutchins, however, suggested that we might utilize the Census then being undertaken, at any rate to catalogue the langs., and see what the compass of work was likely to be. I had some conversation on the subject with Mr. Baines, and the file contains a "note on the tabulation of languages" with which he furnished me. Unfortunately, however the degree to which language question was gone into the Census of 1891, varied greatly from province to province. In the N.W. Provinces & Oudh, perhaps the most interesting area of all, nothing was done to differentiate dialects of Hindi.

I had some correspondence with Mr. Grierson in 1891, which will be found below, about a much less ambitious kind of preliminary language survey. I showed this to Mr. Baines, who thought that the work had better be postponed, if undertaken at all, till the Census was finished and the reports published. This carried matters on till the end of 1893, when the last Census report, that of the N.W. Provinces & Oudh, was issued.

Mr. Grierson, whose aid is indispensible to the starting of the work, has since gone on furlough. He will, I believe, be back in Dec. next.

Due back Jan. 8—J.P.H.

I think it would be a pity to allow the scheme wholly to drop. The present is, however, the worst possible time for anything of the kind, for the Secretary of State has forbidden any additional expenditure not absolutely essential, to be incurred. Even the most modest proposals, such as a grant of Rs. 2,000 a year for three or four years to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, would probably be negativated on the ground that nothing at all can be afforded.

If, however, the Government of India should be inclined to entertain something of the kind (as I think they might), I suggest that, as has recently been proposed in regard to archaeological research, the agency to be utilized should be that of the (p. 21) Asiatic Societies—The Asiatic Society of Bengal for Northern & Central India, and the Madras and Bombay Branches of the R.A.S. for the Madras and Bombay Presidencies respectively.

Mr. Grierson (*vide* bottom of page 7 of the printed notes) has objected that official control is essential to success, and that the societies could not exercise such control. But it seems to me that the Government of India might, as they have done in the kindred subject of ethnographic research, invest the societies with the necessary authority to address the various Local Governments concerned,

and ask those Governments to exercise their official control over the officers called upon for replies. I could not now undertake anything so elaborate or extensive as was proposed in 1889. It is still, in my opinion out of the question: but Mr. Grierson's modest scheme (attached to his letter of 19th March 1891 below) seems feasible at a very small cost, and I would begin with this. If this suggestion is approved, the matter can be discussed with Mr. Grierson and Dr. Hoernle in the cold weather at Calcutta, and the outlines of the Scheme laid down. The next step would be to obtain the support of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which I think (from conversation I have had with Dr. Hoernle) might be counted upon; and then a Resolution should issue authorizing the commencement of the work.

I believe that Rs. 2,000 a year to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for three years would be an ample provision; possibly much less would suffice.

Until the lines had been settled in Bengal, I would not trouble Madras and Bombay. They could wait until some experience has been gained in Northern India.

C.J.L. 29-10-94

To Hon. Member—It would certainly not be possible at the present moment to undertake more than is suggested by Mr. Grierson in his letter of 19th March 1891, and, in the existing state of finances, I do not think we could ask the Finance Department to agree even this.

J.P.H. 2-11-94

I think we should be able to get Rs. 2,000 per annum for three years from Finance Department for the limited scheme. Secretary might in Calcutta consult Mr. Grierson and the Secretary (p. 22) to the Asiatic Society on the *modus operandi*, and then mention the matter again to me.

A.P.M. 3-11-94

Diary No. 137

From—C. S. BAYLEY, Esq., Addl. P.S. to H.E. the Viceroy,

No.* dt. 25th Jan. 1895.

May be kept with our file on the subject of a systematic Survey of the Vernacular languages of India. The portion regarding the Archaeological Survey of India being extracted and transferred to the Department of Revenue and Agriculture for disposal.

P.K.B. 28-1-95

J.L.M. 28-1-95

To Secretary.

L.M.T. 29-1-95

J.P.H. 30-1-95

Rev. and Agl. Dept. U.O. No. 111 dt. the 6th Feb. 1895

Regarding the Linguistic Survey, I have written what I have to say in a separate note herewith enclosed. I have done this in order to further a separate consideration of the two different matters.

G. A. Grierson.

At the International Congress of Orientalists, held at Vienna in 1886, a strongly worded resolution was passed, urging upon the Government of India the desirability of making a complete survey of the languages of India. This was forwarded to the Government of India and reports were called for. The opinions of the various Local Governments were conflicting, and ultimately it was decided to do nothing**. The papers have all been printed, and are available for reference, so that I need not give a summary of the arguments employed.

The question has been reopened by Mr. Baines in his Census Report (p. 131), and this encourages me to address you on the subject.

According to Dr. Cust in his "Modern Languages of East Indies" there are about 1200 languages and 250 dialects, (p. 23) spoken in British India and its dependencies. I append a detailed list abstracted from that work.

According to Mr. Baines, at the last Census of India, the titles of the mother-tongues returned by the enumerators numbered many hundreds, and by sifting out synonymous titles and dialects, it was only found practicable to reduce them to 150 (Report p. 131).

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*Not given in Proceedings.

**I have since accidently learnt that matter has not yet been formally decided.

It is no exaggeration to say that of most of these languages little more than the names, and short list of vocables, are known. The languages, have, of course, more or less complete grammars and dictionaries, but the many hill languages and the like have found few describers. A noteworthy exception is, however, Assam, in which much has been done under the fostering encouragement of Government.

The practical usefulness of a knowledge of the languages of out-of-the-way-tribes does not need any proof at my hands. Officers of Government are liable to be transferred at great distances at short notice, and a necessary acquaintance with the languages of most hill tribes can now only be obtained slowly and by rule of thumb. A simple grammar and vocabulary for each would render government much easier.

It is hardly creditable to the English rule in India, that other nations are doing in India what we should be doing ourselves. It is to the French Government, who deputed the late Prof. Darmesteter to Peshawar that we owe our first scientific account of the Pashtu language. It is to the Russians that we owe our knowledge of Newari, one of the principal languages of Nepal. Prof. Minayeff, of St. Petersburg, was sent on a mission to Khatmandu in 1876, and till his death the other day, any Englishman who wanted to learn Newari had to go to St. Petersburg. A Newari dictionary from his hands has lately been in German in Vol. 47 of the *Z.D.M.G.* Again it is through subventions of the Bavarian Government that the late Prof. Burkhard's valuable essays on Kashmiri have been published, also in the German language.

I would urge the propriety of such a linguistic survey being commenced *at once*. On this point I would draw attention to Mr. Baines' remarks on the top of the page 131 of the Census Report, with every word of which I concur.

p. 24

As regards the method of carrying out the survey, I would point that when the matter was before the Government of India in 1886-87 a cut and dried scheme was prepared and printed.

In conclusion I may be permittted to mention my own practical experience. In 1874 I was suddenly transferred from Bengal to Behar on service connected with the famine then raging. I knew Bengali and Hindi, and found that I was often unable to understand what the poor people said to me, and that they could no better understand me. I found out subsequently that this was the case with nearly all the Government officials in Behar, except a few who had spent most of the service there. No one could understand the "boli" of the poorest classes. In fact the linguistic powers of the Government officials were one of the standing jokes among the indigo planters who lived among the people, and had slowly absorbed their language. In Behar with its 26 millions of people this is now all different. Every district has its little grammar and an official can in a very short time learn to speak with those with whom his duties bring him into daily contact. Why cannot what has been done for Behar, not be done also for the rest of India ?

G. A. GRIERSON

The following is a list of the families of languages spoken in Br. India and its dependencies, abstracted from Mr. Cust's work.

Family	Languages	Dialects
Indo-Aryan	14	125
Dravidian	14	30
Kolarian	10	5
Tibeto-Burman		
Nepal Group	13	16
Sikkim	1	1
Assam	16	23
Manipur Chittagong Group	24	8
Burma Group	9	10
Tibetan	2	17
Island	10	3
Khasi	1	5
Tai	3	3
Mon Anam	2	9
Total	119	224
	224	
	365 languages and dialects	

Finance Department

p. 25

At the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna, in 1886, a resolution was passed by the Aryan section, recommending a systematic

survey of the vernacular languages of India. A scheme for giving effect to this resolution was prepared by Mr. Grierson. The expenditure contemplated by him was Rs. 3,63,000 spread over for three years, or about two and a half lakh for the Aryan, and one lakh for the Dravidian languages Home .Department consulted local Governments, but, in view of the financial position and the difficulty of deputing competent members of the Civil Service for the work, decided to ask the Finance Deptt. for the money required to carry out Mr. Grierson's Scheme.

Here is an alternative and much less expensive scheme which is contained in Mr. Grierson's note of 19th March 1891. Briefly it is that a sort of *catalogue raisonne* should be prepared of the languages of India. The number of such languages is not.even known, but it is large, and the weaker languages are being daily absorbed by the stronger. It may not be necessary or desirable to carry out the enquiry exactly as suggested by Mr. Grierson, but the Home Department would, if it could obtain a small grant, consult the Asiatic Society of Bengal as to the best means of undertaking the inquiry and the expenditure which would be involved in it. After the line of the inquiry has been settled, it would entrust it to the Society and issue orders to the Local Governments and Administrations to give official assistance to the Society's investigations. It would be useless to discuss the matter with the Society, useless the Government of India are prepared to incur the cost of the inquiry. The matter is one in which Orientalists in Europe are much interested, and the Government of India have been criticised for not paying more consideration to the resolution passed by the Congress in 1886. If the results of an inquiry, such as is contemplated, are to be valuable it is desirable to make it before the process of the weaker languages yielding to the stronger has gone any further. The Hon. Member in charge of this Department would, therefore, ask Finance Department to agree to expenditure not exceeding Rs. 2,000 in each of the financial years—1895-96, 1896-97, 1897-98.

J.P.H. 25-1-95

Home Department.

Home Department U.O.I. No. 76, dt. the 28th Jan. 1895.

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Further Official noting.

HOME PUBLIC

Feb 1895

Progs. No. 253-279

(KW N.P.)

Proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India.

Burma

Prog. 253

p. 27

General Deptt. No. 452-26 N

From

C. G. BAYNE, Esq. C. S.

Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Dated Rangoon, the 19th March, 1889.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 226, dt. the 12th Feb. 1889, concerning a survey which it is proposed to make of the vernacular languages of India. As Mr. Grierson points out, Burma, so far as its vernacular languages are concerned, is a country having practically nothing in common with India. Accordingly the scheme drawn up by the Bengal Government provides for the appointment of Aryan and Dravidian Directors and Assistants, but does not include within its scope any of the vernacular languages of Burma. The Chief Commissioner considers it doubtful whether any useful purpose would be served by associating Burma with the rest of India in a survey of the kind proposed. If such a survey is to be carried out in Burma it must be carried out as a separate work. When such a work had been completed the results would no doubt be of value to Indian students but its preparation would not be facilitated by placing it under the general supervision of a Director in India who was not acquainted with Burman languages. Sir Charles Crosthwaite does not advise therefore that Burma should be included within the scope of the Indian Survey.

2. It remains to be considered whether it is expedient that a survey of the vernacular languages of Burma should be carried out as a separate undertaking. In Sir Charles Crosthwaite's opinion

Burma is not yet ripe for such a survey. The languages spoken in Burma may be roughly divided into 4 groups :—

(i) Burmese.

(ii) Karen languages.

(iii) Languages spoken by Chins & other races along the Western Frontier of Burma.

(iv) Languages spoken by Shans & others along the Eastern Frontier of Burma.

It would be possible to make a survey on the lines laid down by Mr. Grierson of the languages included in the first two groups. There are many persons, for the most part Government Servants and Missonaries, who could assist in the work. But a survey could not be made of the Chin and Shan languages, because persons possessing the requisite knowledge could not be found. The number of persons acquainted with these languages is extremely small. Until the annexation of Upper Burma British officers were brought but little into contact with Chin and Shan races and few missionaries have worked among them. Any survey, therefore, which was carried out at present of the vernaculars of Burma would be confined almost entirely to Burmese and Karen languages. If any survey were attempted of other groups it would be so imperfect as to be of little value. It is of importance that a linguistic survey of the kind proposed should deal simultaneously with all the languages of the country in which it is made, (p. 28)as by this means full opportunity is given of ascertaining the connection between the various languages coming within the scope of the survey. The Chief Commissioner therefore considers it advisable to postpone the execution of the project in Burma. In course of time many Government Officers will no doubt acquire a knowledge of these vernaculars and, with the establishment of tranquility on the frontiers of Burma, the number of missionaries engaged on mission work among the frontier races will increase largely. The time will then have come for carrying out a survey of the kind proposed.

3. The Chief Commissioner has consulted the Revd. Dr. Cushing on this subject of your letter. Dr. Cushing who is a member of the American Baptist Mission, has a wide knowledge of the vernacular languages of Burma, and the Chief Commissioner attaches much value to his opinion. I am to enclose an extract from a letter from him in which he expresses concurrence in the Chief Commissioner's view.

4. In conclusion I am to submit that the well-known Philologist (by whom no doubt Prof. Forchhammer is meant) to whom Mr. Grierson refers is about to take leave on account of ill health and is not likely to return to Burma. In Dr. Forchhammer's absence the Chief Commissioner knows of no one who would be qualified to superintend the work of surveying the languages of Burma.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your Most Obedient Servant

C. G. BAYNE

Officiating Secretary.

Prog. 254
p. 29

Extract from a D.O. letter dated the 11th March 1889 from the Rev. J. N. Cushing

I think that the position of the Chief Commissioner in regard to the proposals for a survey of the vernacular languages of Burma in connection with the survey of the vernacular languages of India is the only tenable one.

2. The languages of Burma are so distinct from those of India that a survey of them would demand a separate Director. Should either the Director for Aryan languages or the Director for Dravidian languages attempt such a survey in connection with his special work, he would be unable to meet the demands of the work in any adequate manner. It will be far better to wait until the survey of the languages in Burma can be carried out advantageously by a proper staff of workers and ample means.

3. Moreover, desirable as such a survey is, the time has not come for it. While much might be accomplished in Burmese and perhaps Karen, and something also might be done in Shan, there is a large number of languages, e.g., Palaung, Kakwi, Kakaw, Muso, and many others of which no one has any knowledege. It would be policy to wait until men have availed themselves of the facilities which the annexation of Upper Burma affords

for acquiring a knowledge of these various tongues, most of which are unwritten. Until this knowledge has been gained, any survey could be imperfect only.

Prog. 255
p. 31

No. 117, dt. Lahore, 10th April 1889

From

COLONEL W. R. HOLROYD, Under Secretary to Government Punjab, Education Deptt.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 224, dt. 12th Feb. 1889, forwarding for the opinion of His Honour the Lt. Governor certain papers containing a proposal made by the Aryan Section of the 7th International Congress, held at Vienna, regarding a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India.

2. In reply I am directed to state that in H.H.'s opinion the work, if efficiently carried out, would be of great interest, but in this Province there are absolutely no funds available for the purpose, nor have the few officers with the necessary qualifications the leisure to carry on the work with the steady attention that would be requisite, without serious injury to their other work. All the officers in the Punjab have very hard work, and the Lt. Governor believes that any attempt made in this Province on the lines proposed would, under the circumstances, end as Mr. A. Barth apprehends in *"Un amas informe de paper asseries."*

Prog. 256
pg. 33

No. 2577, dated Shillong, the 25th April 1889

From

F. C. DAUKES, Esq. Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 227, dated the 12th February 1889, forwarding papers on the subject of a proposal made by the Aryan Branch of the 7th International Oriental Congress held at Vienna, that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India, and resuesting to be furnished with the views of the Chief Commissioner on the subject, and to be informed how far he would be prepared to cooperate in furtherance of the project.

2. In reply I am to forward copy of a note, dated the 27th March 1889, by Mr. C. J. Lyall, C.S., on the subject; and to say that the matter is one on which Mr. Fitzpatrick is incompetent to offer any suggestions himself; but that he thinks, not withstanding present financial difficulties, that he can safely promise that his successor will find the sum of about Rs. 11,000, (eleven thousand), to be spread over three years, named in Mr. Lyall's note.

Prog. 257

Note by C. J. Lyall, on the proposal of the Aryan Branch of the Seventh International Oriental Congress for a systematic survey of vernacular languages of India.

AT this stage of the case all that the Chief Commissioner is asked to do is to say if he will co-operate in the proposed survey by contributing a moderate amount from Provincial funds, and will depute someone to Calcutta to discuss details next cold weather. I hope that he will be able to do so. The estimate of Rs. 300 a month for three years or Rs. 10,800 in all, for the Director, with Rs. 400 for rewards, made by Mr. Grierson at page 21 of his printed papers, is perhaps hardly applicable to the work to be done in Assam, but all that is necessary at present is to accept the principle of a contribution upto some such amount. A good deal of money has been spent on linguistic work in Assam already since 1882; and I think the budget at present contains an annual provision for rewards for grammars of frontier languages. Assuming that the Chief Commissioner will cooperate in the work, I will note as briefly as possible what there is to be done in Assam.

Our languages fall into four great groups viz. (1) Aryan: Assamese and Bengali; (2) Tibeto-Burman: Kachari, Garo, the Naga dialects, the Kuki dialects, Singpho, Miri Abor-Daffia; (3) Khasi; (4) Shan-Khampti : Ahom. Of these, so far as I am aware, the Bengali spoken in these parts of Assam which use it has no literature of its own, and differs from other Bengali only as a provincial dialect. It would be investigated on the same system as the

Bengali in the various districts of Bengal, and I should hope, by the same officer. Assamese, on the other hand, has a very extensive literature, which it is very desirable to rescue from the destruction, which so long as it remains in manuscript, is certain to overwhelm it before many years are past. This literature is partly religious, being the scriptures and devotional manuals of the various sects founded by Shankar Deb and his disciples. Mádhab & Dámodar, and partly secular, being the *burongis* or chronicles of the Old Ahom aristocratic families who administered the province under native rule. The *burongis* are most valuable historical documents and it would be deplorable if they were allowed to go to destruction without being copied and saved for future explores. I believe most of them are kept at the great Shattras of the Majuli. Some of the representatives of old ministerial families in Sibsagar may have others. Rai Gunabhi Ram Barua, Bahadur, could say where they are to be obtained and what prospect there is getting hold of them.

I speak very much as an outsider; but my belief is that not only are there many widely popular religious and semi-religious works in Assamese, dating from two or three centuries back, awaiting an explorer in the Shattras, but also (p. 34) that the materials for writing the history of the valley from the 12th Cent. to our day are still to be recovered in the fragmentary and complete *burongis* in the Shattra libraries. It will be a real scandal if we allowed these materials to perish unused. I would recommend that the enquiry into the graml. forms of Assamese should be extended to the same officer (in Bengal) as will deal with Bengali; but the search for the old mss. will have to be undertaken by some competent officer on the spot.

Of the other languages, Shan alone is a literary tongue. Of this there exist (1) relics of the old Ahom speech, now extinct as a spoken language, in the books of the Deodhais or priests whose headquarters are at Nazira. These should by all means be rescued from destruction before it is too late. Rai Lahmon, Bahadur, of Dibrugarh, once offered to show me these books; and it was from him I heard that they were kept at Nazira. They should be peculiarily interesting, and exhibiting the Shan language before the speakers of it were converted to Buddhism; and (2) the libraries of manuscripts of various ages which are found in every Khampti (Phakial, Aitonia, Turung, Kanjang) village. No one in Assam knows Khampti. Perhaps we could borrow a scholar from Burma who could take stock of the contents of these village libraries. There are not so many of them, not more I suppose than 20 or 30 in the Province. Manipuri is said by the late Mr. Damant to have a literature of some antiquity; we should get specimens of it if possible.

All the other Assam languages are unwritten and have no literature. As regards them, we can but go on as we have been doing for the past eight years, in which much has been accomplished. When accounts have been prepared of our leading languages, the business of comparison and classification will be easy, and will probably be more cheaply and better done in Europe than in India. Khasi, Kachari, Miri have been very fully described already. Mr. Needham's gram. of Singpho will give an adequate account of that language. Angami Naga has been done by Mr. McCabe : Lhota by Mr. Whitter; Kutcha Naga by Mr. Soppitt. Ao Naga has been used for primers, translations of the Gospels, and various other such purposes by Mr. E. W. Clark (the Missionary of Molongting), but there is no gram. of it. He might be asked to write one. Garo has a dictionary, a voluminous work, which is unfortunately in the Bengali character and explained in Bengali. Manipuri has Mr. Primrose's Manual, and a dictionary published in the '40's. Mr. Soppitt has given an account of Kuki. I have the materials gathered by the late Mr. Stack for accounts of Mikir (a Naga dialect) and Tsenglo-Bhutia (the language of the outer hills of Bhutan). I have never yet had time to set them in order.

It will thus be seen that the foundation has been already laid (and well laid) as regards the Tibeto-Burman languages. Little remains to be done beyond collecting specimens of dialects of which we already have the leading language. It may be done at leisure in the same way as the work has been done hither to.

I could, if the Chief Commissioner decides to co-operate in the Aryan Survey, name some officers who might suitably be sent to Calcutta to attend the conference. Mr. J. D. Anderson knows the Surma Valley forms of Bengali extremely well and has also interested himself in Assamese. Mr. Melitus is a master both of Assamese and Bengali. In enquiring into the subject of Assamese and its literature, the help of Rai Gunabhi Ram Barua,

Bahadur, will be indispensible. Babu Hem Chandra Barua, of Gauhati, a pensioned Head Clerk of the Judge's Office, is also a good authority.

Prog. No. 258
p. 35

No. 1997, dt. Quetta, the 29th April 1889

From

GENERAL SIR H. N. D. PRENDERGAST. K. C. I. E., V. C., R.E., Officiating Governor General's Agent, in Baluchistan.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt.

In reply to your endorsement No. 898-1, dated the 26th February 1889, forwarding a copy of Home Deptt. letter No. 221-228 dated the 12th February 1889 regarding the systematic Survey of the vernacular languages of India, I have the honour to state that I have no remarks to offer on the subject, except to urge the great importance of vocabularries which are far more valuable than grams.

No. 1837-I, dated the 7th May 1889

Endorsed by the Foreign Deptt.

Prog. 259

Copy forwarded to the Home Deptt. for information, with reference to the endorsement from that Deptt. No. 229, dated the 12th February 1889.

Prog. 260
p. 37

No. 476, dated Ootacamund the 8th August, 1889

From

CAPT. W. L. C. Baddeley, R. E. Under Secy. to the Government of Madras, Public Works Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 221 dated 12th February 1889, forwarding papers on the subject of a proposal made by the Aryan branch of the 7th International Oriental Congress that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India, and enquiring whether this Government would be prepared to co-operate in furtherance of the end in view.

2. In reply, I am to forward a copy of Progs. of Government of this date No. 475, recording the remarks of the D.P.I. on the subject, and to state that H. E. the Governor in Council is not prepared to make any contribution from Provincial funds towards the execution of the proposal. This Govt., I am to say, entirely agrees with Mr. Grigg that no agency suitable for the work at present exists, and would invite attention to the remarks in para 3 of the Director's letter as to the necessity for the lines of enquiry being first laid down by Scholars in Europe. Moreover the subject is so vast that H. E. in Council is unable to believe that any useful results could be obtained within the brief period contemplated, while its extension would indefinitely increase the expense of the proposed undertaking.

Prog. No. 261

Extract from the Progs. of the Government of Madras, Edl. Deptt.

Read the following papers :—

From the Government of India, Home Deptt. dated 12th February 1889, No. 221.

And the D. P. I. dated 24th July 1889, No. O. 577.

Letter from Dr. Oppert, dt. 23rd May, 1889.
Letter from V. Kristnama Chariyer dt. 14th June, 1889, No. 52.
Letter from Seshagiri Sastriyar dated 22nd July 1889, No. 29.

I have the honour to return the papers forwarded for my remarks under endorsement, current No. 331, dated 21st February 1889, and in doing so to draw the attention of Government to the letters noted above herewith forwarded in original.

2. In paragraph 12 of his letter of the 28th-29th June 1887, Mr. Grierson observes that the plan sketched in paragraphs 5-11 of the same letter for dealing with Aryan languages may be applied to Drav. languages, but simplified, firstly by

localization, because Dravidian languages almost all fall within the limits of the Madras Presidency; secondly by the largeness of local areas, because the languages of Southern India vary to a much smaller extent than those of the Northern India from the classical Standard. The first remark is in a measure quite correct, but it does not give due allowance for the intermixture of languages of Districts, not only of written languages such as Tamil and Telugu, but of unwritten, like the languages, of Khonds, the Todas or of other Hill and wandering tribes; the second remark is not so, for as pointed out by Dr. Oppert there are different classical standards for Malayalam, Canarese and Telugu and even for Tamil. In these circumstances there is not good ground for thinking that the expense of a linguistic survey of the Dravidian languages would be proportionately so much less than for the Aryan.

3. Assuming however that the general procedure sketched by Mr. Grierson is likely, within a limited time, to secure really valuable and trustworthy results which I am inclined to doubt so far as Southern India is concerned, it will be admitted that there is no possibility of such results being obtained unless a suitable directing agency can be obtained. Can such an agency be secured in Madras? The idea is that, as for the Aryan so for the Dravidian family, there should be one responsible officer who is to be termed (p. 38) the Director under whom there are to be Assistant Directors, of whom at least six* would be required for this Presidency. These officers when appointed are to meet together and concoct a Skeleton Gram. to arrange other details such as a uniform system of spelling, characters to be adopted &c. Then each Assistant Director has to set to work to prepare a Gram. for his language or languages including dialects on those lines after collecting the necessary information in the manner noted in the para. 8 of Mr. Grierson's letter. After this is done the Vocs. have to be compiled.

*Tamil	
Telugu	1
Canrese	1
Malayalam	1
Telugu	1
Langs, of Hill & Other tribes	1
	6

Now to begin with I know of no linguist in this Presidency, having a true comprehension of the Scientific principles of language whose knowledge of the group of Dravidian languages would be adequate to fit him for the post of Director and of hardly of any European or Native Scholars in the several languages who for the same reason would be fitted to fulfil successfully the duties of Assistant Director i.e. in a manner which would ensure the work done being accepted by the great language specialists of Europe as of real value. If this is so, it is improbable that officers having such attainments will readily agree on such difficult questions as those involved in concocting a skeleton Gram. and in fixing the other details referred to. In my humble judgement before any really valuable work can be done on the line suggested by Mr. Grierson the great authorities in Europe should lay down a skeleton Gram. for the Dravidian languages and fix the canons for covering that skeleton with flesh and sinew. Then possibly the scholars who are available may do useful work whether organised in the manner suggested by Mr. Grierson or allowed to work independently for some central board. Much time would probably be wasted in more or less unprofitable discussion and if an agreement was ever come to, it is quite possible that the terms of that agreement would not be accepted by scientific linguists as right, but if not accepted before the detailed work is begun much of the subsidiary work would be valueless. Holding as I do these views, it seems needless to discuss the financial aspects of the question because until the plan of work has been fixed on scientific principles any money spent would be virtually wasted. How great that waste would be can be gathered from reference to the estimated cost for the Aryan languages assuming that the work proposed can be done in three years. Judging from the slow progress made in the collection of Skt. and vern. mss. in this and I believe in other Presidencies, a measure which should receive much more complete effect than it has yet done, before the living tongues are analysed and surveyed, I doubt much whether even with a suitable agency much could be done in south India in three years unless such agency were permitted to give their whole time to the work. But to do this would increase the already heavy estimate to a figure which would at once be sufficient to warrant the rejection of the project.

4. The suggestion which I would venture to submit for consideration is this, that the Chief Drav. Scholars of Europe should form a standing Committee; that committee should mark out precisely what is wanted and the method by which the information needed should be obtained; that on receiving the demands and instructions for complying with them, the Government should appoint

a standing Committee of Dravidian Scholars to counsel the D. P. I. as to the way in which effect should be given to the measures proposed and in criticizing the work done before it is forwarded to Europe; that the information should be obtained by means of liberal honoraria, to be given on completion of the work required, to selected candidates. In this way all the scholars whether officers of Government, missionaries or others would be encouraged to work during their leisure with industry, their work as performed would be criticized by the best scholars in accordance with the instruction of the committee in Europe before it left the country; and would then be left to that Committee to deal with, in such manner as the end in view, the scientific analysis of Dravidian languages, may require. It would also be the function of the local standing Committee (p. 39) to collect all the information to be found in various books and pamphlets and to lay such information before the Committee in Europe.

5. In conclusion I would invite attention to the fact noted by Mr. Kristnama Chariar that whilst a knowledge of the history of Dravidian literature is required by the University no book on the subject yet exists, and to suggest that the compilation of such histories of Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese literature should be encouraged by the offer of liberal honoraria by the Government to selected candidates; such histories would probably not only be useful to students and to the general reader but might further the systematic and scientific study of the languages concerned and thus indirectly aid in the survey of south Indian languages.

ORDER : 8th August 1889, No. 475—The Govt. of India will be addressed.

Prog. 262
p. 41

No. 4941-237, dated Nagpur, the 16th of August 1889.

From

L. K. LAWRIE, Esq., C.S. Officiating Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of the papers forwarded with your No. 225, dated the 12th February last on the subject of a proposal that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

2. The Officiating Chief Commissioner, I am to say, recognises the importance of the undertaking and the desirability of giving effect to it. Its successful accomplishment must, however, depend —as the Government of Bengal has remarked— "first, on financial consideration, and secondly on the efficiency of the agents into whose hands it may be entrusted." Mr. Grierson's estimates of the cost of carrying out the scheme assume that an Officer or Officers will be found in each Province qualified and willing to perform the duties of Provincial Director or Directors for the small remuneration of Rs. 300 a month (including office establishment). "The intention is", as the Government of Bengal observes, "to grant this allowance to Government officers who have shown themselves to be specialists in the subject, in addition to their regular salaries". If in any Province a specialist possessing the requisite qualifications is not to be found, the cost of the project must apparently be increased, as a *whole time* officer would have to be brought in from outside. After consulting the Inspector General of Education and Commissioners of Divisions, Mr. Crosthwaite regrets to have to report that although there are several officers in the C.P. who possess a fairly good knowledge of Marathi, Hindi, and Uriya there is no one who combines a scholarly intimacy with these languages with even a colloquial knowledge of the dialects spoken by the Bhils, the Baigas and other so-called "aboriginal" members of the Aryan family. As to the Dravidian group, no one can be found who has so much as learnt the elements of Orāon, Yerukāla & dialects of Gondi, as well as Telugu. Nor is there any one whose taste for philological studies marks him out as fitted for conducting a Provincial survey of the kind proposed.

3. On examining the list of the languages and dialects of India prepared by Mr. Grierson, the Officiating Chief Commissioner observes that the languages to be enquired into are, with the exception of the three Kolarian languages, spoken in Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the N. W. Provinces and that with the exception of Hindi, Gondi and Bihari there is only one dialect of each ascribed to these Provinces. Of Bihari there are two dialects. It seems to Mr. Crosthwaite that the necessary local researches into the Provincial dialects of Marathi (Nagpuri), Uriya (Kalahandi) and Telugu (Bastar) could be made by the Educational Department and the Political Agent for Chhattisgarh

under instructions given by the Directors of the Provinces in which the other dialects of these languages are spoken. The only languages in the C. P. list which afford a wide field for local investigation are Hindi, with 12 dialects, and Gondi, with nine. A Provincial Director would apparently be required in order to deal with these groups. The difficulty here is that not only is there no official in these Provinces who possesses the requisite acquaintance with all the dialects of these groups, but some of the tribes who speak them (e.g. Bhils, Baigas, Halbas), are almost wholly beyond the reach of our Schoolmasters. Probably the only persons who know much about the Bhil and Baiga dialects are the Missionaries who make it their task in life to try and civilize the hill tribes.

4. Taking all these facts into consideration, Mr. Crosthwaite is disposed to prefer the suggestion quoted in the letter of Sir A. Croft, to the Government of Bengal, that Assistant Directors, should be appointed not for different Provinces, but for different groups of languages, such as the Uriya group, the Hindi group, the Marathi group, &c. What is said by Mr. Grierson in the opening sentences of para. 4 of his letter to the Government of Bengal supports the idea that greater efficiency would in this way be obtained. The difficulty probably is that the expert who would be placed in charge of the enquiry into a group of languages would have to devote his whole time to the subject, and the cost of the undertaking would thereby be increased.

5. Whatever plan may be decided on, the Chief Commissioner is of opinion that the finances of these Provinces will not admit of a larger contribution to the expenses of the schemes than one-third the sum which the Bengal Government have offered, viz.—Rs. 5,000 per annum. The pressing need of the C. P. is the development of internal communications, and until this need has been fairly met the administration cannot afford to subscribe freely to the endowments of scientific research.

Prog. 263
p. 43

No. 1759, dated Bombay Castle, the 9th September 1889.

From

J. MONTEATH, Esq. Acting Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Educational Deptt.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Deptt.

IN reply to your letter No. 222, dated the 12th February 1889, I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of India a letter from Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Professor of Oriental Languages in the Deccan College, and to invite attention to the views therein expressed which are supported by Mr. Chatfield, the D.P.I. of this Province, and in which this Government generally concur. H. E. in Council, however, greatly prefers Dr. Bhandarkar's scheme of honoraria and consequent smaller expenditure to the plan of fixed salaries and consequent larger expenditure. It is not understood how the General Director could be fully employed for 3 years. Until some materials had been collected, he would have very little to do after he had once settled the method of their collection. The same remarks apply to a smaller extent to the Provincial Directors. The work seems to be such as would be best done in spare hours by all concerned. With fixed salaries and allowances there would be no inducement to expedite the work. The offer of honoraria on condition of the work being done satisfactorily and with reasonable promptitude would be an effective stimulus.

2. Should however the Government of India think it the better course to adopt the principle of fixed salaries for the officers to be employed on the work, this Government would not object to bear that portion of the cost which is indicated by Dr. Bhandarkar in the 8th paragraph of his letter, viz. Rs. 10,100 per annum for 3 years—total Rs. 30,300 spread over 3 years. But approving as they do the principle of rewarding these officers by honoraria, they would prefer to contribute the smaller amount of Rs. 21,720 in one sum at the conclusion of the Survey.

Prog. 264

No. 52, dated Deccan College, Poona, the 5th August 1889.

From

Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR—Professor of Oriental Languages.

To

K. M. CHATFIELD, Esq., D.P.I., Poona.

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 7893, dated the 21st March 1889, forwarding for

report a copy of letter No. 222 of the Government of India dated the 12th February last, I have the honour to submit my views on the scheme for a survey of the vernacular dialects of India therein propounded as follows :—

2. The question was brought up at a meeting of the Aryan Section of the Vienna Congress of 1886 at which I was present and I agreed with my colleagues in thinking that such a survey as that spoken of was very desirable.

3. In the proposal brought before the meeting by Dr. Bühler he calculated upon skilled specialists tendering their services in many cases voluntarily for purposes of supervision in each prov. and upon subordinate officers of the Educational Deptt. doing the work with the least possible expenditure of trouble and money.

4. In the scheme proposed, however, by Mr. Grierson and reduced to a definite shape by the Government of Bengal, there is a provision for a General Director for three years on an average salary of about Rs. 2,000 per mensem and for fourteen Provincial Directors on a monthly salary of Rs. 300 each for the Aryan Branch of the Survey. These latter are to be half-time appointments.

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5. The General Director is to be responsible for collecting the facts with reference to the dialects of the Aryan family and should exercise general supervision over the work of his provincial assistants and in addition have a province under his own charge. These General and Provincial Directors should in the beginning meet and settle a skeleton gram. Books of foolscap pages with the grammatical forms of the standard language printed in the left hand are to be circulated among schoolmasters and others, who are expected to write down the dialectical forms prevailing in the country about them; and these books are to be revised by the Dy. Educational Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors and sent to the Provincial Director. It is the duty of this last officer to compile grammars of the dialects from the information contained in the books. There is a similar plan for the preparation of vocs. of the dialects.

6. The *modus operandi* thus recommended by Mr. Grierson is in my opinion very good. But I fail to see in it work enough for a full-time General Director on a salary of about Rs. 2,000 per mensem for three years. The General Director cannot have very much more work than the Provl. Directors who are expected to devote only their leisure to these additional duties. I should therefore think that the appointment of Genl. Director should also like those of the Provl. Directors be a half time appointment and the salary attached to the place be Rs. 400 per mensem with a monthly allowance of Rs. 100 for establishment & contingencies. Mr. Grierson himself who has done very useful work in connection with the dialects of Bihar and who started the idea of the philological survey should be appointed to the place. A salary of Rs. 200 per mensem each with Rs. 50 for establishment and contingencies will I think suffice for the Provl. Directors. The figure for rewards to be paid to schoolmasters and others for collecting the facts about the dialects of the four principal verns. of this Presidency, it ought to be increased by 50 per cent at least i.e. raised to Rs. 1,200 for each of the larger provinces and Rs. 600 for each of the smaller ones.

7. Thus my estimate is as follows :—

Aryan Dialects

	Per annum	for 3 years
	Rs.	Rs.
1. One General Director . .	4,800	14,400
2. Establishment and Contingencies	1,200	3,600
3. 14. Provl. Directors . .	33,600	1,00,800
4. Establishment and Contingencies	8,400	25,200
Rewards (at the disposal of the 14 Provl. Directors)	2,800	8,400
Printing & Stationery . .	3,500	10,500
Total	54,300	162,900

Dravidian Dialects

	Rs.	Rs.
1. One General Director with Estt. and Contingencies.	6,000	18,000
Provincial Directors & rewards as put by Mr. Grierson	10,000	30,000
Printing & Stationery	1,500	4,500
Total	17,500	52,500
GRAND TOTAL	71,800	2,15,400

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8. For the Bombay Presidency Mr. Grierson's scheme allows two Provl. Directors for the Aryan Branch of the Survey. He says nothing about the Dravn. Branch but his scheme must contemplate some allowance to this Presidency on account of that Branch, as Canarese is one of our principal verns. The two Aryan Directors must divide among themselves the lingual areas of Marathi, Gujarati and Sindhi. But as it will not be easy to find a man who possesses a thorough knowledge of the Sindhi at the same time that he is proficient in Marathi or Gujarati, and as there is an advantage in carrying on operations in the whole Presidency upon uniform principles, I would introduce certain modifications in the scheme so far as it effects Bombay; and with these it would stand thus.

	Per annum Rs.	for 3 years Rs.
1. One Provl. Director in immediate charge of the Marathi or Gujarati lingual area	3,000	9,000
2. One Marathi or Gujarati Assistant	1,200	3,600
3. One Sindhi Assistant . .	1,200	3,600
4. One Canarese Assistant . .	1,200	3,600
5. Estt. & Contgs. . . .	900	2,700
6. Rewards to schoolmasters and others	400	1,200
7. 1/5 Contribution to the Salary of the Genl. Director (the Bengal Contribution being 1/4)	960	2,880
8. 1/5 contribution to the estab. of the Genl. Director	240	720
9. Printing & Stationery for the Aryan & Drav. Branch, 1/5 of the entire sum	1,000	3,000
Total	10,100	30,300

Thus the total cost of the Survey to Bombay will be Rs. 30,300.

9. As a compromise between the idea of Dr. Bühler who, as stated in para. 3, believed that competent specialist would tender their services free of charge, and the scheme proposed by Mr. Grierson and modified by me as above, I would respectfully suggest that instead of paying regular monthly salaries to the General and Provl. Directors, a certain honorarium should be paid to them after the completion of the survey. The expenditure will in this way be less; and a further advantage in the scheme will be that the temptation to prolong the work will be absent. I would propose an honorarium of Rs. 8,000 to the Genl. Director and of Rs. 5,000 to each of the Provl. Directors and thus there will be a saving of Rs. 6,400 in the first item in para. 7 and of Rs. 30,800 in the third, that is of Rs. 37,200 in all in the Aryan Branch. As regards the modified scheme for Bombay, I would propose an honorarium of Rs. 5,000 to the Provl. Director and Rs. 2,500 to each of his asstts., and the contribution of Bombay to the honorarium of the General Director will be Rs. 1,600. There will thus be a saving of Rs. 4,000 in the first item in para. 8, of Rs. 1,100 in each of the next three, and Rs. 1,280 in the seventh, that is of Rs. 8,580 in all and thus the total expenditure to Bombay will be Rs. 21,720.

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10. The accompaniments of your Memorandum under acknowledgement are herewith returned; but if copies of them are available I beg you will have the goodness to send me one to be kept on my records.

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No. 165-G.-403, dated Indore Residency, the 6th September 1889.

From

F. HENVEY, Esq. Agent to the Governor General for Central India.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Deptt.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Foreign Deptt. endorsement No. 898-I, dated 26th February 1889, forwarding copies of papers connected with the proposal of the Aryan Branch of the seventh International Oriental Congress, Vienna, recommending a systematic survey of the Vernacular languages of India; and report, for the information of the Government of India, the result of the enquiries made in the Central India Agency in this interesting subject.

2. The Gwalior Council of Regency has signified its willingness to contribute towards the expenses of the survey on leaving what contributions have been promised by other Native States and by the Government of India.

3. Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal, with characteristic liberality, on hearing of the scheme, at once came forward with a contribution of Rs. 1,000.

4. The Raja of Chhattarpur has expressed his willingness to give such pecuniary aid towards the expenses of the scheme as may be appropriate and within the resources of the State, but no other Chiefs in Bundelkhand or in Central India generally are willing to subscribe.

5. My own opinion is that a systematic and scientific survey of the Vernacular languages of India would lead to the most interesting and valuable results. And if the Government of India are prepared to provide for the cost of the survey, no efforts will be spared by the British authorities in Central India to promote the objects of the scheme in all possible ways. But it is certain that the Native States in this part of India would not voluntarily contribute to such an extent as to form a basis for the foundation of a permanent establishment in Central India. The Mahratta Durbars are rich, but absolutely indifferent to the progress of learning in any shape or form. Bhopal is also comparatively wealthy; and the Begam, who is always anxious to conciliate the Government has made a small donation which I hold at the disposal of the Governor General in Council; but the depth of Her Highness' real interest in this scheme and the value of the aid procurable from Bhopal in furtherance thereof may be measured by the amount which the Begam has given. The remaining States are all backward, and mostly impoverished, in so much that they have the greatest difficulty in meeting the ordinary needs of respectable Government. It is possible that if the survey were at work in neighbouring Provinces, occasion might be taken to push the operations into States such as Gwalior or Bhopal where conditions are favourable owing either to the wealth of the Durbar or the character of the ruler; but more than this I could not undertake with any prospect of success.

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No. 3668-I, dated Simla, the 16th Sept. 1889.
Endorsed by the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt.

Copy forwarded to the Home Deptt. for information, in continuation of the Foreign Deptt's endorsement No. 1837-I, dated the 7th May 1889.

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No. 10310, dated Baroda, the 5th Oct. 1889

From

Lt. Col. F. H. JACKSON, Officiating Agent to the Governor General at Baroda.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Simla.

In reply to your endorsement No. 898-I, dated 26th February last, regarding a proposal to carry out a systematic survey of vernacular languages in India and to make a collection of ancient mss. of vernacular works, I have the honour to state that the Baroda Darbar fully appreciate the object in view and are quite willing to co-operate with the Government of Bombay in carrying out simultaneously, a systematic survey of the Guzerathi lang. in Baroda territory, and they undertake, also, the search after old, or mediaeval Guzerathi works, as far as it is possible to do so.

2. But, before taking any action in this matter, the Minister would be glad to know what expenditure the Government of Bombay are prepared to incur in this connection and what share thereof the Baroda Darbar may have to bear.

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No. 4111-I, dated Simla, the 22nd. Oct. 1889.
Endorsement by the Foreign Deptt.

Copy forwarded to the Home Deptt. for information, in continuation of the Foreign Deptt.'s endorsement No. 3668-I, dated the 16th September, 1889.

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No. 409-G, dated Hyderabad Residency, the 5th November, 1889

From

J. A. CRAWFORD, Esq. Secretary for Berar to the Resident, Hyderabad.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In reply to your letter No. 228, dated the 12th February 1889, I am directed to state that the

Resident agrees in the opinion expressed by the Government of Bengal, in para. 10 of letter No. 59 T.G., dated the 26th September 1888, as to general importance of a Linguistic Survey of India.

2. Mr. Fitzpatrick regrets, however, that so far as Berar is concerned, no funds from the revenues of that province can be contributed towards the furtherance of this project.

3. A separate letter will be addressed to the Government of India regarding the Native States of Hyderabad.

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No. 3201-III, 595A. dated Allahabad, the 21st Nov. 1889.

From

J. WOODBURN, Esq. Chief Secretary to the Government of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 223, dated the 12th February 1889, forwarding a copy of a correspondence in connection with a proposal made by the Aryan Branch of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna, that a systematic survey should be made of the vernacular languages of India.

2. In reply, I am to say that the rustic dialects of these Provinces have been classified as the Braj Bhasa dialect of the Agra and Meerut Dns.; the Kanauji of the Rohilkhand and Allahabad Dns.; the Baiswari of the Oudh Dts.; the Bhojpuri Purbia of the Beneres Dn. and the two dialects of Pahari in Kumaun. The Bhojpuri, as the vernacular of Behar, has been carefully examined and illustrated by Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Grierson, and on the others a good deal of information has been already accumulated in local grams. and district memoirs. So far as is known, there is little extant literature embodied in these dialects on which a philologist could work, and a rough form of gram. with local vocs. would be filled up for them without much expense of labour or time.

3. The Lt. Governor is advised, however, that there are two parts of these Provinces where a linguistic & literary survey might profitably be made, and where, probably, there is large field which has never been explored. One is in the dts. composing the southern fringe of the Province, such as Mirzapur, Allahabad, Hamirpur, Banda, Lalitpur and Jalaun. This strip comes in contact with the tribes and dialects of Central India and the C.P.; and a survey would be carried out more effectually in the middle, than on the borders of the tract. The other part is the Kumaun Dn., where the hill dialects have, it is understood, never been investigated or reduced to writing. The hillmen are taught to read and write Hindi in an elementary form, which is probably very useful to them in the business of life. But Hindi is not their mother-tongue and they speak among themselves a dialect, or dialects, akin to those of Tibet or High Asia. There may be an oral literature current among them which has never been written down; and possibly unwritten legends in some form of the Hindi language respecting the old Hindu Kings of the hills. Again, there may be traditions of the aboriginal tribes who are believed to have lived in the Himalaya mountains before they made themselves known in the plains of India.

4. Though a survey of the vernaculars as proposed by the International Oriental Congress would be interesting, yet it is very doubtful, on the information before the Lt. Governor, whether in these provinces the results of such a survey would justify an expenditure on the scale proposed in Mr. Grierson's Scheme. If, however, the Government of India desires that a linguistic survey should be carried out through out the Empire, I am to suggest that, instead of appointing a staff of salaried directors to whom, so far as these Provinces are concerned, His Honour does not see his way to contribute, it would be preferable to have the work done on a system of honoraria for contributions of proved value. The plan would certainly be cheaper; and there is every reason to anticipate in the condition of the case, that it would ensure equal thoroughness and promptitute of execution. I am to forward, for the information of the Govt. of India, copies of letters received on the subject from Mr. Crooke and Mr. Growse, both of the N.W.P. Civil Service.

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From

W. CROOKE, Esq. Officiating Magistrate of Etáh.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the N.W. Provinces & Oudh.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your No. 355-III. 595A of 25th February 1889, with which you forward for my opinion certain correspondence in connection with a proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India.

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2. Before, I could venture to offer any advice to the Government in this matter, I would like to understand more clearly than a careful study of these papers permits me to do what Messrs. Grierson and Hoernle really intend. From the outside the matter looks very simple and plausible; but reading between the lines, I think I can perceive the possibility of this Survey becoming a much more serious matter.

3. The primary proposition is, as far as, I can grasp it, as follows. It is suggested that the Province should as a commencement be mapped out into dialectical areas, that a general form of grammar should be drawn up, which should be filled in for each area, and at the same time a vocabulary prepared on the model of Mr. Grierson's "Bihar Peasant Life". Now, this is not a very formidable, and need not be an expensive, programme, provided the dialectical areas are not too minutely defined. As we all know, dialect varies even from pargana to pargana. But of course I assume that no one dreams of such minuteness of classification. It would no doubt be easy to plot out the Province roughly into a series of dialectical areas which would answer all practical purposes. We should have, I may for the moment assume, something like the following dialects mapped out:—

(1) *Braj*—For the Meerut, Agra, and parts of Rohilkhand Divisions.

(2) *Kanaujia*—For the middle and lower Duab.

(3) *Baiswari*—For parts of Rohilkhand and Oudh.

(4) *Bundelkhandi*—For Bundelkhand.

(5) *Bhojpuri*—For the Benares Division.

(6) *Pahari*—For the hill districts.

The nomenclature and the geographical distribution of these dialects would of course be disputed; but this could be settled without much trouble. Now, if a rough form of grammar was drawn up, it would not be difficult to get it filled up for each of these six dialects. It would not be very difficult to do this, even assuming for the moment that it is unbroken ground. But this is not, I think, the case, and I imagine that in these Provinces our ignorance of the local dialects is not so abyssmal as the authors of this scheme seem to believe. Not to speak of Mr. Beames' grammar or that of Dr. Kellogg, which contains dialectical tables of declensions, conjugations, &c., there are in existence local grammars of which Mr. J. R. Reid's for Azamgarh may be taken as an example. With the aid of these the difficulty of preparing a comparative dialectical grammar for the Province should not be serious.

4. Next as to a glossary, the suggestion seems to be that Mr. Grierson's "Bihar Peasant Life" should be rewritten for each of these dialectical areas. This would no doubt be feasible, and not very difficult with the aid of a competent staff. I may venture to express a tolerably confident opinion on this branch of the question, as it may possibly be in the recollection of the Government that not long since I myself without much help of any kind made attempts to supply what I believed to be a want by compiling a glossary like that of Mr. Grierson, the model of which originally was suggested by myself. I have no doubt that if the Government cared again to undertake such a task they could complete it at a comparatively moderate cost.

5. As I have said, if this is all the authors of this scheme propose to do, it is simple programme mainly because most of it has been done already without any cost to Government. But the programme seems intended to be something wider than this. It is proposed to make "a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India nearer and further *not only as they exist at the present time, but as far back as manuscripts can*

take us." This is a very much more serious matter. It practicaly means, if I understand it aright, an attempt to trace the existing dialectal forms from Sanskrit through the Prakrits and ancient and mediaeval Hindi to the present. There seems also to be a proposal to collect a great portion of the manuscript literature of these Languages. There is no use disguising the fact that this is a programme of great magnitude and difficulty. I could not even pretend to form an estimate of the extent and cost of "Survey" such as this, or of the value of the literature which may be thus rendered available for students. As far as historical records, I am not aware that much exists in these rural dialects. Most of the extent history of Upper India was, I believe, written in Arabic or Persian, and large extracts from these books were translated and published by Sir H. M. Elliot. As to whether any valuable historical records in various forms of Hindi remain uncollected, I am unable to give an opinion. There is, I believe a good deal of religious literature in some of these local dialects; but the specimens translated by Mr. Growse in his Mathura Memoir do not support the view that its disappearance would be a serious loss. No doubt some of the philological work has been already done by scholars like Messrs. Beames and Hoernle; but much remains to be done, and I suspect that if this is what he intends doing, "the Director of the Aryan Section", whoever he may be, will have to work hard to complete it in time and at the cost suggested by Mr. Grierson.

6. I may also venture to suggest a doubt whether there is such a number of "skilled specialists", in existence who will in many cases "give their serivces voluntarily" to carry out an undertaking like this; nor does the analogy of the so-called "Statistic Survey" or in plainer words, the preparation of a series of Gazetteers or District Memoirs appear to me quite possible. There are many men who acquire with comparative facility the necessary (p. 55) knowledge of geography, ethnology, local history and agriculture to qualify them to compile a District Gazetteer; but linguistic knowledge is a very difficult matter, and there are possibly not in the Prov. at present half a dozen European Officers who have a sufficient working knowledge of any one local dialect which qualify them to join an undertaking such as this now under discussion; and I have very little doubt that Mr. Cust is correct in the opinion he expresses in this correspondence of the linguistic attainments of a large number of the existing officers. I trust I may be pardoned for saying that this reproach is likely to continue as long as the so-called 'higher' standard continues, the limit of the compulsory test, as long as the rewards for knowledge of languages completely exclude the current verns. of the peasant, as long, in short, as study of the *patois* of the country continues as unfashionable as it is at present, and fails to receive the recognition and encouragement of Government.

7. I may also from my own perhaps rather unfortunate experience in a branch of this same subject express my want of confidence in the desire or ability of the Educational Deptt. to give much valuable assistance in this enterprise. Personally, I have found that the native officials of the Deptt. are ignorant of local dialects, and despise and discourage their use. If they can be brought to teach Hindi at all, they teach it in its debased and bastared Sanskritized form, which never was and never will be the vern. of the population of these Provinces.

8. On the whole, I would be inclined to say that, assuming it be the desire of the Government to encourage that more familiar intercourse between its officers and the agricultural classes which depends in a great measure on a development of a knowledge of the local dialects, the present proposal, if its authors are confident of their ability to carry it out successfully, opens out a prospect of doing considerable good at a very moderate cost. If it results only in a good comparative dialectal gram.; and a book of selections of *bonafide gawnwari*, Government will have got ample value for its expenditure. But if it is expected that many European Officers who at the considerable pecuniary cost and sacrifice of hardly earned leisure have in course of their service in this country acquired a competent knowledge of the subject will voluntarily spend time and trouble in carrying out an arduous undertaking for which they have little chance of earning credit or official recognition, I fear that the authors of this programme will meet with disappointment, and that if the task of collecting the materials is left to the voluntary assistance of the Edl. Deptt., the scheme is foredoomed to failure.

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From

F. S. GROWSE, C.I.E. Collector of Farukhabad.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

With reference to your No. 364 III, 595 A of February 27th, I have the honour to submit the following observations.

2. In this Province there is, as it seems to me, no great scope for any extensive action as regards either a survey of modern dialects or a collection of archaic vern. mss.

3. There is much less diversity in the speech of the people here than in other parts of India. The tendency of specialists is to emphasize the importance of minor differences; but even so Mr. Grierson's list for the N.W. Provinces and Oudh is a very short one, and consists only of nine heads, as compared with 35 in Bengal and 33 in Madras. One of the nine, viz. the Bhojpuri, certainly belongs more properly to the Lower Provinces and after the further deduction of the hill dialects of Garhwal and Kumaun, as to the characteristics of which I am unable to speak, there remain only four types of Hindi, current respectively at Muttra, Kanauj, and Ajudhya, and among the Bais Thakurs of Rae Bareli and Fatehpur Haswa. These forms are fully illustrated, and indeed are used almost indiscriminately in the Ramayana of Tul'sidas, who at different periods of his life was settled in those four parts of the country. Similarly, in the Homeric poems illustrations may be found of all the different dialectic formations, which were afterwards more strictly localized by technical Grammarians.

4. I think that little—if any—*practical* advantage would accrue either from the composition of artificial dialogues, in laborious imitation of the rustic talk familiar in any particular locality, or in the compilation of grams., to stereotype essentially fluctuating and unsettled modes of expression. A practical familiarity with a *patois* can only be acquired by intercourse and free conversation with the people who use it. So much depends upon pecularities of intonation, that a book knowledge of words and phrases, approximately reproduced by the conventional symbols of any standard alphabet, is seldom of much service to a foreigner in making himself orally understood. For *scientific* purposes, the collection of local vocables is of course valuable; and at some period or other of their service, many Indian officials jot down any strange words, which they have heard, but which are not recognised by the dictionaries. There are many societies in existence that gladly receive such lists for record in their periodical publications, and there is no necessity for the institution of a government department to collect them. Spontaneous contributions, though deficient in uniformity, are sufficiently trustworthy as a basis for the subsequent scientific compilation, which also will be best left to voluntary and independent enterprise.

5. As regards literature, all the earlier Hindi poems belong more properly to Rajputana. Even Chand Bardai, the poet laureate of Prithi Raj's Court at Delhi, was a native of Ranthambhor in the present Jaypur State. It is not till the middle of the 16th Century A.D., in reign (p. 56)of Sher Shah that we find an author who may be taken as a genuine representative of the language of this part of the Country. I refer to Malik Muhammad of Jayas in Oudh, whose "Padmavat" is a little read and obscure work, but one of considerable interest, both literary and philological, which has never yet been properly edited. To the same period belong the Braj poets Sur Das, Krishan Das, and others commemorated in the "Bhakta Mala", or "Legends of the Saints", by Nabha Das, a veritable Hindu rival to the Alexandrian Lycophron in his obscurity of diction. I have given a few specimens of his panegyric and its equally involved commentary in my "Mathura".

6. All these writers well deserve that their complete works should be collected and critically edited, and still more so does their famous successor, Tul'si Das, who died in 1624. As a literary classic and a popular favourite, he may fairly claim like Shakespeare the privilege of appearing (in ordinary editions) for the greater convenience of the general reader, unhampered by the archaic spelling of the original text. But unquestionably it would be a boon to philologists if an edition for scholars were issued from the Press, with every word printed exactly as it appears in the oldest mss.

7. The "Prithviraj Rao" of Chand Bardai is now being edited with a copious commentary by Pandit Mohan Lal Vishnu Lal of Udaipur, and the

"Satsai" of Tul'si Das by Chaube Bihari Lal for the "Bibliotheca Indica" of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. It is more than doubtful whether the former will ever be carried to completion, as the poem is one of prodigious extent and phenomenal difficulty, as yet less than 200 pages of it have been issued. The task was first attempted, 16 years ago, by Mr. Beames, who was afterwards relieved by Dr. Hoernle; but the results have been infinitesimal. At the time I foresaw that such would be the case, and I recommended that the text of the mss in the library of the Agra College should simply be reproduced in *fac simile*, without any correction and even without any division of the words, which in many passages is open to dispute and materially affects the interpretation. I would now again urge this proposal upon the consideration of the Local Government. The issue need not be a large one, say 500 copies; and as the work of preparing it for the Press would be purely mechanical, the cost would not be excessive. The text, as represented by one ms., would then be available for the leisure study of scholars in India and Europe, who could attach detached portions and publish specimen translations and critical discussions in the different oriental reviews. The undertaking is far too vast for any single individual to attempt, with the faintest prospect of adequate treatment.

8. To use the words of the Government of Bengal, "the policy hitherto persued has been to leave investigations to those who are stirred to undertake them by their own impulses, Government only interfering to offer suitable assistance and occasionally to reward exertion". The institution of a Special department is always accompanied by the danger, as Prof. MaxMüller has noted that "undertakings, started by good men fall into the hands of less competent persons, and more harm than good comes from them". Instead of taking an entirely new departure involving certainly large cost with considerable question as to the practical value of results, I would suggest that the Local Government would better advance the objects of the Oriental Congress by publishing a series of *fac simile* reproductions from the oldest available mss. of the text, unaccompanied by note or commentary of all the remains of mediaeval Hindi literature. The first works to be undertaken would be the "Prithiraj Rai" of Chand Bardai and the Ramayana of Tul'si Das. These would be followed by Tul'si Das' minor works and the compositions of the other poets whose names I have given above. The results would be of unquestionable utility, and the expense would be moderate, while at the same time the undertaking is a little out of the sphere of private enterprise, and unless adopted by Government is never likely to be affected at all.

No. 2339—I

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TRANSFERRED to the Home Department for disposal, with reference to their endorsement No. 299, dated the 12th February 1889.

By Order.
H. S. BARNES
Officiating Deputy Secretary, to the Government of India.

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No. 2372-G., Dated Abu, 17th June 1890.

From

Col. G. H. TREVOR, Agent to the Governor General, Rajputana.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

WITH reference to your office letter No. 898-1, dated the 26th February 1889, forwarding for information and remark, the printed papers regarding a systematic survey of the Vernacular languages of India, I have the honour to state that the principal States of Rajputana have intimated their willingness to contribute the amounts specified below towards the proposed survey, the importance of which appears to be generally recognised, and that minor contributions from the remaining states might be expected hereafter as operations are developed.

Meywar	Rs.	1,000 in all	
Marwar	Rs.	1,600 a year for three years	
Kotah	,,	300	,,
Bikanir	,,	800	,,
Ulwar	,,	500 in all	
Total	,,	9,600 in all	

Jeypore—1/3 of the total expenditure which may be incurred in working the scheme in Rajputana.

2. I submit, for the information of the Govt., two interesting communications* on the subject which have been received from Col. W. F. Prideaux, Resident at Jeypore, and Dr. J. P. Stratton, whose long services in the Political Department in Rajputana and Central India, and acquaintance with the vern. languages of those Provinces, entitle his views to consideration. Dr. Stratton has sketched in outline a working plan for Rajputana, framed on the printed papers circulated, accompanied by observations and suggestions of his own. He thinks that at first one Provincial Director, with a qualified asstt. and a good office would suffice for this Province, and that the States should not be called on to contribute towards any charges outside it. With this opinion I concur. Col. Prideaux also suggests one Director.

3. If Dr. Stratton's proposals are accepted, the initial cost of operations would come to about Rs. 12,200 as shewn below:—

One Provincial Director and office at Rs. 300 per mensem for three years . .	Rs.	10,800
Rewards for special work . . .	,,	400
Printing, say	,,	1,000
	Total	12,200

and Rs. 13,666 having been promised already; a balance of Rs. 1,466 would remain for contingencies.

4. It does not seem necessary for me to make any further remarks on the subject at present.

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No. 40-G; dated 26th March, 1889.

From

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. F. PRIDEAUX, Resident, Jeypore.

To

The First Assistant Agent to the Governor General, Rajputana.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement No. 885-G., dated 15th March 1889, forwarding for information and for such remarks as I may have to offer, copy of papers regarding a resolution passed by the Aryan Branch of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna recommending a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, and the collection of the ancient manuscripts containing vernaculars works.

2. In reply, I have the honour to observe that as the principle of the proposed scheme appears to have been accepted by the Government of India**, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the advantages which may be expected to result from its adoption. The proposal is not only valuable from the point of view of philological science, but it is also likely to bear fruit hereafter by enabling the ruling classes to acquire a more intimate knowledge of the inner life of the great masses of Indian people, and thereby helping to remove many of the difficulties now encountered in the task of administration. It also appears to me that a more opportune time for undertaking such a work could not easily be found. The Indian Government has not only at its command the services of many competent scholars, but the rapid spread of English education and the assimilative influence of a common language and literature among the higher classes of the country, which cannot fail in time to affect the lower strata of society, render it advisable that the matter should be taken in hand without delay.

3. It is, however, evident that a systematic survey of the nature proposed by Mr. Grierson, and approved by the Oriental Congress, cannot be undertaken except by means of Government agency, and if the work is to be done efficiently, the fact must be faced from the beginning that it will involve a large expenditure. The period of three years, which the Bengal Government appears to contemplate as sufficient for the organization of a department, the prosecution of its enquiries and the completion of its labours, will probably long be overstepped before the results which the Congress has in contemplation are finally achieved.

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*No. 40-G dt. 26th March, 1889, Note, Dated 20th May, 1890.

**Government of India to Government of Bengal, No. 1063, dated 18th May, 1887, paragraph 2.

Considering the fact that the most influential advocates of the scheme are scholars of foreign nationality, it seems questionable whether the whole expense attendant upon realizing their ideas should be thrown upon the Government of India.

4. I will now venture to offer a few remarks upon the general proposals of the Congress, so far as they are applicable to the States of Rajputana. The primary object of the scheme is the advancement of philological knowledge by means, firstly, of an inquiry into the existing state of the vernacular languages of India, which can best be carried out through oral communication with the people, and secondly, through the collection of ancient and mediaeval manuscripts. To effect this object, it is proposed by Mr. Grierson that two Deputy Directors should be appointed to Rajputana on a salary each of Rs. 300 per mensem, including office allowance. I believe it may be generally stated that the whole of the dialects spoken in Rajputana are varieties of the *Braj*, or as it is generally termed, the Bhasha or "language" *par excellence*, with the exception possibly of a few traces of Kolarian survivals which may be found among the Bhils inhabiting the hilly tracts. I am therefore of opinion that one Deputy Director, if possessed of a competent knowledge of the *Bhasha*, would be amply sufficient for Rajputana, and that another Deputy Director, with head-quarters at Nagpur, should be appointed to collect such remnants of the speech of the non-Aryan inhabitants of India as survive in scattered patches from the Aravalli hills to the Satpura plateau. The salary of Rs. 300 per mensem including office expenses of Rs. 3,600 per annum which has been proposed by Mr. Grierson and accepted by the Government of Bengal, as an adequate salary for a Deputy Director, would therefore be sufficient to cover the whole of the expenditure contingent on the purely linguistic survey of Rajputana.

5. As regards the other branch of the subject, the collection of ancient and mediaeval manuscripts which bear upon the modern speech of India, I observe that silence has been kept by the Government of Bengal, although it obviously forms an integral part of the complete scheme. In this connection I would venture to invite attention to an interesting paper which was drawn up in 1884 by the Reverend Mr. Traill of the Scotch Mission, submitted, I believe, to the consideration of the Government of India through the office of the Agent to the Governor General. In this paper Mr. Traill strongly advocates the collection of the religious manuscripts written in the *Bhasha*, which still exist in considerable numbers, but are gradually disappearing. An expenditure of about Rs. 100 per mensem would in Mr. Traill's opinion be sufficient to ensure a good collection. There were circumstances at the time which, I understand, prevented full considration being given to Mr. Traill's proposals, although their value was duly estimated; but as they harmonise in so marked a manner with the scheme that has received the support of the Congress, the present would appear an opportune moment for again calling attention to them.

6. I may further note in connection with this subject, that a careful and systematic collection of the old songs and ballads sung by the Charans and Bhats of Rajputana at marriage and other festivals would, in my opinion, be not only a desirable object in itself, but would serve as a useful auxiliary to the philological enquiries which have been set in motion by the Congress. At an interview which I lately had with Kavi Raj Shyamal Dass of Oodeypore, who is perhaps the most learned native in Rajputana, I expressed the hope that he would turn his attention to what is practically an unworked field. The Kavi Raj assured me that he had already collected a thousand of these songs, and that he intended to publish them after two or three years or as soon as he had seen his "History of Rajputana" through the press. He fully agreed with me as to the historical value of these ballads, many of which had been handed down by oral recitation through centuries, but are now only known to the older generations of bards.

7. In conclusion, I would venture respectfully to express the opinion that if the Government of India can see its way to meeting the wishes of the International Oriental Congress by establishing a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, the Reverend Mr. Traill would, from his acquaintance with the dialects ordinarily spoken in Rajputana, and from the facilities which his duties as a missionary afford him of coming in contact with all classes of the community, be a very fit and competent person to conduct the contemplated operations in this part of the country. The acquirements of Kavi Raj Shyamal Dass would render him an invaluable adviser on all points, connected with the survey on which he might be consulted; but his age and failing health, combined with his ignorance of the English language, would probably be held to incapacitate him from taking a more active part in the enquiry.

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Report on the Proposed Systematic Survey of the Vernacular Languages of India, chiefly in relation to Rajputana, dated 20th May 1890.

With reference to the request for any remarks I may have to offer on the subject of the proposed systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India, concerning which scheme printed correspondence was circulated with the Govt. of India, Foreign Deptt. Memorandum No. 898 I, dt. 26th February 1889, I beg to remark as follows:—

2. I had first prepared—

(a) an abstract of the leading points in the printed papers arranged in convenient sequence for facility of reference; and

(b) a memorandum containing notes on the proposed survey so far as it relates to Rajputana.

The notes were, however, rather voluminous consisting partly of details leading to the conclusions summarised in the present report, and partly of details which may be of use or interest when the survey has actually begun in Rajputana, but are not needed just now.

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Meantime this report contains, I think, a summary of most of the considerations necessary towards planning and starting the survey here, *i.e.*, of those which chiefly require attention at the present stage.

3. I believe there is no doubt of the value of the proposed survey, not only in relation to philology, but also on the practical ground that a servant of Government who has learnt one language or dialect, will find it much easier than at present to master a second of allied character when there are comparative grammars and vocabularies available to point the similarities and mark the differences; and that, as the number of subjects with which a Government servant has to acquaint himself is constantly increasing, any measure which will lighten the labour of doing this, especially in a matter so closely connected with efficiency as familiarity with the vernacular speech of the people is, may well be held to merit attention and promotion by Government.

4. The printed scheme suggests that the Collection of Vernacular Works, or the Compilation of Lists of such works, and of Lists of Vernacular Authors may be combined with the search for Sanskrit manuscripts already in operation.

There can be no harm, however, in keeping the above desiderata in view, when the survey is otherwise in progress.

5. The printed scheme starts with the proposals for the appointment of a *Director General of the Language Survey for all India,* free from other duty and paid accordingly.

Also the appointment of *one or two Assistant or Provincial Directors for each Province,* to attend to this work in addition to their ordinary duty, and to be paid a salary of Rs. 300 per mensem, including office establishment, during the three years the survey is expected to last.

Mr. Grierson, who outlined the scheme, remarked that he does "not know however if good enough men can be got on this pay".

On this it may be remarked that, after paying a competent establishment, there will be little left as remuneration for the Provincial Director.

6. Two such Provincial Directors are suggested for Rajputana, but I think it doubtful whether, at first at any rate, two would be required, or unless, during the progress of the work, it was found that the number of dialects required a couple.

Otherwise, matters could be conducted more uniformly by one Provincial Director, but he would have very heavy work, as will afterwards be seen, and would need doubly good office establishment, including some one qualified to act as his Assistant.

7. The initial work proposed in the scheme is for the Director General, and many Provincial Directors as can attend, to meet together and, in the words of the printed papers, "to concoct a Skeleton Grammar for all the Indian languages of the Aryan family", and also to "arrange other details, such as a uniform system of spelling, characters to be adopted, and so on".

On this latter it only needs to be remarked that transliteration, where employed, should be precise and as simple as possible, with sufficient but not too many artificial marks, and should be rigidly followed throughout, and that for *Hindi* as used in Rajputana and elsewhere, the *Nagri character* is the one to be adopted.

8. The Scheme then proceeds to suggest that—

(1) After compilation of the Skeleton Aryan Grammar, all Aryan India should be mapped out into Dialect Areas, subject to

revision of limits afterwards, if needed, for the preparation of a Dialect Grammar of each (*See* 1a below).

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(2) For that purpose the method indicated is that *all the Grammatical Forms of the Standard Language of the province followed by a number of Test Sentences,* should be printed down on margin of foolscap paper, the sheets of which should be then bound into books and circulated to intelligent school masters, preferably natives of the district in which serving, and to others, native gentlemen, & c., for them to enter, opposite each form or word or sentence, the equivalent in the local vernacular.

It is also suggested that popular local songs should be collected and entered.

Those Grammatical Forms would presumably be on the lines or in the order outlined in the Skeleton Aryan Grammar first drawn up. (*See* 2a below).

(3) From those books of Grammatical Forms and Test Sentences so filled up, the scheme then suggests that the Provincial Director should compile *a Grammar of each Dialect* on a uniform plan throughout the survey.

Presumably these Dialect Grammars would be on the same lines or in the same orders as the Skeleton Aryan Grammar originally compiled, or in some form which a conference of the Director General and Provincial Directors might draw up, or perhaps in the style of Mr. Grierson's Grammars of the Behari Dialects. (*See* 3a below).

9. Regarding the above three proposals, I offer the following remarks:—

(1a) As to mapping out Rajputana into Dialect Areas beforehand, enough is not known yet of its dialects and their limits, and this mapping out can therefore be better done at a later stage, when considerable progress in the collection of materials has been made.

(2a) I am not aware of any form of language or dialect in Rajputana which can be styled the "*standard language of the province*" and it will therefore be necessary to take at first at any rate, as a standard *for*, though not of, Rajputana, the high Hindi dialect of our North-West Provinces, as shown in Kellogg's and Etherington's Grammars of Hindi, which dialect is used for books, grammars, public instruction and literary purposes in our territory.

As also intelligent schoolmasters, natives of the Rajputana districts in which serving, are as yet rare, and the best educated men hitherto have chiefly had to be imported from our own more advanced territories, other methods of getting the books of Grammatical Forms and Sentences filled up, will mostly have to be employed in Rajputana, as will be noticed further on.

(3a) The compilation of Dialect Grammars by the Provincial Director from the numerous books of Grammatical Forms and Test Sentences filled up in the districts, will be the work of the survey entailing most labour and judgement, and will require a first rate office establishment, including some one qualified to assist with due understanding in the work, so as to relieve the officer as much as possible of mechanical details.

If, as suggested in the scheme, popular local songs should be printed and translated at the end of the Dialect Grammars, local proverbs might also be included, and would be simpler to deal with than songs. While it must be obligatory everywhere to fill in the Grammatical Forms and Test Sentences in the model form supplied, it should be optional for any district to add, in a supplement, any thing of interest not provided for in the form, or peculiar to itself, *e.g.*, each district should give large and clearly written specimens of the alphabetical characters used in it.

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10. The next proposal of the scheme is that *Vocabularies* should be prepared, but for Language rather than for Dialect Areas.

The method suggested is to take a book like "*Bihar Peasant Life*", which is described as being "*a collection mostly of the names of agricultural objects and processes,*" and to have it translated throughout into the local vernacular, district by district, in interleaved copies, which work, it is stated,

would require the deputation of a sharp Sub-Inspector, or preferably a Deputy Inspector of Schools, for each Language Area.

11. Admirable as that book is for the purpose for which compiled, *viz.*, as a picture of agricultural life in Bihar, I feel compelled to say decidedly I do not consider it the best model on which to compile vocabularies for the purpose of a comparative linguistic survey. Exhaustively agricultural, it is too exclusively so for this wider purpose. It contains some 600 pages, 1,500 descriptive articles, and a Hindi index of about 6,000 words. This is too *big for satisfactory working in Rajputana*; besides that it would need to be made bigger still, by the including of some words from other departments of life besides agriculture. if the purpose of a proper view of the language is to be served. Moreover, words of Arabic or Persian origin occuring in that book, are not distinctively marked, as they ought to be in a vocabulary for linguistic purposes. Nor are there in Rajputana Sub-Inspectors or Deputy Inspectors of Schools qualified and available for going about the Province, translating the book into the local vernaculars, so as to arrive in this way at a vocabulary of Rajputana Hindi.

A different model and method for the vocabulary will be more feasible in Rajputana, and indeed I think better for all India as regards the model.

12. The *form of vocabulary* is not indeed strictly laid down in the scheme. Mr. Grierson merely suggested "some book like 'Bihar Peasant Life' ".

The Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in his letter of 19th September 1887, thought this was not a good model for the purpose, and that "a string of vocables, properly classified in the standard language of the Province would be better", and that. "for purposes of comparison, strings of vocables in the different languages and dialects, side by side, would be of far greater service".

The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in his letter of 9th January 1888, while correcting what he thought some misapprehension in the above remarks about "Bihar Peasant Life", stated that it was "little more than a collection of the names of agricultural objects and processes", but he did not add his own opinion about the best form to be adopted.

13. I myself am strongly of opinion that *the best form of vocabulary* would be a list of words selected from every domain of nature and human life and knowledge, in their simpler aspects of course, and classified under convenient headings.

A rough outline of classification or grouping may here be given to show what is meant.

WORDS RELATING TO—

The Deity, Religion, Good and Evil Spirits, &c., the Heavenly Bodies, Sun, Moon, Stars, Sky, Points of Compass, Seasons, Divisions of time, &c.

The Elements (popular)—

Fire, Air, Atmosphere, Wind, Lighting, Thunder, Clouds, the Earth and its surface, Hills, Plains, Rivers, Lakes, &c.

Mineral Kingdom—

Earths, Rocks, Mines, Ores, Minerals, Metals, &c.

Vegetable Kingdom—

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Trees, Plants, Flowers, Fruits, Seeds, Grains, Fibres, &c.

Animal Kingdom—

Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Insects, Worms, &c., the Domestic Animals, Birth, Life, Death, &c.

Man and matters connected with him—

Sex. Youth, Age, Parts of the Body. Senses and Sensations, Relationships, Hurts and Diseases, &c.

The Mind and what relates to it—

Morals, Virtues, Vices, Affection, Aversion, &c.

Agriculture and matters connected with it—

People, Implements and Materials employed, Processes, Ploughing, Harrowing, Sowing, Weeding, Reaping, Threshing, Winnowing, Grinding, Oil and Cane Juice expressing, Fibre cleaning, Products and Crops of all kinds, Seasons, Harvests, Herding, Grazing, &c.

Professions, Occupations, Trades—

Persons, Tools and Materials employed therein.

Food, Drinks, Spices, &c.

Cloths, Dress, &c.

Medicines and Medical matters.

Buildings and Household matters—

Furniture, Pots, Dishes, Vessels, &c.

Money and Money matters—

Loan, Debt, Interest, Weights and Measures, Buying and Selling, &c.

Society and Government—

Law, Justice, Police, Crimes, Penalties, War, Weapons and Military matters.

SELECTIONS OF—

Useful Nouns.

Useful Adjectives.

Useful Verbs.

LISTS OF—

Pronouns of the several kinds.

Adverbs of the several kinds.

Postpositions of the several kinds.

Conjunctions of the several kinds.

Interjections of the several kinds.

Numerals of the several kinds.

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14. The above headings are only jotted down in illustration, and are of course subject to revision and amendment, but I think a vocabulary based and arranged in some such way, and of moderate dimensions, will be better than an illimitable list of words taken chiefly from agriculture alone, and will not only give a broader view of each individual language or dialect itself, but of the same also in relation to others of allied type.

I assume, indeed, that both objects are to be kept in mind, *viz.*, a survey of each language, and a comparison of each with its congeners. With this view the standard vocabulary should be the same for all India.

But each Province or other Division might, if it saw fit, add a short supplement of words peculiar to itself, *e.g.* the littoral and reverine districts may have coast or river words worth noting, though not used elsewhere, and similarly any other district of peculiar character may have specialities of its own, which can be similarly appended without interfering with the absolute parallelism of the general vocabulary.

15. Vocabularies such as suggested probably exist in some of our Educational Departments which could be modified as found necessary with little trouble. But even if not ready to hand, there could be little difficulty in having such a vocabulary drawn up, revised and agreed on, by the principal educational or linguistic authorities who may have to do with the practical working of the scheme.

16. Of the general vocabulary there would be first prepared—

(1) *an English version* with the words under each heading arranged alphabetically; then

(2) *a version in the Standard Language of each province,* which language for Rajputana, as in our North-West Provinces, would be High Hindi, *i.e.*, the modern literary Hindi given in Nagri characters, with if judged necessary, transliteration in English letters; and finally,

(3) *a bilingual version* printed in English and the standard vernacular as above of each Province.

17. It will be seen from the printed scheme circulated, and the foregoing remarks thereon, that, before the actual work of survey can begin, the standard forms referred to require to be prepared, printed and issued, *viz.*—

I. The Skeleton Aryan Grammar, intended presumably to guide the lines of work.

II. The Book of Grammatical Forms and Test Sentences in the Standard Language of Each Province to be circulated so that the dialectal equivalents may be filled up.

III. The Vocabulary in the Standard Language of each Province to be circulated interleaved for the equivalents in each dialect to be written in.

18. The provision of these printed standards, more especially of Nos. II and III, in sufficient quantity is in fact *the key to the whole work.* Till they are provided nothing definite can be done, but when they are supplied, the ground will be cleared for work, which will then be found not so difficult as it may at first sight appear.

19. About Rajputana there can be no special difficulty, as the same standard forms which do for Hindi in our North-West Provinces will do for Rajputana also. As soon, therefore, as the Hindi standards are ready for the North-West Provinces,

they will be ready equally for Rajputana, only needing a certain extra number of copies to be printed.

20. Assuming now that these indispensable standard forms have been supplied, a glance may be taken at the procedure most practicable in Rajputana.

The Educational machinery depended on in British territory is not equally available here, but there is doubtless a European officer in each large Native (p. 65) State, who can, with the aid of the learned men of the State, get a sufficient number of the standards :—

No. II—The Grammatical Forms.

No. III—The vocabulary filled up in the dialectal equivalents of certain selected districts of the State or States.

21. Then will come the hard work of the Provincial Director, whoever may be appointed to the duty by the Local Administration of Rajputana. Up to this time his functions may have consisted chiefly of distributing the standard forms, and advising or supervising in respect to their filling up, but now the serious work of his post will begin.

The books of Standard Form No. II, viz., *Grammatical Forms*, filled up in the districts, will have to be examined to judge first how many separate dialects should be recognised. In this he might be aided by a representative from each principal State or Dialect Area.

Next, from the books of each dialect, a *grammar* of that *dialect* has to be prepared, on the standard form previously referred to in paragraph 8 of this letter.

22. Similarly the books of Standard Form No. III, viz., the *Vocabulary*, will have to be examined, and from them a general vocabulary compiled for the whole Language Area (and not for each dialect).

Words in this general vocabulary for all Rajputana should show clearly by suitable initial letters or marks—

(a) whether they are common to the whole area; or

(b) whether only to one or two regions of dialects thereof, the particular one or more being indicated by suitable initial letters or marks; also

(c) what words are of foreign origin, as, *e.g.*, Arabic or Persian, &c.

23. It will be evident that in the above work of Sections Nos. II and III an ample and competent establishment will be a *sine qua non* for its successful performance.

24. The printed scheme estimates three years to be needed for the whole survey, viz., two for the Dialect Grammars, and one for the Vocabularies, including the carrying of both, when completed, through the press.

25. As regards the expense of the survey, I think the Native States may fairly be asked to cooperate and to meet the expenses incurred within their own territories.

These would be—

Exp. 1—Cost of a small number of Standard Forms No. I and a large number of Nos. II and III.

This could not be much, as nothing special would be needed for Rajputana, which would work on the same standards of Hindi as our North-West Provinces, and the cost would thus be merely of printing a certain number of extra copies.

Exp. 2.—The cost of getting Standard Nos. II and III filled up in districts.

This also would probably be moderate, though in some places accurate writers and transcribes might have to be employed. Possibly this item might be met by the States direct.

Exp. 3—The salary of the Provincial Director and his establishment with office contingencies.

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This item would be more considerable, yet still fairly devolving on the Native States. I would, however, clearly deprecate calling on the Chiefs for any contribution to the survey outside their own territories, as, *e.g.*, to the salary of the Director General.

To ask Rajputana to pay a share any thing like the share of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab or Bombay, would be laying on it a burden which for it would be immeasurably out of proportion to the relatively gigantic wealth of these great British Provinces and the Government of India.

To do so indeed would be felt by the Chiefs as a tax for purposes outside their limits, which would lessen their interest in the success of the operations in their territories, and it would be sure to starve the local work on which success really depends.

26. Although I have only spoken of Rajputana, perhaps I may be permitted to add that the general lines suggested for carrying out the survey here would, I believe, be similarly applicable to a large part of the Central India Agency, provided of course a better working programme has not been already outlined there.

J. P. STRATTON, M.D.

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No. 691—Dated Abu, the 23-24th June 1890

From

Col. G. H. TREVOR,

Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department.

With reference to your office endorsement No. 898-I dt. 25th Feb. 1889, regarding a survey of the vernacular languages of India, I have the honour to refer you to my letter No. 2372-G, dt. the 17th instant and to state that no separate arrangement is needed in Ajmere Merwara and as there is no likelihood of any extra expenditure being incurred on account of that district, no condition seems to be necessary from the Ajmere Provincial Revenues.

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No. 233 dt. Calcutta, the 26th Feb. 1895

From

J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E. Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,

To

The Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

At the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, held at Vienna in 1886, a resolution was passed by the Aryan section, recommending a systematic survey of the vernacular langauges of India. The Government of India requested the Government of Bengal to invite Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., to draw up a detailed scheme for giving effect to this resolution. The scheme prepared by Mr. Grierson contemplated the expenditure of about two and half lakhs for the survey of the Aryan, and one lakh for that of the Dravidian languages, to be spread over three years. The Government of India consulted the Local Governments and administrations regarding the project, and asked to be informed how far they would be prepared to co-operate in furtherance of it. Two difficulties, however, *viz.*, those of providing funds for the work and of deputing expert officers to direct the work in the manner suggested by Mr. Grierson, combined to prevent the Government of India from carrying it out. Mr. Grierson subsequently prepared an alternative scheme for a preliminary language survey of a much less expensive nature, as described in a note by him, dated the 19th March 1891. This scheme may be said to have for its object the preparation of a sort of *catalogue raisonné* of the languages of India containing specimens of each.

2. The Governor General in Council is anxious, if possible, to undertake the preparation of such a catalogue, and, in the opinion of H.E. in Council, it would materially contribute towards the success of the undertaking if the Asiatic Society of Bengal would favour the Government of India with its advice as to how Mr. Grierson's proposal can best be carried into effect, and would engage to control the work so far as Northern and Central India are concerned. I am accordingly to enquire whether the Society would be willing to take charge of the necessary operations, provided that it were assured of the assistance of Government officials in its investigations. I am at the same time to say that the Government of India are prepared to sanction, for the purposes of the enquiries, an expenditure not exceeding Rs. 2,000 annually for a period of three years.

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Note by Mr. G. A. Grierson, dated 19th March 1891

It has, I believe, been decided to abandon the idea of a linguistic survey of the whole of India, the reason being dearth of officers.

I would ask to be allowed to suggest a much smaller undertaking, which would cost Government little or nothing beyond the cost of printing and postage. It is to make a complete collection of specimens (with translations) of every language and dialect spoken in India.

At present the very number of languages spoken in the Empire is unknown. It has been estimated by some at as few as a hundred and fifty, and by others at two hundred and fifty. A Census is now being taken of the number of inhabitants of India, and it would be useful supplement to hold a Census of the languages they speak, a sort of *Catalogue raisonné*, which would lend its evidence for the solution of the vexed question of the various nationalities to which these inhabitants belong. The evidence of language is not conclusive on this point, but it has its value.

It would be a source of very great pleasure, to me, if I were to be entrusted with the formation of such a catalogue in my leisure hours. I should not want to be put on any special duty for the work. All I should ask for, would be that I should, when necessary, be given a clerk for correspondence and the rougher work of arrangement, etc., and that the Government of India should undertake the printing (p. 68) of the necessary forms, and of the completed work. I may also have to ask the Government of India to assist me, by lending grammars and dictionaries which it may possess. My private library is pretty full but it is not complete, and I may often have to refer to books which it may be beyond my means to purchase, and which are in one of the Government libraries.

It is beyond the power of any one man to make unaided a catalogue such as I suggest, and I should require the assistance of district officials, and in independent territory, of the officers of the Provincial Department, but I trust that the trouble I should give them would not be serious.

My scheme is to send to each district officer a small form to fill up, in which should be entered the name of every language, with its dialects current in his district, and the name of the character in which it is usually written.

With this form will be sent a short standard fable or some such suitable passage for translation into each of these dialects. This fable will be the same for all India, and the translation will be useful for purposes of comparison.

This translation will in all probability be wooden and unidiomatic, and in order to get hold of the genius of the language, another specimen of simple narrative will also be asked for, *e.g.* a deposition in Court, carefully recorded by an intelligent person who understands that he was wanted not to translate the Villager's patois into court language, but to take it down syllable by syllable just as it was spoken.

These specimens would have to be written both in the local and in the Roman character, and the second one would have to be given plenty of time for this. I do not venture to ask to be put on special duty for the purpose, and the collector of a heavy district has little spare time at his command.

To be complete, this collection of specimens should include not only British India, but also Independent States, especially Rajputana, and if possible, Nepal. I should be glad to include Burma in the scope of the inquiries, for Burma links in with the Assam and Chittagong Hill tracts.

It is these Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and Eastern India about which least is known and about which information is most wanted. I am persuaded that once the project is known, many gentlemen will be glad to give me assistance in regard to languages of which I am ignorant.

As the work is completed, I should like to add to the specimens a bibliography of each language. I have been collecting materials for this for years.

When finished, the work will be a first attempt, and will no doubt be imperfect, but I shall spare no pains to make it as accurate as my limited knowledge will permit.

HOME 1895 DEPT.

PUBLIC A.

May—Nos. 330-332

Report by Mr. G. A. Grierson, C. I. E. on the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in September 1894

No. 330

No. 28 Public (Records), dated India Office, London, the 25th April 1895.

From

The Right Honourable HENRY H. FOWLER, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

To

His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

I have received your Excellency's letter, Home Department, Public, No. 13 of the 20th February last, enclosing a copy of a Report by Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., on the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Geneva in September last. The two points which appear of special interest in this report, from an Indian point of view, are the adoption of a universal system of transliteration of oriental languages, which, if adhered to generally, cannot fail to prove of great advantage to students, and the condition of Asoka inscriptions.

2. It is satisfactory to learn that the Trustees of the Indian Museum are making efforts for the preservation of the Asoka inscriptions. I am, however, informed that the Bharhut sculptures in the Museum were recently suffering from the climate of Calcutta, and I shall be glad to learn that measures have also been taken for the arrest of decay in these interesting relics of the past.

3. The importance of taking steps to prevent further deterioration or destruction of ancient monuments, whose historical and linguistic value cannot be overstated, will not, I trust, be lost sight of. I am pleased to hear that it is under consideration to take fac-simile casts of the Asoka inscriptions of India.

4. The thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal have, as requested, been communicated to the President of the Congress for the hospitable reception accorded to Mr. Grierson during his stay at Geneva.

I have, etc.,

HENRY H. FOWLER

No. 331

No. 873, dated Simla, the 31st May 1895.

Endorsement by the Home Department.

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bengal for information, with reference to its letter No. 3798, dated the 16th November 1894.

No. 874 No. 332

Copy forwarded to the Department of Revenue and Agriculture for necessary action.

HOME 1895 DEPT.

PUBLIC A

Proceedings—December

Nos. 159—160

Preparation of a catalogue raisonne of the Languages of India.

NOTES

DIARY NO. 1351

p. 1

From

The Hon. Secy. Asiatic Society, Bengal, No. K-1225 dated the 4th September, 1895.

(Summary of the letter of the Society page 194) H.B.—11th September, 1895

The reply of the Society shows that they are unable to undertake the work on the terms proposed. The proposal to place Dr. Grierson or some other expert on special duty to take charge of the

work and to give him an establishment is very much like the proposal made in Dr. Grierson's demi-official of the 5th February last and which Secretary in his reply of 19th February said could not be agreed to.

J.L.M. 11th September 1895.

Apparently Mr. Grierson must be told to go on without supervision. His work would fill the place of the 'first stage' recommended by the Asiatic Society, should it hereafter prove practicable to go on with the second stage.

12th September 1895 L. M. THORNTON

Secretary

p. 2

No doubt the reply of the Honourable Secretary to the Asiatic Society to a great extent reflects Mr. Grierson's views. But we cannot provide a man for special duty or afford the money, and Mr. Grierson knows that quite well. Meanwhile the delay of the Asiatic Society has led to none of the grant for 1895-96 being spent up-to-date, and we may not be able to get the matter into working order before the next financial year.

I see no alternative but that Mr. Grierson should now undertake the first stage. It seems doubtful whether he can undertake the second stage for all India. Please draft letter to Mr. Grierson for Honourable Member's approval.

14th September 1895 J. P. HEWETT.

Initials approving the draft D.O. to G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.

19th September 1895 L. M. THORNTON

Secretary, J. P. HEWETT.
19th September 1895

Honourable Member, A. M(ACKENZIE).
19th September 1895

No. $\frac{268}{D}$

SIMLA

The 24th September, 1895.

My dear Grierson,

In continuation of my D.O. letter of the 19th February last, I am desired to forward, for your information, a copy of a letter No. K-1225 dated 4th September 1895 from the Honourable Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in which the Society reply to a reference made to them in connection with the proposed scheme for a preliminary linguistic survey or collection of specimens of the languages spoken in India, which was set forth in your note dated the 19th March 1891. The Society express approval of the Scheme; but they stipulate, as a condition of their taking charge of the work relating to Northern and Central India, that there should be second stage, namely, the compilation and editing of the specimens, and that for carrying this out an expert should be specially deputed. It has, however, already been intimated to you that Government of India regret they cannot spare an officer for deputation on this special duty, nor can they promise to provide a larger sum for the project than a grant of Rs. 2,000 a year for three years. (The delay of the Society in replying to the reference which was made to them in February last has led to none of the grant for 1895-96 being utilized up-to-date).

I am now to enquire whether you are still prepared to undertake the work of collecting specimens (with translation) described in your note of the 19th March 1891, which answers to the first stage of the enquiry as sketched by the Asiatic Society. The supervision of the Society would not, we understand, be requisite for the first stage, and the question of prosecution of the second stage would remain over for future consideration. In the event of your agreeing to undertake the work the Government of India will issue instructions to District Officers and Political Agents to give you the needful help, and it would be convenient if you could frame an estimate of the expenditure which will in your opinion be necessary to complete it.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.

HOWRAH

The 9th October 1895.

My dear Hewett,

Your letter No. $\frac{268}{D}$ dated 24th September, 1895, followed me to Mussoorie and then back again here, so that there has been considerable delay in answering it.

I do not think that the Society's proposal has been quite fully understood. The first stage of compilation was to consist merely of a list of *names* of all languages and dialects spoken in Northern India. This list was not to be prepared from existing lists, but from independent returns furnished from each area. It was not intended that this first stage should include the collection of specimens.

This first stage, I am quite, willing to undertake, without being put on special duty, if I am given a competent establishment, probably one or two intelligent clerks would be amply sufficient.

This list, when compiled, would be only a rough one, and of small value as an independent work. It would, however, form a valuable basis on which to commence the second stage.

The cost would be small. I should be quite satisfied if you could lend me from your office two intelligent clerks—one acquainted with Hindi and Urdu and the other with the languages of the Bombay Presidency. I should not require anything like all their time, but at the time of compilation I might perhaps want a third for a few days.

The rest of the expenditure would be merely paper, printing and postage, which I cannot estimate.

I must say after mature consideration that I could not undertake the second stage of compilation without being relieved of a portion of my present official work. My health is not by any means what it was, and, as explained to you on a previous occasion, I have since made literary engagements which demand every moment of my spare time. These engagements I cannot break.

I write this with the greatest regret. I would give almost anything to be able to complete the work, but I cannot undertake a task which, circumstanced as I am at present, I know I cannot carry out satisfactorily.

If you like, I could *collect* the specimens, at the same time that I collected the names of the dialects & languages, but I could not undertake to publish or even arrange them as part of the first stage.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. Grierson

To

J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E.

Diary No. 117-P

In reply to the D.O. dated 24th ultimo, Mr. Grierson states that he is quite willing to undertake the first stage of the linguistic survey, ... (summary of the above letter).
H.B.—16th October 1895.

For orders. This office has no clerks acquainted with Urdu, Hindi and the languages in use in Bombay Presidency.

Through Registrar.

E.T. 16th October 1895

This department could not spare the services of any of its clerks, and we have none in this office with the requisite knowledge of the languages mentioned.

J.L.M. 16th October 1895

It seems quite clear we cannot help Mr. Grierson, but I do not quite see why it should be necessary for the first stage of the work to have men acquainted with the languages, Mr. Grierson specifies. (I may mention that even the Bombay Secretariat certainly could not supply a clerk acquainted with all the Bombay Vernaculars).

17th October 1895.

C.H.A. HILL

Deputy Secretary,

We may, I think, say to Mr. Grierson that it was intended by the letter of 24th September last to accept the proposals contained in his note of 19th March 1891, if he was still willing to carry them out, and that these proposals include the first

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In 1891 Mr. Grierson said that he would 'classify & arrange' the specimens. He now withdraws from this, for the reasons mentioned in his letter, and he cannot press it. His work will still cover more than the Asiatic Society's "first stage".

L. M. THORNTON

stage mentioned by the Asiatic Society, though they are more extensive. The Government will be glad if he can collect the specimens at the same time that he collects the names of the dialects and languages, as proposed in the last paragraph of his present letter. This office could not provide the clerks whom he mentions as required, but probably he could supply his need without difficulty from some other source, since the pay of the clerks, especially if a part only of their time is required, together with the expediture for printing, etc., mentioned by him, would apparently be far below the annual allotment for three years of Rs. 2,000/, which it was said in the D.O. of 24th September, the Government of India were ready to provide. As regards the "second stage" the question of its prosecution must, the Government of India think, remain over for the present. The Government of India will issue the necessary instructions to District Officers & Political Agents to give help in the task undertaken by Mr. Grierson as soon as he lets us know in what form it would be advisable to issue these instructions.

L.M. THORNTON.

20th October 1895

Honourable Member

This may stand over for Secretary to discuss with Mr. Grierson in Calcutta.

A. M(ACKENZIE)

22nd October 1895

Submitted

H.B. 21st November 1895

E.T. 21st November 1895

p. 5

I have written to Mr. Grierson.

J. P. HEWETT

21st November 1895

I have seen Mr. Grierson. He is prepared to undertake the first part of the work. The first thing to do is to ask the Bengal Government to allow him to do so in the direct communication with this Department. Then we must arrange as to the money being made available.

He would also like the Assistance of a Bengali Clerk in this office capable of transliterating. He would go to Mr. Grierson out of office hours and would of course be paid extra..

J. P. HEWETT

2nd December 1895

Note—The Registrar had better suggest a man for this.

6th Dec: 1895 L. M. THORNTON

HOME PUBLIC A

Dec. 1895

Progs No. 159—60

Scheme for a Systematic Survey of the Vernacular languages of India.

No. K. 1225, dated Calcutta, the 4th September 1895

From

G. R. Wilson, Esq. M.A. Honorary Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To

The Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter No. 233, dated 26th February 1895, and subsequent reminders, on the subject of the proposed scheme for a preliminary language Survey of India, asking whether the Asiatic Society will be willing to take charge of the operations.

2. In reply I am directed to say that, in the opinion of the Society, the proposed survey would be a work of the utmost importance and usefulness not only for the advancement of linguistic science, but also for the increased efficiency of the administration.

3. The Society approves of the Scheme proposed by Dr. G. A. Grierson, and would make the following additional suggestions :—The work may be divided into two stages. In the first stage, a form should be circulated to District Officers & Political Agents, in which they should simply be asked to enter the name of every language and dialect spoken in each district or territory. From these returns a rough list could easily be compiled. It would probably be incomplete and inaccurate, but it could be quickly prepared and would form a useful basis on which to work, like the rough lists of villages prepared before commencing census operations. When this list was ready, arrangements could be made for obtaining illustrative specimens of each language from the same sources.

4. The second stage would be the compilation and editing of these specimens. This would

be a very different business from the somewhat mechanical work of preparing the preliminary list, and could only be done by experts specially deputed for the purpose. It would require a very considerable amount of study, and would necessitate the acquisition of the elements of a very large number of languages, which though spoken by few people, are often both linguistically and politically important. Newari, the great Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal may be cited as an example. At present it can only be studied at St. Petersburg. The Russian, French and Bavarian Governments having done for some of the less known dialects what the English might have done long ago.

5. In order, therefore, to give effect to the scheme it is essential that the work should be entrusted to experts, and that one or more selected officers should be placed on special duty for the purpose by the Government of India, with an assurance that all District and Political Officers would be requested to give all necessary information and assistance in carrying out the scheme. The Society is convinced that, unless the expert selected is enabled to devote his whole time to the work, he could not be expected to carry it out satisfactorily.

6. In the opinion of the Society, Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., would be the fittest officer to be placed on special duty incharge of the operations.

7. On the assumption that the proposed linguistic survey will be conducted on these lines, and that a grant will be made for the necessary establishment, I am to say that the society will readily, in order to secure continuity in the event of change of officers (p. 8) undertake the general control and supervision of the work; and with that object, will be glad to place their library at the disposal of the selected officers.

8. I am further to sugest that in this case the results should be printed at the Government Press and appear as publications of the Society.

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prog. 160

No. 1994 dated Simla, the 9th December 1895.

From

J. P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

1. Letter to Hon. Secy. Asiatic Society—No.233, dt. the 26th Feb. 1895.

2. Letter from Hon. Secy. Asiatic Society Bengal. No. K1225, dt. the 4th Sept. 1895.

I am directed to forward, for the information of H. Honour the Lt. Governor, a copy of the papers noted above on the subject of the scheme for a systematic Survey of the vernacular languages of India.

2. It has been ascertained that Mr. G. A. Grierson, Magistrate & Collector of Howrah, is prepared to undertake the preliminary works of collecting specimens of every language & dialect spoken in India, as described in his note of the 19th March 1891, enclosed in the letter to the Honorary Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of the 26th February last. This collection of specimens answers to the first stage of the enquiry as sketched by the Asiatic Society, in its Honorary Secretary's letter of the 4th September 1895.

3. The Government of India will be obliged if Mr. Grierson could be permitted to undertake this work (in addition to his own duties) in direct communication with this Department; and I am accordingly to enquire whether His Honour is willing to allow Mr. Grierson to do so.

HOME DEPT.
PUBLIC A.
Feb. 1896
Nos. 192-196
&
I KW (NP.)

p. 1

NOTES
(Diary No. 10)

Please see part marked in Mr. Grierson's letter of the 9th October 1895 (at page 3 of the K.W. to the Prog. of December 1895). The only clerk in the office who knows Urdu and Hindi—the former language somewhat indifferently—is Babu Gouri Kant Roy. He lives a great distance from Howrah, and doubts whether he will be able to undertake the extra duty, but will see Mr. Grierson in the matter.

J.L.M.—8th January 1896.
9th Jan. 1896.

L. M. THORNTON

Secretary—

Please ask him to see Mr. Grierson.

We have now—

(i) to ask Local Governments and Political Officers (Agents) to let Mr. Grierson correspond with their subordinates;

(ii) to give Mr. Grierson a complete list of District Officers and Political Officers in the areas with regard to which his enquiry is to proceed; and

(iii) to arrange about the money being placed at his disposal.

(i) & (ii) should be carried out at once, and suggestion made is to (iii).

J. P. HEWETT.

10th January 1896

It is understood that the enquiry is at first to be confined to the Provinces in the Bengal Presidency, Berar, Rajputana and Central India. Drafts have been put up accordingly. As to (iii) the suggestions have been put up in the shape of a draft memorandum to Finance Department which that Department should see before issue.

J.L.M. 18th January 1896.

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p. 2

CALCUTTA
The 5th February 1896

MY DEAR SIR,

In connection with the proposed scheme for a systematic Survey of the Vernacular languages of India, will you kindly say whether you intend that the preliminary enquiry should also extend to the languages and dialects spoken in the Bombay Presidency?

We are at present addressing local Governments and Administrations in the Bengal Presidency only and the Resident at Hyderabad; and are asking the Foreign Department to request the Agents to the Governor General for Central India and in Rajputana and the Chief Commissioner of Ajmere-Merwara to afford you the necessary help. A copy of the orders is being officially communicated to you.

Yours truely,
L. M. THORNTON.

To

G. A. GRIERSON Esq. C.I.E.
Magistrate & Collector, Howrah.

HOWRAH
The 7th February 1896.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your D.O. of the 5th instant, I have the honour to say that I do intend the preliminary enquiry to extend to the languages and dialects spoken in the Bombay Presidency. I think you are addressing the local Governments and await a copy of the orders referred to in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON,
Magistrate.

To

L. M. THORNTON, Esq.,
Home Department, India

HOWRAH
The 20th February 1896.

p. 3

DEAR MR. THORNTON,

I have to thank you for sending me copies of your letters to the various Governments and to the Foreign Department regarding the survey of the languages.

I see that the letter to the Foreign Department does not refer to Nepal. I presume that there is no objection to the survey extending to Nepal, and if so, I should be obliged by your making the necessary communication to the Foreign Department.

Yours faithfully,
G. A. GRIERSON,

To

L M. THORNTON, Esq.,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

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p. 4

CALCUTTA

The 5th March 1896

DEAR MR. GRIERSON,

In reply to your d.o. note of the 20th ultimo, I am desired to say that the necessary action has now been taken by the Foreign Department with a view to your enquiries in connection with the survey of the vernacular languages of India *being* extended to Nepal.

Yours faithfully,
L. M. THORNTON,
Deputy Secretary to the
Government of India.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E.,
Magistrate & Collector, Howrah.

Prog. No. 192
p. 5

Scheme for systematic Survey of the Vernacular languages of India

No. 16, dated, Calcutta, the 3rd January, 1896.

From

C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General (Misc.), Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India.

In reply to your letter No. 1994, dated the 9th December 1895, I am directed to say that the Lt. Governor has no objection to Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Magistrate & Collector of Howrah, undertaking, in addition to his own duties and in direct communication with the Home Department, the work of collecting specimens of every language and dialect spoken in India in connection with the Scheme for the survey of the vernacular languages of India.

Prog. No. 193

No. 3 Public / 223-227 / 1896 dated Calcutta, the 5th February, 1896

From

L. M. THORNTON, Esq. Deputy Secretary, to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of the N.W.P. & Oudh.
The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.
The Chief Commissioner of the C.P.
The Chief Commissioner of Assam.
The Resident at Hyderabad.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter* I am directed to forward for the information of H. H. the Lt. Governor (& Chief Commissioner) your information a copy of the papers marginally noted** on the subject of the proposed scheme for a systematic Survey of the vernacular languages of India, and to say that the Government of India have now decided that as a preliminary step towards attaining this object, a list of the names of all languages and dialects spoken in Northern India, together with specimens of them, should be collected. Mr. Grierson, C.I.E., Magistrate and Collector of Howrah, has consented to undertake this work, and I am to request that [with the permission of H.H. the Lt. Governor (and Chief Commissioner)] instructions may be issued to District officers to correspond direct with Mr. Grierson, who has been authorised to address them direct in pursuance of the object in view. I am further to request that Mr. Grierson may be furnished with a complete list of the District Officers in the N.W. Provinces & Oudh.

*N. W. P.& Oudh —No. 2301-III, 295-A, dt. the 21 Nov. 1889.
Punjab—No. 117, dt. the 10th April 1889.
C. P.—No. 4941-237, dt. the 16th Aug 1889.
Assam—No. 2577, dt. the 25th April 1889.
Hyderabad—No. 409G, dt. the 5th Nov. 1889.

**Letter to the Hon. Secy. to the A. S. B. No. 233, dt. the 26th Feb. 1895 and enclosure. Letter from the Hon. Secy. to the A. S. B. No. K. 1225, dt. the 4th Sept. 1895.

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the Punjab etc.

No. 3 Public / 228

Copy forwarded to the Foreign Department with reference to the communication noted in the margin*, and with a request that similar instructions may be issued to the Agents to the Governor General for Central India and in Rajputana and to the Chief Commissioner of Ajmere & Merwara with a view to the necessary help being afforded to Mr. Grierson.

*Foreign Deptt. endorsement No. 4111-I, dt. the 22nd Oct. 1889.

Foreign Deptt. endorsement No. 2339-I, dt. the 15th July 1890.

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p. 6
No. 194

No. 3 Public, / 220 dated Calcutta, the 5th February 1896

From

L. M. THORNTON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General (Misc.) Deptt.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 16, dated the 3rd Ultimo, I am directed to forward, for the information of H.H. the Lt. Governor, a copy of a letter of this day addressed to certain Local Governments and Administrations, asking them to instruct their District Officers to correspond direct with Mr. Grierson in matters connected with his special duty of compiling a list of the names of all languages and dialects spoken in North India and collecting specimens thereof. I am to request that with the permission of H.H., Mr. Grierson may be furnished with a complete list of the District Officers in Bengal with whom he may correspond direct in the matter.

Prog. No. 195

Office Memorandum No. 3 Public, / 230 dated Calcutta the 5th February, 1896.

The undersigned is directed to forward, for the information of the Department of Finance & Commerce, a copy of the papers marginally noted*. on the subject of the scheme for a systematic survey of the vernacular languages in India, and to request that the necessary arrangements may be made for placing at the disposal of Mr. G. A. Grierson, Magistrate & Collector of Howrah a grant of Rs. 2,000 a year for three years to enable him to carry out the preliminary stage of the enquiry which has been entrusted to him.

*Letter to certain Govts. & Admns. No. 3 Public/223-27 dt. 5th Feb. 1896.

*Letter from the Govt. of Bengal No. 16, dt. the 3rd Jan. 1896 & connected papers.

The undersigned is at the same time to request that Mr. Grierson may be instructed as to the manner in which the grant to be placed at his disposal should be accounted for.

L. M. THORNTON,
Deputy Secretary to the
Government of India.

To

The Department of Finance & Commerce

No. 3 Public / 231

Copy, with copy of letter to Local Governments & Administrations of this date, forwarded to Mr. Grierson for information & guidance.

No. 196

No. 276, dated Calcutta, the 11th February 1896

From

L. M. THORNTON, Esq. Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1759, dated the 9th September 1889, I am directed to forward for the information of H.E. the Governor in Council a copy of papers marginally noted, on the subject of the proposed scheme

Letter to the Hon. Secy. to ASB. No. 233 dt. the 26th Feb. 1895 & enclosure.

Letter from Hon. Secy. to the ASB. No. K-1225 dt. 4th Sept. 1895.

for a systematic survey of the vernacular languages of India; and to say that (p. 7) the Government of India have now decided that as a preliminary step towards attaining this object, a list of names of all languages & dialects spoken in Northern India and the Bombay Presidency, together with specimens of them, should be collected.

2. Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Magistrate & Collector of Howrah, has consented to undertake this work, and I am to request that with the permission of H.E. in Council, instructions may be issued to District & Political Officers to correspond direct with Mr. Grierson, who has been authorised to address them direct in pursuance of the object in view. I am further to request that Mr. Grierson may be furnished with a complete list of the District & Political Officers in the Bombay Presidency.

No. 277

Copy forwarded to Mr. Grierson for information in continuation of endorsement No. 231, dated the 5th instant.

K.W. Public A. (Home), July 1896. 192/196,
Survey of Vernacular languages of India.

BANKIPUR
10th June, 1896.

MY DEAR HEWETT,

I am again going to trouble you about myself, partly for my own sake, and partly for that of Government.

I have offered to make the first rough list of languages for the Linguistic Survey in my spare time. The returns are coming in and, as a rule, are very satisfactory.

I also said, I would *collect* the Sample of each dialect, in my spare time. All preliminaries are arranged, and directly I hear that the adopted version of the Prodigal Son may be used, I shall take action. Till then I am waiting on my oars.

I, however, distinctly said that I could not venture to edit and arrange these specimens unless I was put on special duty to do so. It is a work which will require travelling about, and every moment that can be got besides.

Now, I am situated as follows. I have been told that, if all goes well, I am to be appointed Opium Agent of Bihar from say, the 11th of next October.

Also, if all goes well, I should get in most of my specimens by about the same time.

Then comes the question as to whether they are to be edited or not by me; or, in other words, whether I am to be put on special duty or not.

If I am, then my setting up house here in October will be a needless expense. Moreover, it is very plain that it would be highly inconvenient to the Bengal Government to appoint me Opium Agent, and then, soon after, to lose my services and have to appoint some one else. Administration would suffer.

I should therefore be much obliged if you could kindly tell me what the probabilities are. If there is any reasonable prospect of my being put on special duty, I should be glad to be spared spending two or three thousand rupees in setting down here.

If there is no prospect, I am quite prepared to accept the situation, but then I shall be unable to edit the specimen, and I hardly see what is the use of collecting them, except that the present is a good opportunity for doing so.

If, again, I have to travel about on special duty, I should personally much prefer to do it in the cold weather.

p. 2

I believe I am not unreasonable in asking for an early decision on this point, and am perhaps the more entitled, because I believe that there are few people in India who have so willingly devoted much of what would ordinarily have been their spare time to doing literary work of various kinds for Government without asking for any fee or reward.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON.

In his note of the 19th March, 1891, regarding the survey of the vernacular languages in India, Mr. Grierson wrote that it would be a source of very great pleasure to me, if I were to be entrusted with the formation of such a catalogue in my

leisure hours. I should not want to be put on any special duty for the work. His scheme for making a collection of specimens of every language & dialect spoken in India was to send each district officer a form in which should be entered the name of every language, with its dialect current in his district & the name of the character in which it was usually written, and to send with this form a Short Standard fable for translation into each of these dialects and to ask for another specimen of simple narrative. He undertook to classify and arrange these returns, and again remarked, "I would ask to be given plenty of time for this. I do not venture to ask to be put on special duty for the purpose & the Collector of a heavy district has little spare time at his command."

In this Department Letter of the 26th February 1895, the Asiatic Society was consulted as to best means of undertaking the enquiry and whether it would be willing to take charge of the operations. The Society approved of Mr. Grierson's scheme and suggested that the work should be divided into two stages. In the first stage, a form should be circulated to district officers and Political Agents in which they should simply be asked to enter the name of every language and dialect. On completion of this list arrangements could be made for obtaining illustrative specimens of each language from the same sources. The second stage would be the compilation and editing of these specimens. This work, the Society observed, would be a very different business from the somewhat mechanical work of preparing the (p. 3) preliminary list and could only be done by experts specially deputed for the purpose. In the opinion of the Society, Dr. Grierson was the fittest person to be placed on special duty in charge of the operations. The Secretary observed that the reply of the Society to a great extent reflects Mr. Grierson's views. In the Secretary's d.o. of the 21st September last, Mr. Grierson was informed that as had "already been intimated to you the Government of India regret that they cannot spare an officer for deputation on special duty, nor can they promise to provide a larger sum for the project than a grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum for 3 years." Mr. Grierson replied that the proposal made by the Society had not been quite fully understood, that the first stage of the compilation was to consist merely of a list of the names of all languages and dialects spoken in Northern India, and that it was not intended that the first stage should include the collection of specimens. The first stage he was quite willing to undertake without being placed on special duty, if he was given a competent estt. This list would form a valuable basis on which to commence the second stage. Mr. Grierson added that he would not be able to undertake the second stage without being relieved of a portion of his present official work.

Mr. Grierson now enquires whether if the specimens are to be edited and arranged by him, there is any reasonable prospect of his being put on special duty. From the Deputy Secretary's note of the 20th October, and the Secretary's note of the 2nd December last it seems clear that it was intended to complete the first stage only, the second stage being allowed to remain for the present.

For Orders—

G.K.R.—16th June 1896

J.L.M.—16th June 1896

The above was, I believe, the intention. There is no reason why should not get so much done as Mr. Grierson is willing to do. But it was never contemplated to detach him from the duties of the Opium Agent (on, I presume, equivalent pay). Possibly when he is assured that there is no proposal to place him on special duty he may find the time to advance the work further than he now thinks possible. The work of the Ghazipur Opium Agency certainly would not preclude the incumbent from all other occupations.

17th June 1896

L. M. THORNTON

Secretary.

We never contemplated putting Mr. Grierson on Special duty. The A.S. was informed in our letter of 26th February 1895, that the expenditure could not exceed Rs. 2,000 for three years, Bengal is badly off for senior officers and could not be asked to spare Mr. Grierson. I expect that Mr. Grierson would have, as Agent at Patna, time to advance the work, and that his desire to see it done will induce him to do so.

21st June 1896

Honourable Member — J.P. HEWETT

23rd June 1896 — J. W. [OODBURN]

No. 176-D.

SIMLA
The 26th June 1896

MY DEAR GRIERSON,

In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, I am desired to say that it was not contemplated by the Government of India that you should be placed on Special duty for the purpose of editing and arranging the specimens of Indian languages and dialects which are being collected in connection with the scheme for the Linguistic Survey. I am to invite attention to my d.o. letters dated the 19h February & 24th September, 1895, which stated that the Government of India were only prepared to sanction, for the purposes of enquiry, an expenditure not exceeding Rs. 2,000 annually for a period of three years. The Government of Bengal has not at present many Senior Officers under it and the Government of India could not, even were there no financial difficulties in the way, ask the Lieutenant Governor to spare your services for employment on Special duty.

In these circumstances, I am sorry to say that there is no proposal of your being placed on Special duty. The Government of India cannot therefore ask you to do more than complete the first stage of the enquiry, unless, as Opium Agent at Patna, you find you have time to advance the work further than you now think possible.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E.
BANKIPUR.

HOME 1896 DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC A

Progs. March.—Nos. 128 to 129

Scheme for the survey of the Vernacular languages of India.

p. 3
Prog. 128

No. A, 968 dated, Calcutta, the 29th February 1896

From

R. NATHAN, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, Finance & Commerce Department.

To

The Comptroller, India Treasuries.

1. Note by Mr. G. A. Grierson, dt. 19th March 1891.

2. Letter from the Govt. of Bengal, No. 16, dt. the 3rd Jan. 1896.

3. Letter in Home Deptt., No. 3 Public,/223-27 dt. 5th Feb. 1896.

4. Office memorandum from the Home Deptt. No. 3 Public/230 dt. 5th Feb. 1896.

I am directed to forward a copy of the above noted papers, and to request that you will place at the disposal of Mr. G. A. Grierson, Magistrate & Collector of Howrah, a sum of Rs. 2,000 (two thousand) during the year 1896-97 for the purposes of his enquiry in connection with scheme for the survey of the vernacular languages of India.

2. I am also to request that you will issue the necessary instructions to Mr. Grierson as to the accounts he should render of the sum placed at his disposal.

Ordered, that copy be forwarded to the Home Department, with reference to the Office Memorandum from that Department No. 3 Public, 230 dated the 5th Feb. 1896.

R. NATHAN,
Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India.
Finance & Commerce Department.

Prog. 129.

No. 495, dated Calcutta, the 11th March 1896

Endorsement by the Home Deptt.

Copy forwarded to Mr. Grierson for information in continuation of the endorsement from this Department No. 231, dated the 5th ultimo.

1896

No. 199-219

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

Internal B.

Progs. June 1896—Nos. 300-303 (12 pp. with one K.W.)

Circular addressed by G. A. Grierson Esq., on Special Duty, to certain Political Officers, regarding the Survey of the Vernacular Languages of India.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY

No. 233

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., On Special Duty.

To

The Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Dated Simla, the 1st June 1896

p. 1

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks, the receipt of your letter No. 1616—I, dated the 18th ultimo forwarding a list of the Political Officers holding the more important appointments in Central India, Rajputana, Ajmere-Merwara and Nepal. A copy of the Circular which I have addressed to the Officers referred to is enclosed for your information.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Geo. A. Grierson

On Special Duty

p. 5

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., On Special Duty.

To

Political Officers

Simla the 19th May 1896.

Sir,

You have no doubt been informed by the Government of India that I have been entrusted with the compilation of a survey of the languages spoken in the greater part of India, and that I have been authorised to trespass on your time by asking for your assistance. I trust that you will not find that I am imposing an excessive burden upon you, and I shall endeavour to give you as little trouble as possible.

2. I shall have to ask your assistance in two stages of the survey. The first stage will consist in making a rough preliminary catalogue of all the names by which every form of speech used in the area under survey is known. The second stage will consist in collecting specimens of all the various forms of speech so catalogued; and of revising the first rough catalogue by the help of these specimens.

3. It is evident that I must depend almost entirely on your help for the completeness of the catalogue, the preparation of which forms the first stage of the enquiry. I shall have to ask you to be kind enough to help me in the collection of specimens, as soon as I have completed the first stage.

4. At present I only ask you to have the accompanying form filled up for me by some intelligent person well acquainted with the local modes of speech in the area under your charge. The object is to learn what natives of India call the languages which they themselves speak. A set of instructions accompanies the form which will, I hope, assist in filling it up. I may be permitted to make the following additional remarks.

5. I hope that it will be clearly understood that the names which I want entered are the names of the genuine local dialects. In some parts of India people are more or less bilingual. A

man will speak one language in his own house, and among his familiar friends, and another language, a kind of court language, when talking in the city bazars, in a public court, or to a superior. It is the former language which I wish to have recorded. The other may be recorded too, provided its use is carefully stated, but the important one is the home-language, spoken in the country away from cities. To take a concrete example:— In Allahabad, for instance, the language spoken in the Courts, in the bazars, and to European gentlemen is no doubt Hindustani, but the language (or languages) of the surrounding districts differs widely from Hindustani. According to one excellent authority no less than six different dialects are current in that single form. Hindustani should only be entered if it is the *home-language* of any particular class or group of people, *e.g.*, of the Musalman population of any town or tract.

6. I am aware that linguistic conditions vary greatly in different parts of India, and that the above remarks will not be universally applicable. In some localities the languages may vary every few miles, and in others a whole area, embracing several districts may have one language, without dialects, and practically the same as what is popularly known as the standard language, Marathi, Bengali, or what not, of the country. It is to find out the facts as regards this that the survey is being held, for which the rough lists, locally prepared, will be basis.

p. 6

7. I would ask your attention to the last paragraph of the instructions accompanying the form. There must be numbers of short notes on local dialects, published in Settlement Reports, Census Reports, Journals of learned Societies, or as separate books or pamphlets. These are all probably well known in the localities to which they refer, I should be greatly obliged if a reference to them is made, either in the column of remarks, or at the foot of the form.

8. Instructions regarding the collection of specimens will follow in due course.

9. I shall be obliged by your having filled up and forwarded to me at your early convenience.

10. The address to which they should be forwarded is c/o. Registrar, Home Department, Simla.

11. My private address will be Bankipore (Patna).

It will save time if any inquiries on doubtful points are sent to my *private* address,

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

G. A. GRIERSON,

O.S.D.

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p. 7

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING UP THIS FORM

Column 1

In the first column should be clearly written, both in the Vernacular & in the Roman character every local name of *every* local dialect spoken in the district or other tract to which the return refers. What is wanted is the name by which it is locally known. If the same dialect is known locally by two or more names they shall all be given. For example, the Maithili dialect is locally known in Muzaffarpur district either as Maithili or as Tirhutiya. Both these names are locally used. Hence both names should be entered in Column I, thus *Maithili* or *Tirhutiyá*. Again the Multani dialect is sometimes called Jatki and sometimes Hindki. If all these terms are used in any district, they should all be given in Column I. If, besides the names locally used, any other names, used elsewhere, happen to be known to the compiler of the form, they can be entered with advantage, in the Column of remarks. Only local names should be entered in Column I.

p. 8

It is of course to be understood that by every local dialect spoken in the district or other tract to which the return refers, it is not meant that Column No. I should contain names of languages spoken by foreigners temporarily residing in local area, such as English for instance. But it does include the language or dialect of foreigners domiciled in the local area, such, for instance, as the language of the Portuguese settled in Salselte.

If the local dialect has no special name, but is called locally by any well known general term, such as for instance, Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati or Marathi, then that name should be entered in

Column I. But care should be taken to ascertain whether any other local name is used as well.

The object of Column I is to obtain materials for compiling a list of the local name or names or every language and dialect spoken in Northern India. Even if the standard or book form of any language is locally spoken any where, that fact should be recorded in Column I, the local name used being there inserted.

Column 2

The object of Column 2 is to obtain assistance in roughly classifying the materials given in Column I. Scientific accuracy is not asked for or expected, ——— all that is wanted is the popular classification. For instance it will be quite sufficient to class Multani, as a dialect of Panjabi, if that is the locally accepted classification. Again if the local dialect spoken anywhere in Oudh is locally considered to be a dialect of Hindi, or if any form of Konkani is locally considered a dialect of Marathi, it will be sufficient to enter Hindi or Marathi, respectively, in Column 2. What is wanted, is to know what intelligent people of the locality think about their own language. If the local classification is known to be wrong, this fact may, if thought fit, be entered in the Column of remarks.

It may be that the name entered in Column I is that of some standard language, Marathi for instance. That is no reason for not entering the name Marathi also in the second column. The entry in the second column should not be omitted, because it merely repeats what is written in the first column.

Column 3

It is of course to be understood that no language census is asked for. Very often the local census returns can give the information. If this is not the case, local officers can give approximate figures, or at least, a fairly accurate guess. In the last case, the fact that the figures are a guess should be stated in the Column of remarks.

Column 4

This is the column of Remarks, and has been referred to above more than once. One other use for this column may be suggested. If any special dialect is peculiar to any special class or tribe of people, or to any particular local area, such as the north, south, east, west, or centre of the district to which the return refers, the fact should be mentioned in this Column.

It is requested also, that, either in the column of Remarks or at the foot of any form may be entered the names of any books, pamphlets or essays describing the local dialects enumerated, with the names of the authors, and if known, of publishers.

———

No.

Name of District, or other local area _____

,, Province or State _____

Local name of the dialect or form of speech. To be written in the local Vernacular character and in the Roman character.	Name of language of which it is a dialect, if known. To be written in the Roman character.	Approximate number of persons speaking the dialect in the locality to which the return refers.	REMARKS.
1	2	3	4

Signature of

SIMLA RECORDS 1

HOME—1897—Public A.

Prog. May

No. 303-312

Expenditure in connection with the Scheme for the Survey of Vernacular Languages in India.

K.W. No. II

CAMP HAZARIBAGH

The 24th Feb. 1897

MY DEAR HEWETT,

Your No. 167 of the 12th instant & my reply No. 22 of this day's date.

I have found some difficulty in forming a definite estimate required by the Government of India. I have forwarded only an approximate estimate. I may, however, explain that the cost of my establishment for the current year has been as follows :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
A Clerk @ Rs. 30 a month, from March 1896 to March 1897	390	0	0
Another Clerk @ Rs. 25 a month, from the middle of Sept. 1896 to March 1897	161	10	8
A temporary peon for about a month	5	9	9
Allowance given to duftary about a month	4	0	0
Total	561	4	5

2. My present establishment consists of only two clerks at a total cost of Rs. 25 per mensem. Having regard to the fact that the correspondence work has been heavier than it was anticipated, the number of communications issued and received during the nine months ending the 31st December 1896 having not been less than 500 each. Besides this the temporary clerk on Rs. 25 is hereby employed in indexing, tabulating, and calculating census figures. He will be dispensed with when I go on furlough but as I hope to carry on the work at home, some temporary help will be needed there. Besides there are odd items of expenditure in the way of fees to people who have rendered me assistance in the case of out-of-the-way languages. I do not pretend to be omniscient, and I must now and then get expert help, which must sometimes be paid for. This establishment is barely sufficient to carry on the routine part of the work. Assuming that the present establishment will continue on their present pay the maximum cost of the clerical establishment will be Rs. 660 per annum, but to provide against any additional expenditure that may be rendered necessary by an increase in the amount of clerical labour I have estimated the cost at Rs. 1,000.

3. The cost of the books purchased up-to-date amounts to Rs. 142 ..... I think a sum of Rs. 200 a year will be sufficient for this purpose.

4. The important part of the work devolves on me personally, and takes every moment of my leisure that the state of my eyes permits. It is to be understood that it is at present only in its preliminary stage, in which it is comparatively light.

5. I do not know the object with which the Government of India desire to be furnished with the information they have asked. But if it is proposed to now restrict my particular items of expenditure in addition to the restriction already imposed that the expense should not exceed Rs. 2,000 a year for three years, I may be permitted to say without any corresponding advantage it will hamper me in more ways than one in carrying through the scheme in which, as you are aware, I take a great deal of interest, and which I do as economically as I possibly can.

Yours sincerely,

G. A. GRIERSON

To

J. P. HEWETT.

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p. 15
Prog. No. 303

No. 12, dated Calcutta the 23rd January 1897.

Letter from Grierson to the Secretary to Government of India regarding expenditure and Budget.

Some minor points

No. 304

No. 542—the 22nd December 1896

From Grierson to Comptroller of India Treasuries.

Regarding expenditure & Budget, Contingency & Office establishment etc.

No. 305

No. $\frac{PA}{364}$ dated, 15th January 1897

Comptroller to Grierson.

expenditure—audit etc.

No. 306

No. 14, dated Calcutta, the 23rd January 1897.

From

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India.

With reference to your endorsement No. 495, dated the 11th March 1896, I have the honour to request that a sum of Rs. 2,000 (two thousand) may be placed at my disposal for conducting the work in connection with the scheme for the survey of vernacular languages in India during the year 1897-98.

No. 307

No. 167, dated Calcutta, the 12th February 1897

From

J. P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India.

p. 17

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. on special duty, Linguistic Survey.

With reference to your letter No. 12, dated the 23rd ultimo, I am directed to say that, before passing orders on the points referred, the Government of India desire to be furnished with as definite an estimate as possible to the maximum annual expenditure which will be incurred each year on account of (1) the entertainment of temporary establishment, and (2) the purchase of books required in connection with the Linguistic Survey.

No. 308

No. 22, dated Bankipore, the 24th February 1897.

From

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special duty, Linguistic Survey.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India.

With reference to your letter No. 167, dated the 12th instant, I have the honour to state that so far as can at present be foreseen the maximum expenditure on account of my temporary establishment and the purchase of books required in connection with the Linguistic Survey will be Rs. 1,200 per annum, *viz.*:—

		Rs.
Establishment	.. ..	1,000
Books	.. ..	200
	Total	1,200

No. 309

From

J. P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

No. 12 dated the 23rd Jan. 1897; No. 22, dt. 24th Feb. 1897.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters noted above regarding certain items of expenditure in conection with the Linguistic Survey held under objection by the Comptroller, India Treasuries.

2. In reply I am to say that the Governor General in Council authorises you to entertain temporary establishment and to purchase books required in connection with your enquiry within the maximum yearly cost estimated by you, *viz.*, R 1,000 and R 200, respectively, on the understanding that your total annual expenditure must not exceed the annual grant of Rs. 2,000.

No. 310

No. 364

Copy forwarded to the Finance and Commerce Department for information.

***3. I am to add that the grant to you of a permanent advance of R 100 instead of R 250 as proposed is also sanctioned, as also item No. (2) in paragraph 1 of your letter of the 23rd January 1897.

SIMLA RECORDS 5

HOME—1898—DEPARTMENT

Public A

March. No. 120—& 1. K.W. (N.P.)

..

.. ---

Deputation of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., on Special Duty, for a period of two years in connection with the Survey of Vernacular Languages in India.

Bankipur

The 4th December 1897

p. 5

MY DEAR HEWETT,

I hope to be in Calcutta at the end of this month, and, in the meantime, I write to you to report the progress made in the Linguistic Survey, and explain to you what the next steps are to be.

I send herewith* three copies of the rough list for the Lower Provinces of Bengal. They have been prepared with care from the local returns. The note at the beginning of each copy will explain exactly its value. I hope you will understand that, as explained therein, the list is a rough one, and cannot have any pretensions to accuracy till it is corrected with the aid of the translated specimens, the collection and editing of which will form the second part of the survey. It should not now be published with the imprimatur of the Government of India. I can say this with the greater certainty, because some of the specimens already received from the Lower Provinces are full of surprises. As an example, I may mention that the language of a hunting tribe in Midnapur which has hitherto been described as probably akin to Santali, and, as such, has been entered in the rough list, turns out, on examination to be a dialect of Gujarati. This illustrates the interesting ethnological questions which will be raised by the completed survey. Briefly, the rough lists, when complete, will illustrate our existing knowledge, and, as such, will be of small value. The survey, when complete, will represent a great advance upon existing knowledge, and will be valuable.

*In a separate Parcel

The rough lists for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and for the Central Provinces are also complete. They are being printed as fast as I can get them through the press. The rough list for the Punjab is nearly complete, only awaiting a few references made to District Officers, and is being prepared for the printer. There remain the rough lists for Rajputana and Bombay. I hope to have these in the press by the end of February. I may remark here that the correction for the press is very laborious work, and much of it must be done by me personally.

You have already received my sample collection of translations of the parable of the Prodigal Son. It is entitled "Specimen Translations into various Indian Languages." I took the opportunity of exhibiting at the late Oriental Congress at Paris. It has been noticed in the "Athenaeum" in flattering terms, and I beg to enclose a few copies of a reprint of the notice. I also enclose a cutting from the last number of the "Weekly Times" in which the subject of the survey is dealt with at some length. I send these, in order to show what European scholars think of the scheme.

At the Oriental Congress, I read, in my private capacity, and not as a delegate of the Government of India, a short paper describing the scheme, and how far it had progressed. A few copies of it are enclosed for your information. To it is appended the resolution passed by the

Congress. The article in the Times has evidently been based on the paper as read. I may add that the scholars present at the Congress exhibited the greatest interest in the scheme.

As regards the second portion of the scheme, the greater portion of the specimens have come in from the Lower Provinces. I have them with me, carefully arranged, but it is impossible for me to attempt to edit them. It will be a most labourious work, and would occupy all my time alone. Calls for specimens will issue in the course of the next few days to the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and to the Central Provinces, and those for the Punjab will follow at an early date.

Regarding the future progress of the survey, I shall consult you when we meet in Calcutta. In the meantime, I would ask leave to (p. 6) lay the following matters before the Government of India for its consideration. I do not think that it can be said that I have ever tried to make money out of any linguistic knowledge which I am fortunate enough to possess. In fact, I think that I am entitled to say that the reverse is the case. I have edited the Satsaiya for Government, without ever dreaming of asking to be paid for it once the work was undertaken. You know the result. It will be sufficient to refer you to the letter of the American Oriental Society, a copy of which you were good enough to send me. The only thing that I gained from it was that my eyes broke down. The present survey has been similarly conducted by me without receiving any pay. It has been done entirely in my spare time. I write all this, not to claim any credit, but to show that I am ready and have will to do scientific work for Government in my spare time, as long as it is of such a nature that it can be so done without detriment to my more legitimate work. The carrying out of the second portion of the survey is not of such a nature. It must, to be brought to a successful completion, absorb the whole time of the officer whose duty it is to carry it out. Hence, if it is the wish of Government that I should carry it out, I can only undertake to do so on that understanding. As regards myself, putting scientific knowledge, a point which I am naturally debarred from discussing, to one side, I believe that I could complete it more satisfactorily and quickly than most officers, for I have gained a considerable "connection" amongst local scholars all over India, with whom I am on friendly terms, and who would be ready to aid me at any critical point. I know that I am, at my present position in the service, an expensive person to employ, and I regret that I cannot give up my present post, and do the work for nothing as "Honorary Philologist to the Government of India", as hinted in the Pioneer of a day or two ago, but I am anxious to see the work done, and am ready to make pecuniary sacrifices in the cause of science, if they are necessary. The details regarding this we can discuss in Calcutta, but at present, I must tell you some facts which limit my action.

These are:—

(1) I shall have completed my 21 years active service next April, and my 25 years total service in October.

(2) For reasons on which it is unnecessary to enlarge here, but which are peremptory, I cannot stay another hot weather in the plains.

Under these circumstances, if it were not that I was anxious to see the survey through, I should obviously take furlough next April preparatory to retiring. If I am to go on with the survey I could take furlough and go to Simla, where I could do the work on such additional allowances as might be settled. In due course, I could retire, but would still go on with the work on the same terms. It is manifest that I could not do this merely on my furlough allowance or on my pension, for living in Simla is much more expensive than living in England, as I should live. You will see that, under any circumstances, I must draw my furlough pay and my pension, so that the survey would only cost the extra-allowance paid, and any other necessary charges for office, travelling, and the like. If there is any chance of the survey being continued, we can discuss the details in Calcutta. I have merely given you the main heads of my suggestion, so that you should not be taken by surprise.

I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr. Rivaz, but I can say that Sir John Woodburn promised to help forward the survey to the best of his power.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON.

To

J. P. HEWTTT, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Diary No. 223-P.

D.O. from G. A. Grierson, Esq., dated the 4th December, 1897.

Put up soon.

J. P. HEWETT.

No. 380 D.

CALCUTTA

The 14th December 1897.

p. 10

My Dear Grierson,

I have received you letter of December 4th, and shall be glad to see you and talk the question of the Linguistic (p. 11) Survey over when you come to Calcutta. I need only here say that personally I think the work you have done has been most admirably carried out, and that I should be very glad myself if we could arrange to have the Linguistic Survey taken up by you.

Yours sincerely,

J. P. HEWETT.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.,

Opium Agent, Bankipur.

BANKIPUR

The 17th January 1898.

My Dear Hewett,

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have this day written to Bolton. It is for your information.

Yours sincerely.

G. A. GRIERSON.

To

J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Secretary to the Government of India.

BANKIPUR

The 17th January 1898.

My dear Bolton,

I told you when I was in Calcutta last that I contemplated taking leave at the end of March preparing either to retiring, or to going on special duty on the Linguistic Survey.

I now write to tell you that I have been in communication with the Comptroller of India Treasuries, and he informs me that my twenty-one years' active service will expire on the 30th March next, and my twenty-five years' total service on the 6th July next. I therefore intend to apply for furlough from the 1st of April next or thereabouts. I have written to the Accountant General to find out how much furlough will then be due to me, and as soon as I know I shall send on a formal application for all the leave I can get. I am obliged to speak in this indefinite way, because I do not yet know what are the intentions of the Government of India. I write now to let you know what I shall probably be doing, and to ask you to be kind enough to note the fact that I am going to apply for furlough, so that, when my formal application arrives, there may be no difficulty about getting it.

Possibly a five-minute conversation with Hewett would relieve you of any uncertainty as to what is to become of me. The Government of India may decide simply to put me on special duty, and, in that case, I should not want to go on furlough at all, and you may assume that, in that case, my present intentions are to retire as soon as my special duty is finished. I believe that you would prefer that, instead of my going on furlough, I should be seconded in my present appointment, so that my successor should draw the full pay of the post. That, at least, is what I understood from our conversation. If I am to do the Linguistic Survey while I am on furlough, this might be accomplished transferring my services to the Government of India the day before I go on furlough. I do not know if this could be done, and I only suggest it, as it is my desire to put Government to as little inconvenience as possible. In these matters of detail, I put myself entirely in your hands, and shall act just as you and Hewett may decide.

Yours sincerely,

G. A. GRIERSON.

To

The Honourable C. W. Bolton.

P.S.—I am sending a copy of this to Hewett.

Diary No. 14 P

D.O. from G. A Grierson, C.I.E., dated the 17th January, 1898.

No. 42-D

p. 12

CALCUTTA
The 3rd February 1898.

My dear Grierson,

The Government of India have had under consideration the proposal made in your letter of 4th December last regarding the completion of the Linguistic Survey by you. They do not, I am to say, consider it desirable to recommend to the Secretary of State that you should be employed on the duty and paid by a fixed monthly addition to your furlough pay while you are on leave or your pension after you have retired. They are, however, prepared to consider the question of granting you an honorarium based upon the amount of time which it would take to complete the work if it is deligently pursued, the honorarium to be paid in instalments on the completion of instalments of the work. Before further considering this question, they desire me to inquire what proposals you desire to make for their consideration as to the amount of the honorarium, and to say that in order to enable them to decide the matter, it is necessary that you should place before them an estimate, which can be relied on as fairly accurate, of the time which you will take to complete the work. In asking you to do this, I would suggest that you should be careful to limit your estimate to the minimum time really necessary for the completion of the work, since it will probably militate against the acceptance of any proposal made by you if it involves the continuance of the work for a very lengthy period.

I am to ask that when sending your reply, you will state exactly how much has been spent in the two years ending with 31st March 1897, and how much you estimate will be spent between that date and 31st March 1898.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E.

BANKIPUR
CAMP MATIHARI
The 7th February 1898.

My dear Hewett,

Your letter of the 3rd instant reached me here yesterday. I have taken a day to consider it.

You ask the following questions:—

(1) What proposals do I desire to make for the consideration of the Government of India as to the amount of the (p. 13) honorarium which would be granted to me for carrying on the second part of the Linguistic Survey?

(2) What would be an estimate, which can be relied on as fairly accurate, of the time which I should take to complete the work?

(3) How much has been spent on the survey in the two years ending with 31st March 1897, and how much I estimate will be spent between that date and 31st March 1898?

With regard to the first question, I regret that I am unable to make any definite proposal as to the amount of honorarium. At my interview with you early in January, I stated that I considered that I was entitled to ask for a special allowance of a thousand a month in addition to my sterling furlough pay or pension. I still adhere to that statement. If the Government of India wishes to pay an honorarium in a lump sum, it can calculate the amount on that basis, and assume that that would be the lowest amount for which I should feel justified in undertaking to do the work in India. This would not include the incidental expenses of the survey. The amount so calculated would be so large, that I do not care to ask the Government of India for it. If it is offered to me, it will be a different matter.

As regards the amount of what I proposed as a minimum, I would ask the Government to consider that I have been nearly twenty-five years in India. I have risen to a certain position in the service. I have been living on a scale of expenditure suitable to that position, and consistant with the receipt of a liberal income. If I go with my wife to live in Simla among my friends who have known me and keep on working for Government, it will be impossible for me to sink into a "Chhota Sahib" on eight hundred a month, which would be my furlough pay. I could not do it. I have calculated that the thousand a month about which I spoke would enable me to

live in a manner appropriate to my previous position in the service, and I see no reason for altering the calculation. The total received by me would be considerably less than my present pay, and I am willing to sacrifice the difference in the cause of science. I may add that the work is expert's work, and that an expert could not be found to do the work, who was endowed with the requisite qualifications, for anything like a thousand a month or for an honorarium based on that sum. Such a man would readily receive employment on better pay in England, Germany, or Russia.

Personally, I am prepared to do it for a much smaller honorarium than that suggested above, if Government consents to my going to England and doing it there. My furlough pay and pension there would be in sterling, and I would live a more quiet and less expensive life than I should do in Simla. But it must be understood that I make this proposal solely in the interest of economy. There would be risk of the work not being so well done. I should be far from my sources, and the necessary delay involved in correspondence would certainly greatly retard the completion of the work. As long as this is understood, I am ready to carry on the survey in England for much less than an honorarium calculated at the rate of a thousand a month for the time which I estimate the Survey would take in India. If this proposal is acceptable, it should be on the condition that the India Office would arrange for any clerical work, such as correspondence, mechanical copying, etc., and that a small allowance, such as is now paid, should be made for other necessary expenses. I fear, for me to visit India for a few months, in order to clear up doubts and difficulties which only personal communications can solve. I think that, in that case, I might fairly claim to have my passage paid by Government.

p.14

With regard to your second question, it is most difficult for me to give more than an approximate estimate of the time the survey will take to complete. I do not even know how many languages I have to deal with. In Bengal alone, I have catalogued some seventy languages, and a hundred and thirty dialects. Of some of these, even the names have hitherto been unknown. They will all have to be examined by me. However, as an estimate is asked for, I see no reason for altering what I have said before, that I should try and complete the work in two years, and that I thought that, at most, it would not take more than three years. This is on the supposition that the work is done in India.

As regards the third question, the amount spent by me in 1896-97 was about Rs. 1,020. I am unable to give accurate figures, as there is at present a discrepancy of a few rupees (R 8) between my accounts and those of the Comptroller-General which has not yet been adjusted. I am unable to give you the figures for 1895-96, but your Registrar can get them at once from Babu Gowri Kant Roy, my Assistant in your office. I do not anticipate that the expenses safe to estimate the sum at present alloted, Rs. 2,000, as the expenses will be heavier, owing to the necessity which will arise for giving small rewards to persons who assist me with the more out of the way languages.

There is one other small point. You say that it is proposed to pay the honorarium by instalments, on the completion of instalments of the work. I do not myself see how the work can be completed by instalments. It is one whole, and can only be completed at one time.

I do not wish to boast, but I can assure you that the completion of the survey is eagerly looked forward to by the leading Philologists of Europe. When it is completed, it will be one of the most important works about Indian Languages, which has ever issued from the press. Do not take what I say as Gospel, but ask any competent person. If it is done successfully, the credit will be much more due to the Government of India which enabled me to carry it out than mine.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON

To

'J. P. HEWETT, Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E.

No. 64

D

CALCUTTA

The 25th February 1898

MY DEAR GRIERSON,

With reference to our correspondence ending with your letter of 7th February, on the subject of your employment in connection with the Linguistic Survey, I now write to say that the Government of India are prepared to recommend to the Secretary of State that a temporary appointment on Rs 2,000 shall be created for the purpose. You would

remain on the active list under the direct orders of this Department, which will arrange for the supervision of the work and to keep itself informed how it gets on. I presume that the appointment on these terms will be acceptable to you, and that if you accept it, you will go home on furlough and return in the autumn. The sanction of the Secretary of State would be asked for in the meantime.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT.

To
G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.

BANKIPUR
The 26th February, 1898

My Dear Hewett,

I enclose a formal reply to your letter of yesterday, I add a line to thank you for what you have done, and for all the trouble to which you have been put.

What I say in my letter about furlough is just what I mean. If it will be convenient to Government that I should go, I go. If it is only a question of my convenience, then, while thanking you for thinking of it, I should rather commence the work at once. The work has been already delayed a long time, and I grudge losing the six months of my life which I could devote to it. However, whatever suits Government best I shall be ready to do, so please do not think that I am grumbling.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON.

To
J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E.
Secretary to the Government of India.

P.S.—I shall have to arrange one or two things before I go. One is where are my head-quarters to be when I come back. The Government head-quarters will no longer be in Simla. This can be settled at leisure. I should rather not be in Calcutta if it could be avoided. The other thing is, what is the official name of my appointment. Some name should be given to it so that letters can be addressed to me.

BANKIPUR
The 25th February, 1898

My Dear Hewett,

I have received your demi-official letter No. 64-D., dated 25th February 1898, in which you say that the Government of India are prepared to recommend to the Secretary of State that a temporary appointment on Rs. 2,000 should be created for the purpose of the Linguistic Survey, and that I should remain on the active list under the direct orders of the Home Department, which will arrange for the supervision of the work, and to keep itself informed how it gets on. You add that you presume that the appointment on these terms will be acceptable to me, and that, if I accept it, I shall go home on furlough and return in the autumn.

2. In reply I have much pleasure in accepting the appointment on these terms, and am prepared to go home on furlough at once. I would suggest that I should start early in April, and return in about November.

3. As regards the furlough, I assume that the proposal is made for the convenience of the Government of India, and not with the object of consulting my wishes. If, however, the latter is the case, I would state that, personally, I should prefer to commence the work at once. There is no personal necessity for me to go on furlough at present. I went home last year. The expense is considerable, and, if any necessity for going home arose subsequently, I should not be able to take furlough again till three years were over. However, as I have already said, I am ready to go if it will be more convenient to Government, than my commencing work at once. I only raised the question in case the suggestion was made in my interests. If, under the circumstances, Government would wish me to commence at once, will you kindly wire to me, so that I may cancel the passage which I have already arranged for.

4. Thanking the Government of India for the honours which they have done me by proposing to place me in charge of the Linguistic Survey.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON.

To
J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

No. 66/D

CALCUTTA
The 1st March, 1898

My Dear Grierson,

Thank you for your letter of February 26th. I am glad that you have accepted the offer of the appointment which it is proposed to recommend to the Secretary of State in connection with the Linguistic Survey. The proposal as to furlough was, I am to say, made entirely for your convenience, and not that of the Government of India. The matter has to be reported to the Secretary of State for sanction, and cannot be sent home till the mail of 12th March. So that sanction is not likely to be received till some time in the hot weather even if we ask for it to be given by telegram. We thought from your letter of December 4th that you would not be prepared to wait for this, but would wish to go on furlough. However, if you are prepared to wait so much the better, as the Government of India would prefer the work to be taken in hand as soon as possible.

The question of your head-quarters when you are not at Simla can be finally settled when we meet, but I am to take this opportunity of saying that the Government of India would prefer that your office should be at the head-quarters of Government.

As to the official names of your appointment, it would appear to be sufficient if you are designated "On Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey."

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.

CALCUTTA
The 16th March, 1898

My Dear Grierson,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your demi-official to Hewett, dated the 2nd instant. I am desired to say that the proposal regarding your deputation on special duty for a period of two years in connection with the scheme for the survey of vernacular languages was referred to the Secretary of State for India by last mail, and that His Lordship has been asked to communicate his decision by telegraph.

Yours sincerely,
H. LUSON.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.
Bankipur.

SIMLA RECORDS 5

HOME 1898 DEPT.

Public Proceedings March

No. 120 AND 1 K.W. (Not Printed)

'Deputation of MR. G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E. on Spl. duty for a period of two years in connection with the Survey of Vern: languages in India.'

p. 1

No. 72 of 1898

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPTT.

SALARIES, ESTABLISHMENTS,

DEPUTATIONS ETC.

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GEORGE FRANCIS HAMILTON

Her Majesty's Secy. of State for India.

CALCUTTA
The 10th March, 1898

MY LORD,

IN their Despatch No. 193 (Finance & Commerce) dated the 26th June 1886, Lord Dufferin's Govt. intimated that they had received an invitation from the Committee of Organisation of the Seventh International Oriental Congress to depute a delegate to the Congress to be held in Vienna in that year. Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., of the I.C.S., was specially deputed as a delegate of the Indian Govt. to the Congress, and Messrs. G. A. Grierson of the I.C.S. & A.F.R. Hoernle of Beng. Edl. Deptt., who were on furlough were also permitted to attend the congress as delegates of the Indian Govt.

2. A communication was afterwards received from the President of the Congress transmitting a Resolution by the Aryan Section to the effect that a systematic survey should be made of the vern. languages of India, and this was followed by a joint report, dt. the 23rd Nov. 1886, upon the subject from Messrs. Grierson & Hoernle. Lord Dufferin's Govt. in forwarding a copy of this report to the Govt. of Bengal observed that the exploration of the really national vernacular dialects of India and their scientific treatment by Comp. Philology is a work not only of literary interest but also of some political importance, since it should result in bringing the official class into easier and closer communion with the people, and would be likely to prove of advantage to vernacular education and to foster the growth of provincial sentiment. The Govt. of India at the same time pointed out that the exposition of the subject in the papers received was somewhat indefinite, and stated their opinion that the best way to commence the proposed investigation appeared to be to request Mr. Grierson, who had already devoted much consideration to the subject, to write a paper dealing especially with the probable cost, the agency to be employed, and the time likely to be occupied in completing it, which could be circulated to Local Governments for suggestions as to the practical measures necessary for giving effect to the scheme. In reply to this invitation Sir Stuart Bayley, then Lt. Gov. of Bengal, forwarded to the Govt. of India an interesting communication No. 59 T.G. dt. the 26th Sept. 1888, containing memoranda by Mr. Grierson, Babu Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, Principal of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, and Sir Alfred Croft, D.P.I. in Bengal. The Govt. of Bengal offered to pay from official revenues a contribution of Rs. 15,000 a year for three years towards the cost of the Linguistic Survey in that Prov. and suggested that, as the success of the survey must depend upon the co-operation of other Govts. in India, a conference should be held of representatives of the (p.?) Local Govts. for settlement of details. These papers were forwarded to the other Local Govts. & Administrations for an expression of their views. When the replies of the Local Govts. & Adms. had been received, Mr. Grierson was again consulted. He proposed a scheme for making a collection of specimens of every language and dialect spoken in India, involving the deputation of officers for the purpose and expenditure of 2½ lacs of rupees. This estimate of expenditure did not include the cost of making a collection of Dray. dialects. Lord Lansdowne's Govt. were unable to entertain these proposals at the time in view of the orders of the Secy. of State forbidding any additional expenditure which was not absolutely necessary. Mr. Grierson subsequently proposed an alternative scheme for a preliminary language survey which may be said to have for its object the preparation of a sort of *Catalogue raisonné* of the languages of India containing specimens of each; this scheme involved the expenditure of only Rs. 2,000 a year for three years.

3. In our Home Secy.'s letter No. 233 dt. the 26th February 1895, we consulted the Asiatic Society of Bengal as to how the alternative scheme could be best carried into effect. The Society replied stating that in their opinion the proposed survey would be a work of the utmost importance and usefulness, not only for the advancement of linguistic science, but also for the increased efficiency of the Administration. They approved Mr. Grierson's scheme with some additional suggestions. Their proposals contemplated the division of the work into two stages. In the first stage, a form was to be circulated to District Officers and Political Agents, in which they would simply be asked to enter the name of every language and dialect spoken in each distt. or territory. From these returns a rough list was to be prepared similar to the rough lists of the villages made before the commencement of Census Operations and on completion of this list illustrative specimens of each language were to be obtained from the same sources. In the second stage, these specimens were to be compiled and edited. This, the society said, would be a very different business from the somewhat mechanical work of preparing the preliminary list, and could only be undertaken by experts, especially deputed for the purpose. It would require, they added, a very considerable amount of study, and would necessitate the acquisition of the elements of a very large number of languages which though spoken by few people, are often both linguistically and politically important. The Society recommended that one or more selected officers should be placed on special duty for this work, and that District & Political Officers should be requested to give them any information and assistance that might be necessary to them in carrying out the scheme. The Society stated that in their opinion Mr. Grierson would be the fittest officer to be placed in charge of the Operations. As Mr. Grierson was prepared to undertake the preliminary work of collecting specimens of every language

and dialect spoken in India, which corresponded to the first stage of the enquiry as sketched by the Bengal Asiatic Society, we requested the Govt. of Bengal in our Home Secy's letter No. 1994 dt. the 9th Dec. 1895, to permit him to undertake this work, in addition to his own duties, in direct communication with our Home Deptt. We decided that the work should be confined to the languages and dialects spoken in Northern India and Bombay, and accordingly circulated a copy of more recent papers to the Local Govts, & Adms. of those parts of the country with the request that instructions might be issued to District & Political Officers to correspond direct with Mr. Grierson. At the same time, (Feb. 1896) we sanctioned the grant of Rs. 2,000 a year for three years to enable Mr. Grierson to carry out the preliminary stage of the enquiry.

4. Last year, when on leave, Mr. Grierson attended the XIth International Cong. of Orientalists at Paris as a delegate of our Govt. and laid before the Congress some of the results of his work. The Indian Section of the Congress passed a Resolution, which was forwarded with your Lordship's Despatch No. 6 Public (Records), (p. 3) dt. the 27th Jan. 1898, expressing their lively thanks to our Govt. for having taken the work in hand, and recording their opinion of the value which will be rendered to the linguistic science when it is completed.

5. Mr. Grierson has recently informed us of the stage to which he has been able to bring his work and has reported that the rough lists of the names of the languages and dialects spoken in Northern India & Bombay have been practically completed. They have, he has remarked, the defects of their origin, as they were prepared by persons with local knowledge, but who are not usually philologists. These lists require to be examined and corrected by an expert, and it is proposed that they should be corrected with the aid of the illustrative specimens of languages and dialects which are now in process of being obtained by the translation into the different languages and dialects of one standard passage, viz. the Parable of the Prodigal Son with the omission of all words calculated to offend the susceptibilties of either Hindus or Muhammendans. These translations have in many cases to be made by persons ignorant of English, and to render their task easier, a collection of some 65 specimen translations of the parable into various Indian languages and dialects has been prepared in the view that the person selected to translate in each case will probably be acquainted with one at least of those of which a specimen is given. As every translation will probably be more or less stiff, efforts are being made to procure at the same time an original folk tale, song or other naturally spoken sample.

6. The greater portion of the specimens of the languages and dialects in the Lower Provinces—some 70 languages and 130 dialects—has been received, and calls for specimens from the N. W. Provs. and Oudh, the C. P. and the Punjab have issued. The time has now come for the entry in the second stage of the operations of Linguistic Survey which was sketched by the Asiatic Society Bengal viz., the compilation and editing of the specimens, as well as the correction of the lists of languages and dialects. The expenditure hitherto incurred upon the work was Rs. 1,022 during the year 1896-67, and about Rs. 1,022 during the year 1896-97, and about Rs. 1,500 in the current financial year. These amounts were for incidental expenses only, as Mr. Grierson has received no extra remuneration for his labours.

7. Mr. Grierson, who is now Opium Agent of Patna, on a pay of Rs. 2,600 a month, is approaching the time when he can claim his annuity. He will complete 21 years' active service next month, and 25 years' total service in October next. His doctors have forbidden him spend another hot weather in the plains of India, and, in order to avoid doing so, he would proceed on furlough in April preparatory to retiring. We are very strongly of opinion that it is most desirable to complete the Ling. Survey which has been initiated under our orders by Mr. Grierson, and we are convinced that Mr. Grierson is the most suitable person to be entrusted with this duty, and that it would be unwise to allow the opportunity of having the work completed by him to pass by. Your Lordship is familiar with his attainments in Indian languages. He has inaugurated the work of the survey, and has during the preliminary stage, been brought into close relations with the different District & Political Officers of Northern India. His appointment will be an assurance to the *Savants* of Europe that the work will be completed and scientifically carried out. We have considered a suggestion that some arrangement might be made with him under which he should continue the work, being carried out in that manner, since we consider essential to the success of the survey that it should be conducted by an officer in this country. We have been in communication with Mr. Grierson as to the time which the work is likely to take. He has replied that it is

difficult to give an estimate but he would endeavour to complete it within two years. It is, however, possible that this estimate of time may prove too small. We propose for your Lordship's Sanction that a temporary appointment on Rs. 2,000 a month for the "Officer on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey" be created and that Mr. Grierson should occupy it. We consider that he should work under the direct orders of our Home Deptt. which would arrange to watch the progress of work and that he should be attached to our head-quarters. It is estimated that the incidental expenses will not exceed Rs. 2,000 per annum. Mr. Grierson is willing to defer his retirement (p.4) terms, and we strongly urge our recommendation, so that we may not lose the opportunity of securing his services and have to postpone, if not abandon, an important work which has so far progressed successfully.

8. As Mr. Grierson is awaiting orders in the matter before determining whether he will avail himself of the furlough which has been granted to him by the Govt. of Bengal we beg that your Lordship's decision may be communicated to us by telegraph. We ask sanction for the temporary appointment above referred to for a period of two years from the date on which Mr. Grierson enters on its duties. Should it be found necessary to extend this sanction hereafter, Your Lordship will be duly addressed.

We have the honour to be
MY LORD
Your Lordships' most obedient,
humble Servants.

Signed ELGIN
,, G. S. WHITE
,, J. WESTLAND
,, J. WOODBURN
,, M. D. CHAMBERS
,, E. H. H. COLLEN
,, A. C. TREVOR

No. 1167 Ex.

Copy forwarded to the Home Deptt. for information.

By Order
W. S. Meyer.
Offg. Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

HOME PUBLIC A

March 1898

Prog No. 183

Grant of honorarium of Rs. 200 to Babu Manmath Nath Çhatterji

p. 4

No. 422 dt. Calcutta, the 14th March, 1898.

From—H. LUSON, Esq., Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To—G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E., I.C.S., O.S.D., L.S.

In reply to your letter No. 56. dt. the 14th Ultimo, I am directed to convey the sanction of the Govt. of India to the payment of an honorarium of Rs. 200 (two hundred) which has been promised to Babu Manmatha Nath Chatterjee, Manager of the Jashpur Raj in the Chota Nagpur Dn., for the assistance rendered by him in connection with the scheme for the survey of the vernacular languages. The charge should be met from the grant of rupees two thousand sanctioned by the Govt. of India for expenses in connection with the scheme.

2. I am, however, to point out that the previous sanction of the Govt. of India should have been obtained.

SIMLA RECORDS I

HOME DEPT.

PUBLIC A

MAY 1898

Progs. No. 222-225

Publication and Distribution of the rough lists of languages of the N. W. Provinces & Oudh and the Punjab.

Letter from Grierson regarding the no. of copies to be printed &c.

SIMLA RECORDS 2

HOME DEPT.

PUBLIC A.

April 1898

Progs. No. 194-198

Printing & distribution of Rough Lists of Languages of the Lower Provinces of Bengal and the C. P. compiled by Mr. G. A. Grierson.

Letters of Grierson to Secy. to the Govt. of India.

Letter of Grierson to the Supdt. of Govt. Printing Press, Calcutta, regarding the above subject.

HOME DEPT.

PUBLIC A

Dec. 1898

Progs. No. 18-19

Grant of a d.a. of Rs. 7-8 a day for Mr. Grierson C.I.E. on Special duty, Linguistic Survey, while on tour.

Prog. 18 (p. 3)

No. 2480—dt. Calcutta, the 12th December 1898

From—H. LUSON, Esq., Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To—The Comptroller, India Treasuries, Calcutta.

I am directed to intimate that it has been decided that when on tour Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., On Special Duty, Linguistic Survey, should draw a daily allowance at the rate of Rs. 7.8 a day.

SIMLA RECORDS 4

HOME DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC A

Progs. March 1898

No. 261-279 &

1 K.W.(N.P.)

Rough lists of languages spoken in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh and the C. P., compiled by Mr. G. A. Grierson in connection with the L.S.I.

No. 30, dated Bankipore, the 14th Feb. 1898

From—G. A. Grierson, Esq., B.A. C.I.E., I.C.S. Ph.D., On Special Duty (L.S.)

To—The Secy. to the Govt. of India

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the first rough list of languages spoken in the N. W. Provs. & Oudh for the inspection of the G. of I. and for orders. The list for the C. P. will follow in a few days. Those for Assam and the Punjab are in the Press. The one for Rajputana is nearly complete, and is awaiting the receipt of certain information from Central India, and the Bombay one alone remains to be done. I sent you a specimen of the list for the Lower Provinces of Bengal last December.

2. These lists, though rough ones, have their value. They represent all that is known about the languages of the Provs. concerned upto the date of the commencement of the survey, and something more. They will form the basis of the second part of the survey, and hence it is of importance that they should be made as accurate as possible.

3. I would therefore suggest that the list of each Prov. should be circulated through the Prov., two copies being sent to each Dt. Officer, and two to each Comr., and that free criticism should be invited. If you approve of this, I shall issue the necessary letters. As you are aware, I am already authorised to communicate directly with the Dt. Officers.

4. In Lower Bengal there are forty nine dts. (including the Chittgong Hill Tracts) and nine divisions, and over fifteen Native States. Some hundred and fifty copies will, therefore, be required for the purpose. A reserve stock will also be necessary, and also, say, fifty copies for distribution to gentlemen who are not Dt. Officers, but whose criticism will be valuable. Two hundred and thirty copies should, therefore, be printed. I do not recommend that the list should be printed for sale in its present condition.

5. A similar calculation shows that two hundred copies should be printed of the list of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh.

6. It is possible that the Local Govts. concerned might wish to have copies of the list even in its present imperfect state. I leave it to the Government of India to decide whether they should be consulted. If they are to be supplied with copies, my estimate will have to be proportionally increased.

262

Rough list of languages spoken in N. W. Provs. and Oudh—(not printed in Progs).

263

Telegram Nos. 290-294 dt. 28th Feb. 1898

From—Home, Calcutta

To —The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of N.W. Provs & Oudh.

The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

The Chief Comr. of the C. P.

The Chief Comr. of Assam.

The Resident at Hyderabad.

223
My letter224 of the 5th Feb. 1896 Grierson
225
226 227
has compiled rough lists of languages for each Prov. They form basis of second part of L. S. Important they should be as accurate as possible. He will circulate two copies direct to each dt. Officer & Comr. for free criticism.

p. 6 Please wire whether Local Govt. requires / you require any extra copies; and if so how many?

No. 264

No. 295, dated Calcutta, the 28th Feb. 1898

From—H. LUSON, Esq. Dy. Secy. to the Government of India.

To The Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General (Misc.) Deptt.

With reference to the correspondence ending with my letter No. 3 Public / 229 dated the 5th Feb. 1896, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter from Mr. G. A. Grierson, who has undertaken the duties connected with the scheme for the survey of vernacular languages in India. The Government of India have authorized Mr. Grierson to circulate two copies of the rough lists of languages direct to each Dt. Officer and Comr. of Dn. for free criticism as proposed by him. With reference to paragraph 6 of Mr. Grierson's letter I am to enquire whether any, and if so, how many copies of the lists will be required by the Government of Bengal.

No. 265

No. 296, dated Calcutta, the 28th Feb., 1898

From—H. LUSON Dy. Secy. to the Government of India.

To—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq. C.I.E., Bankipore.

In reply to your letter No. 30 dated the 14th instt. I am directed to say that the Government of India authorises you to circulate two copies of the rough lists of languages compiled by you to each Dt. Officer and Comr. of Dn. as proposed. I am to forward copies of communications addressed to Local Govts. & Adns. on the subject, and to say that the number of extra copies of the lists which may be required will be communicated to you here after.

No. 297

266

Copy, with copy of correspondence, to Foreign Deptt. in continuation of endorsement from this Deptt. No. 3 Public / 228, dated the 5th Feb. 1896.

267

Telegram No. C-23 dt. March, 1898

From -Chief Commr., C. P., Jubbulpore.

To—Home, Calcutta.

Your telegram 292-294. Please send 5 extra copies of rough lists of languages.

No. 56, dt. Bankipore, the 2nd March, 1898

268

From—G. A. GRIERSON

To— The Secy. to the Government of India.

In continuation of this office No. 30, dated the 14th ultimo, I have the honour to send herewith the rough list of the L.S.I of the C.P.

p. 7

2. There are, in the C.P., eighteen dts., four Comrs., and fifteen States. 74 copies will, therefore, be necessary for distribution as suggested in my previous letter. Allowing 31 for a reserve stock and 50 for distribution to gentlemen who are not Dt. Officers, a total of one hundred and fifty should be printed plus any other which may be required by the Local Govts. as suggested in paragraph 6 of that communication.

3. I shall be obliged if early orders can be passed on my previous letter, as the Press wishes to release the type.

Awaiting orders on the present communication.

269

Rough List of L.S. of the C.P.

(Not printed in Progs.)

270

Telegram No. 1781—G. dt. 3rd, March, 1898

From—Assam, Shillong.

To—Home, Calcutta.

Your 292-94 Public. Six copies of rough lists, L. S., will suffice for this office.

271

Telegram 78, Dt. 5th March, 1898

From—Secy. for Berar to the Resident, Hyderabad.

To—Home, Calcutta.

Your message 292-94 of 28th Feb. No extra copies of Grierson's rough list language required.

272

Telegram 207, dt. 5th March, 1898

From—Junior Secy. Punjab, Lahore.

To—Home, Calcutta.

Your telegram 290-291, dated 28th February. Please supply 20 extra copies of Grierson's rough lists of languages.

273

No. 361, dt. Calcutta, the 11th March, 1898

From—H. LUSON

To—The Secy. to the Government of Bengal, General (Misc.) Deptt.

I am directed to invite attention to the letter from this Deptt. No. 295, dt. the 28th ultimo, and to request, that with the permission of His Honour the Lt Governor, the Government of India may be informed at a very early date what number of copies of the rough lists of languages compiled by Grierson is required by the Government of Bengal.

274

No. 362 dt. Calcutta, the 11th March 1898

From—H. LUSON.

To—G. A. GRIERSON Esq. C.I.E., On Special Duty (L.S.), Bankipore.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 56, dated 2nd March, 1898 with which you forward a rough list of the L.S. of the C.P., and in continuation of the letter from this Deptt. No. 296, dt. 28th Feb. 1898, stating that inquiries had been made as to the number of extra copies required by the local Govts. concerned besides those intended for circulation to Comrs. of Dns. and to Dt. Officers (p. 8) etc. I am to say that the replies of those inquiries received upto date are as follows:

	No. of Extra copies required.
(a) The G. of the Punjab	20
(b) The Chief Comr. of the C. P.	5
(c) The Chief Comr. of Assam	6
(d) Secy for Berar to the Resident at Hyderadad	none

2. Five copies of the rough lists should also be forwarded for record in the Home Deptt.

275

No. 1028, dt. Calcutta, the 25th March, 1898

From—A. WHEELER Esq. Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General (Misc.) Deptt.

To—The Secy. to the Government of India.

With reference to your letter No. 295, dt. the 28th Feb. 1898, I am directed to say that 20 copies

of the rough lists prepared by Mr. Grierson in connection with the Scheme for the survey of the vernacular languages in India may be supplied to this Govt.

276

Telegram No. 431, dt. 17th March, 1898

From—Home, Calcutta.

To—The Government of the N. W. Provs. & Oudh.

My telegram 290 of 28th Ultimo. Please wire the no. of copies of Mr. Grierson's rough lists of languages required.

277

No. 432 dt. Calcutta, the 17th March, 1898

From—H. LUSON

To—G. A. GRIERSON Esq. C.I.E. Bankipore.

In continuation of the letter from this Deptt., No. 362, dt. the 11th instt., I am directed to say that the Government of Bengal be furnished with 20 copies of the rough lists of languages compiled by you.

278

Telegram dated 19th March, 1898

From—N. W. Provinces, Lucknow.

To—Home, Calcutta.

Your telegram 290-291 Public of 28th Ultimo. Please send four copies for use of this office.

No. 480, dt. Calcutta, the 21st March, 1898

279

From—R. Nathan, Esq. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

To—G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Bankipore.

In continuation of the letter from this Deptt., No. 432, dt. the 17h March 1898, I am direced to say that the Govt. of the N. W. Provinces & Oudh desire to be furnished with four copies of the rough lists of languages compiled by you.

SIMLA RECORDS—2
HOME PUBLIC A
June 1898
Progs. No. 62-73 & KW (N.P.)

Temporary appointment for two years of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. as "Officer on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey".

p. 7

K. W. No. II

BANKIPUR
The 10th April, 1898

MY DEAR HEWETT,

I write to report progress. I have now completed all the rough lists, including Bombay, and my clerk is busy preparing the last for the press. I cannot send the Central India and Bombay lists to press till I get replies to references which have been made to local officers. In 'Bombay' is included Sindh, from which some information is also awaited. The preparation, however, of the rough lists may be taken as practically finished so far as I am concerned.

The Despatch about my being employed has now been a fortnight with the Secy. of State. I hope that orders will soon arrive. I write this because my eyes are already suffering from the heat and glare, and if I have to wait much longer, I may be compelled, much against my will, to run away and take furlough. You will quite understand that it is not a matter on which I can afford to run risks. Anyhow, when the orders do arrive, will you very kindly wire to me?

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE A. GRIERSON

To:
J. P. HEWETT. etc.

BANKIPUR
The 20th April, 1898

MY DEAR HEWETT,

Can you give me no *Khabar* about what is to be settled about the Survey. It is now in the third part of April, and the Despatch went home early in March. There has been time to get an answer by post, much less by wire. I am living down here

in considerable discomfort, waiting for orders. I have not even got a stick of furniture of my own, and am only staying on by the kindeness of friends who are lending us what is necessary. Has any reference been made from home, which is delaying things? If I only knew what was going on, I could arrange, but at present I am waiting here with all the patience I can get together, not knowing whether orders will come to-day or in a month. Then, my successors are in the same plight all down the line, and are abusing me for not setting the various transfers in motion.

Forgive my troubling you, but the heat and glare are injuring my eyes, and if you could give me hope of early orders, one way or the other, being given, I should be much obliged.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE A. GRIERSON

To

J. P. HEWETT. Esq. C.I.E. etc.

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p. 8

Telegram dt. the 29th April 1898.

From—Opium Agent, Bihar, Bankipur

To—The Secy. to Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

Many thanks. Could you kindly arrange the preliminaries for my transfer from Bengal to India in anticipation.

No. 262 dt. Bankipur, the 30th April 1898

Copy forwarded to Hewett for information

No. 62

p. 9

Telegram No. 1833 Ex. dt. the 23rd April, 1898

From—The Viceroy, Simla.

To—The Secretary of State, London.

Please telegraph reply to our Financial Despatch No. 78, 10th March last, regarding Grierson's deputation.

No. 63

Telegram dt. the 25th April 1898

From—The Secy. of State, London.

To—The Viceroy, Simla.

Your telegram of 23rd April last, Grierson. My decision will be telegraphed next week.

No. 65

Telegram, dt. the 3rd May, 1898

From—The Secretary of State, London.

To—The Viceroy, Simla.

Your Financial Despatch No. 78, 10th March last. Languages Survey. Your proposals are approved.

No. 66

p. 10

Telegram No. 725, dt. the 5th May 1898.

From—The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To—The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

Mr. Grierson's services required for employment with Govt. of India in connection with Linguistic Survey. Please place them at disposal this Deptt. Letter follows.

No. 67

Telegram No. 726, dt. the 5th May, 1898

From—The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To—Mr. G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E. Bankipur.

Your deputation on Special duty sanctioned. Following telegram sent to Bengal. *Mr. Grierson's services etc.* No. 66.

Notification No. 3136-A.

dated Calcutta, the 7th May 1898.

The Services of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. Opium Agent, Bihar, are placed temporarily at the disposal of the Govt. of India in the Home Deptt. for employment in connection with the Linguistic Survey.

This cancels the order of the 21st Feb. 1898 granting Mr. Grierson, C.I.E., furlough for two years.

By Order of the Lt. Gov. of Bengal

M. FINUCANE

Off. Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, Appointment Deptt.

Prog. No. 70

No. 360 dated Simla, the 17th May 1898.

From

G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E., I.C.S., O.S.D., L.S.

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

With reference to your telegram No. 726 dated the 5th Ultimo, sanctioning my employment with the Govt. of India in connection with Linguistic Survey, I have the honour to report my arrival at Simla this day forenoon.

No. 71

Notification No. 862 dated Simla the 25th May, 1898

Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. is appointed to Spl. Duty under the Govt. of India in Home Deptt. with effect from the 17th May 1898.

J. P. HEWETT

Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

No. 863

Copy forwarded to G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E. for information.

No. 72A

No. 82 (Revenue)

dt. India Office, London the 5th May 1898

From

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE FRANCIS HAMILTON, Her Majesty's Secy. to the State for India.

To

H.E. THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council.

I have considered in Council your Finl. letter 78, dt. 10th March last, in which you propose to create a temporary post of "Officer on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey", on Rs. 2,000 a month for two years, from the date on which Mr. G. A. Grierson, whom you propose to appoint to it, enters on his duties.

2. I approve your proposals, and I shall watch with greatest interest the progress made by Mr. Grierson, under the orders of your Govt., in carrying out a project which is of practical as well as of high scientific value.

No. 73

No. 937 dated Simla the 7th June 1898

Endorsement by the Home Deptt.

Copy forwarded to the Govt. of Bengal for information in continuation of the letter from this Deptt. No. 773, dt. the 6th Ultimo.

HOME PUBLIC A

July 1898

KW No. II

dated Simla the 13th June 1898

MY DEAR LUSON, Please refer to my letter No. 371, dated the 20th May 1898, regarding my establishment and the purchase of furniture for my office.

Since then I have felt the necessity of an additional peon. The two peons, one of whom is practically a daftari, are hardly adequate for the work and I find a third man will be required throughout the year (at Rs. 6 or Rs. 7 a month) instead of temporarily as I thought would be the case when I addressed the Government of India officially on the 20th ultimo. Is there any objection?

I also take this opportunity of enquiring whether it is necessary for me to apply for the sanction of Government every time, I find it necessary to make any change in the pay or constitution

of my establishment, even if it may be for a temporary period.

Yours sincerely,
GEO. A. GRIERSON

To

H. LUSON, Esq., I.C.S.,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT PROCEEDINGS

For

JULY 1898

PUBLIC

Progs. No. 1—3

No. 1

Expenditure on furniture, establishments, etc., for the officer on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

No. 371, dated Simla, the 20th May 1898.

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., On Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I have the honour to state, for the information of the Government of India, that my office at Simla will for the present consist of the following establishment:—

	Rs.
1 Clerk on	30
1 Clerk on	45
1 Peon and Daftary on . .	10
1 Peon on	7
Total .	92

I may, however, state that it may sometimes be necessary for me to strengthen this establishment by the addition of a temporary clerk on Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 a month and of a temporary peon on Rs. 6 a month for my office, when the work increased, as has once or twice occurred in the past when I had to issue circulars to Local Governments and to reply to a number of references and enquiries from District officers.

I have also the honour to solicit sanction to the purchase of the following articles:—

Two office tables for myself.

Two office tables for clerk.

Four chairs.

Two or three racks for records.

Two or three office boxes.

One revolving book-shelf.

Two stationery cases.

Two whatnots.

Uniforms and badges for peons.

The approximate cost for the purchase of these and other articles that may be necessary for the office to set it at once in a working order is not likely to exceed Rs. 300 (three hundred), though every attempt will be made to get the articles at as cheap a rate as may be possible. The favour of a very early reply is requested as both myself and my office find it inconvenient to work without most of the furniture.

No. 2

No. 1475,

Simla

dated the 2nd July 1898

From

H. LUSON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., On Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 371, dated the 20th May, and No. 458, dated the 13th June last reporting that your office establishment will for the present consist of two clerks and three peons at a monthly cost of Rs. 98 (Ninety-eight)* and that you may find it necessary occasionally to strengthen this establishment by employing an additional clerk at a cost not exceeding Rs. 25 a month. You also request sanction to the purchase of furniture and other

articles for your office and uniforms and badges for your peons, at an estimated cost of Rs. 300 (three hundred).

	Rs.	
1 Clerk on	45	a month
1 Clerk on	30	,,
1 Peon and Daftari on	10	,,
1 Peon on	7	,,
1 Peon on	6	,,
Total.	98	

2. In reply I am to convey the sanction of the Government of India to your proposals, on the understanding that the grant of Rs. 2,000 allotted for the work in connection with the Linguistic Survey will not be exceeded, and that livery, at a cost not exceeding Rs. 22-8 will only be supplied to the peon or peons in personal attendance on you. The other peons who are not so employed may be given a suit of warm clothing at a cost of Rs. 7-8 each a year or Rs. 15 for two years, and the sum of Rs. 2-8 each a year for purchasing a blanket.

3. The Government of India also authorize you to make any alteration in the pay or the constitution of your establishment subject to the conditions :—

(a) that the cost of any one month does not exceed Rs. 123 (One hundred and twenty-three.)

	per mensem Rs.
1 Permanent establishment	98
2 Temporary ,,	25
Total	123

(b) that you do not employ men on higher rates of pay than the rates on which the maximum estimate of Rs. 123 is based; and

(c) that the grant of Rs. 2,000 is not exceeded.

No. 3 No. 1476

Copy forwarded to the Finance and Commerce Department for information.

SIMLA RECORDS 3

HOME 1898 DEPT.

PUBLIC

PROCEEDINGS—SEPTEMBER

Raising of the sanctioned estimate of expenditure from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 in connection with the Linguistic Survey during the current official year.

K.-W. No. II

FAIRHOLME
Simla
23rd August 1898

MY DEAR LUSON, It is possible that I may have to leave this house at the end of this year, so I am looking out for a new one, in case it is necessary. It has struck me that, perhaps, as you are short of room, Government might like me, if I do change my house, to engage one large enough to hold my office as well. In that case, could you give me any idea as to the rent which Government would be prepared to pay for such an office. A room big enough for three clerks and for records would be required. I do not know how much would be allowed for such a purpose, and for obvious reasons I am precluded from suggesting an amount. If you approve of the idea, I should act on this principle. At present I am looking for a house on a rent about the same as I am paying now. If Government wishes for office room, I should look for a bigger house on rent equal to what I am paying now, plus what Government would pay for office rent.

I am sorry that, at present, any proposal must be rather indefinite, as I have not yet decided whether I shall leave my present house or not. There are some negotiations going on with the landlord.

The only difficulty which I see in the way of my proposal, supposing that it does meet with Government approval, and that it will relieve you from inconvenience, is that I do not think that the office rent could be paid out of the allowance for the Linguistic Survey. The funds would not suffice.

As time is passing, and good houses are being snapped up, I should be much obliged if Government's decision were communicated to me at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

To

H. LUSON, Esq.,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Home Department.

No. 88

HOME DEPARTMENT,
dated the 7th September 1898

MY DEAR GRIERSON,—In continuation of my official letter of to-day's date on the subject of your office rent I write to say that office in that letter is meant to include a room for yourself.

In these offices a clerk is allowed a unit of 48 square feet and an officer six units or 288 square feet. The figures are exclusive of space required for books, etc.

I am sorry I could not send you a reply before, but the draft letter to you had to be settled with the Financial and Public Works Departments.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) H. LUSON

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E, P.H.D., &c., &c., Fairholme

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Fairholme,

8th September1898

MY DEAR LUSON, Many thanks for your demi-official letter about office room.

I am looking out for a suitable house, and, if I succeed, I shall let you know.

Yours sincerely,
G. A. GRIERSON

To

H. LUSON, Esq.,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Home Department.

No. 873, dated Simla, the 18th August 1898.

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey (Home Department, Government of India).

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1475, dated 2nd July last, conveying the sanction of the Government of India to the purchase of furniture, etc., at a maximum cost of Rs. 300 and to the entertainment of my establishment at a monthly cost of Rs. 98 supplemented by an additional clerk on Rs. 25 a month when required. The expenditure is to be met from the annual grant of Rs. 2,000.

2. I beg leave to represent that the annual grant of Rs. 2,000 is at present inadequate to meet the expenditure.

The following figures show the number of the letters dispatched—

in 1896	.. ..	541
,, 1897	.. ..	189
up to 1st July	.. ..	802

Besides the above the editing of specimens entails a large amount of heavy work in the shape of transliteration, preparing for press etc., which did not occur in previous years.

3. The Government of India sanctioned the grant of Rs. 2,000 a year for the Linguistic Survey when I did not devote myself full time for the work and when the clerical work was not so heavy* as it is now and when no menial establishment was required. The supply of furniture, increase in cost of service stamps and expenditure on account of stationery, and other items were not then foreseen. That during the past two years the expenses have been kept to the lowest possible limit, will be seen from the following figures supplied by the Comptroller, India Treasuries (letter No. 112-G. A., dated the 22nd April 1898, copy enclosed):-

	*Expenditure Rs. A. P.	Balance Rs.
1896-97	1,118 7 8	881
1897-98	1,609 7 11	390
Total ..		1,271

The unexpended balance as shown by the Comptroller, India Treasuries, was Rs. 1,271, and if to this balance is added the sum of Rs. 527 on account of the cost of maps (which were supplied by Government free of cost) and the sum of Rs. 100 (which is held as a permanent advance) there was during the last two years a clear saving of Rs. 1,900 which has lapsed to Government.

4. The expenditure during the current year up to the end of July has been Rs. 873-I-I, leaving a balance of Rs. 1,126-14-11 only. Assuming that the establishment as sanctioned in the Government of India's letter under reply will be necessary throughout the year at a cost of Rs. 123 a month, the expenditure for the establishment alone for the present financial year will come to Rs. 123 x 8 or Rs. 984, leaving a balance of Rs. 142 to meet other expenses.

The following is the rough estimate of the expenditure that will be incurred during the current financial year—

	Rs.
Rewards for specimens of dialects, about ..	200
Telegraph charges	100
Purchase of books, etc.	150
Service stamps	200
Purchase of stationery ordered (for use in this year)	200
Miscellaneous	300
Total ..	1,150

It will thus be seen that the allotment for the present year will be exceeded by about Rs. 1,000.

5. Under these circumstances I beg to ask that the Government of India may be moved to reallot from the lapsed amount the sum of Rs. 1,000 for expenditure during the current year. I am not at present prepared to say definitely what sum will be required for the work during the next year, but, judging from the present experience, I fear a further sum of Rs. 1,000 will be required that year too*.

*The expenditure for next year, may be roughly estimated (as at present advised) as follows :—

	Rs.
Maximum cost of establishment, 123 x 12—	1,476
Livery and furniture and repairs	125
Telegrams	100
Postage Stamps	250
Stationery	225
Books	200
Rewards for specimens	300
Miscellaneous (unforeseen)	300
Total	2,976

6. I also beg to request sanction to the permanent advance of Rs. 100 being increased to Rs. 250 a month. The advance of Rs. 100 proves inadequate and causes inconvenience when demands like purchase of stamps, the grant of rewards for the specimens of dialects, expenses for more than Rs. 100 are to be met with in the course of the same month. In this connection I beg to invite your attention to the correspondence ending with paragraph 3 of your letter No. 363, dated the 15th March, 1897.

7. In conclusion I have the honour to append a statement showing the details of the expenditure already incurred this year.

No. 112-G.A. dated Calcutta, the 22nd April

From

The Comptroller of India Treasuries.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

As requested in your letter No. 278, dated 1st April 1898, and 282, dated 11th April 1898, I have the honour to forward a statement showing the amounts expended during the years 1896-97 and 1897-98 in connection with the Linguistic Survey and the unexpended balance at the end of each year.

1896—97

Statement of actual expenses incurred in connection with the Linguistic Survey.

Account in which amount debited	Gross amount			Deduction			Net amount			Remarks
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Account Bengal for April 1896	40	0	0				40	0	0	
Account Bengal for May 1896	60	0	0		..		60	0	0	
Account Bengal for June 1896	41	12	0	2	5	6	39	6	6	
Account Bengal for July 1896	15	2	6		..		15	2	6	
Account Punjab for August 1896	60	0	0	1	9	0	58	7	0	
Account Punjab for September 1896	30	0	0	0	12	6	29	3	6	
Account Punjab for September 1896	34	10	9		..		34	10	9	
Account Punjab for September 1896	100	0	0		..		100	0	0	
Presidency payment December 1896	55	0	0	0	12	6	54	3	6	
Account Punjab for October 1896	50	0	0		..		50	0	0	
Account Punjab for October 1896	41	10	8	0	12	6	40	14	2	
Account Punjab for November 1896	55	0	0	0	12	6	54	3	6	
Account Punjab for November 1896	100	15	0		..		100	15	0	
Presidency Payment January 1897	55	0	0	0	12	6	54	3	6	
Presidency payment January 1897	47	9	0		..		47	9	0	
Presidency Payment February 1897	58	13	0	0	12	6	58	0	6	
Presidency Payment March 1897	272	14	9	0	12	6	272	2	3	
Total	1,118	7	8	9	6	0	1,109	1	8	
Budget grant	2,000	0	0							
Balance.. ..	881	8	4							

1897—98

Statement of actual expenses incurred in connection with the Linguistic Survey.

Account in which debited	Gross Amount			Deduction			Net amount			Remarks
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
Simla April 1897	58	4	0	0	12	6	57	7	6	
,, May 1897	31	2	0	0	12	6	30	5	6	
,, June 1897	31	12	0	0	12	6	30	15	6	
,, July 1897	30	0	0	0	12	6	29	3	6	
,, August 1897	30	0	0	0	12	6	29	3	6	
,, September 1897	30	0	0	0	12	6	29	3	6	
,, November 1897	61	14	0	1	9	0	60	5	0	
Presidency payment for December 1897	70	8	6	0	12	6	69	12	0	
Presidency payment for January 1898	96	5	0	0	12	6	95	8	6	
Presidency payment for February 1898	271	10	3	0	12	6	270	13	9	
Presidency payment for March 1898	274	11	8	0	12	6	273	15	2	
Simla March 1898	95	7	6		..		95	7	6	
Bengal account for September 1897	527	13	0		..		527	13	0	Value of map supplied
Total	1,609	7	11	9	6	0	1,600	1	11	
Budget grant	2,000									
Balance .	390	8	1							

Expenditure as incurred during four months of 1898-99

Month	Establishment			Telegrams			Miscellaneous			Rewards			Furniture Livery ect.			Total			Remarks
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	
April	74	10	10	6	14	0	12	6	0	..			..			93	14	10	
May	63	1	5	3	6	0	9	2	0	..			..			75	9	5	
June	90	8	7	5	12	0	1	15	6	..			..			98	4	1	
July	117	0	0	6	10	0	11	1	0	171	8	0	300	0	0	606	3	0	
Total . .	345	4	10	22	10	0	34	8	6	171	8	0	300	0	0	873	15	4	
Less refund of amount on account of an overcharge in the bill for March 1898	..			..			..			..			..			0	14	3	
GRAND TOTAL	..			..			..			..			..			873	1	1	

No. 1801 dated Simla the 7th September 1898

From

H. LUSON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

In reply to your letter No. 873, dated the 18th August 1898, I am directed to convey the sanction of the Government of India to—

(i) the sanctioned estimate of expenditure during the current official year in connection with the Linguistic Survey being raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000; and

(ii) the increase of your permanent advance from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200.

2. The Government of India are willing to grant you an allowance on account of office rent, on the understanding that your office is located in your own house. The amount of the rent will depend on the space occupied by your office, and I am to ask you to furnish the following particulars in connection therewith—

(a) the floor area of the whole house which you occupy or intend to occupy;

(b) the rent of the whole house; and

(c) the floor area of the room to be occupied by your office.

3. I am to request also that the Government of India may be furnished by the 1st of January 1899, with an estimate of the expenditure to be incurred on the Linguistic Survey during the next financial year 1899-1900.

Nos. 1802-1803

Endorsed by the Government of India, Home Department.

Copy of correspondence forwarded to the Finance and Commerce
——————— Department for information.
Public works

PUBLIC

HOME DEPARTMENT PROCEEDINGS,

OCTOBER 1898.

Publication and distribution of the rough list of languages spoken in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts.

Nos.
97-101

No. 97

No. 1031, dated Simla, the 27th September 1898.

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey (Home Department, Government of India).

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 845, dated the 20th May last, I have the honour to forward two copies of the proof of the rough lists of languages spoken in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts.

2. In the Hyderabad Assigned Districts there are five District Officers and one Commissioner of the Division. I propose to send two copies of the lists to each of these officers, one copy each to the gentlemen named in the accompanying list*, and five copies to the Home Department, and desire to retain 25 copies for use in my office in order to meet future demand, making up a total of 75 copies, excluding any extra number that may be required by the Government of India. I beg to request that the necessary instructions may be issued to the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, for printing off the necessary number of copies.

*as on pp. 231—32.

SIMLA RECORDS 1.

HOME 1898 DEPT.

PUBLIC

PROCEEDINGS NOVEMBER

Nos. 139 TO 143

Publication and distribution of the Rough List of languages spoken in Bombay and Baroda.

Nos. 139-143

No. 139

No. 1242, dated Simla the 3rd November 1898.

From

G A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey (Home Department, Government of India).

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of my letter No. 1031, dated 27th September last, I have the honour to forward one copy of the proof of the rough lists of languages spoken in Bombay. In Bombay there are 43 District and Political Officers and 4 Commissioners of Divisions. I propose to send two copies of the lists to each of these officers, one copy each to the gentlemen named in the accompanying list, five copies to the Home Department, and desire to retain 30 copies for use in my office in order to meet future demand, making up a total 162 copies, excluding any extra number that may be required by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India for future use. I beg to request that the necessary instructions may be issued at an early date to the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta, for printing off the necessary number of copies.

No. 140

First (Rough) List of Languages.-- (Not printed in Proceedings.)

No. 141

Distribution List of the rough lists of languages spoken in Bombay and Baroda.

1. The Right Honourable Professor Max Müller	7, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
2. A. A. MacDonell, Esq.	Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford.
3. Sir M. Monier Williams	Care of Indian Institute, Oxford.
4. Dr. Bloch	Imperial Museum, Calcutta.
5. Dr. Bhandarkar, Ph. D.	Poona.
6. Dr. Hultzsch	Government Epigraphist, Bangalore.
7. G. W. Hopkins, Esq.	Yale University, New Haven, Conn, U .ited States of America.
8. Professor J. Jolly	Würzburg, Bavaria, Germany.
9. W. Irvine, Esq.	Holliscroft, Castelnare, Barnes, London S. W.
10. Professor A. Weber.	An der Universitat, Barlin, Germany.
11. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Heornle	On special duty, Simla.
12. The Honorary Secretary, Bengal Asiatic Society	Calcutta.
13. The Scretary, Royal Asiatic Society	Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, London W.
14. The Librarian, American Oriental Society	Cambridge, Boston, Mass., United States of America.
15. Die Bibliothek der Deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft	50, Friedrich Strasse, Halle a. d. Saa le, Germany.
16. C. Bendall, Esq.	British Museum, Bloomsbury, London.
17. Dr. R. Atkinson	Professor of Sanskrit, Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland.
18. M. A. Barth	10, Rue Garanciere, Paris, France.
19. M E. Senart	18, Rue Francois ire, Paris, France.

20. Dr. M. A. Stein	Oriental College, Lahore.
21. Major R. Temple	Chief Commissioner, Andaman Islands, C/o H. S. King & Co., Pall Mall, London, W.
22. Herrn Professor Dr. H. Jacobi	An der Universitat, Bonna. Rh. Germany.
23. Herrn Professor Dr. E. Windisch	An der Universitat, Leipzig, Germany.
24. Herrn Professor Dr. R. Pischel	An der Universitat, Halle a. d. Saale, Germany.
25. Professor E. Cowell	Cambridge, England.
26. John Beames, Esq.	Netherclay House, Bishop's Hall, Taunton, England.
27. R. N. Cust, Esq., LL. D.	63, Elm Park Gardens, Fulham Road, London, S. W.
28. Herrn Professor Dr. Kuhn.	Munchen, Hess Str., Bavaria, Germany.
29. Herrn Professor Dr. Kielhorn	An der Universitat, Gottingen, Germany.
30. C. R. Lanman, Esq.	Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., United States of America.
31. M. Sylvain Levi	Professeur de Sanskrit au College de France, Paris, France.
32. J. T. Platts, Esq.	5, The Crescent Park Town, Oxford.
33. Sir W. W. Hunter, I. C. S., Retired	C/o India Office, London.

No. 2266 dated Simla, the 10th November 1898.

From

H. LUSON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To

The Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta.

I am directed to forward a copy of a letter No. 1242, dated the 3rd November 1898, from Mr. G. A. Grierson, on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey, regarding the rough list of languages spoken in Bombay and Baroda.

I am to request that 200 copies of the list may be printed off, that 38 copies may be retained in the Printing Office as a reserve for the future requirements of this Department, and the remaining 162 copies distributed in accordance with the list which will be furnished to you by Mr. Grierson.

No. 143

No. 2267

Copy forwarded to G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., for information, with the remark that 38 additional spare copies of the list have been ordered for the future requirements of the Home Department.

HOME DEPT.
PUBLIC A
Feb. 1899
Progs. 63-65

No. 63

Allotment of Rs. 3,000 for Expenditure in connection with Linguistic Survey during the Financial Year of 1899-1900

No. 140 Simla dated the 4th January 1899.

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. on Special Duty, L.S.

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Department.

With reference to paragraph 3 of your letter No. 1801, dated the 7th Sept. 1898, I have the honour to state that the approximate expenditure in connection with the Linguistic Survey during the next financial year 1899-1900 will be as follows:—

	Rs.
1 Clerk on Rs. 30/- per mensem	360
1 Marathi Clerk on Rs. 50/- per mensem	600
1 Clerk on Rs. 45/- per mensem	540
1 Clerk on Rs. 30/- per mensem	360
1 Duftari & Peon on Rs. 9/- per mensem	108
2 Peons at Rs. 7/- each per mensem	168
Service Stamps	150
Stationery	150
Renewal & repair of furniture	100
Misc. (including telegraph charges, purchase of books, liveries for peons, and other sundry expenses).	464
TOTAL	Rs. 3,000

No. 64

No. 301 dated Calcutta, the 6th Feb. 1899.

From

H. LUSON, Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, ESQ. C.I.E. & C.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1402 dt. the 4th Jan. 1899, I am directed to say that the Govt. of India sanctioned an allotment of Rs. 3,000 for expenditure in connection with the Linguistic Survey, during the financial year 1899-1900.

No. 65

Copy with copy of letter from Mr. Grierson, No. 1402, dated the 4th Jan. 1899, forwarded to the Finance & Commerce Deptt., in continuation of endorsement No. 1802, dt. 7th Sept. 1898.

SIMLA RECORDS—5

HOME—PUBLIC—1899

Proceedings—February—Nos. 244-246

Arrangement for printing the volumes of the Linguistic Survey.

No. 244

p. 3

No. 1395 dated Simla, the 3rd January 1899.

From

G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Ph.D., Officer on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I have the honour to inform you that the question of the number of copies to be printed of the volumes of the Survey has been raised by the Surveyor General's Department. He has asked me how many copies of each map are required.

2. Two courses are open to us. One is to print off each section of the report as it is got ready, and is put into type. The other is to keep the whole pending, and standing in type, till it is complete. I may add that it would be a hopeless task to keep the whole in manuscript till it is complete, for the proofs have to be sent out to the various districts whence the specimens came, and if all were printed at once, the delay would be very great.

3. If we adopt the first course, there will be difficulties about pagination. It is probable that the eastern group of Aryan languages, which includes Bengali, Bihari, Oriya, and Assamese will occupy one volume. Of these the Bengali portion is in type, and the Bihari portion is under preparation. The whole will have to be preceded by a general introduction dealing with the eastern group, which, it is manifest, cannot be commenced till all the four languages are completed. A way out of the difficulty would be to give a separate pagination to the Introduction, and by doing this, the Bengali portion could be struck off as soon as the proofs have been finally corrected.

4. If we adopt the second course, I am informed by Mr. Ross that there will be no difficulty in stereotyping the pages as soon as they are passed for press. This will release the type, and I shall have the advantage of being able to give the final press order for the whole Survey at once, being able to leave such details as pagination, head lines, etc., to the last moment, which would be a great convenience, as unforeseen circumstances are continually cropping up in the course of the survey. For instance, I have discovered some tribes speaking a Rajputana dialect in the mountains of Swat. If the volume regarding the Rajputana dialects had been printed off before the discovery was made, there would have been difficulties in subsequently inserting this Swat dialect in its proper place. If the pages were only stereotyped, there would be no difficulty whatever. Similarly a dialect of Gujarati has been discovered spoken by a criminal tribe in Midnapore in Bengal, and so on.

5. Regarding the maps, the Assistant Surveyor General writes to me "The zinc plates can be allowed to stand over for a few months, but, if required for an indefinite period, and if too many, they could be paid for at the rate of about Rs. 1 per plate".

6. If Government is of opinion that the maps, at least, should be printed off at once, orders should be passed as to the number of copies required of each map, but I should be glad if actual printing could be delayed, as that would allow of petty alterations being made in any map, which might be rendered necessary by subsequent discoveries.

7. What I should prefer myself would be that the typed matter should be stereotyped, and the map-plates kept pending till the last moment. In the meantime, I could get a few copies printed of each part, (p. 4) as it is finished, for communication to experts, who would criticise them privately, and from whom I might receive valuable suggestions, which could be utilized when necessary.

8. If, however, Government desires that each part should be printed off as it is ready, then I shall be prepared, if required, to submit suggestions as to the number of copies to be printed. In that case, I presume that as each volume was printed, it would be published.

No. 245

No. 401 dated Calcutta, the 20th February 1899

From

H. Luson, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., Officer on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1395, dated the 3rd January 1899, on the subject of the arrangements to be made for printing the volumes of the Linguistic Survey.

2. It appears that the Assistant Surveyor General inadvertently proposed to charge for the zinc-plates if kept indefinitely before the final order to print off the mapping work was given. It has, however, been arranged that the plates shall be kept as long as necessary, without charge.

3. The Superintendent of Government Printing, India, can have the printed matter now in type stereotyped as soon as you give the order. He cannot, however, proceed further with the work until the type of the 500 pages already set up is released. I am therefore to request that, if you see no objection, early orders may be given for liberating the type.

4. There will thus be no difficulty in carrying out the proposals, made in the penultimate paragraph of your letter, that the typed matter should be stereotyped and the map-plates kept pending till the last moment. In the meantime a few copies of each part of the work can be printed, as it is finished, for communication to experts in order that any suggestions made by them may be utilized when necessary.

No. 246 Nos. 402-403

Copy, with copy of the letter replied to, forwarded to the Department of Revenue and Agriculture & Superintendent of Government Printing, India, for information.

HOME DEPT.

PUBLIC—A.

No. 124

Proposal to complete the linguistic survey work in England.

Notes

Demi-official dated 17th June 1899

From

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E., Officer on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To

A. H. L. Fraser, Esq., C.S.I., Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I enclose a copy of a letter which I have received from my medical attendant, Major H. Hendley, Civil Surgeon of Simla.

You will see that he is of opinion that I should not remain in Simla beyond the present hot weather. I understand that by the expression "hot weather" he means the usual season of Simla ending in October. It is unfortunate that I have also been forbidden to reside in the plains.

It hence follows that unless the Government of India can see their way to permit me to finish the work of the Linguistic Survey at home, it will

apparently be necessary for me to abandon it. To me personally this would be a matter of great regret.

I have already spoken to you about the state of the case, and I shall be much obliged if you will kindly lay it before the Government of India.

The Government of India's Despatch No. 78, dated the 10th March 1898, gives the whole history of the case connected with Mr. Grierson's appointment on special duty for the Linguistic Survey, for a period of two years, on Rs. 2,000 a month.

It was distinctly contemplated that a longer period might be required. In Despatch No. 82, dated the 5th May 1898, the Secretary of State approved of the proposal and observed:—"I shall watch with the greatest interest the progress made by Mr. Grierson in carrying out a project which is of practical as well as of high scientific value." Mr. Grierson was placed on special duty with effect from the 17th May 1898.

2. In regard to the idea of carrying out the work at home, the Government of India wrote as follows (paragraph 7 of the Despatch of the 10th March 1898):—"We have considered a suggestion that some arrangement might be made under which he (Dr. Grierson) should continue the work during his retirement in England, but we are opposed to the idea of the work being carried out in that manner since we consider it essential to the success of the survey that it should be conducted by an officer in this country." This observation was based on Mr. Hewett's note of the 16th February 1898 and Sir James Westland's note of the 21st idem. The terms on which Mr. Grierson was prepared to do the work in England are mentioned in his demi-official letter of the 7th February 1898. Mr. Grierson, however, was himself opposed (p. 2) then to the idea of carrying on the work at home. For he thought it would be better done here. Circumstances have altered. Much of the work has been done. Of what remains a good deal could be as well done in England and some even better. Besides Mr. Grierson's health has broken down; and for him it is necessary to go home.

3. I shall consider first the state of the work. I have talked the matter over fully with Mr. Grierson. The survey extends over the whole of India except Burma, Madras and Hyderabad.

That is to say, it covers—

Assam,

Lower Bengal,

Nepal,

the North-Western Provinces,

the Punjab, including Kashmir and the neighbouring countries,

Rajputana,

Central India,

the Central Provinces,

Berar,

Bombay and Sindh,

together with (in the case of British Provinces) the connected Native States.

The work to be done consists of two main divisions. The first division consists of the collection of lists from the local authorities, showing what are the languages and dialects spoken in each local area. These lists are to be edited so far as possible, and compiled into Provincial Rough Lists. They are confessedly "Rough Lists," and do not profess to be scientifically accurate. The second division of the work consists of the collection of specimens prepared by local officers of every language and dialect mentioned by each in the Rough Lists submitted by him. Mr. Grierson's task is to edit these specimens, and to publish selections from them. With their aid, he has to identify the various languages and dialects mentioned under various names in the Rough Lists, and to assign to each its habitat. Finally, it is understood, though not actually, I believe, in writing, that when this is done he is to write a general summary of the results arrived at. This will be a book in itself. This last part would certainly be better done in Europe than in India.

4. Three Rough Lists (those for the Lower Provinces, the North-Western Provinces and the Central Provinces) were completed when Mr. Grierson took over charge of his present office. Since then, he has completed all the other Provincial Rough Lists and has carried them through the press. He gave the press order for the last a few days ago. The first division of the survey is therefore completed. He took charge of his present office at the end of May 1898; so that just a year has elapsed.

5. With regard to the second division of the work, it will be convenient to consider it according to groups of languages. For present purposes they may be grouped as follows:

(1) The Indo-Aryan languages.
(2) The Iranian languages.
(3) The Dravidian.
(4) The so-called Kolarian languages, which I shall henceforth call the Munda languages.
(5) The Tibeto-Burman languages.
(6) The unclassed languages of the North-West Frontier.

Of these, the Indo-Aryan group is naturally by far the heaviest. It and the Iranian group also contain the languages with which Mr. Grierson is himself best acquainted. The 6th group is the most difficult one, and is the one with which the slowest progress can be made. For these reasons he has commenced work with these three groups. As regards the Indo-Aryan group, if we omit Assamese (which will only take a fortnight or so to dispose of once he has the materials ready), Mr. Grierson has completed the preparation of the specimens of all the languages and dialects from the eastern frontier of India up to, roughly speaking, the longitude of Allahabad. He has not yet, however, completed the few languages of Baghelkhand and its neighbourhood, which lie to the east of that line of longitude; nor has he yet touched the various corrupt forms of Marathi spoken in the Central Provinces. These last will naturally wait till he deals with the Bombay languages. Of the above completed languages, the section dealing with Bengali is now in type has been corrected with great care, and will soon be in a condition to receive the press order. The sections dealing with the others are ready for the press.

6. With regard to the Iranian group, all the languages of which Mr. Grierson has received specimens have been finished. The most important is Pushto, and the section dealing with it is in type. The only important language of this group which he has not yet touched is Bilochi. This must wait till the specimens from Bombay are received. The other languages are also in type. With regard to the North-West Frontier languages, every (p. 3) specimen which has been received has been edited and is now in type. Some of these languages are new discoveries, and are the subject of correspondence with savants in Europe. Further progress will therefore be slow. Maps illustrating all the above either have been prepared or are under preparation. Some are in proof.

7. Mr. Grierson has not yet touched No. 3 (Dravidian), No. 4 (Munda), or No. 5 (Tibeto-Burman). The main Dravidian languages of Southern India hardly fall within the survey. Some of them, for instance, Telugu and Canarese, will have to be touched upon. Mr. Grierson is not familiar with them, and will have to be allowed to employ outside assistance in regard to them. As to the Dravidian languages spoken by wild tribes, such as Gond, Kandh, or Oraon, he proposes probably to try to dispose of them himself. He also proposes to deal himself with the Munda languages which form an important but small section of the survey. As to the Tibeto-Burman languages, he hardly feels competent to deal with them, and will have to ask for outside help. He has already talked this over with me.

8. To sum up the above, I estimate that Mr. Grierson has disposed of at least two fifths of the heaviest, the Indo-Aryan section, and of four-fifths of the Iranian section. I may also say that he has completed four-fifths of the North-West Frontier section, but the progress of the remaining fifth will be very slow.

9. Besides the unfinished work indicated above, a large number of specimens still remain to be got in. These principally relate to Rajputana and Central India and to the Bombay Presidency. I do not think that the collection of these remaining specimens could be successfully accomplished out of India. Mr. Grierson, however, promises to take special measures to get them all in before the end of this Simla season. The collection of these specimens involves a heavy correspondence, which occupies the forenoon of each day. Once they are all in, Mr. Grierson will have more time left for editing.

10. Once these specimens are got in, I do not see any serious impediment to completing the work in Europe. In some ways, I think, Mr. Grierson would be able to do it more satisfactorily there. He would have better libraries at his command, and be nearer Oriental scholars, with whom he even now requires to be in constant communication. On the other hand, there would be a certain amount of delay in corresponding with India, but once the specimens, which form the material on which he has to work, are completely gathered

in, this correspondence would be reduced to a minimum. This may be regarded as similar to the other Survey Department, with its field work, and its "recess" elsewhere.

11. Mr. Grierson has, on several occasions, stated his inability to give a fixed estimate as to the time which would be necessary for the completion of the work. He said originally that he would try to complete it in two years, but that he feared that three years would be necessary. He says now that he cannot even bind himself to the latter number, for, as he has explained to me, he is subject to delays, for which he is not responsible. He depends, of course, in some measure on other people. He, however, expresses the hope that, if he works in India till say October next, he may, if no unforeseen impediments occur, complete the work within eighteen months of his commencing serious work in England, a total of three years altogether. In order to accomplish this, he proposes to take about eight months' furlough from October next, and during that time he will work as much as he can on the survey. He will at the same time seek to recruit his health; and, as he will be on leave, his work on the survey will only be secondary consideration. He will only try to do things in respect to which little work will save much time. At the expiry of this leave, he would begin the work in earnest in London.

12. From what has been said it is plain that very considerable progress has been made in the work of the Linguistic Survey. I think also that it has been made plain that by October next a point will have been reached when there will be far less necessity than formerly to have the work carried on in India. There will indeed be some advantages in carrying it on in England. The libraries and learned societies will facilitate necessary references, the consultations with savants will be easier, and (it seems to me) the supervision of the India Office ought to be more effective than that of the Home Department here can be.

13. In any case, however, the great matter for consideration is Mr. Grierson's health. There can be little doubt, in the mind of any one who knows Mr. Grierson, that his continued residence in this country will be full of peril to him. And in face of what Major Hendley has written, Mr. Grierson cannot remain. He has been forbidden to live in the plains; and now he is forbidden to stay in Simla. But he has good hope that, after a course of treatment during the six or eight months' leave he intends to take in October, he may have a good spell of working life at home. Of this he proposes to give about a year and a half to the Linguistic Survey in which he takes a keen interest.

14. The first alternative before the Government, as it seems to me, is to employ Mr. Grierson in this work or to get another man. I do not believe that there is a man to be found so qualified for or so interested in such work as this. And to set a new man at it at this stage, unless it were impossible to keep Mr. Grierson, would be most inexpedient, however good the new man might be. Then the next alternative is to let Mr. Grierson retire and do the work at home on an allowance in addition to the full pension which he has earned or for an honorarium, or to allow him to remain in the service and do the (P. 4) work at home. I strongly recommend the latter course. It is, in my judgment, most desirable to have this work done by an officer on duty, working under orders and supervision, and so realizing his responsibility to the Government that pays him, and having, on the other hand, an official claim to the assistance of all Government officers whose help his work requires. A retired officer giving the odds and ends of his leisure to the work, and having no official position, would be much less likely to succeed.

15. I, therefore, recommend that, on the expiry of the furlough which he proposes to take in October, Mr. Grierson be permitted to finish his work at home. As to salary, I would propose that he receive at home two-thirds of the pay of his substantive Bengal appointment. The ordinary rule is two-thirds of pay. Mr. Grierson, in his zeal for this work, has accepted a salary of Rs. 2,000 per mensem while on this special duty. But his Bengal salary is Rs. 2,500-3,000. To give him two-thirds of Rs. 2,000 would mean only £ 1,200 per annum, i.e. only £ 200 more than his pension, with fund deductions also to make. This, it seems to me would be quite inadequate. His pay in Bengal, on the otherhand, is Rs. 2,700. Two-thirds of this means £ 1,620 per annum; this is only £ 620 above his pension. I think this will not be regarded as an extravagent proposal. If another officer were selected to do the work, the cost would be much greater. It would be—

	£
Mr. Grierson's pension	... 1,000
Salary of new man R 24,000 per annum @1/6	... 1,800
Total	... 2,800

or an increase of 1,180.

16. If the above proposal is accepted, then I think the Secretary of State should be asked to put Mr. Grierson entirely under the orders and supervision of the India Office. And all questions of establishment and of the details of the work should be settled there. The Government of India could not maintain responsibility in regard to the work. But they would give all assistance necessary to the officer on special duty.

A. H. L. FRASER,—30-6-99.

I quite agree with Secretary and hope Financial Department will concur in recommendations being submitted to the Secretary of State as proposed in the last two paragraphs of Secretary's note. It would be a great pity to drop the Linguistic Survey after the progress made, and obviously Mr. Grierson is better qualified to complete it than any one else would be. The state of Mr. Grierson's health unfortunately prevents him from remaining in India beyond the autumn, or from returning to this country even after some months' change to Europe; but Mr. Fraser shows that most of the preliminary work of the Linguistic Survey which can best be done out here, will be finished by October and that the rest of it can be done as well or even better at home.

I agree with Mr. Fraser that as between Mr. Grierson completing his work after retirement and receiving remuneration in addition to his pension, or being allowed to remain on duty till the work is finished, the latter will be the preferable arrangement.

C.M.R(IVAZ),—4-7-99

SIMLA RECORDS I
HOME PUBLIC A
August 1899

Prog.

A124
p. 7

No. 279 of 1899

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT
Pay and Allowances

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD GEORGE FRANCIS HAMILTON,

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.
Simla, the 10th August 1899.

MY LORD,

In your Revenue Despatch No. 82, dated the 5th May 1898, Your Lordship in Council approved the proposal of Lord Elgin's Government to create a temporary post of "Officer on special duty with the Linguistic Survey" on Rs. 2,000 a month for two years, from the date on which Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., of the Indian Civil Service, who was selected for the post, might enter on his duties. Your Lordship took occasion to observe that you would watch with the greatest interest the progress made by Mr. Grierson, under the orders of the Government of India, in carrying out a project which is of practical as well as high scientific value.

2. In paragraphs 3-6 of the Government of India's Financial Despatch No. 78, dated the 10th March 1898, Your Lordship was informed of the preliminary work which had been done in connection with the Linguistic Survey in India. Mr. Grierson joined the appointment on the 17th May 1898, and has since been continuously employed in it. The following is a short account of the work which has been accomplished.

Your lordship will remember that the survey extends over the whole of India, except Burma, Madras and Hyderabad, and that it consists of two main divisions. The first division is the collection of lists from the district officers, showing what are the languages and dialects spoken in each local area. These lists, which do not profess to be scientifically accurate, are edited as far as possible and compiled into Provincial "Rough Lists." The second division of the work, undertaken after the completion of the "Rough Lists", is the collection of specimens, prepared through the assistance of the local officers and others, of every language and dialect. Mr. Grierson's task is to edit these specimens, and to publish selections from them. With their aid, he has to identify the different languages and dialects mentioned under various names in the "Rough Lists", and to assign to each its habitat. When this is done he is to write a general summary of the results arrived at. Three "Rough Lists" (those for the Lower Provinces, the North-Western Provinces and the Central Provinces) were completed when Mr. Grierson took over charge of his office. Since then, he has completed all the other Provincial "Rough Lists" and has carried them through the press. The first division of the survey is, therefore, completed.

In the second division of the survey Mr. Grierson has commenced work with the (a) Indo-Aryan, (b) Iranian and (c) unclassed North-West Frontier groups of languages. As regards the Indo-Aryan group, omitting Assamese (which will shortly be disposed of), he has completed the preparation of the specimens of all the languages and dialects from the eastern frontier of India up to, roughly speaking, the longitude of Allahabad. He has not yet, (p. 8) however, completed the few languages of Baghelkhand and its neighbourhood, which lie to the east of that line of longitude; nor has he yet touched the various corrupt forms of Marathi spoken in the Central Provinces., These last will naturally wait till he deals with the Bombay languages. Of the above completed languages, the section dealing with Bengali is now in type. The sections dealing with the others are ready for the press. With regard to the Iranian group, all the languages, of which specimens have been received, are finished. The most important is Pushto, and the section dealing with it is in type. The only important language of this group not yet touched is Bilochi. This is waiting till the specimens from Bombay are received. The other languages are also in type. With regard to the North-West Frontier languages, every specimen which has been received has been edited and is in type. Some of these languages are new discoveries, and are the subject of correspondence with savants in Europe. Maps illustrating all the above have been prepared or are under preparation.

Mr. Grierson has not yet touched the (d) Dravidian, (e) Munda, or so-called Kolarian, or (f) Tibeto-Burman languages. The main Dravidian languages of Southern India do not fall within the survey; but some of them, for instance Telugu and Canarese, will probably have to be dealt with in connection with the languages spoken by wild tribes of Central India, such as Gond, Kandh or Oraon. Besides the unfinished work just indicated, a large number of specimens still remain to be got in. These principally relate to Rajputana and Central India and to the Bombay Presidency. It is expected that the collection of these remaining specimens will be successfully accomplished before the end of the present Simla season. The collection of these specimens involves a heavy correspondence.

3. Your Lordship will thus see that very considerable progress has been made with the work of the survey. We regret to have to state, however, that Mr. Grierson's health has broken down, and that he has been forbidden by his medical attendants to continue to reside in this country, whether in the hills or in the plains, after the end of the present Simla season. It would, we are advised, be perilous for him to return to India even after the expiry of furlough for eight months for which he has applied with effect from October next. But he has good hope, after a course of treatment in Europe during his leave, to be fit for effective work for some years to come in England. We have, therefore, to choose between the alternative of employing Mr. Grierson in England or of getting another officer for the work in this country. We do not believe that there is another man to be found in India so qualified for, or so interested in, the work as Mr. Grierson. Moreover, to bring in another man for the work at this stage, unless it were impossible to keep Mr. Grierson, would be most inexpedient, however good the new man might be. We, therefore, think that Mr. Grierson should be employed in England upon the work until its completion. We have less hesitation in making this recommendation, as by October next the progress of the survey will have reached a stage when all the preliminary work requiring correspondence with local officers and others in this country has been done and the remainder of the task can be completed as well, or even better, in England where better libraries are to be found, and where there are greater facilities for communicating with Oriental scholars.

4. Mr. Grierson has, on several occasions, stated his inability to give a fixed estimate as to the time which would be necessary for the completion of the work. He said originally that he would try to complete it in two years, but that he feared that three years would be required. He now says that he cannot even bind himself to the latter number, for, as he explains, he has been subject to delays, for which he is not responsible. He expresses the hope, however, that if he works in India till October next, he may, should no unforeseen impediments occur, complete the work within eighteen months of his commencing serious work in England on the expiry of his leave, which means a total period of three years. When on furlough he proposes to do such work in connection with the survey as will take time rather than require effort. But this work will, of course, be voluntary.

5. We have considered whether it would be well to allow Mr. Grierson to retire upon his annuity which he has earned, and to do the remainder

of the work for an honorarium while no longer in the service of Government, but we (p. 9) are not at all in favour of such a proposal. In our opinion it is most desirable to have this work done by an officer on duty, working under orders and supervision, and so realising his responsibility to Government; moreover, a retired officer having no official position would not be likely to command such assistance from Government officers and others as is required.

6. We consider that Mr. Grierson should be placed on special duty in England for eighteen months after the expiry of his furlough to finish the work of the Linguistic Survey, and that during the period of such duty he should be allowed two-thirds of the pay which he would but for his deputation have been drawing in his substantive appointment of Opium Agent in Bengal. This is the ordinary rule (vide Article 103 of the Civil Service Regulations), and though Mr. Grierson in his zeal for this work, accepted a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month while on special duty in India, we consider that the rule quoted above should be applied to his substantive, and not to his present, pay. To give him two thirds of Rs. 2,000 would mean only £1, 200 per annum, that is, only £200* more than the annuity to which he is entitled, with fund deductions also to make. This, it seems to us, would be quite inadequate payment. Mr. Grierson's pay as Opium Agent in Bengal would now have been Rs. 2,700 a month. Two-thirds of this sum will give him £1, 620** per annum or(not counting fund deductions) £620 in excess of his annuity. In our opinion this is not a too liberal allowance, considering the great importance of the work. If Mr. Grierson retired and another officer were selected to do the work, the cost would be much greater.

* Two-Thirds of Rs. 2,000—Rs. 1,333, or £100 per mensem, at 1s. 6d. the rupee.

**Two thirds of Rs. 2,700—Rs. 1,800 or £135 per mensem, at 1s. 6d. the rupee.

7. We should further recommend that, while on special duty, Mr. Grierson be placed entirely under the orders and supervision of the India Office, and that all questions of detail as to the establishment that may be required in connection with it should be settled there, as we should not be in a position to maintain responsibility in the matter. We will very gladly, however, give all necessary assistance.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble Servants,
(Signed) Curzon of Kedleston.
" W.S. A. Lockhart.
" E. H. H. Collen.
" C. M. Rivaz.
" C. E. Dawkins.
" T. Raleigh.
" R. Gardiner.

SIMLA RECORDS 2
HOME PUBLIC A
Nov. 1899
No. 280-282

Deputation of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. of the I.C.S., on special duty in England in connection with the Linguistic survey.

Prog. 280
p. 3

No.214, Rev. dated the 5th October 1899

From

THE RIGHT HON. LORD GEORGE FRANCIS HAMILTON, Her Majesty's Secy. of State for India.

To

H. E. the Right Hon. the GOVERNOR GENERAL of India in Council.

I have considered in Council Your Excellency's letter No. 279 (Finance & Commerce) dt. 10th August 1899, relative to arrangements for the completion of the Linguistic Survey.

2. This work was entrusted in May 1898 to Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., whose health is stated to have broken down, so that he will not be able to reside in India after the close of the present Simla season.

3. The results so far received by Mr. Grierson are in a high degree interesting and satisfactory, and you propose that, after 8 month's furlough in Europe, he should carry the work to completion in this country. You consider that there would be no disadvantage in this arrangement, but that, on the contrary, he would enjoy greater facilities for communicating with Oriental scholars and libraries.

4. As, Mr. Grierson possesses special qualifications for this work it is certainly desirable that it should remain in his hands, and I accept Your Excellency's recommendation in the matter.

5. There remains the question of Mr. Grierson's pay. In ordinary circumstances he would draw, while on duty, 2/3 of his actual Indian salary, which is Rs. 2,000 a month. If he retired as he is entitled to do, on his annuity of £ 1,000 a year, an honorarium would have to be paid to him, by Your Excellency, who considers it desirable that he should continue in the service of Govt. until he has finished the task he has in hand. Duty pay at the above rate would give him only £ 1,200 a year, as remuneration for this very special and arduous work, and you propose that duty pay should be calculated on the Indian pay which he would be receiving if he had retained (p. 4) the appointment of Opium Agent in Bengal, which he relinquished in order that he might accept the invitation of your Govt. to take up the work of the Linguistic Survey. His pay in that post would now be Rs. 2,700 a month, 2/3 of which would give him £ 1,620 per annum.

6. I agree with Your Excellency that the nature of the work justifies an allowance at this rate and I sanction it accordingly.

No. 281

Telegram No. 2615, dated the 2nd Nov. 1899

From

The Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To

G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., I.C.S., Homeward Passenger, Care of Port Officer, Aden.

Proposals about your deputation sanctioned.

SIMLA RECORDS 2

1900

HOME PUBLIC A.

Progs. Feb. 1900 255-56

Proposal to suspend Mr. Grierson's lien upon his appointment as opium agent

No. 255

No. 364-A dated the 19th Jan. 1900

From

The Hon'ble Mr. C. W. BOLTON., C.S.I., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2791, dated the 30th Nov. 1899, forwarding a copy of the correspondence regarding the arrangements that have been made for the completion of the Linguistic Survey of India by Mr. G.A. Grierson, C.I.E.

2. Mr. Grierson joined the special appointment on the 17th May 1898. In Oct. 1899 the Govt. of India granted him furlough for eight months, and, in paragraph 4 of the Govt. of India's Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 279, dt. the 10th Aug. 1899, it is stated that Mr. Grierson has expressed the hope that he may, should no unforeseen impediments occur, complete the work within 18 months of his commencing the serious work in England on the expiry of his leave, which means a total period of three years. As the duty on which Mr. Grierson has been employed since the 17th May 1898 appears to be one which there is no reason to believe will terminate within three years, the Lt. Governor proposes to suspend his lien upon his appointment as Opium Agent, Behar, altogether, and fill up the appointment subsequently, under Article 109 of the Civil Service Regulation. I am to request that you will be so good as to state whether the Govt. of India see any objection to the proposal.

No. 256

No. 515 dated the 24th Feb. 1900.

From

H. LUSON, Dy. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt.

To

The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

In reply to your letter 364A., dt. the 19th Jan., last, I am directed to say that the Governor General in Council has no objection to the proposal that the lien of Mr. G. A. Grierson, I.C.S., upon his appointment as Opium Agent, Behar should be suspended altogether, and the appointment filled up substantively under the provisions of Article 109 of the Civil Service Regulations.

No. 516

Copy of Correspondence forwarded to the Finance & Commerce Department for information.

HOME DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC

Part B

Progs. February 1900

No. 110

Collection of specimens of certain languages spoken in Bombay Presidency and its Feudatory States, which are required by Dr. Grierson.

No. 26 of 1900

Educational Department

Bombay Castle 9th January, 1900

From

J. Dec. Atkins, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to Government.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Public).

Sir.

In reply to Mr. Dy. Secy. Luson's letter No. 2698, dt. the 21st Nov. last, requesting that steps may be taken to procure specimens of certain languages spoken in the Bombay Presidency and Feudatory States, which have not yet been received by Dr. G. A. Grierson, the Officer on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey, I am directed to state that until the conclusion of the present scarcity no material assistance can be given in the matter, but that if, as is understood, materials collected by Dt. Officers subsequent to Dr. Grierson's departure from India will be of use to him, His Excellency the Governor in Council will be glad to direct afresh the attention of (p. 2) those officers to the subject.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

Sd/- J. Dec. Atkins

Secretary to Government

Letter from H. Luson, conveying "The suggestion at the end of the letter may be approved". Office order copy of correspondence may be sent to Dr. Grierson.

H. LUSON

17-1-1900

No. 301

Public

Calcutta

dated the 29th Jan. 1900

To

The Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay, Educational Department.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 26 of the 9th Jan. 1900 stating that until the conclusion of the present scarcity, no material assistance can be given towards procurring specimens of certain languages in the Bombay Presidency and its Feudatories, which are required by Dr. Grierson, but that if materials collected by Dt. Officers subsequent to Dr. Grierson's departure from India will be of use to him the Government of Bombay will direct afresh the attention of those officers to the subject. In this connection I am to say that the Government of India approve of the suggestion just mentioned.

No. 302

Copy of correspondence forwarded to Dr. G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.

CALCUTTA RECORDS 1

1900

HOME—CENSUS A

Progs. Aug. No. 9

NOTES

Proposed preparation of the linguistic portions of the Census Report by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.

I understand that Mr. Grierson's employment on the linguistic survey is not likely to terminate immediately. If this is so, I suggest that he should be required to render some assistance in the linguistic portions of the Census.

For the purposes of table X and the Chapter setting forth the results of that table we want three things—

(1) A Complete set of instructions as to the heads under which the various entries recorded in the schedules are to be arranged.

(2) A Scheme of classification such as given at page 136 of Mr. Baines' report.

(3) A draft by an expert of the chapter itself on the lines to be settled in consultation with the Census Commissioner.

All of these Mr. Grierson ought to be able to give us by, say, the middle of Jan. 1901. He has all the materials and would in any case be the chief critic of any linguistic work done independently of him. If my proposals have the effect of hastening him a little, no harm will be done. The language chapter would also come in for the Gazetteer.

I am not sure that we should not ask also for a brief note on the linguistic history and relation of each Prov. which might be sent to the Provl. Supdt. to form the basis of his language chapter.

I recommend that the Secretary of State be addressed somewhat on the above lines. If Mr. Grierson is furnished with general instructions of the kind suggested and corresponds directly with me as to the detailed arrangements, there ought to be no difficulty.

Home Deptt. H. H. RISLEY
27-7-1900

I have spoken to the Secretary. Draft to Under Secretary of State asking that Dr. Grierson's opinion may be obtained upon the Census Commissioner's suggestions.

H. LUSON
27-7-1900

No. 58 of 1900

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC

prog. 9

To

SIR ARTHUR GODLEY, K.C.B.

Her Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India.

Simla the 16th Aug. 1900

SIR,

I AM directed to say that the Census Commissioner for India has suggested that Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., who is on Special Duty in England in connection with the Linguistic Survey of India, may be asked to render some assistance in the linguistic portion of the report on the decennial Census of 1901.

2. In order that the Table X (Language) of the Imperial Tables attached to the Resolution of the Govt. of India, No. 137-149 dt. the 3rd Aug. 1900, a copy of which is enclosed, may be properly prepared and that the exposition of the subject in the chapter setting forth the result of the table may be adequate, three things are required—

(i) a complete set of instructions as to the heads under which the various entries recorded in the Census* Schedule are to be arranged;

(ii) a scheme of classification such as that given at page 136 of Mr. Baines' last Census Report; and

(iii) a draft by an expert of the chapter itself on lines to be settled in consultation with the Census Commissioner.

*Vide Govt. of India Resolution No. 30-32, dt. the 2nd April 1900, and enclosure (copy annexed).

3. The Census Commissioner suggests, that, as Dr. Grierson has all the materials for the above and would, in any case, be the chief critic of any linguistic work done independently of him, he should be invited to do the work, especially as the chapter on language would also be utilized for the Imperial Gazetteer, the question of the revision of which forms the subject of a separate Despatch to the Secretary of State. Mr. Risley also suggests that Dr. Grierson be asked to write a brief note on the linguistic history and relations of each Province, which could be sent to each Provl. Supdt. of Census for the basis of the chapter on language to be written by each Province. Mr. Risley advises that the note should be completed by the middle of January, 1901, and that the details should be settled by Dr. Grierson in direct correspondence with him.

4. The Govt. of India would be glad if Dr. Grierson could undertake this important duty which will certainly be better done by him than any one else. I am to request that, with the permission of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, Dr. Grierson may be asked whether he is able to do so.

I have the honour to be,

SIR

Your most obedient servant,

J. P. HEWETT,

Secretary to the Govt. of India.

HOME 1901 DEPT.

CENSUS

PART B

Proceedings. May-No. 3

Indexes of languages for use in Census Tabulation

No. 106

From

THE CENSUS COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

To

All Superintendents Census Operations

Dated Simla, the 23rd April, 1901.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of the Indexes of Languages which have been prepared by Dr. Grierson, C.I.E., in accordance with my suggestion, for use in census tabulation. The principles on which each Index has been drawn up are explained in the introductory note. I have merely to add that Dr. Grierson's arrangement should be followed as closely as possible, so that the census statistics may correspond with those which will be subsequently published as part of the Linguistic Survey. Should the names given by Dr. Grierson to languages or dialects be not known or understood locally, as I am informed is the case in Rajputana and in parts of Bombay, it is open to Superintendent to use other names in Table X, giving in a footnote the names adopted by Dr. Grierson, and explaining in the text of their Report the reasons for departing from the standard nomenclature. All such cases should be reported to me for sanction, and a copy of the letter should be sent to Dr. Grierson at the India Office, London.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

H. H. RISLEY,

Census Commissioner for India

No. 107

Copy forwarded to the Home Department.

Indexes of Languages the same as published in Census Volume.

SIMLA RECORDS—3

HOME DEPTT.
PUBLIC A.
Dec. 1901
Progs. No. 122-125

Prog. 122

p. 3

Extension of the period of deputation of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., on special duty in connection with the Linguistic survey of India

No. 156 (Revenue), dated the 18th Oct. 1901.

From—The Right Honourable Lord GEORGE FRANCIS HAMILTON, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

To—His Excellency the Right Honourable the GOVERNOR GENERAL, of India in Council.

In my despatch No. 214 (Revenue), dated the 5th Oct. 1899, I sanctioned the deputation of Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., on Special duty in connexion with the Linguistic Survey of India, for a period of eighteen months from the date of expiration of his leave. The period began on the 15th September 1900, but about the same time Mr. Grierson undertook, at the request of Your Excellency's Govt., certain linguistic work connected with the Imperial Census Report.

2. Mr. Grierson now reports that owing to the addition of Census work, and also work connected with the Imperial Gazetteer, to his special duties in connexion with the Linguistic Survey, he finds it impossible under any circumstances to complete the latter within the period of eighteen months, and he considers that these additional duties will occupy at least six months longer. He asks that the period of his deputation may be extended to two years to enable him to complete them.

3. In your Despatch No. 85, dated the 5th Sept. 1901, you have now withdrawn your proposal that Mr. Grierson should revise Chapters XIII of the Volume VI and portions of Chapter IV of the Imperial Gazetteer, "in order to prevent any claim being made for the prolongation of his deputation". Mr. Grierson, however, will still remain responsible for the language chapter of the Imperial Census Report, and for the corresponding chapter in the descriptive Volume of the Gazatteer, and I apprehend that unless his deputation is extended to two years he will have difficulty in completing this additional work and also the Linguistic Survey.

4. I shall be glad to be informed by telegraph whether you agree in the circumstances to the extension of Mr. Grierson's deputation upto the 15th September 1902.

No. 123

Telegram No. 6036, dt. the 15th Nov. 1901

From—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

To—The Census Commissioner for India.

Secretary of State proposes to extend Dr. Grierson's deputation till 15th September 1902. One cause assigned for proposal is that Grierson will have to write language chapters of Imperial Gazetteer and Census Report. Could you suggest other satisfactory arrangements for writing these chapters in event of Grierson's extension being thought undesirable.

No. 124

Telegram dated the 16th Nov. 1901.

From—The Census Commissioner for India.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Your 6036. Grierson has commenced writing language chapter of Census Report on lines laid down by me and has sent me a long interesting section (p. 4) describing Indo-Chinese languages. I estimate length of chapter about 100 pages if Grierson completes this. I can condense it or get it condensed for the Gazetteer without his assistance. For Gazetteer therefore no extension of his deputation is necessary, it would also be possible to dispense with his assistance in Census Report, but in that case the language chapter will be mere analysis of statistics and will contain no descriptive or philological matter.

No. 125

Telegram No. 6274, dated the 10th Dec. 1901

From—His Excellency the Viceroy, Calcutta.

To—His Majesty's Secretary of State for India

Your Revenue Despatch No. 156, 18th Oct. last. We agree to Grierson's deputation for six months. We hope that no further extension necessary.

No. 6275

Copy of Correspondence forwarded to Finance Department for information.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

HOME DEPARTMENT, FEBRUARY 1901

Prog. No. 7

Progress of the linguistic survey work for December 1900

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Finance No. 7 and Commerce Department, No. 614-Ex., dated the 31st January 1901.

Read—

Letter from the Assistant Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office, No. R. and S. 385, dated the 11th January 1901, and enclosure.

Transferred to the Home Department.

(True Extract).
C. W. C. CARSON,
for Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Finance and Commerce Department.

No. R. and S. 385, dated 11th January 1901

From—J. H. SEARBOOKE, Esq. Assistant Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department.

I forward, for information, copy of the paper noted in the margin on the subject of Dr. Grierson's progress with his Linguistic Survey.

Letter From Dr. Grierson, dated 9th January 1901.

No. 3-I.-1, dated the 9th January 1901

From—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S., On Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To—The Revenue Secretary, India Office.

I have the honour to report that very little progress was made in the Linguistic Survey of India during the month of December 1900. What little work was done consisted mainly in correcting proofs.

I was occupied during the greater part of the month on work connected with the approaching Census of India. The principal work was the preparation of a complete list of all the names under which the various languages of India are referred to. The list contains about fifteen hundred entries, each of which had to be checked, compared, and classified before admission. I finished the last slip to-day, and I hope to have the list ready for the press in a week or two.

I except to be occupied with Census work during the present month.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

HOME DEPARTMENT

PUBLIC DEPOSIT

Proceedings, January 1901, No. 1.

Progress of the Linguistic Survey work

NOTES

Demi-Official from Sir Charles Bernard, No. $\frac{R \& L}{1655}$ dated the 14th June 1900, forwarding a report by Dr. Grierson on the above

For information. Await further communication promised.

W.P., 4-7-00 H. LUSON,—5-7-00.

From the India Office, No. 3124, dated the 5th November 1900, forwarding a copy of a letter from Dr. Grierson on the subject

For information.

C.C.S. — 29-11-00. H. J. McIntosh,—30-11-000.
J. P. Hewett,—1-12-00.

From the India Office, No. 3437-R. & S., dated the 6th December, 1900, forwarding a copy of a Letter from Dr. Grierson on the subject.

For information.

C.C.S.,—2-1-01 H. J. McIntosh,—3-1-01.
J. P. Hewett,—3-1-01.

No. $\frac{R \& S,}{1655}$ dated the 14th June 1899.

Demi-official from—Sir C. E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I., Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office,

To—J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Dr. Grierson's letter of 4th June 1900, and one enclosure.

I enclose, for information, copy of a letter and memorandum from Dr. G. A. Grierson, giving account of the progress he has made with his Linguistic Survey work up to the end of May 1900. His furlough expires on the 1st October, and before that time he will have settled in or near London, and will labour continuously at his undertaking. I will submit hereafter account of any arrangements made with him under paragraph 7 of the Government of India Despatch No. 279 (Finance), dated 10th August 1899.

Dated the 4th June 1900

Demi-official from—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S., on Special Duty, Linguistic Survey,

To—Sir CHARLES BERNARD, K.C.S.I., Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office.

Instructions have been given to me that as soon as I began regular work on the Linguistic Survey, I should submit monthly progress reports. Although such reports have not been asked for while I am on furlough, I think that it is only fair that the Secretary of State should be kept informed as to how the work is going on, inasmuch as he has been paying something all this time for my office expenses. I therefore enclose a brief report showing, in general terms, what progress has been made during the first six months of my leave. Perhaps it might be thuoght advisable to send a copy to the Government of India. If so, would you prefer that I should send it direct, or that it should go from the India Office?

I hope to be in London on Saturday morning next. If it would not be inconvenient to you, I should be glad to have an opportunity of discussing the future conduct of the Linguistic Survey with you. May I call on you in office on Saturday or Monday or Tuesday, and, if so, at what hour?

I enclose* a formal letter about my address in London.

*In a separate cover.

Note on the progress made in the Linguistic Survey of India between the 1*st of November* 1899 *and the* 1*st of June* 1900.

My furlough commenced on the 1st November 1899, and beyond the correction of proofs while I was on board ship, little could be done for the first two months. Since then I have prepared for press all the specimens which I have received from Assam, except those of Assamese which had been previously disposed of, and a few belated examples which have reached me during the last few months.

In other words, practically all the specimens of the numerous non-Aryan languages of Assam are now in type, and are in the stage of first proofs. I have not kept any record of the number of languages and dialects dealt with, but it is very large.

Besides the above, three important groups of languages have been finally disposed of by me so far as my own knowledge goes. That is to say, skeleton grammars of each language have been prepared and introductions and other matter written.

These groups are—

1. The languages of the Khasi family.
2. Those of the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Burman family.
3. Those of the Naga group of the same family (including Mikir).

Of these, proofs of No. 1 are with me. Nos. 2 and 3 are with the press. No. 3 was a particularly heavy group, as very little was known about most of the languages composing it. It may be of interest to state that I have been able to divide the Naga languages into five Sub-groups, an Eastern, a Central and a Western, with the two others. These three closely agree with the classification made by Mr. Damant in 1880, though the details differ slightly. In addition to these three, I believe that I have identified two new sub-groups. The

first of these, which I have provisionally named the Naga-Bodo sub-group, consists of a number of languages, the principal of which are Mikir and Kachha Naga, which represent a transition stage between the Naga and the Bodo forms of speech. The second of these, which I have provisionally named the Naga-Kuki sub-group, consists of languages (the principal being Mao and Tangkhul) which are transitional between Naga and Kuki. These two links have long been looked for, but have not, so far as I am aware, been hitherto identified.

I cannot pretend to have more than a slight acquaintance with most of these languages. Six months ago, all that I knew about many of them was their names, though I may add that (excepting half a dozen of them) no other European knew anything more about them. All have now been provided with vocabularies of test-words drawn up on a uniform scale, and most of them with grammars. As soon as the proofs come back from the press, they will be distributed to gentlemen who have a more practical and intimate acquaintance with the languages than I have, and their criticisms and corrections will be invited. Till these are received, any classification of mine can only be considered as provisional.

The Assam languages which have not yet been finally disposed of by me are;—

1. The Tai or Shan languages.
2. The Abor-Miri group.
3. A few languages hitherto unclassed, the principal of which are Singpho and Aka.
4. The Kuki group.
5. Others.

The specimens of all these have had their preliminary editing and are now in type. The group which will take up most time will be No. 4 as there is a great collection of material to arrange, and a plentiful literature on the subject to be mastered.

So far for Assam.

Besides the above, I have had a great deal of work in connection with the Aryan languages of India, from the Eastern Frontier of the country, up to nearly the longitude of Agra. The survey of these languages was in manuscript before I left India. It is now in type. The proofs of Assamese and Oriya have been corrected by me during the past few months and have been returned to press. The proofs of the rest are still under correction. This is very heavy and laborious work, involving the minute examination of some hundred pages of large quarto mostly in various Indian vernaculars.

During the next month or two I shall not be able to do much work, as I have been travelling.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON

BALLY CASTLE;
The 7th June 1900.

P. S.—I see that I have omitted to state that this progress report is only in the most general terms. I have not referred to portions of the survey dealing with some of the Assam languages which were completed before I left India, and, on the other hand, I have not mentioned odds and ends of work connected with other languages which I have done since I came to Europe. To give details of this would extend the report to an inconvenient length. I only mention this here to explain any apparent inconsistencies between this and previous progress reports.

G. A. G.

Dated the 5th November 1900

Demi-official from—Sir C. E. BERNARD, K.C.S.I., Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I forward, for information, copy of the papers noted below on the subject of Dr. Grierson's progress with his Linguistic Survey.

Letter from Dr. Grierson, dated 2nd November 1900,

No. 153, dated the 2nd November 1900

From—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S., On Special Duty, Linguistic Survey.

To—The Revenue Secretary, India Office.

As instructed in the third paragraph of Sir Horace Walpole's letter No. R. & S. 3462, dated the 22nd December 1899, I have the honour to report the progress of my work on the Linguistic

Survey of India during the month of October 1900, being the first month of my special duty in this country.

I regret that my progress has been much hampered by my having to work single-handed. For some months I have been unavailingly searching for an assistant. No suitable person can be found in this country. It is not that the rate of pay offered is insufficient, but that there is an actual lack of suitable men. The few young oriental scholars of English birth have either secured permanent employment or are reading for the Indian Civil Service. I have also searched without success amongst the ranks of the Missionary Societies. Seeing no prospect of finding a suitable person in this country, about six weeks ago I wrote to some friends in Germany, and, through the kind assistance of Professor Windisch, the Secretary of the German Oriental Society, there is, I hope, a prospect of obtaining the services of a young German scholar at an early date. As soon as the negotiations are advanced to a sufficiently definite stage, I shall make a further report to you.

Shortly after my arrival here in the middle of last September I received from the India Office the letters and parcels which had been accumulating for me during the preceding two or three months. These arrived in three heavy cases, and I have been busy with them ever since. They consisted principally of proof-sheets of the work which I had done while I was on furlough, and of the correspondence connected with it. This large mass of papers had to be sorted out and arranged, and the letters had to be replied to. This was a long and heavy task, and is now completed. I have also been working at the proof-sheets, correcting them and inserting additional information which had arrived in the correspondence above mentioned. The nature of this work can be understood when I explain that almost every page dealt with languages of which little but the names had hitherto been known. Specimens and lists of words had been obtained from local officials, missionaries and others. From these, grammars and vocabularies were prepared by me, and the whole set up in type. Proofs of these were sent to my original informants for revision and criticism. These have been received back and in some cases entailed only slight corrections on my part, but in other cases gentlemen working with the best will in the world have misunderstood my original instructions, and whole pages have had to be cancelled. As an example which is typical I may quote the case of the Garo language. The gentleman who, at great expenditure of time and trouble, prepared the specimens which came from the district of Kamrup in Assam, prepared them, not in the dialect of Kamrup as was required, but in the form of Garo spoken in the centre of the Garo Hills (into which the Bible has been translated). It was not till he received my proofs, in which I described his specimens as written in the Kamrup dialect, that he descovered his mistake, and took the trouble to prepare an entirely new set of specimens, which, of course, I have had to analyse and edit afresh. I describe all this at length, as this is my first progress report, in order that it may be understood that correcting hundreds of pages of proofs in little known tongues is no light task.

The languages dealt with by me during the past month have been almost entirely those belonging to the province of Assam. The revision of the proofs of the Bodo group of languages, including Kachari, Lalung, Rabha, Hojai, Di-masa, Chutia, Garo Koch, and Tipperah, and some other minor forms of speech has been completed so far as my powers extended. They have now been forwarded to Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., who has most kindly volunteered to go through them, and revise them in the light of his practical knowledge of some of the languages. I am at present engaged on the large and important Naga group which includes some twenty languages and dialects.

Besides the above, I may add that I have had some correspondence with the Census authorities in India, and have prepared for the Bengal Superintendent a complete list of the languages spoken in that Province.

When submitting progress reports to the Indian Government I usually mentioned any new facts of interest which turned up during the period under review. During last October, I have received specimens which clearly prove that the Hajong language, which has hitherto been accepted as one of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam, is not a Tibeto-Burman language at all, but is an Aryan one akin to Eastern Bengali, and to the "Mayang" spoken in the State of Manipur. I have also, through the kindness of Captain B.E.M. Gurdon, D.S.O., received specimens of the Waigali languages spoken in Kafiristan. This nearly completes my collection of the languages spoken by the Kafirs. Apropos to this last fact. I may mention that Terentyeff's well known "Russia and England in Asia," contains a so called version of the Lord's

Prayer in the "Bolor" or "Kafir" languages. This can only be described as a piece of imposture. It is a version of the Lord's Prayer in the Kafir languages, but it is in the Kafir of South Africa not that of the North-Western Frontier of India, and has been apparently lifted bodily from some Missionary authority.

No. 3437—R. & S., dated the 6th December 1900

Demi-official from Sir C. E. Bernard, K.C.S.I. Secretary, Revenue and Statistics Department, India Office.

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I forward, for information, copy of the papers noted below, on the subject of Dr. Grierson's progress with the Linguistic Survey.

No. 16-H—I-1, dated 4th December 1900.

From—G. A. GRIERSON, Esq., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S., On special duty, Linguistic Survey.

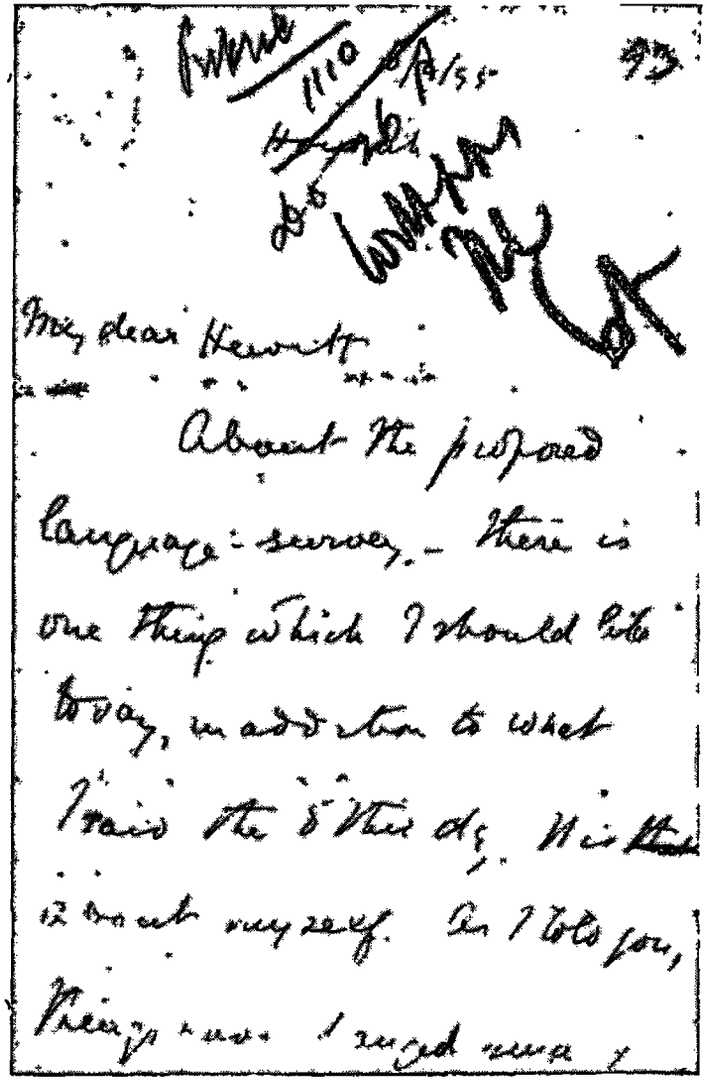
To—The Revenue Secretary, India Office.

I have the honour to report the progress made in the Linguistic Survey of India during the month of November 1900.

2. My principal occupation during the month has been the correcting of the proofs of the Naga languages spoken in Assam and its immediate neighbourhood. This included preparing for the press the specimens of a number of new languages, the materials for which had been received since the original manuscript went to the printer. The work is nearly finished, and the corrected proofs will now be forwarded to local officers for further correction.

3. I have also worked at the Khasi languages.

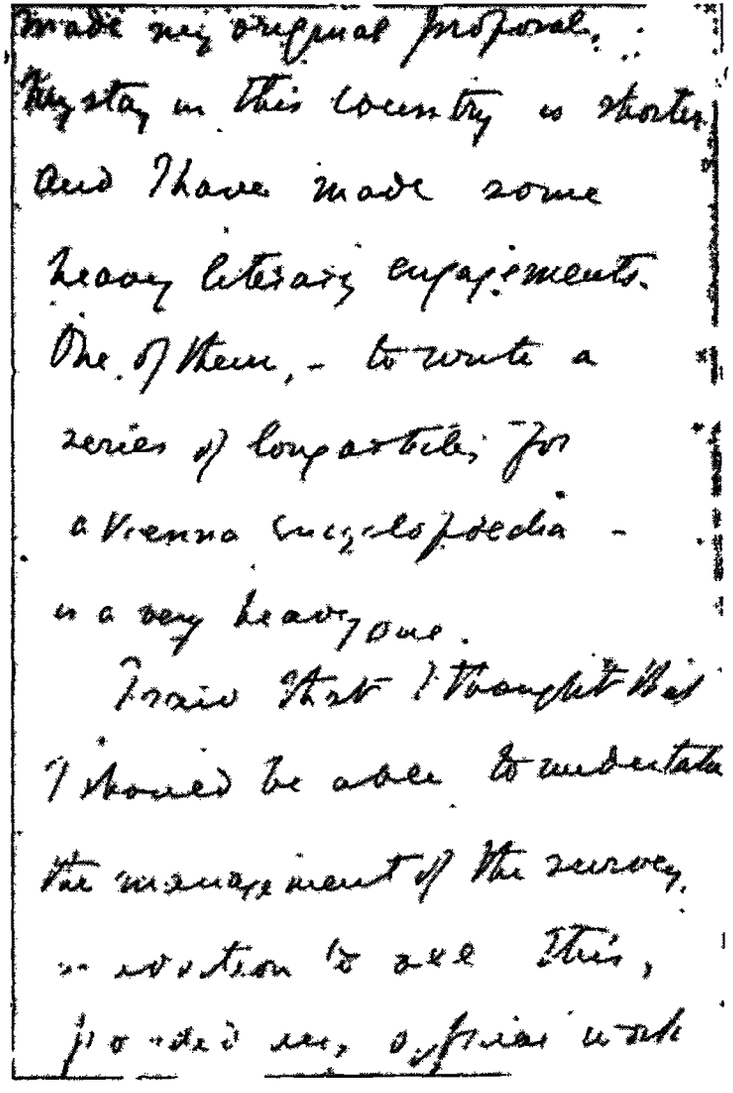
4. Dr. Sten Konow commenced to work as my Assistant on the 19th November. Besides the necessary office work, he has indexed several important works for me. He has also corrected the Oriya proofs, and has commenced working at the Assamese ones.



93

My dear Hewitt

About the proposed language survey. There is one thing which I should like to say, in addition to what I said the other day. Mr. [illegible] about myself. As I told you, there was a regular



made my original proposal. My stay in this country is shorter and I have made some heavy literary engagements. One of them, - to write a series of long articles for a Vienna encyclopedia - is a very heavy one.

From that I thought that I should be able to undertake the management of the survey, in addition to all this, provided my official work

in Norwich could be the [illegible]
day, by getting me a good
night.

I am afraid that it is very
doubtful if I shall be able
to get a Joint. The race is nearly
extinct, & I do not think that
with a man in charge he can be
found. If I could get
an official duty for say, a couple
of years I should certainly be
able to do the work much better
& would be able to do
it [illegible]

guarantee to do work
Norwich work in addition.
I do not know if this is possible
but I should be very glad if it
could be done. It would not
suffice cost more than the
acting allowances of the men
who [illegible] acting promotion through
my deputation & a Joint would
cost almost as much as that.

As regard myself I am so
very anxious to get the
survey through even on the
modest scale now proposed
that I should willingly go
[illegible] my chance of promotion

to a commissionership during the next two years, and be content with being kept in my present pecuniary position. That is to say, my present pay & my House free (as I have it now).

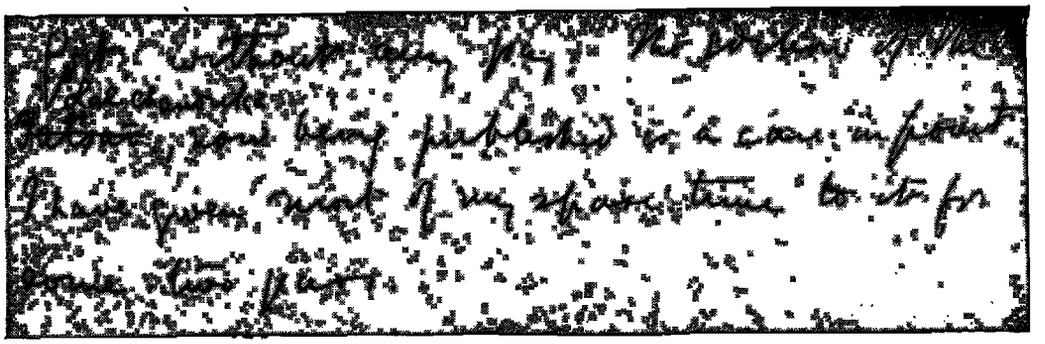
I do not know whether all this is possible or not. I only know that I would endeavour to use the Indian Legislative machinery, and that

get prepared to work as my energies to do, if I can only get the chance.

Yours sincerely

Clive Bayley

I have endeavoured to express the favour, for I am not unconscious that I have on record a certain phrase, neither terse nor taboo in classic literary work for



*Letter from Grierson to Hewett—Public 1110
D. No. 26P.

5/2/95

Howrah

My dear Hewett,

About the proposed language Survey there is one thing which I should like to say, in addition to what I said the other day. It is about myself. As I told you, things have changed since I made my original proposal. My stay in this country is shorter and I have made some heavy literary engagements. One of them to write a series of long articles for a Vienna Encyclopaedia is a very heavy one.

I said that I thought that I should be able to undertake the management of the survey in addition to all this, provided my official work in Howrah could be lightened, say, by giving me a *joint magte.*

I am afraid that it is very doubtful if I shall be able to get a *joint.* The race is nearly extinct, I do not think that such a man is likely to be found. If I could be put on special duty, for, say, a couple of years I should certainly be able to do the work much better, and would be able to do it up to time, which I could not guarantee to do, with my Howrah work in addition. I do not know if this is possible, but I should be very glad if it could be done. It would not I suppose cost more than the acting allowances of the men who got acting promotion through my deputation, and a joint would cost almost as much as that.

As regards myself, I am so very anxious to get the survey through, even on the modest scale now proposed, that I should willingly forego my chances of promotion to a Commissionership during the next two years, and be content with being kept in my present pecuniary position, that is to say, my present pay and my house free (as I have it now).

I do not know whether all this is possible or not. I only know that I wish extremely to see India Linguistically surveyed, and that I am quite prepared to devote all my energies to it, if I can only get the chance.

Yours sincerely,

George A. Grierson.

I have emboldened myself to ask this favour, for I am not unconscious that I have on several occasions spared neither time nor labour in doing literary work for without any pay. The Edition of the Lal Chandrika, now being published is a case in point. I have given most of my spare time to it for some two years.

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*Vide HOME DEPTT., PUBLIC A
Feb. 1895
Progs. 253-279.

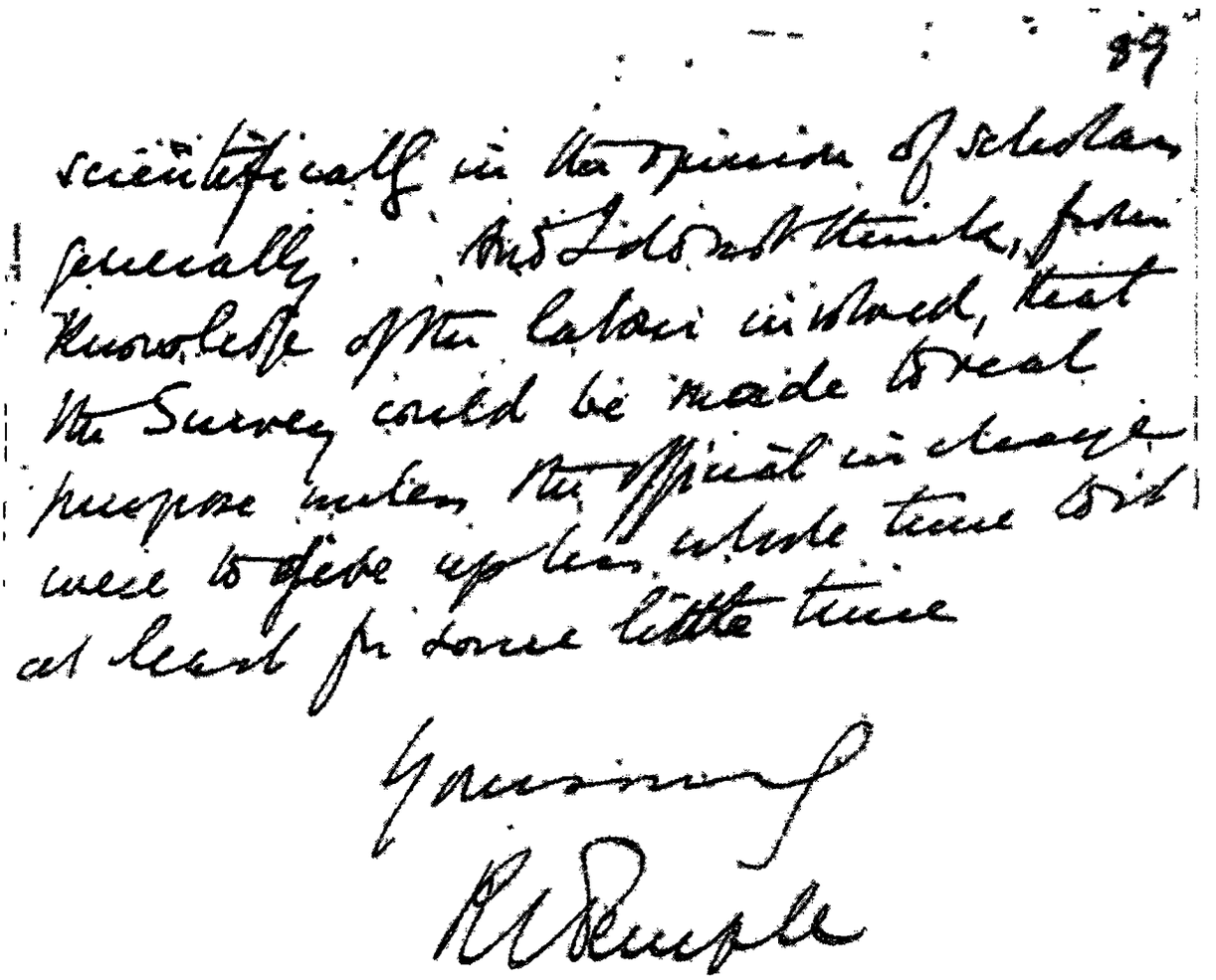
GOVERNMENT HOUSE.
CALCUTTA.

Private

My dear Bayley

I have talked over Indian Antiquities & Epigraphia Indica affairs with Rhetan & have hopeful hint on a fresh representation matters will improve a little for us. But there is another matter in which I am much interested on my Simla side — The Survey of Indian Languages. The Vienna Congress (1886) of Orientalists asked for a complete survey, but this was beyond the purse of Govt. of I. Then Grierson put forth a modified scheme, which has I understand been at last accepted. The matter has probably been before Govt

Excellency's many courteous offers in the
form of proposals that Mr Neeson should
do the work. If I does I hope I may
be permitted to point out that Neeson
is still living scholastic, the best man
for it: in every way the most suitable
& the most authoritative: likely to put
his whole soul into it. I think he would
succeed to carry it through if placed on
special duty for say a couple of years
on his present pay & allowances – even
if it were to become a subsequent loss to
him. Writing as the Editor of a leading
Oriental Journal I am not hesitating
in saying that this Survey of Languages
would be one of the most important
works that the G. of I. could pursue



*(Letter from R. C. Temple—Editor of Indian Antiquary)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE CALCUTTA

9/2/95

My dear Bayley,

I have talked over *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphica Indica* affairs with Ibbetson and am hopeful that on a fresh representation matters will improve a little for me. But there is another matter in which I am much interested on my 'scientific' side—the Survey of Indian Languages. The Vienna Congress (1886) of Orientalists asked for a complete Survey, but this was beyond the purse of the Govt. of India. Then Grierson prepared a modified Scheme, which has I understand been at last accepted. The matter has probably been before His Excellency and may come up again in the form of proposals that Grierson should do the work. If it does, I hope, I may be permitted to point out that Grierson is, of all living scholars, the best man for it: in every way the most qualified and the most enthusiastic: likely to put his whole soul into it. I think he would consent to carry it through if placed on special duty for say a couple of years on his present pay and allowances—even if it were to prove a subsequent loss to him. Writing as the Editor of a leading Oriental Journal I have no hesitation in saying that this Survey of languages would be one of the most important works that the Government of India could undertake scientifically in the opinion of scholars generally, and I do not think, from knowledge of the labour involved, that the Survey could be made to real purpose unless the official in charge were to give up his whole time to it at least for some little time.

Yours sincerely,
R. C. Temple

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*vide HOME DEPTT., PUBLIC A
Feb. 1895
Progs. No. 253-279

Office Copy

Home Department

Calcutta

Feb. 19. 1896.

My dear Grierson,

I have shown your letter of 5th Feb. to Sir Antony MacDonnell. I am afraid that there is no possibility of the Govt. of India being able to put you on special duty for the purpose of carrying out the linguistic survey. You will remember that your original proposals for the survey had to be abandoned for two reasons, the one financial pressure and the other the difficulty of being able to spare officers for the purpose of direction. The Govt of Bengal has suffered more than any other from the depletion of the Civil Service, and even if funds were available to meet the cost of a special officer, the Govt of India would not feel justified in asking the Lieutenant Governor to surrender so valuable an officer as yourself. We must, I am afraid, confine ourselves to the more modest programme of 1891. We have secured 2000 Rs a year for 3 years, and are writing to the Asiatic Society so it will be possible to get the matter into working order soon. Have you made any attempt on the Bengal Govt. for a Joint Key of

I am sorry to say, many obstacles will I should fear arise that they will not be able to give you assistance at present. However I do hope your other duties will not prevent your being able to assist in carrying out this work. Though I am sorry to say that circumstances do not admit of your carrying it out under the conditions which you would like.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/ J. O'Connell

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq.,

C. S. I.

Magistrate and Collector.

Bankura.

*(Letter from J. P. Hewett to Grierson—reply of the letter on p. 254).

duplicated
20/2
No. 53D.

HOME DEPARTMENT

Calcutta

Feb. 19, 1895

My dear Grierson,

I have shown your letter of 5th Feb. to Sir Antony MacDonnel. I am afraid that there is no possibility of the Govt. of India being able to put you on special duty for the purpose of carrying out the linguistic survey. You will remember that your original proposals for the survey had to be abandoned for two reasons, the one financial pressure and the other the difficulty of being able to spare officers for purpose of direction. The Govt. of Bengal has suffered more than any other from the depletion of the Civil Service, and, even if funds were available to meet the cost of a special officer, the Govt. of India would not feel justified on asking the Lieutenant Governor to surrender so valuable an officer as yourself. We must, I am afraid, confine ourselves to the more modest programme of 1891. We have secured 2,000 Rs. a year for 3 years, and are writing to the Asiatic Society. So it will, I hope, be possible to get the matter into working order soon. Have you made any attack on the Bengal Govt. for a Joint? They are as you say very scarce and I should fear that they will not be able to give you.....at present. However, I do hope your other duties will not prevent your being able to assist in carrying out this work. Though I am very sorry that circumstances do not admit of your carrying it out under the conditions which you would like.

Yours sincerely,

Sd./J. P. Hewett

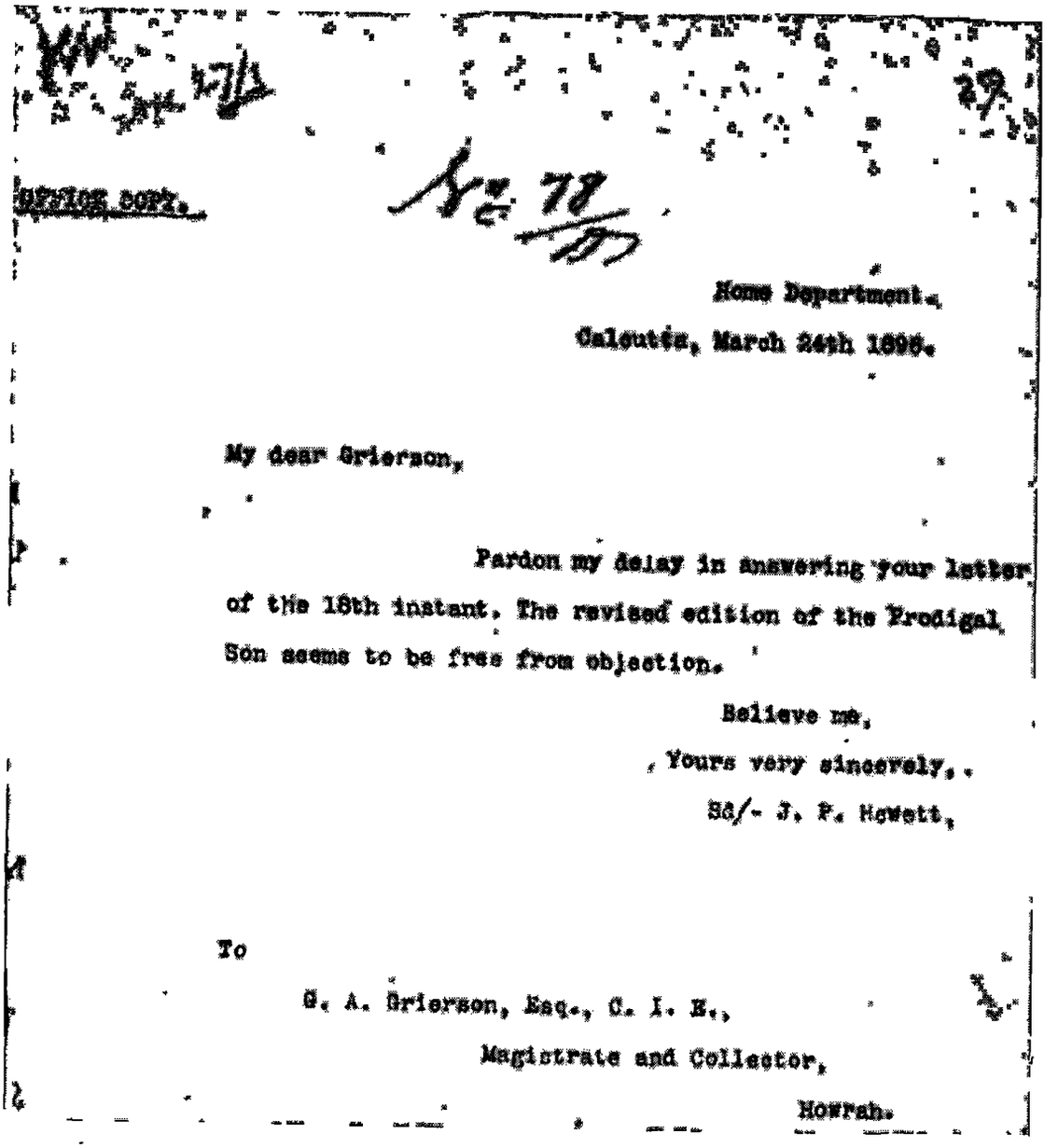
To

G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E.,

Magistrate and Collector.

Howrah.

*HOME, PUBLIC A.
Feb. 1895
Progs. No. 253-279



Office copy.

No. 78

Home Department.

Calcutta, March 24th 1896.

My dear Grierson,

Pardon my delay in answering your letter of the 18th instant. The revised edition of the Prodigal Son seems to be free from objection.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/- J. P. Hewett,

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C. I. E.,

Magistrate and Collector,

Howrah.

HOME 1896
Dept.
Public
K.W.NP.
Progs. Feb.
Nos. 192/196

OFFICE COPY

No. 78
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Home Deptt.

Calcutta, March 24th 1896

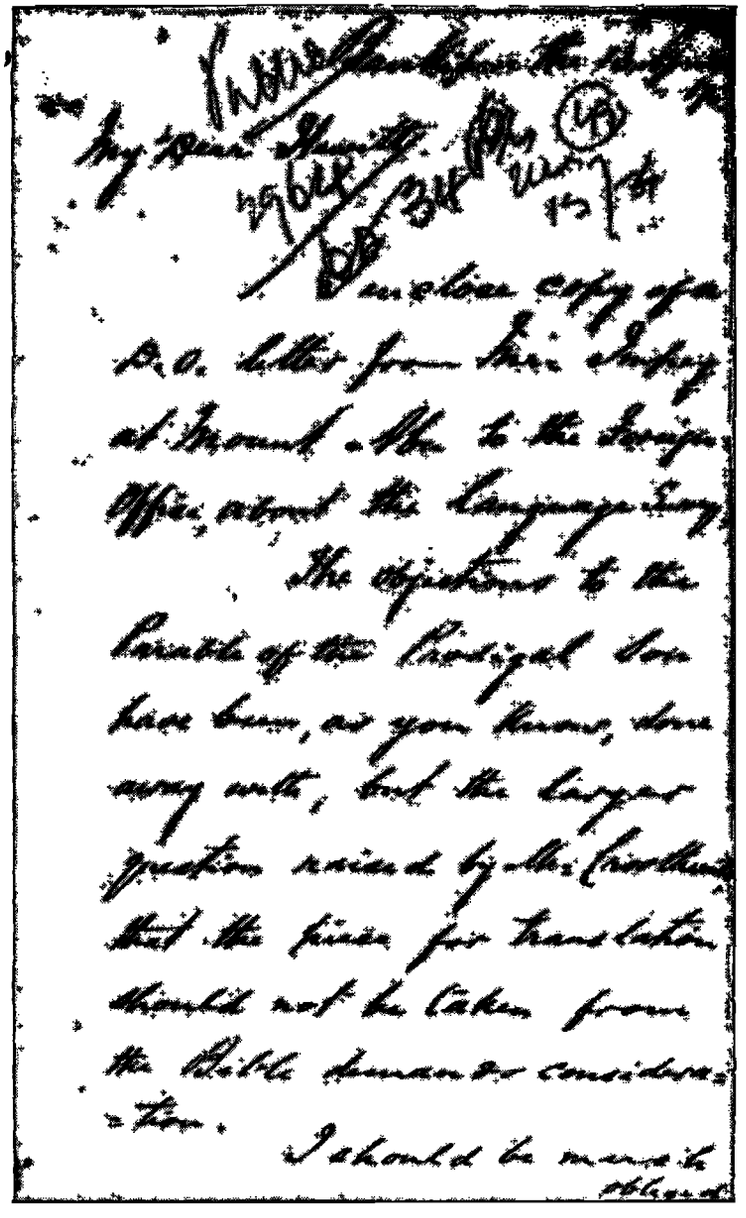
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Believe me,
Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- J. P. Hewett

To

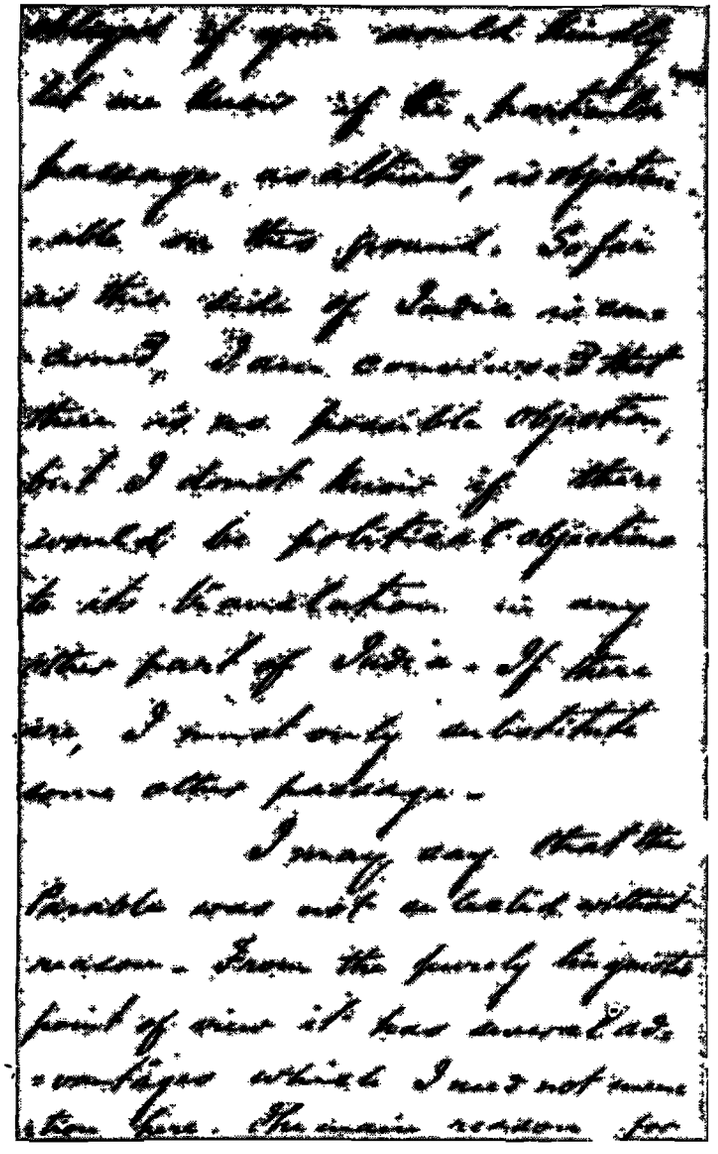
G. A. Grierson, Esq. C.I.E.,
Magistrate and Collector,
Howrah.



I enclose copy of a D.O. letter from the Secy of Board. He & the Foreign Office attend the Language Committee.

The objections to the Revised of the Principal Versions have been, as you know, very many, but the larger portion raised by the Committee that the fines for translation should not be taken from the Bible themselves considerations.

I should be much



obliged if you would kindly let me have by the next Mail your opinion on the following questions which I am desired to put to the Committee.

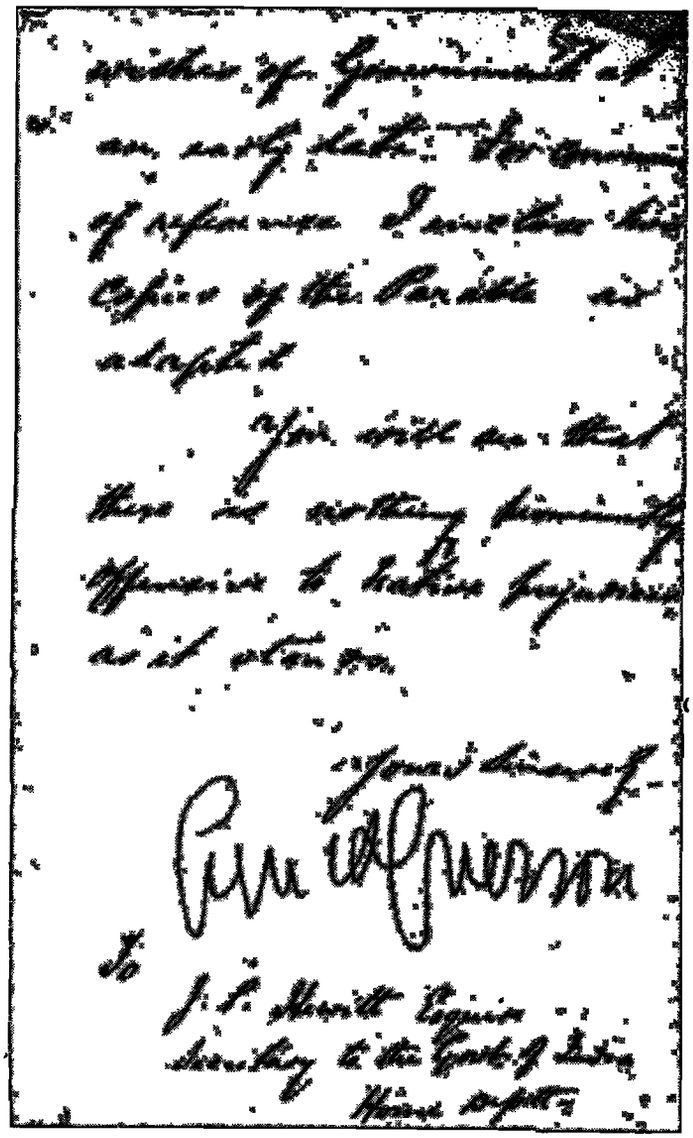
1. Supposing that the Bible is translated, I am convinced that there will be no possible objection, but I should like if there would be forbidden objection to its translation in any other part of India. If there are, I must only substitute some other passage.

I may say that the Parables were not selected without reason. From the purely linguistic point of view it has been suggested which I must not name to you. The main reason for

that a large number of translations were already available which could be used for samples to the translators. I have collected over forty of these samples in various Indian languages, which I propose to circulate with the English version for translation. It is certain that several of my new translations will have to be made by people who do not know English, and it is to these persons that the samples will be useful. Any one who does not know English can turn to a sample translation with the language of which he

it.

I do not know of any other book from which I could take an extract which possesses this advantage, of already existing in many various Indian languages, and hence it will be difficult to select any other equally suitable passage for translation. If however the Government of India object to any biblical passage being used, for the reason stated by Mr Crawfurd, I must make the best of a bad business, and look out for something else. I shall be obliged by your letting me know the wishes



2964

D.O.

Bankipore, the 13th April 1896.

*Regr. No. 2964
D. 13/4
R. 16/4
D. No. 34P

My Dear Hewett,

I enclose copy of a D.O. letter from Mr. Impey at Mount Abu to the foreign office, about the language Survey.

The objections of the Parable of the Prodigal Son have been, as you know, done away with, but the larger question raised by Mr. Crosthwaite that the piece for translation should not be taken from the Bible demands consideration.

I should be much obliged if you would kindly let me know if the particular passage, as altered, is objectionable on this ground. So far as this side of India is concerned, I am convinced that there is no possible objection, but I don't know if there would be political objections to its translation in any other part of India. If there are, I must substitute some other passage.

I may say that the Parable was not selected without reason from the purely linguistic point of view. It has several advantages which I need not mention here. The main reason for my choosing it was, however, that a large number of translations were already available which could be used for samples to the translators. I have collected over forty of these samples in various Indian languages, which I propose to circulate with the English version for translation. It is certain that several of my new translations will have to be made by people who do not know English, and it is to these persons that the samples will be useful. Any one who does not know English can turn to a sample translation with the language of which he is acquainted, and translate from it.

I do not know of any other book from which I could take an extract, which possesses this advantage, of already existing in many versions in Indian languages, and hence it will be difficult to select any other equally suitable passage for translation. If however, the Government of India objects to any biblical passage being used, for the reason stated by Mr. Crosthwaite, I must make the best of a bad business, and look out for something else. I shall be obliged by your letting me know the wishes of Government at an early date. For convenience of reference I enclose two copies of Parable as adopted.

You will see that there is nothing prominently offensive to native prejudices as it stands.

Yours sincerely,
Geo. A. Grierson.

To

J. P. Hewett, Esquire,
Secretary to the Govt. of India.
Home Deptt.

*HOME PUBLIC A.
Feb. 1896
Progs. No. 192-196

CENTRAL PROVINCES ADMINISTRATION GENERAL DEPARTMENT

4446

751/117/3

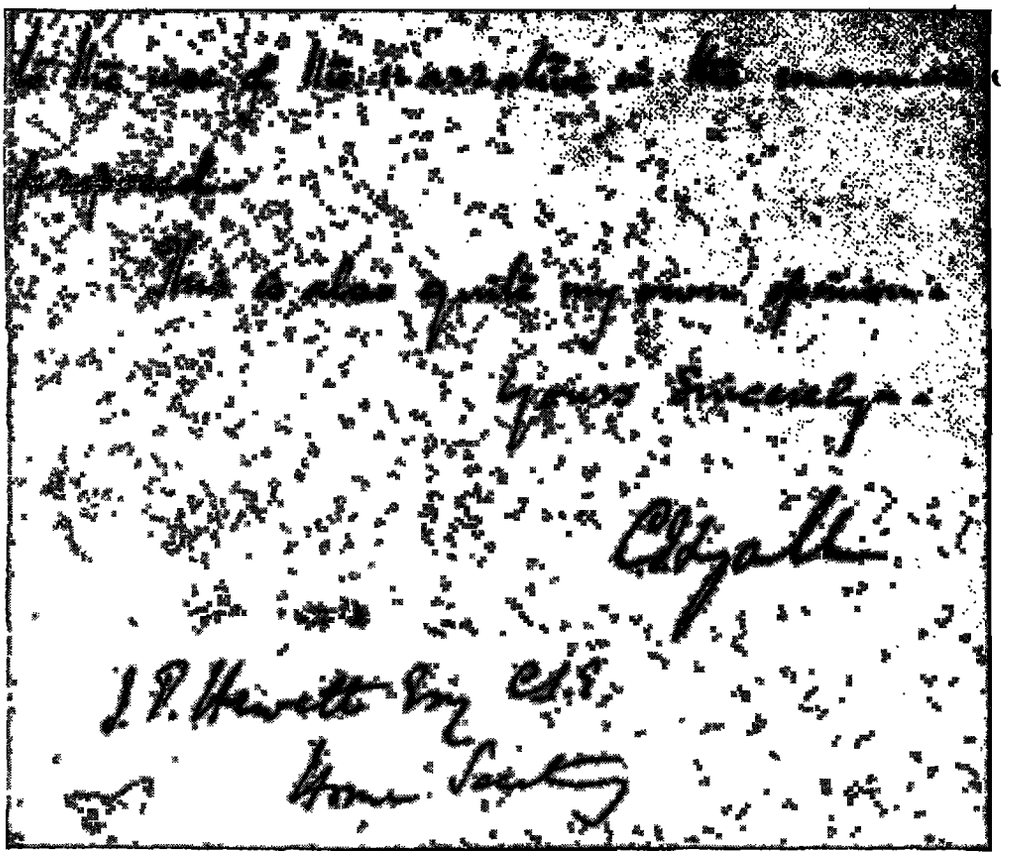
CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S CAMP

Cachmarhi.

8th June 1896.

My dear Hewett,

In reply to your letter No. 10E/27 dated — Depot Lock (received here on the 10th May), in which you enquire whether there is any objection to the Circulation, as a piece for translation in Grierson's Linguistic Survey, of an adaptation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son I have to say that I have consulted two of my most experienced officers, Messrs Anderson and Fraser, and through them leading representatives of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and that I can find no one who thinks that there is the least objection



C. P. ADMIN.

Seal

Regr. No. 4467
D. 8/6
R. 1/6
No. 5

GENERAL DEPTT.

CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S CAMP

Panchamarhi

8th June, 1896

My dear Hewett,

In reply to your letter No. $\frac{108}{D}$ dt. April last (received by me 10th may), in which you enquire whether there is any objection to the Circulation, as a piece for translation in Grierson's Linguistic Survey, of an adaptation of the Parable of the Prodigal son, I have to say that I have consulted the two of my most experienced officers, Messrs. Anderson and Fraser, and through them leading representatives of the Hindu and Muhammedan religions, and that I can find no one who think that there is the least objection to the use of the narrative in the manner proposed.

This is also quite my own opinion.

Yours sincerely,

C. J. Lyall

J. P. Hewett, Esq. C.I.E.,

Home Secretary.

HOME PUBLIC A

Feb. 1896

Progs. No. 192-196

**Letters (not printed) relating to the controversy on the Parable of the Prodigal Son*

Howrah,
18/3/96

My dear Hewett,

Cunningham's correspondence and other enquiries made by me elsewhere, have confirmed my own doubts about the Prodigal Son. Unfortunately, for linguistic purposes it is out and away the best passage I can select. There are half a dozen reasons which I need not trouble you with. The only other suitable one is the Good *Jamaritan*, and that has difficulties of its own, connected with translations of words like "priest" and "Levite".

So, after consulting a number of missionaries, I have made a few verbal alterations in the Prodigal Son which will remove all possible objections. I enclose a copy of my "Revised Verson". I was most unwilling to do it, but it was, so far as I could see the only way out of the difficulty. I am practically confined to a passage from the n.T. as sample translations must be provided, and it is the only work available in many modern tongues. Will you very kindly look through the copy I now send, and tell me if you agree with me that the parable as altered is now unobjectionable.

Yours very sincerely,
Geo. a. Grierson

Copy

Mount Abu
23rd March, 1896

Dear Sir Adelbert Talbot,

Please refer to your demi-official letter of the 22 ultimo, regarding the proposed scheme for a systematic survey of the vernacular languages and translation of a standard English passage.

In Mr. Crosthwaite's opinion, the selection of the Parable of Prodigal Son is open to serious objection. He also thinks that the piece selected for a translation should not be taken from the Bible, as it is not desirable to select a passage which may give rise to a suspicion that the linguistic survey is connected with missionary or religious work

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- L. Impey

To

Lieut. Col. Sir Adelbert Talbot,
K.C.I.E.,

Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India.
Foreign Department.

D.O. No. $\frac{103}{D}$

Home Department (Public)
Simla the 30th April, 1896

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq.,
C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Bankipore.

My dear Grierson,

Bombay Bengal N. W. P. & O. Punjab Cent. Prov. Assam, Hyderabad.

In reply to your demi-official of the 13th instant, I enclose a copy of a D.O. letter of this date addressed to the local Govt. & admts. noted above enquiring whether there is any objection to the modified passage from the Bible containing the parable of the Prodigal Son being circulated as a piece for translation in connection with the scheme for the survey of vernacular languages. I will let you know further when the replies have been received. But what about the forty samples in various Indian languages which you propose to circulate with the English version ? Have these been similarly altered ? If not how do you propose to overcome the difficulty with regard to these ?

Yours sincerely,

(Letter from Hewett-to Grierson o/c ms.)

No. $\frac{104/110}{D}$

HOME DEPARTMENT
Simla, the 30th April, 1896.

MY DEAR
SIR
BOLTON
EVANS
FANSHAWE
LYALL
WARD
PLOWDEN

*HOME PUBLIC A, Feb. 1896, Prog. No. 192-196,
19—2 R. G. India/67

WITH reference to Home Department letter No. $\frac{276}{\frac{3\text{—Public}}{223\text{—}27}}$ dated the 11/5th February last, I am desired to forward a copy of the accompanying paper containing the parable of the Prodigal Son, with certain verbal alternations to remove possible objections, which has been selected, as a piece for translation, by Mr. G. A. Grierson, in connection with his scheme for the survey of vernacular languages. It has been suggested that the selection in this parable is open to objection on the ground that it is taken from the Bible, and that it is undesirable to select a passage which may give rise to a suspicion that the linguistic Survey is connected with missionary or religious work.

2. From the purely linguistic point of view the piece selected has many advantages, but the main reason for Mr. Grierson's choice of it was that a large number of translations are already available which can be used for samples to the translators. Mr. Grierson has collected once forty of these samples in various Indian languages which he proposes to circulate with the English version for translation. Several of his new translations will have to be made by people who do not know English and it is to these persons that the translation will be useful. Any one who does not know English can turn to a sample translation with the language of which he is acquainted, and translate from it. No other book, from which an extract could be taken, appears to possess the advantage which the Bible does of already existing in many versions in Indian languages, and hence it will be difficult to select elsewhere an equally suitable passage for translation.

3. It will be observed that the parable has been altered so as to omit anything which might have seemed offensive to members of other religions. The Govt. of India, as at present advised, do not see any objection to its being circulated but before deciding the point would be glad to be favoured with $\frac{\text{the}}{\text{your}}$ advise of $\frac{\text{His Excellency in council}}{\text{His Honour the Lt. Governor and Chief Comm.}}$ upon the matter.

Yours sincerely,
J. P. HEWETT.

To

The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of N. W. Prov. & Oudh
The Chief Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab
The Chief Commr. of the C.P.
The Chief Commr. of Assam.
The Resident at Hyderabad.

Ibid
Reg. No.
3538
D. 5/5
S. 7/5
D. No. 37P

May 5th./96
Indore

My dear Hewett,

With reference to your D.O. No. 107 of 30th April the Lt. Gov. desires me to say that he thinks it very unlikely that exeption would be taken to a parable from the Bible being chosen to serve as a linguistic test, but at the same time there are of course people whose business is to twist everything against us and he would therefore personally prefer to see something taken from another book for Mr. Grierson's purposes. In any case if the parable of the "Prodigal Son" is to be retained it would be as well to alter the swine incident which will not perhaps be very pleasing to the taste of natives.

Yours sincerely,

H. C. Fanshawe, Esq.

J. P. Hewett, C.I.E.

Ibid
Regr. No.
3548
D. 5/5
R. 8/5
D. No. 38P

$\frac{3548}{38P}$

Bankipur
5/5/96

My dear Hewett,

Many thanks for your D.O. $\frac{103}{D}$ of 30/4/96. I am sorry to have given you all this trouble.

The forty samples are right. I have taken care to alter them, to get friends to alter them, to agree with the adapted English version.

Yours very sincerely
Geo. A. Grierson

Ibid
Reg. No.
3790
D. 13/5
R. 16/5
D. No.
D. O. 40P

D.O. 27

Dated Nainital, the 13th May, 1896

My dear Hewett,

With reference to your demi-official No. $\frac{106}{D}$ the 30th ultimo, I am desired to say that His Honour the Lieutenant Governor and Chief Commissioner see no objection to the circulation, for the purposes of translation of English version of the parable of the 'Prodigal Son'.

Yours sincerely,
H. F. Evans

To

J. P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Govt. of India,
Home Deptt.

Ibid
Regr. No.
3904
D. 16/5
R. 21/5
D. No. 43P

Genl. & Revenue Departments
Seal
Bengal Secretariat

Darjeeling the 16th July 1896

D.O. No. 8 T.G.

My dear Hewett,

In answer to your Demi-official No. $\frac{105}{D}$, dated the 30th April 1896, to Mr. Bolton, the Lieutenant Governor desires me to say that he sees no objection to the circulation of the paper containing the parable of the Prodigal Son in a modified form, which has been selected, as a piece for translation, by Mr. Grierson, in connection with his Scheme for the survey of vernacular languages. His Honour thinks the advantages outweigh the drawbacks of the selection.

Yours sincerely,
M. Finucane

To

J. P. Hewett, Esq., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Govt. of India,
Home Department.

Ibid
Reg. No.
3905
D. 16/5
R. 21/5
D. No. 44P

THE RESIDENCY
Seal
HYDERABAD

16th May

My dear Hewett,

Your D. O. No. $\frac{110}{D}$ of 30 April. I do not think it is likely that the fact that the passage in question has been taken from the Bible will cause people to suspect that the linguistic survey is connected with missionary or religious work. Indeed the supposition is to my thinking a very far fetched one. My advice is that the selection may be accepted.

Yours sincerely,
Turn chick Plowden
Illegible.

Ibid
Regr. No.
4096

ASSAM
Seal
SECRETARIAT

D 29
R 29 } May
D. No. 46P

SHILLONG

The 23rd May 1896

My dear Mr. Hewett,

In reply to your demi-official letter No. 109, dated 30th April 1896, Sir William Ward desires me to say that there appears to be no possible objection to the circulation of the parable of the Prodigal Son in its amended form, as a piece of translation, in connection with G. A. Grierson's scheme of the survey of vernacular languages.

It is understood that translations of the same into most of the languages on this frontier have already been made.

Yours sincerely,
E. A. Gait

To

J. P. Hewett, Esq.
C.I.E., I.C.S..
Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Home Deptt.

Ibid
Regr. No.
5068
D. 29/6
R. 3/7
D. No. 60P·

Cypress Lodge
Poona
29th June 1896

My dear Sir,

In reply to your Demi-Official No. 104, dt. the 30th. April, I am directed to say that His Excellency the Governor in Council sees no objection to the selection of the Parable of the Prodigal Son for translation in connection with the Linguistic Survey; but it appears desirable that there should be no heading calling attention to its source.

Yours Sincerely,
A. C. Logan

J. P. Hewett, Esq.

From A. C. Logan, Poona.

No. 206-D

Ibid.
Regr. No. 5058
D. No. 60P

Home Deptt.
(Public)

De/23/7

Simla
dated the 21st July 1896

To

G. A. Grierson, Esq., C.I.E.
Grand Hotel,
Simla.

My dear Grierson,

*Letters already noted.

With reference to the Correspondence ending with your D.O. letter of the 5th May last, I am desired to forward for your information a copy of the accompanying replies to my demi-Official circular of the 30th April last, from the Local Govts. & Admns. noted above*, from which you will see that there is no objection to the English Version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son; as altered, being circulated as a piece for translation in connection with the Scheme for the survey of Vernacular languages in India.

The Govt. of India have no objection to the circulation of the paper as proposed by you, but consider that, as pointed out by the Punjab Govt. it won't suit your purpose as well and work be less open to objection if the passage which refers to the feeding of swine the word 'goats' were substituted for the word 'swine'.

You will it is understood omit the heading as proposed by you.

Yours sincerely.

(Letter from Home Ministry)

Grand Hotel
Simla
27-7-1996

Ibid.

Dear Mr. Woodburn,

With reference to Mr. Hewett's D.O. no. 206 dt. 21-7-96, and in continuation of our conversation of this date, I would point out that there is a little difficulty in substituting the words "goats" for "Swine" in the adapted translation of the Prodigal son.

I have already made a collection of some sixty specimen translations which will be circulated with the English Version for the benefit of those translators who do not know English.

As time was pressing, I have had to get these specimens put into type, and for most of them, I have given the Press Order. In all these, the word "Swine" must, I fear, stand as to alter the translations into some of the lesser known Tibeto-Burman languages would entail considerable correspondence. On this account, and as the objection to the use of this word "Swine" is not strong, I would ask, if on reconsideration, the Govt. of India object to my retaining it.

As remarked in his, Hewett's third para, I shall omit the heading "Adaption of the Parable of the Prodigal Son" but as explained to you verbally to day, I propose to retain the Head marginal note showing the source from which each version was derived. To this I understand, there is no objection.

Yours faithfully,
George A. Grierson.

P. S.

I see on reference to the Assam Census report that 101 languages at least (the Manipuri records are not forthcoming) are spoken in that province. Of these 58 belong to the Tibeto-Burman, Shan & Khasi families and of these 49 are peculiar to Assam.

G.a.G.

Ibid
Dep. 29/7
Simla. the 29th
July 1896

My dear Mr. Grierson,

In reply to your D.O. letter of the 25th instant, to Mr. Woodburn, I am desired to say that as matters have already advanced so far the Govt of India withdraw their suggestion for the alteration of the adaptation of the Prodigal Son by substituting "goat" for "swine" which was in Mr. Hewett's letter of the 21st instt. The proposed alteration as you observe was not of much importance.

I am to add that the retention of the Head marginal note showing the source from which each version is derived is approved.

(*From Home Ministry.*)

Correspondence with India Office Library, London

INDIA OFFICE RECORDS
COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE
KING CHARLES STREET LONDON S.W.I.
Whitehall 2323

From the Assistant Keeper

22 June 1964
IOL/AS13

Dear Mr. Nigam,

Thank you for your D.O. letter, No. T. VIII(8)/64/242 of the 30th May.

I note that you propose sending your first volume to press at the end of July. I hasten therefore to forward the enclosed notes on Grierson's organisation, which I hope will assist you in your introductory chapters.

In gathering this information we have worked entirely on the Public Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department, for the period 1895-1904. We cannot produce a complete set of extracts from this source, as the Part B Proceedings, which I note contain a good deal of information on the state of the Linguistic Survey at various stages, are not contained in the records at this Office. I would suggest, therefore, that you might have the search continued in the part B Proceedings at the National Archives, New Delhi, where I hope you will find additional material to complete the picture.

In the meantime we are continuing the search in the records at this Office, in the hope that further information will emerge concerning India Office responsibility for Grierson's work in England. I will let you know as soon as possible what this produces.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Joan C. Lancaster
Sd/- (Miss, J. C. Lancaster)

R. C. Nigam, Esq.,
Linguist,
Government of India,
Office of the Registrar General.
Language Division,
Town Hall,
Calcutta,
India.

Linguistic Survey of India.

A. Organisation

1. (a) 16th February 1895—Officiating Secretary of India to Asiatic Society of Bengal asking if Asiatic Society of Bengal willing to take charge of operations.

(b) In reply, 4th September 1895, Asiatic Society of Bengal willing to undertake the general control and supervision of the work, and place their library at the disposal of the selected officers. They suggest that the work be divided into *two* stages :—

(i) Forms to be circulated to District Officers and Political Agents in which they be requested to enter the name of every language and dialect spoken in each district or territory. From these returns, rough lists to be compiled. Arrangements could

be made for obtaining illustrative specimens of each language from the same sources.

(ii) Compilation and editing of these specimens. In the opinion of the Asiatic Society of Bengal G.A. Grierson the fittest person to be placed on Special Duty in charge of operations. Results to be printed at the Government Press and appear as results of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

2. (a) 9th December 1895, request by Government of India to Government of Bengal to allow Grierson to undertake the work, in addition to his own duties (employed by Government of India in direct communication with Home Department).

(b) Agreed—3rd January 1896.

3. (a) Grierson authorised to address District Officers in pursuance of attaining a list of the names of all languages and dialects spoken in Northern India and Bombay, together with specimens of them. Grierson furnished with a complete list of the District and Political Officers in the Bombay Presidency and Northern India (North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab, etc.).

(b) Instructions issued to District Officers to correspond direct with Grierson.

4. (a) Grierson due to retire in October 1898. Granted furlough by Government of Bengal from April 1898 preparatory to retiring.

(b) 10th March 1898. Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department request to Officiating Secretary to Government of India to create appointment of 'Officer on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey'. No other person suitable to carry on the work if Grierson retires. Grierson to work under the direct orders of the Home Department which would arrange to watch the progress of his work, and to be attached to the head-quarters of the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department. Deputation for two years (Grierson's estimated time for completion of Linguistic Survey). Grierson willing to defer retirement.

5. Grierson occupies appointment of 'Officer on Special Duty with the Linguistic Survey' from 17th May 1898 (arrival at Simla). Furlough cancelled.

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6. 10th August 1899. Finance and Commerce Department to Her Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India. Grierson's health broken down—unable to stay in India even after expiry of eight months' furlough (applied for from 1899). Grierson should be employed in England until Survey is complete. As hoped, by October 1899 preliminary work should be done and the rest can be completed as well, or even better, in England. Grierson originally stated that Survey should take two years. Now fears that three would not be enough. Expresses hope that if he work in India till October he may complete the work on eighteen months of commencing serious work in England on the expiry of his leave (three years total). Proposed:—

(i) That Grierson be placed on Special Duty in England for eighteen months after the expiry of his furlough to finish the work.

(ii) Grierson to be placed entirely under the orders and supervision of the India Office —Finance and Commerce Department no longer to maintain responsibility in the matter. Proposals sanctioned 5th October 1899. Deputation from 15th September 1900 (expiry of leave).

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7. Suspension of Grierson's lien upon his appointment as Opium Agent, Bihar by Government of Bengal. 19th January 1900 letter to Home Department.

8. S. of S. for India to Governor General of India in Council. 18th October 1901 proposed extension of deputation for six months. Grierson also on linguistic work connected with the Imperial Census Report and work connected with the Imperial Gazetteer. Grierson reports unable to complete work in eighteen months. Agreed 10th December 1901. Deputation up to 15th September 1902.

9. S. of S. for India to Governor General of India in Council 8th August 1902 extension of deputation for further six months. Agreed 6th September 1902.

10. 21st February 1903. Viceroy, Calcutta to U.S. of S. for India. Extension of the period of deputation of Grierson for such additional period as necessary, not exceeding six months from 16th March 1903.

11. Grierson to retire from the Indian Civil Service with effect from 16th September 1903 and to carry out the work from that date without any salary. Title after retirement to be 'Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India'. To receive an honorarium of £500 on completion of the work.

The Linguistic Survey of India

B. Progress

1. (a) *By March* 1898, rough lists of names of languages and dialects spoken in Northern India and Bombay practically completed. Lists required to be examined and corrected by an expert. Proposed to be corrected with the aid of illustrative specimens of the languages and dialects then in process of being obtained by translations into the different languages and dialects of one standard passage, viz. the Parable of the Prodigal Son, with the omission of all words calculated to offend the susceptibilities of either Hindus or Mohammedans.

(b) In many cases, these translations made by persons ignorant of English. To render their task easier, a collection of some sixty-five specimens of translations of the parable into various Indian languages and dialects prepared, with the view that the person selected to translate in each case would probably be acquainted with one at least of those of which a specimen was given. As every translation would probably be stiff, efforts were being made to procure at the same time an original folk tale, song or other naturally spoken sample.

2. (a) *14th Feb.* 1898. Grierson suggested that the rough lists of each Province should be circulated throughout the Province, two copies being sent to each District Officer for criticism, and to gentlemen other than District Officers but whose criticism would be valuable. Also suggested that local Governments concerned might wish to have copies of the list. Authorised by Govt. of India, 28th Feb. 1898.

Lists printed and distributed for districts:—

(i) North-Western Province and Oudh

(ii) Central Provinces

(iii) Lower Provinces of Bengal

(iv) Punjab.

(b) *8th June* 1899, Grierson forwarded to Home Department rough lists of languages spoken in Rajputana, Central India, and Ajmere-Merwara. Instructions issued to Superintendent of Government Printing, India, to print off the necessary copies.

3. Printing and Distribution of Copies of Lists.

District	To District Officers	For Local Governments	For Home Department	Extras for other Gentlemen & further use
(i) N. W. Provinces and Oudh .	200	4	5	41
(ii) Central Provinces . .	150	5	5	50
(iii) Lower Provinces of Bengal .	230	20	5	45
(iv) Punjab	196	20	5	29

Copies to Agents to the Governor-General in Rajputana, Central India and Ajmere-Merwara	.. 174
Copies to other Gentlemen	.. 35
In reserve for office use and future demands	.. 86
Copies to Home Department	.. 5
	300

4. State of Survey Jan. 1902, Sec. Rev. and Statistics Dept.

I. Indo-Chinese Languages (3 volumes when completed). Group completed, with the exception of Thibetan-Burman (to be done by Professor Conrady of Leipzig).

II. Indo-Aryan Languages (3 volumes when completed). In a fairly forward condition, all the languages east of Allahabad having been completed. 14 languages plus introduction remain to be done.

III. Iranian Languages (1 volume when completed). Nearly completed, introduction and Bilochi dialects still untouched.

IV. & V. Dravidian and Munda Languages have scarcely been touched. Introduction also to be written. Probable total completion of survey by Apr. 1903.

5. *29th May* 1902, officiating Deputy Secretary to the Government of India to various Governments asking how many copies of volumes needed by Governments as some of the volumes approaching completion.

6. *26th July* 1902, Grierson to Revenue Secretary, India Office *Sections complete.*

Vol. 3, Part 2.	The Bodo Naga and Kachin Groups of the Tibeto-Burman Family.
Vol. 5, Part 1.	Bangali and Assamese.
Vol. 6	Eastern Hindi.

Final Press orders given and G. of I. deciding how many copies to be printed.

Sections of which manuscript is complete:

Vol. II.	Mon-Khmer and Tai Families. The Mon-Khmer family in final proof. The Tai has gone to press.
Vol. III. Part 3.	Kuki-Chin and Burmah Groups of the Tibeto-Burman family. Gone to press.
Vol. V. Part 2.	Bihari and Oriya. All in proof. Oriya is ready for printing.
Vol. VII.	Marathi. Complete in manuscript. Not sent to press as type not available till the type of Vol. V Part 2 is released.

Sections in Progress:

Vol. III, Part I.	Tibeto-Burman languages of Tibet and North Assam.
Vol. VII	Sindhi, Lahnda, Kashmiri and Non-Sanskritic languages of the North-west Frontier. The Non-Sanskritic languages practically in final proof. The rest (the main portion) not touched.
Vol. IX, Part 1.	Western Hindi and Panjabi. Western Hindi would, it was hoped, be finished in manuscript in the month. Panjabi not yet touched.
Vol. IX, Part 2.	Rajasthani and Gujarati. Bhil languages complete in manuscript so far as material available up to date. Rajasthani and Gujarati not yet touched.
Vol. X.	Iranian Family. Nearly all in final proof. A small portion untouched. Complete sections not touched.
Vol. I.	General Introduction—Must wait to the end.
Vol. IV.	Dravido-Munda languages.
Vol. IX, Part 3.	Aryan languages of the Himalaya.
Vol. XI.	Gipsy languages and supplement.

7. Grierson unable to complete work during 18 months in England mainly due to difficulties experienced in printing in India.

Mistakes made by printer in correcting proofs leading to further revision of proofs.

Grierson communicated with English presses on the subject. Decided that printing in England too expensive. Existing arrangements for printing in India to be continued.

8. *1st June* 1903, Govt. of India Home Department to Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Calcutta.

After communicating with local Govts. a statement forwarded to Supt. Govt. Printing showing the number of copies of the Linguistic Survey Volumes required by the Govt. of India, Local Governments and Administrations and for distribution :—

Vol. I.	1,716
Vol. II	948
Vol. III, Part I	1,249
Vol. III, Part II	1,252
Vol. III, Part III	1,262
Vol. IV	1,136
Vol. V, Part I	1,325
Vol. V, Part II	1,318
Vol. VI	1,339
Vol. VII	1,105

Vol. VIII	1,108
Vol. IX, Part I	1,585
Vol. IX, Part II	1,594
Vol. IX, Part III	1,475
Vol. X	1,040
Vol. XI	1,169

9. *19th Spt. & 25th Sept.* 1902, Supt., Govt. Printing to Sec. to Govt. of India, Home Dept.:—

Statement showing cost per copy (paper covers and full cloth) of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey in type, based on the printing of 200 and 1,000 copies.

Linguistic Survey Volume	No. of Pages	Approx. price per copy basing on 200 copies		Approx. price per copy basing on 1,000 copies	
		Paper Cover	Full cloth Gold Lettered	Paper Cover	Full Cloth Gold Lettered
		R. a. p.	R. a. p.	R. a. p.	R. a. p.
Bengali Language . .	367	12 0 0	13 8 0	4 0 0	5 8 0
North West Frontier . . .	337	10 8 0	12 0 0	3 8 0	5 0 0
Behari	367	12 0 0	13 8 0	4 0 0	5 8 0
VI Eastern Hindi Language .	277	9 0 0	10 8 0	3 0 0	4 8 0
III Part II Bodo, Naga & Kachin	528	16 8 0	18 0 0	5 0 0	6 8 0

Linguistic Survey of India

C. Expenditure and Establishment

1. (a) Government of India grant to Grierson Rs. 2,000 p.a. (Feb. 1896) for three years to complete Survey.

(b) Grierson instructed as to the accounts he should render of the sum placed at his disposal.

2. Grierson to obtain a formal sanction from the Government for the entertainment of such temporary men as required from time to time.

3. (a) *February* 1897. Grierson stated that maximum expenditure for period 1897-98 would be:—

Entertainment of Temporary Establishment	R. 1,000
Purchase of books	R. 200
Estimated total	R. 1,200

(b) Governor General in Council authorised the entertainment of temporary establishment and the purchase of books required within estimated yearly cost of R. 1,000 and R. 200 respectively, on the understanding that total annual expenditure did not exceed the annual grant of R. 2,000.

(c) Grant of R. 2,000 for year 1897-98.

4. Grant of permanent advance of R. 100 sanctioned in order to make immediate payments.

5. Expenditure.

1896-97 R.1022 } incidental expenses only.
1897-98 R.1500 }

Grierson not in receipt of extra remuneration for his labours.

6. *14th March* 1898. Government sanctioned the payment of an honorarium of R. 200 to Babu Mammatha Nath Chatterji, Manager of the Jashpur Raj in the Chota Nagpur Division, in connection with work on specimen translations of the parable of Prodigal Son into various Indian languages and dialects. To be met from grant of R. 2,000.

7. *2nd July* 1898. Government sanctioned the entertainment of the establishment of:—

1 Clerk on R. 45

1 Clerk on R. 30

1 Temporary Clerk on R. 25

Menial Establishment R. 23.

8. (a) *22nd December* 1898. Grierson requests sanction to entertain another clerical assistant familiar with Marathi dialects to help in examining specimens of dialects spoken in Bombay

Presidency and in Native States of that Presidency. Also requests sanction to increase pay of temporary clerk to R. 30 p.m., and authorisation to make any alteration in the strength and the pay of establishment whenever necessary provided the maximum pay does not exceed.

6. 18*th January* 1899, Government of India, Home Department, sanctioned establishment as follows :—

1 Clerk on R. 30 p.m.

1 Clerk on R. 50 p.m.

1 Clerk on R. 45 p.m.

1 Clerk on R. 30 p.m.

1 Duftri and Peon R. 9 p.m.

1 Peon R. 7 p.m.

1 Peon R. 7 p.m.

And authorised Grierson to make any alteration in the pay or the strength of his establishment subject to the conditions :—

(i) That the cost in any one month does not exceed R. 178 ;

(ii) That Grierson does not employ men on higher rates of pay than the rates on which the maximum estimate of R. 178 is based; and

(iii) That the grant of R. 3,000 is not exceeded.

9. (a) 6*th February* 1899. Government of India sanction an allotment of R. 3,000 for expenditure in connexion with the Linguistic Survey during financial year 1899-1900.

(b) Calculated by Grierson as follows :— (letter to Home Department 4th January 1899).

1 Clerk on R. 30 p. m.	360
1 Marathi Clerk on R. 50 p. m.	600
1 Clerk on R. 45 p. m.	540
1 Clerk on R. 30 p. m.	360
1 Duftri and Peon on R. 9 p.m.	108
2 Peons at R. 7 p. m. each..	168
Service Stamps	150
Stationery	150
Renewal and Repair of Furniture	100
Miscellaneous (including telegraph charges, purchase of books, liveries for peons and other sundry expenses)	464
	3,000

10. Government of India, Home Department to Grierson 4th October 1899. Sanctioning revised scale of establishment, after he proceeds to England at the beginning of November.

Assistant in charge of Linguistic Survey Office in India (Babu Gauri Kant Roy) a 4th grade Assistant in the Home Department on R. 50 a month.

Two Clerks on R. 50 a month each.

Daftri and peon on R. 10 a month.

Work to be carried on in India as proposed by Grierson under the general supervision of the Registrar of the Home Department who has been authorised to sign letters, bills and accounts on Grierson's behalf.

Travelling allowances may be granted at the rates admissible under the Civil Service Regulations to the Clerks moving with the Linguistic Survey Office.

11. Government of India sanction payment of an honorarium of R. 250 to Abdul Hakim Khan, Native Assistant to the Political Agent in Chitral for the assistance rendered by him in connexion with the Linguistic Survey (collection and recording of the various dialects spoken round Chitral) and for his translation of the Ganj-i-Pakhto into the Khowar (Chitrali) dialect [12th February 1903]. Charge to be met from the grant of R. 3000 sanctioned by Government of India for expenses in connexion with survey for the year ending the 31st March 1903.

12. Annual grant for expenditure in India, for year 1903-4 reduced to R. 1,500. 29th July 1903, Grierson requested, in letter to Home Department, that grant should be further reduced to R. 1000 to meet the pay of the clerk in India on R. 50 a month (Babu Gouri Kant Roy) and contingent expenses at home till work on survey completed.

Following posts to be abolished from 16th September 1903.

Clerk—Shiva Dayal Seth—R. 40 p.m.

Peon and Duftri—R. 10 p.m.

Sanctioned 28th September 1903.

INDIA OFFICE RECORDS

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

KING CHARLES STREET LONDON S.W.I.

Whitehall 2323

From the Assistant Keeper

R 4415/64

16 October 1964

Dear Mr. Nigam,

Your ref.: D.O. No. T. VIII(8)/64/536

It is now some time since Mr. Pearce wrote to you about the contents of our files on the Linguistic Survey of India. He has however been able to examine these materials in more detail, in the hope that further information would come to light.

When Grierson returned to England to complete the Survey, most of the preliminary work had been completed, and the printing of the volumes was well under way. Consequently we find there is little information contained in his files of correspondence that would assist you with your linguistic project. You may be interested, however, in the enclosed note on Sten Konow whom Grierson employed as his assistant, under the direction of the India Office.

We shall now, I think, have to bring the search to an end, as we have dealt with all the sources here that we know of. I am sorry that we have been unable to identify Mr. Allan.

With good wishes for the progress of your work.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Joan C. Lancaster

R. C. Nigam, Esq.,

Linguist,

Government of India,

Office of the Registrar General,

Language Division,

Town Hall,

Calcutta,

India.

APPENDIX II

Reprints of Previous Census Reports on Languages

(a) Report on the Census of the Punjab taken on the 17th of February 1881—by D. C. J. Ibbetson.

(b) The Distribution of the Population according to Mother Tongue—Census of India 1891. General Report by J. A. Baines.

(c) Languages—Census of India 1891. Assam by E. A. Gait.

(d) Parent Tongue—Census of India 1891. The Report on the Census. Madras—by H. A. Stuart.

Vol. I

REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF THE PANJAB; 1881

BY

D. C. J. Ibbetson

CHAPTER V

THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLE

PART I—INTRODUCTORY AND COMPARATIVE

§297 **Introductory**

There is a saying current among the people of the Punjab that "the language changes every ten miles;" and if we read dialect for language, it is only an exaggeration of the truth. This being the case, and the speech of all the Cis-Indus plains and most of the Punjab hills belonging to the same linguistic family, it may be conceived that it is not easy to draw hard and fast lines and to say, here one language ends and another begins. The central types are of course sufficiently distinct. The Hindi of Delhi, the Panjabi of Amritsar, the Tibetan of Spiti, the Pashto of Peshawar, and the Bilochi of the Sulemans are well-marked languages; and indeed the two last, belonging to a separate class of the great Aryan family, are very sharply and clearly demarcated from their neighbours. But all the others, not even excepting Tibetan which is a Mongolic and not an Aryan tongue, shade off almost imperceptibly on the confines of their respective territories, not only into one another but also into the neighbouring language of Sindh and Rajputana. Unfortunately little is known of the dialects of the Panjab languages; and this specially to be deplored because, as Mr. Beames points out, the abundance of dialects, the unbroken gradation which they present between each language and its neighbours, and the entire absence of any central type or standard of purity by reference to which one dialect might be held to be more excellent than another, give dialectic variations a special importance in the languages of the Gaudian[1] Group. Collection of local terms require only care and accuracy, and not philological skill; and our district officers might render valuable aid to science by making such collections.

But almost every dialect used in the Panjab has a local name; and what ought to have been done in Census, and what would have given us invaluable material if it had been done thoroughly, was to have described each dialect in the schedules under the name by which it was known to the people using it, leaving the classification of these terms under the head of the great language types to be done in the compiling office on a uniform system. This would have given us detailed figures for all the local types and, still more important, it would have told us what dialects exist and have set us inquiring about them. Unfortunately, in too many places 'uniformity' that bugbear of the Census Officers, was aimed at. In some cases the highest officers in charge actually issued instructions to their staff to enter certain languages in certain parts of their districts; and even where this was not the case it is often only too evident from the results that the educated enumerator or supervisor interfered in a similar manner. As a rule their interference has not affected the accuracy of the figures so far as they set forth the general distribution of the languages. Where the supervisor has cut out Potwari and substituted Panjabi, all we can say is that we would rather have had separate figures for Potwari, but that Panjabi is not wrong. But in some cases actual errors were authoritatively laid down for guidance. Thus the gazetted officer in charge of the Sirsa tahsil of the Sirsa district writes: "Bagri has not been entered in the column of mother-tongues, because it is at the most

[1] This term (GAUDIAN) is used by Dr. Hoernle to 'designate collectively all the North Indian Vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity', and is, I suppose, derived from Gaur, the old name of Bengal. I have adopted it as a convenient word, though I understand that some philologists object to it most strongly as a general name for the Indo-Aryan group of languages.

a mere variety of Hindustani, as it only differs from it in having," &c, &c.

Another error was probably due to a misunderstanding of what was wanted when the 'mother-tongue' was asked for. In the instructions to enumerators the mother-tongue was defined as "the language ordinarily spoken in the household of each person's *parents*, whether or not it be that of the place where he or she is living at the time of the Census". Where a man and his parents spoke only one language no mistake was possible. But where an immigrant's dead parents had been accustomed to use the language of origin, and the immigrant himself to use the language of domicile, the latter was probably recorded in each instance. So again many immigrant settlers of old standing retain, even to the third and fourth generation, the use of their language of origin as a domestic language, while they speak the current speech of their new homes with equal fluency. In such cases it is probable that the latter language was not unfrequently given instead of the former; while on the other hand the language of race may occasionally have been recorded, even where no longer used. Again, some few of the vagrant tribes appear to have real dialects of their own which they use among themselves; but they appear to have generally returned as their mother-tongue the common language of the tract which they frequent. The errors, however, affect to any appreciable extent the figures for foreign tongue only; and those figures are of the smallest possible importance, as the birth-place tables give us far more reliable information regarding migration, and the caste tables regarding race. Thus I believe that the language figures may be accepted as practically correct.

§298 Bibliography

There are many books to which the student of the languages of the Panjab may be referred, and in which he will find admirale outlines of the relation in which those languages stand to other cognate languages, and minutely detailed information regarding the latter, but none, so far as I know, from which he can obtain information concerning the detailed structure of the Panjab dialects. For a mere general sketch of the subject he cannot do better than read Beames' "*OUTLINES OF INDIAN PHILOLOGY*", while Mr. Cust's '*MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES*' (Trubner's Oriental series) is a useful compilation, though nothing more, and often inaccurate. The standard authority on the Aryan languages of the plains is Beames' "*COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA*", the introduction to which is extraordinarily instructive. Hoernle's '*GRAMMAR OF THE GAUDIAN LANGUAGES*' is admittedly not so accurate or full in dealing with the western as with the eastern members of the group. Mr. Drew has given some account of the dialects of Jammu and Kashmir in his book on those countries. As for the grammar of separate languages, he little book published by the Ludhiana missionaries is the only Panjabi grammar in existence, and treats only the Panjabi of that part of the country. For Sindhi and Pashto Trumpp's grammars are the grammars *par excellence*. For Bilochi, Gladstone's Manual and Dames' Grammar and Vocabulary (J.A.S.B. 1880) are the only books available; for Mockler's grammar treats only of the southern dialect, which is unintelligible to the Biloch of the Panjab. Mr. O'Brien has published a most admirable *GLOSSARY OF THE MULTANI (JATKI) LANGUAGE* and Mr. Jaeschke has printed a grammar of Tibetan and lithographed a manual of the language of Lahul. A long list of books and papers on the several languages of India will be found at page 173 ff. of *Cust's 'Modern Languages of the East Indies'*.

§299 The Languages of the Panjab

Table No. IX of Appendices A and B gives the number of persons, males and females returned as speaking each of the several languages; and Abstract No. 61, which just follows, summerises results, the languages being grouped according to their affinities. Of the languages which are foreign to the Panjab I need say little. Gujarati is spoken by the Parsi Shopkeepers, Nepalese by Gurkha troops, and English by the British and American community; Turkish (Turki) has been carelessly classed in Table IX as a European language, whereas it is doubtless the Chaghtaic language of Turkistan; so again Chinese is probably the tongue of Chin or Chinese Tartary. The other foreign languages are spoken only by casual

travellers or immigrants. The figures for Persian, however, need a word of explanation. I confess that the numbers returned as speaking this language surprise me. That there should be as many as 3,957 Persian speakers in the Peshawar Division, is perhaps not to be wondered at, seeing that Persian is the language of the Kabul Court, and is spoken in Badakshan and Kafiristan on the trans-Indus border; and the Persian speakers of Ludhiana are doubtless the dependents of those members of the family of Shah Shuja who live there as political refugees. But that there should be more than 2,000 others scattered over British Territory, chiefly however in the great commercial centres, is what I should not have expected. I have had the figures re-examined, and can discover no mistake. The vernacular headings classed as Persian are shown below:—

Language	No. of Speakers
Farsi	5,336
Afghan Farsi	681
Kabuli	88
Afghani	24
Irani	13
Khorasani	2
Kandahari	1
TOTAL	6,145

It is of course possible that Parsi, or the Gujarati speech of the Parsis, may have been in some cases read Farsi; but the number of these is so small that they would hardly affect the figures.

Thus the languages left for discussion are those of the western Gaudian group, of the northern Gaudian group excepting Nepalese, of the Iranic class excepting Persian, and of the Tibeto-Burman class. Unfortunately, I am neither a philologist nor a linguist. In discussing the other subjects treated of in this report, though I am indebted to the books and reports for most of my material, I have some sort of personal acquaintance with the subject. Here I have none.

§300

I have collected such information as I could obtain concerning the several languages of the Panjab, and have endeavoured to throw it into a convenient form. But as a rule the information was of the scantiest. In one respect, however, and that the most important from a Panjab point of view, the amplest information was available, for the introduction to Beames' *'Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India'* contains a most admirable review of the internal affinities and distinguishing characterstics of the several languages which compose the Western Gaudian group, the group to which belongs the speech of 89 per cent of the Panjab people. I have therefore not hesitated to avail myself of it; and the plan on which I have written the present chapter is as follows. I have, in the remainder of this part of the chapter, described the distribution and discussed the future of Panjab languages. In Part II, I have given a brief note on each language, analysing the figures, and in the case of languages *not* included in the above-mentioned group, giving such information about them as I have been able to obtain. In part III, I have compiled almost entirely from Mr. Beames' Introduction such a description of those languages of the above group that concern us in the Panjab and of their relations one with another as will, I hope, be interesting and useful to such as may have occasion to refer to this report, and have not the original book available for reference. In doing so I have not scrupled to make copious quotations from Beames', preferring to use his language instead of my own whenever possible. [After writing the above I thought it only proper to ask Mr. Beames for permission to make such large use of his work.] He not only readily granted the permission, but most kindly and generously offered to read this chapter through and make corrections in the text of the chapter, and even in the quotations taken from his grammar, some of which he has wholly re-written for me, and it may be imagined that the help thus received has most materially enhanced the value of this sketch of the Panjab languages. At the same time Mr. Beames must not be understood in any degree to endorse all that I have said or to be in any way responsible for the corrections of my statements].

§301 **Distribution of the Panjab languages:**

Before discussing the various languages in detail, it will be well to briefly sketch their distribution. Abstract No. 62* shows the distribution by

*On pp. 386-87.

language of every 10,000 inhabitants in each district and major state, and the distribution by residence of every 10,000 persons speaking each language. The districts are arranged as far as may be in order of locality. The language of our eastern border is Hindi. In Gurgaon it is the Braj-bhasha of Mathra and the Upper Doab, perhaps slightly modified by contact with the Jaipuri or eastern dialect of Rajputana. Passing up along the Jamna zone through Rohtak, Jind, Karnal and the southern *tahsils* of Ambala, the accent and pronunciation change considerably, clearing and softening as we go north; but the form remains substantially the same, save that on the border of Patiala a certin admixture of Panjabi words and forms is observable.

ABSTRACT NO. 61, SHOWING THE LANGUAGES OF THE PUNJAB

Family	Class	Group	Language		Numbers	Per mile of total
			Hindi	*Hindustani*	4,045,903	179
				Bagri	282,351	12
		Western Gaudian	*Panjabi*	*Panjabi*	14,210,854	626
				Miscellaneous Dialects	5,405	
			Sindhi	*Sindhi*	5,128	71
				Jatki	1,604,760	..
			Gujarati		586	
			TOTAL *Western Gaudian*		20,154,987	888
1. ARYAN-FAMILY	*INDIC*		*Kashmiri*		49,534	2
			Dogri	*Dogri*	212,604	9
		Northern Gaudian		*Gujari*	17,696	1
			Pahari	(*Garhwali*)	1,272,204	56
			Nepalese		2,748	..
			Total Northern Gaudian		1,554,786	68
		Eastern Gaudian	*Bengali*		2,891	..
		Southern Gaudian	*Marathi*		52	..
			TOTAL *Indic Class*		21,712,716	956
	IRANIC	*East Iranic*	*Pashto*		903,818	40
		West Iranic	*Persian*		6,145	..
			Bilochi		25,748	..
			TOTAL *Iranic Class*		935,711	41

ABSTRACT NO. 61 SHOWING THE LANGUAGES OF THE PUNJAB—*concld.*

Family	Class	Group	Language	Numbers	Per mile of Total
			French	50	..
	ITALIC		*Portuguese*	15	..
			Italian	2	..
			TOTAL *Italic Class*	67	..
		German	*German*	37	..
	TEUTONIC		*English*	27,584	1
		Scandinavian	*Swedish*	1	..
			TOTAL *Teutonic Class*	27,622	1
			TOTAL ARYAN FAMILY	22,676,116	999
2. MONGOLIC FAMILY	*TURKIC*		*Turki*	204	..
			Chinese (Tartar)	210	..
	TIBETO-BURMAN	*Trans-Himalayan*	*Tibeti (Bhoti)*	5,000	..
		Sub-Himalayan	*Lahuli (Bunan)*	10,303	..
			Kanauria (Tirbarskad)	12,209	1
			TOTAL MONGOLIC FAMILY	27,926	1
3. DRAVIDIAN FAMILY			*Madrasi (Telugu, Tamil)*	268	..
4. SEMITIC FAMILY			*Arabic*	63	..
			Abyssinian	9	..
			TOTAL SEMITIC FAMILY	72	..
			TOTAL SPECIFIED LANGUAGES	22,704,382	1,000
			LANGUAGES UNSPECIFIED	7,738	..
			TOTAL POPULATION	22,712,120	..

NOTE...The figures for Dogri, Pahari, Hindustani and Bagri are not those given in Table IX. But see section 307, 310, 317.

ABSTRACT NO. 62. SHOWING THE LOCAL DISTRIBU

Territorial Unit	Distribution by language of every 10,000 of the population of each District										
	Hindustani	Bagri	Pahari	Kanauria, Lahuli and Tibeti	Dogri	Kashmiri	Punjabi	Jatki	Bilochi	Pashto	All India Languages
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Total Province .	1,782	124	560	12	54	22	6,259	707	11	398	9,985
Total Britsh Territory . . .	1,980	55	343	4	56	26	6,412	595	14	479	9,982
Total Native States	815	463	1,620	47	277	4	5,510	1,251	..	3	9,998
Delhi . . .	9,910	25	..	..	..	1	42	..	..	3	9,983
Gurgaon . .	9,993	1	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	9,999
Karnal . .	9,568	3	..	..	..	..	426	..	..	..	9,999
Ambala . .	6,615	4	55	..	..	1	3,293	..	..	..	9,967
Rohtak . .	9,976	14	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	10,000
Jind . . .	5,737	1,605	..	..	..	..	2,655	..	..	2	10,000
Hissar . . .	7,849	1,107	..	..	..	..	1,042	..	..	..	9,999
Sirsa . . .	2,652	1,646	..	..	..	..	5,696	..	..	5	9,999
Simla . . .	2,283	41	4,869	92	1	106	1,769	..	..	7	9,262
25 Hill States (all but Bashahr and Chamba) . .	168	1	9,126	4	8	3	674	..	..	4	9,999
Kangra . .	24	..	8,490	105	..	18	1,344	..	..	..	9,997
Bashahr . .	19	..	7,892	2,033	..	..	28	..	..	..	9,972
Chamba . .	15	..	93	426	9,207	101	126	..	..	1	9,997
Gurdaspur . .	23	..	..	..	987	23	8,919	..	..	1	9,996
Sialkot . .	78	..	..	..	222	7	9,677	..	..	3	9,987
Amritsar . .	48	14	..	..	9	307	9,595	..	..	6	9,993
Kapurthala . .	34	..	..	..	..	..	9,959	..	..	2	9,999
Hushyarpur . .	13	..	2	..	..	..	9,985	..	..	..	9,999
Jalandhar . .	87	..	1	..	..	..	9,893	..	..	1	9,983
Ludhiana . .	76	3	1	..	..	58	9,847	..	..	2	9,987
Patiala . .	44	860	268	..	..	..	8,825	..	..	2	9,999
Nabha . .	2,126	4	..	..	..	..	7,864	..	..	1	9,996
Malerkotla . .	57	4	..	..	..	..	9,934	..	..	..	9,995
Faridkot . .	132	102	..	..	..	..	9,767	..	..	1	10,000
Firozpur . .	238	..	1	..	..	..	9,732	..	..	4	9,976
Lahore. . .	259	..	1	..	..	42	9,631	..	..	8	9,951
Gujranwala . .	17	..	..	..	..	6	9,973	..	..	2	9,998
Gujrat . .	19	..	..	..	..	9	9,968	..	..	1	9,996
Jahlam. . .	55	..	..	..	..	6	9,910	..	..	20	9,994
Rawalpindi . .	235	..	..	1	1	40	9,412	..	..	254	9,954
Hazara. . .	20	..	..	..	2	42	8,894	..	..	650	9,997
Jhang . . .	8	1	..	..	..	..	9,981	2	..	7	9,999
Montgomery .	24	10	..	..	..	1	9,952	3	..	7	9,998
Multan . .	189	16	..	..	..	1	2,999	6,796	..	23	9,966
Bahawalpur . .	32	193	..	..	..	..	1,299	8,421	3	8	8,999
Muzaffargarh .	17	4	..	..	..	1	99	9,779	..	32	9,998
Dera Gazi Khan .	48	1	..	..	5	..	219	8,928	633	101	9,999
Dera Ismail Khan	30	..	..	..	1	..	6,407	2,060	57	1,539	9,994
Bannu . . .	33	..	..	..	2	..	4,674	..	..	5,284	9,997
Kohat . . .	122	..	..	..	16	2	1,969	..	..	7,845	9,961
Peshawar . .	206	..	..	1	2	33	1,894	..	..	7,731	9,875

TION FOR DISTRICT AND STATES IN ORDER OF LOCALITY

Distribution by Residence of every 10,000 of the people speaking each language

Hindustani	Bagri	Pahari	Kanauria Lahuli and Tibeti	Dogri	Kashmiri	Punjabi	Jatki	Bilochi	Pashto	Territorial Unit
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	1
10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	Total Province
9,223	3,673	5,084	3,346	4,964	9,710	8,503	6,991	9,935	9,987	Total British Territory.
777	6,327	4,916	6,654	5,036	290	1,497	3,009	65	13	Total Native States.
1,570	56	..	..	..	10	2	..	..	2	Delhi.
1,585	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Gurgaon.
1,472	6	..	..	..	3	19	..	..	..	Karnal.
1,745	13	45	..	..	15	247	..	1	1	Ambala.
1,365	27	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Rohtak.
354	1,421	..	..	..	..	47	..	..	1	Jind.
977	1,974	..	..	..	..	37	..	..	..	Hissar.
166	1,476	..	..	..	..	102	..	..	1	Sirsa.
24	6	165	144	..	92	6	..	..	..	Simla.
24	1	4200	84	23	38	28	..	..	3	25 Hill States (all but Bashahr and Chamba).
4	..	4,869	3,161	..	266	69	..	..	..	Kangra.
..	..	399	4,754	..	..	..	..	..	..	Bashahr.
..	..	8	1,792	5,013	235	1	..	..	..	Chamba.
5	..	..	..	3,824	390	517	..	..	1	Gurdaspur.
20	1	..	..	1,057	144	689	..	9	3	Sialkot.
11	45	..	..	40	5,543	603	..	..	6	Amritsar.
2	..	..	..	..	2	177	..	..	1	Kapurthala.
3	..	1	..	..	2	633	..	..	..	Hushyarpur.
17	..	1	..	..	6	549	..	..	1	Jalandhar.
12	6	..	..	..	723	429	..	..	1	Ludhiana.
16	4,471	308	24	..	9	911	..	..	3	Patiala.
138	4	..	..	..	2	145	..	..	..	Nabha.
1	1	..	..	..	..	50	..	..	..	Malerkotla.
3	35	..	..	..	1	67	..	..	..	Faridkot.
38	..	..	..	..	5	446	..	..	3	Firozpur.
59	..	1	..	..	789	626	..	3	8	Lahore.
3	..	..	..	..	77	433	..	..	2	Gujranwala.
3	..	..	..	..	118	483	..	..	1	Gujrat.
8	..	..	..	1	71	411	..	..	13	Jahlam.
48	1	..	27	4	670	544	..	1	230	Rawalpindi.
2	..	..	..	4	344	255	..	..	293	Hazara.
1	2	..	..	..	2	278	1	..	3	Jhang.
3	16	..	..	1	7	299	1	..	3	Montugomery.
26	31	..	..	..	12	113	2,337	4	14	Multan.
5	393	..	..	..	4	52	3,009	5	5	Bahawalpur.
1	5	..	..	..	4	2	2,063	66	12	Muzzaffargarh.
4	1	..	..	9	3	6	2,022	8,936	41	Dera Gazi Khan.
3	..	..	..	2	1	196	567	973	752	Dera Ismail Khan.
3	..	..	..	4	5	109	..	1	1,945	Bannu.
5	..	..	2	14	8	25	..	..	1,576	Koyat.
30	1	..	12	6	397	79	..	1	5,069	Peshawar.

Starting again from the south-eastern corner of the Province, and moving along its Southern border through Hissar into Sirsa, we find the same language indigenous, but considerably modified by contact with Bagri, the speech of Bikaner and a form of the western or Marwari dialect of Rajputana; while in the southern portions of Hissar and the detached territory of Jind and Patiala which lies on its south-eastern border, and still more in the south of Sirsa, a very considerable proportion of the population are immigrants from Bikaner and speak the Bagri dialect from their birth. In the northern portion of the Hissar district Panjabi is indigenous; while along the northern border of the Sirsa district is settled a large immigrant population who have brought with them from Patiala their Panjabi speech. So again the west of Sirsa is occupied by immigrants from the Satluj Valley who speak the western form of Panjabi. Thus in the whole of south-eastern corner of the province, in a strip along the Jamna to the hills, and in another strip along the southern border to the middle of Sirsa District,—in other words, in the whole of Gurgaon, Delhi, and Rohtak and the detached portion of Jind and Patiala, in almost the whole of Karnal[1], in the three southern tehsils of Ambala, in all but the north Hissar, and in the south of Sirsa—the language is Hindi, tempered in the south and south-west by a large admixture of Bagri. In all the remainder of the Panjab plains till we come to the extreme south-western corner, the language of the people is Panjabi.

§302

Mr. Beames remarks that no line can be drawn between Panjabi and Hindi within the area lying betwixt the Jamna and the Satluj, and that all that can be said is that on the banks of one Hindi is spoken, and on the banks of the other Panjabi. Yet I cannot help thinking that something more definite than this can be laid down by way of demarcation; and the meridian of Sarhind in the east, and the course of the Ghaggar from where it crosses that line to Sirsa in the south, are probably fair approximations to the limits of the Panjabi language. It is at any rate certain that the language of the greatest part of Patiala is as truly Panjabi as that of any other part of the Province. The Panjabi language, so limited, may be broadly divided into four types of main dialects. The eastern Panjabi, or the dialect of the Malwa, is spoken throughout the cis-Satluj tract. To it succeeds the central dialect, the standard type of the language, which is spoken in its highest purity in the Manjhe or tract lying east and south of Lahore and including the holy city of Amritsar. Throughout the Panjabi-speaking portion of the western plains, the western or Pachhada dialect of Panjabi obtains, and grows more and more corrupt as we move westwards till it becomes the Hindko in the Mid-Indus Valley, still a Panjabi dialect though with a large admixture of Persian and Pashto words, and perhaps forming a fifth and separate type. The pastoral and semi-nomad tribes of the central steppes speak uncouth dialects differing somewhat from those current in the river valleys; but no broad distinction can apparently be drawn. Lastly the people of the Jahlam and Rawalpindi districts speak a Panjabi dialect of which the type is Potwari, or the speech of the eastern portion of the tract, which again gradually changes to the south and south-west into the dialect of the Salt-Range which is more akin to the Western Panjabi of the *thal*, and to the north and north-west into the corrupt Hindko of Hazara and the Upper Indus Valley.

I have said that the western dialect prevails throughout the Panjabi-speaking portion of the Western Plains, for there is a portion of the Western plains in which Panjabi is not spoken. As on the Rajputana border of Sirsa and Hissar in the east, so also on the Rajputana border of Bahawalpur in the west, there is a very considerable immigrant population who speak Bagri (Marwari) or the Western Rajputana dialect. But, excluding the inhabitants of this strip of territory, in all the south-western corner of the Panjab, throughout Bahawalpur, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Derah Ghazi and the south of Derah Ismail and Jhang, the language of the people is Jatki. The position of this language is contested, and is discussed in section 313 of this Chapter. But it apparently deserves to rank as a separate language; or if not, it is a dialect of Sindhi transitional to Panjabi, being at least as much Sindhi as Panjabi.

[1] The table shows Panjabi as spoken by 26,580 persons in Karnal. But most of these live in villages belonging indeed to the Karnal district, but scattered through Patiala territory, or in the extreme north-west corner of the district.

§303

We have thus traversed the whole of the Panjab plains up to the Indus. Beyond the Indus we meet for the first time with Bilochi in the south and Pashto in the north. The latter indeed is spoken this side of the Indus, but chiefly by a few Pathans settled immediately on the river bank in the plains of Hazara, Rawalpindi, and Bannu, and by them often only in their own homes and with the women of their families. Between the Indus and the lower Sulemans, Bilochi is spoken by the organised Biloch tribes who dwell at the foot of the mountains in Derah Ghazi and the south of Derah Ismail Khan. But Jatki is the language of the river valley, *and is fast driving Bilochi back into the hills.* Passing northwards into the Pathan tract, we find that on the border, in Derah Ismail and Bannu and in the exclusively Pathan tracts, Pashto alone is spoken, while among the mixed population of the riverain the corrupt Hindko form of Panjabi is used by Pathans and others alike, more especially in the former district; though here again the women of the Pathans have retained a firmer hold than have the men upon their language of origin. Moving still further north into Kohat and Peshawar the universal language is Pashto, though a considerable mixed population of Indian origin still use among themselves the Hindko Panjabi. And here we pass the boundary between the northern and southern dialects of Pashto described in section 323.

§304

The Hills have still to be accounted for. The languages of the hills may be said generally to follow the course of those of the plains below them. 'But the line between the Hindi and Panjabi types lies much further west among the hills than in the plains at their feet. In the latter Panjabi has crossed the Satluj and occupied the two western tahsils of Ambala; while among the former the eastern watershed of the Ravi which divides Kangra from Chamba, or perhaps the range which separates the Simla States, Mandi, and Kulu from Kangra (for Kangra seems to be a debateable ground) is the line of separation. East of this line is spoken what I have called Pahari, of Hindi type. West of it up to the Hazara border is spoken Dogri, with its dialects Chambali and Chibhali, which is closely akin to the Potwari form of Panjabi that prevails in the Salt-range Tract. Beyond the Kagan Valley however, and all among the western border of Hazara, Pashto is spoken; while across that border it is the language of the independent Afghan tribes. But among these hills, from the Ravi to the Swat river, the Gujar herdsmen speak a peculiar dialect of their own which is apparently more closely akin to Hindi than to Panjabi. In the low hills along the foot of our eastern Himalayas, Panjabi and not Pahari appears to be the language of the people; while west of the Ravi, on the other hand, the inhabitants of the strip of plain country at the foot of the hills speak Dogri and not Panjabi. Throughout the hills, and within the main types mentioned above, an extraordinary variety of dialects prevails, that used in one valley being often barely intelligible to the inhabitants of the next; and a sort of *lingua franca* or standard speech seems to be current in each linguistic division of the tract, side by side with the local dialects of domestic life.

There is still a tract left undiscussed, and that is the portion of the Panjab which lies beyond the mid-Himalayas, namely Kanawar, Spiti, Lahul and Pangi. In this tract is spoken either pure Tibetan, or languages, such as Lahuli and Kanuaria, which hold an intermediate position between the Tibetan and the Indic groups. They are fully discussed in sections 319 and 320 of this chapter.

§305

All over the Panjab, except in the strictly Biloch and Pashto-speaking tracts, Urdu is the language of the more highly educted classes; while in a more or less corrupt form it is the *lingua franca* of all classes, at least in the towns. Finally, most of the vagrant and criminal tribes have dialects of their own and intelligible only to themselves. In some cases they appear to be really separate dialects peculiar to the tribe; in others only thinly disguised form of the current language of the country intentionally altered for purposes of secrecy, much like the 'willery youery goery' of the English schoolboy. Little is known of these dialects, and their speakers have seldom returned them as their mother-tongue.

§306 **Future of the Panjabi Languages**

No record of the language was made at the Census of 1868, and consequently there are no previous statistics, a comparison with which might indicate the progress made by the several languages. But there is little doubt that the Urdu type of Hindi is gradually spreading over the Province and superseding the indigenous languages. Mr. Beames writes as follows:—

"It is difficult to prophesy the future of the Indo-Aryan group of languages, so much depends upon political changes which no man can foresee. It may, however, with much probability be surmised that the immense extension of roads, railways, and other means of communication will result in the extinction of Panjabi and the dialects of Rajputana, and the consequent general adoption of one uniform language, the Persianised form of Hindi, from the Indus to Rajmahal, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhya. The language will then be spoken by upwards of one hundred millions of human beings; and from its vast extent and consequently preponderating importance, it cannot fail greatly to influence its neighbours".

* * * *

"In short, with the barriers of provincial isolation thrown down, and the ever freer and fuller communication between various parts of the country, that clear, simple, graceful, flexible, and all expressive Urdu speech, which is even now the *lingua franca* of most parts of India and the special favourite of the ruling race, because closely resembling in its most valuable characteristics their own language, seems undoubtably destined at some future period to supplant most, if not all, of the provincial dialects, and to give to all Aryan India one homogeneous cultivated form of speech-to be, in fact, the English of the Indian world."

There is no doubt whatever that, in the Panjab at least, the process here described is already in progress. Old Panjabi officials speak of the change in the Panjabi and of the extension of Hindustani which have taken place even within their memory. I shall show presently that Pashto and Bilochi have already given palce in many parts to the advancing Hindi dialects, and there is every probability that the movement will continue. Tibetan alone appears to be making way against the tide; but its scope is confined to but a small portion of the wildest tracts of the Panjab. The following figures, which show the number of books published and registered in the Panjab during the last six years in each of the languages, are interesting, and bring out very strongly the literary inactivity of the indegenous vernaculars in comparison with Urdu.

ABSTRACT No. 63 SHOWING THE NUMBER OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN EACH LANGUAGE IN THE PANJAB, 1875 to 1880

LANGUAGE	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	TOTAL	%
URDU	439	433	360	437	395	465	2,529	45.1
HINDI	161	120	97	70	101	196	745	13.3
PANJABI	154	102	114	141	170	103	784	14.0
SINDHI	..	..	1	2	..	5	8	0.1
JATKI	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
KASHMIRI	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
PASHTO	8	16	20	19	10	8	81	1.4
SANSKRIT	22	20	14	16	14	25	111	2.0
ARABIC	79	50	40	51	47	50	317	5.7
PERSIAN	77	67	58	59	66	53	380	6.8
ENGLISH &c.	39	30	37	46	38	47	237	4.2
POLYGLOT	46	54	72	74	85	85	416	7.4
TOTAL	1,025	892	815	915	926	1,037	5,610	100.0

PART II

THE SEVERAL LANGUAGES OF THE PANJAB

§307 The Hindustani (Hindi) Language

The characterstics and affinities of the Hindi language are fully described in the section of the Chapter which treats of the languages of the Western Gaudian Group. The figures in Table IX include 165,596 persons who were returned as speaking 'Rajputani' and who should have been classed under Bagri, as explained in section 310. In the figures of abstract 62, which shows the distribution of Hindustani-speaking population, this transfer has been made. The remaining figures of Table IX include entries in the schedules as shown beow.

Hindustani	3,988,797
Urdu	31,683
Purbia	25,293
Minor Dialects	130
TOTAL .	4,045,903

Only in the Rawalpindi and Derajat Divisions in Faridkot, Malerkotla, and Bahawalpur was Urdu returned, and in them no figures were given under the head of Hindustani. Thus it is apparent that two terms were taken as synonymous throughout. The details of the Purbia returns are shown below; and it is evident from them that in very many cases people who really talk Purbia have returned themselves as speaking Hindustani. The fact is that the figures for Hindustani include three very different elements which the statistics at our disposal do not enable us to separate; and it is for this reason that I have headed the column in which they are shown with the word 'Hindustani' and not Hindi.

Purbia Returns

Delhi . . .	528	Multan . .	598
Karnal . . .	2,180	Derah Ismail Khan	84
Hissar . . .	141	Derah Ghazi Khan	127
Ambala . .	12,692	Kohat . .	139
Ludhiana . .	1,032	Patiala . .	2,649
Simla . . .	2,156	Nahan . .	400
Amritsar . .	139	Baghat . .	102
Sialkot . . .	1,444	Elsewhere . .	622
Rawalpindi . .	260		
		TOTAL .	25,293

§307(a) The Purbia Dialect of Hindi

First among these is the Purbia as it is called in the Panjab; the dialect of that swarm of immigrants from the North-Western Provinces, consisting chiefly, I believe, of inferior castes from Oudh and from Allahabad and its neighbourhood, who have come into the Province with the troops, still compose the mass of the camp-followers of all but frontier regiments, from so large a portion ofthe Hindu servants in the east of the province, and are known in the Panjab as Purbias. The figures just given, so far as they relate to British Territory, do not return Purbia as spoken in a a single place where there is not, or has not, been since annexation, a considerable cantonment. This language is partly Baiswari and partly Bhojpuri. The former, though agreeing in its principal features with the dialects of eastern Hindi, possesses many points of resemblance to the western Hindi. The latter is the principal dialect of the eastern Hindi group. Both are very distinct both from the Hindi of the Eastern Punjab and from the Urdu of Northern India.

§308 The Urdu form of Hindi

The second element is this same Urdu, the modern literary form and sprung from the ancient literary dialect of Hindi, and the *lingua franca* of the educated and official classes throughout the Bengal Presidency. Its origin and characteristics are thus described by Dr. Hoernle:—

"The Western Hindi is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindi, namely the literary or High-Hindi. This latter is merely a modified form of the Brij dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdu by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms, and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjabi and Marwari. The High-Hindi, as distinguished from the Urdu or Hindustani, is a very modern language; but Urdu itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the 12th Century in the country

around Delhi, the centre of Mahomedan power. In that spot the Brij dialect comes into contact with the Marwari and Panjabi; and there among the great camps (Urdu) of the Mahomedan soldiery in their intercourse with the surrounding populations, a mixed language grew up which, as regards its grammar, is in the main Brij, though intermixed with Marwari and Panjabi forms; while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindi, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *a* of strong masculine nouns where the Brij has *au* and the Marwari *o*, is a bit of Panjabi. Again, the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Marwari. When the Brij has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdu. It was only in the 16th Cent. chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdu was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of Mahomedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindi area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or pursuits of learning; it never became the Vernacular of the people. The High-Hindi dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindu revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough Urdu, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement, and was *Hinduized* or turned into High-Hindi by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdu and High-Hindi are really the same language; they have an identical grammar, and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible. It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindi area; *viz.* the High-Hindi or Urdu, the west Hindi, and the east Hindi. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdu among Mahomedans and of Hindi among Hindus; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned."

Urdu retains in the Panjab the position here assigned to it. It is the language of our cis-Indus Courts, and the speech of our officials. But, as already remarked, it is gradually gaining ground; and as the Panjabi speech of the peasantry is becoming more and more Hindi, so the Hindi language of the Panjab is drawing nearer and nearer to Urdu.

§309 The Hindi of the Eastern Panjab

The third element included in our figures for Hindustani is the Hindi of the eastern and south-eastern Panjab, a form of Braj Bhasha, tempered in the south-west by admixture of Marwari. Its characteristics and affinities are described in the section of this report which treats of the languages of the western Gaudian Group. Neither of the dialects discussed above, *viz.*, Purbia and Urdu, is indigeneous in the Panjab. The Hindi, however, is the original speech of the people throughout the Jamna zone and Hariana. Its area has been defined in section 301, and its figures are given in §307. I cannot separate it from Urdu and Purbia so far as the figures go; but it may be said generally that, outside the tract where Hindi is the vernacular of the peasantry, all that is shown as Hindustani is either one or the other of those two languages. It is indeed impossible to draw any definite line between Hindi and Urdu. The difference between the speech of the educated gentleman of Delhi and the young man at a well in a Rohtak village is sufficiently pulpable; but almost every possible stage intermediate between the two is met with. Indeed the two are not two but one language. Mr. Beames writes:—

"Throughout the whole of this vast Hindi-speaking region (from Rajmahal to Delhi) though the dialects diverge considerably, one common universal form of speech is recognised, and all educated persons use it. This common dialect had its origin apparently in the country round Delhi, the ancient capital, and the form of Hindi spoken in that neighbourhood was adopted by degrees as the basis of the new phase of language, in which, though the inflections of nouns and verbs remained purely and absolutely Hindi, and a vast number of the commonest vacables were retained, a large quantity of Persian and Arabic and even Turkish words found a place just as Latin and Greek words do in English. Such words, however, in no way altered or influenced the language itself,

which, when its inflectional or phonetic elements are considered, remains still a pure Aryan dialect, just as pure in the pages of Wali and Sauda, as it is in those of Tulsi Das or Behari Lal. It betrays therefore a radical misunderstanding of the whole bearings of the question, and of the whole science of philology, to speak of Urdu and Hindi as two distinct languages. When certain agitators cry out that the language of the English Courts or law in Hindustan should be Hindi and not Urdu, what they mean is that the clerks and native writers should be restrained from importing too many Persian and Arabic words into their writings, and should use instead the honest old Sanskrit Tadbhavas[1], with which the Hindi abounds. By all means let it be so, only let it not be said that the Urdu is a distinct language from Hindi. The most correct way of speaking would be to say 'the Urdu dialect of Hindi', or 'the Urdu phase of Hindi'. It would be quite impossible in Urdu to compose a single sentence without using Aryan words, though many sentences might be composed in which not a single Persian word occurred. Hindi when it uses Arabic words is assumed to become a new language, and is called by a new name Urdu; but when Panjabi and Sindhi do the same they are not so treated. The reason of this is that the Urdu is based on only one dialect of Hindi and has slightly modified some of the inflections of that dialect, besides necessitating some alteration in the method of constructing sentences. The result is that Urdu is not merely an infusion of Persian with an Indian tongue, but a new creation, and independent member of the western Hindi group of dialects."

There are no well-marked dialects of Hindi current within the Province. The speech of Hissar and Sirsa approaches nearer to Marwari, and that of the western border of the Jamna zone to Panjabi; but the difference is almost more in accent and pronunciation than in language, and cannot be held to constitute a dialectic variation.

§310 The Bagri Language

Bagri is language of the Bagar or Bikaner Prairie, and is the northern form of the western or Marwari type of the dialects of Rajputana, spoken to the west of the Aravalli Range. It is a pure Hindi dialect, but is very distinct from the Hindustani of Delhi, from which it differs almost as much as it does from Panjabi, both in inflexion and in vocabulary. The distribution of the Bagri speakers, so far as our figures serve us, is shown below.

District	Percentage of total Bagri-Speaking Population who live in the District.	Percentage of total Population of the District who speak Bagri.
Hissar . . .	19.74	11.07
Sirsa . . .	14.76	16.46
Patiala . . .	44.71	8.60
Jind . . .	14.21	16.05
Bahawalpur . .	3.93	1.93

But unfortunately the officer in charge of the Sirsa *tahsil* of Sirsa did not permit his staff to enter Bagri in the schedules, but instructed them to describe it as Hindustani; and as this *tahsil* is precisely the portion of the district in which the Bagri is spoken most commonly, since it has the largest border in common with Rajputana and includes among its population the largest proportion of Bagri immigrants, it follows that the figures for Sirsa are very much under the truth. The figures in the above table do not agree with those of Table IX. Unfortunately the Jind and Patiala States returned the language of a large part of their population, especially of their detached southern territory, as 'Rajputani', and this was classed as Hindustani in Table IX.

Bagri	97,888
Marwari	18,031
Bikaneri	557
Bangari	205
Others	74
TOTAL .	116,755

There is no doubt whatever that it should have been included with Bagri, and I have so included it in the present figures and in the table on page 284. The numbers thus transferred are 125,487 in Patiala, and 40,109 in Jind.

The Bagri language is almost wholly confined to the immigrant population from Rajputana which has settled in Hissar and the southern blocks of Jind and Patiala, in Sirsa, Bahawalpur, and, in

[1] See footnote on page 302.

smaller numbers, in Dehli. I have included in my figures for Bagri given in Table IX dialects returned in the schedules as shown in the above table. The Bangari is of course the dialect of the Highlands of Rohtak and Hissar, and should more properly have been included under Hindustani. The distribution of the principal Bagri and Marwari entries is shown below.

District or State	Bagri	Marwari
Dehli	73	1,511
Hissar	54,295	1,530
Sirsa	40,879	741
Amritsar	..	1,253
Faridkot	990	..
Bahawalpur	..	11,117
Other places	1,651	1,879
TOTAL .	97,888	18,031

The Marwari speakers of Dehli and Amritsar, and of the portion of the Panjab not lying on the Rajputana border, are chiefly Marwari money-lenders or Bohras who have settled in some numbers of late years in the east and south of the Province, and are notorious for their unscrupulous rapacity.

§311 The Panjabi Language

Panjabi, which is the vernacular of more than three-fifths of the inhabitants of the province, is fully discussed in the section of this report which treats of the languages of the western Gaudian group; its limits are described in 301-2; the figures which show its distribution are given, Abstract no. 62, while in section 302 an attempt is made to indicate its principal dialectic types. I shall therefore say nothing further concerning it in this place.

§312 The Sindhi Language

The characteristics and affinities of the Sindhi language are fully discussed in the section of the present chapter which deals with the languages of the western Gaudian group and the Sindhi-Panjabi dialect of Jatki is described in the next section. Sindhi proper is spoken by 2,384 persons in Bahawalpur who are probably immigrants from Sindh, and by 2,744 in British Territory, of whom 1,958 are found at the great commercial centres, and the remainder in the south-western districts of the Province.

§313 The Jatki of the Lower Indus Valley*

The Sindhi language is divided by Trumpp into three dialects, of which the Sirai is that spoken in Siro or North Sindh. But as Mr. Beames remarks: "It is evident from an examination of the published grammar that this threefold division does not exchaust the variations of the language; and perhaps it would be more strictly correct to say that the numerous dialects fall into three groups." To the north of Siro, or in that part of Sindh which borders on the Panjab, is spoken what is there called the Uchh dialect; and this is identical with the language which I have shown in my tables under the name of Jatki, and which is the speech of the people throughout the southern portions of Derah Ismail and Jhang, and the whole of Derah Ghazi, Muzaffaragarh, Multan, and Bahawalpur[1]. "Except on the west, where it is abruptly stopped by Bilochi at the foot of the Suleman range, it is impossible to say where it begins. On the north it imperceptibly changes into Panjabi, on the south Sindhi gradually takes its place, and on the east it fades into the Rajputana dialects of Hindi". The Biloches call it Jagḍali or the language of Jats; but the people who speak it call it Jatki, Hind-desi, Hindko or Derawal, and Mr. O'Brien calls it Multani. It is the language of an area of some 26,000 square miles, which embraces the lower valleys of the Indus, Chanab, and Satluj down to their junction.

The Jatki language or dialect is classed by some philologists as a dialect of Sindhi, by others as a dialect of Panjabi. It does indeed contain many Panjabi and Sindhi words; but it has a large Vocabulary which is peculiar to itself, and especially it differs from both Panjabi and Sindhi in having most of its inflections different from those of either, though some of them agree with the one and some with the other. Thus the case endings or post-positions of genitive are the same as in Panjabi, those of the ablative the same as in Sindhi,

*The greater part of this paragraph is taken from Mr. O' Brien's Glossary of the Multani language, where will be found an admirable description of the language and a perfect mine of folklore and proverbial humour.

[1] Bilochi is spoken close under the hills in Derah Ghazi, Mr. Cust says that Jatki is the language of "Kach Gandara in Kelat throughout the level Country right upto the Baluchi hills", but gives no authority for the assertion.

while that of the dative is peculiar to Jatki. The pronouns on the whole are the same as those of Panjabi; but Jatki, like Sindhi and unlike all other Indian languages except Pashto, makes little use of the cases of its personal and possessive pronouns, but substitutes for them pronominal suffixes, attaching these to nouns, verbs and adverbs, which it specially prepares to receive them. Again following Sindhi alone of all Indian langauges, the Jatki verb has a passive voice; but in parts of its conjugation it imitates Panjabi, while in its future, and in several other points, it follows forms, peculiar to itself. On the whole it would appear to be far more closely allied to Sindhi than to Panjabi, though perhaps not sufficiently distinct from the former to be called a separate language.

Jatki is essentially a rustic language. Abounding in cerebral and nasal letters, it is rough in its sound, but its homely vigour gives it a flavour peculiarily its own. Its agricultural vocabulary is singularly copious, while it is correspondingly poor in abstract terms. There is no Jatki literature: indeed it is not a written language, the printed books which profess to be in that tongue being merely misspelt Panjabi, and sometimes printed in a character which no Multani could decipher. But it abounds in the most homely and vigorous proverbs, stories, riddles, aphorisms, and even poems, admirable specimens of which will be found in Mr. O'Brien's Glossary of the language. It is the language of the people: and even the educated classes speak Hindustani with difficulty, relapsing on the first opportunity into their native Jatki.

The distribution of the Jatki language is shown below :

District	Percentage of total Jatki-speaking population who live in the district.	Percentage of total population of the district who speak Jatki.
Multan . . .	23.37	67.96
Muzaffargarh . .	20.63	97.79
Derah Ismail Khan .	5.67	20.60
Derah Ghazi Khan .	20.22	89.28
Bahawalpur . .	30.09	84.21
TOTAL .	99.8	..

But the dialect of the south-western corner of the Jhang and the western end of the Montgomery district is hardly distinguishable from Jatki, though it is returned as Panjabi in the tables.

§314 The Languages of the Punjab Hills

With the exception of the Pashto of the Hazara border and the Tibetan languages of Spiti and its neighbourhood, both of which will be discussed presently, the languages of the whole of that portion of the Himalayas which is included in the Panjab or lies on its border belong to the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages. They are separated from the Tibetan class by the great range of the mid-Himalayas which divides the valley of the Chanab on the north from the Satluj and Ravi on the south, and Pangi, Lahul, Spiti and upper Kanawar from the remainder of the Panjab hills. They may be grouped under three main types, the Kashmiri to the west, the Dogri in the middle, and the Pahari to the east; the eastern and southern watershed of the Ravi forming the boundary between Dogri in Chamba and Jammu and Pahari in Kangra, Kulu, Mandi, Suket, and the Simla Hill States, while Kashmiri is confined to the upper Valley of the Jahlam.

§315 The Kashmiri Language

Kashmiri is the language of the Valley of Srinagar in Kashmir, which nowhere touches our border. But famine and other causes have driven a considerable number of emigrants at one time or another from Kashmir into the Panjab; and the language is now spoken by no fewer than 49,534 inhabitants of the Panjab. The distribution of these people is shown here, small figures being neglected.

District	Percentage of the total Kashmiri speaking population who live in the District.	Percentage of total population of the District who speak Kashmiri.
Ludhiana . .	7.23	0.58
Simla . .	0.92	1.06
Kangra . .	2.66	0.18
Amritsar . .	55.43	3.07
Gurdaspur .	3.90	0.23
Sialkot . .	1.44	0.07
Lahore . .	7.89	0.42
Rawalpindi .	6.70	0.40
Gujrat . .	1.18	0.09
Peshawar . .	3.97	0.33
Hazara . .	3.44	0.42
Chamba . .	2.35	1.01
TOTAL	97.11	..

They show that the Kashmiri colonies engaged in the shawl manufacture of Amritsar, Ludhiana, and Kangra account for more than 65% of the whole, the remainder being found either in the districts bordering upon Kashmir territory, in those where a temporary demand for labour existed, or in Lahore. The immigration from Kashmir has already been fully discussed elsewhere. (§152). The present figures show that only a comparatively small portion of it was from the Kashmir Valley.

Kashmiri belongs to the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages, but is further removed from the Hindi and Panjabi types than either the Dogri or the Pahari. It possesses a onsiderable Persian vocabulary, due to the Mahomedan occupation of the Valley; and it appears to have acquired from the neighbouring Tibetan the *ts* and *dz* sounds which it possesses in common with Pashto. It has a character of its own called Sharada which is rarely used, Persian being the language of the Court and the Thakuri of the hills being used by the traders. The Arabic character is now generally used when Kashmiri is written, and there would appear to be no indigenous literature.

§316 The Dogri Language

Dogri proper is the language of the Dogras or Rajput inhabitants of Jammu, and is spoken only in Jammu itself, and in the strip of plain country immediately below the hills and between the Ravi and the Beas. But the Chibhali of the Kashmir hills which lie between the Valley of Srinagar and the Rawalpindi and Hazara border is, according to Drew, a dialect of Dogri, bearing to it much the same relation as does the Potwari, or Panjabi of Rawalpindi and Jahlam, to the Panjabi of the central districts. Indeed it bears so close a resemblance to the former of these two dialects that the people of the Murree and Hazara hills, who really speak Chibhali, have entered themselves as speaking Punjabi. Dogri also belongs to the Indic class of languages, and would appear to be more closely allied to Panjabi than to Hindi; in fact it might almost be called the hill dialect of the former, as Pahari is of the latter. There is apparently no Dogri literature, but the language is said by Mr. Cust to have a character of its own which has been modified by the present Maharaja. In the figures for Dogri given in Table IX I have included the Chambali dialect, under which head 104,469 inhabitants of Chamba have returned their language, and which is the speech of the whole of that state with the exception of the elevated tract of Pangi, where Pangiali or Lahuli is spoken. I have also included 42 inhabitants of Chamba speaking Bhadarwahi, the dialect of the part of Kashmir bordering on Chamba; so that in reality only 2,080 of the Chamba people actually returned their language as Dogri.

So far as Table No. IX shows, Chamba is practically the only portion of the Panjab in which Dogri is spoken. But most unfortunately the Dogri speaking population of the district of the Amritsar Division returned their language, or at least it was so returned in the divisional tables,—as "Pahari Dogri"[1]; and the second word being overlooked, the whole were classed under the head of Pahari, instead of under the head of Dogri in which they should most undoubtedly have been included. The error was not discovered till the table had been printed and the figures incorporated in the Imperial tables. I do not therefore reprint the table; but I give the corrected figures, for Dogri here, and have used them in the table in §301. The immigration from Kashmir accounts for a part of the Dogri speakers in Gurdaspur and Sialkot. But the language is spoken, not only in the Jammu hills, but also in the Baijwat and neighbouring portions of those districts which lie along the Jammu border, and once formed a part of that territory.

District or State.	Number Speaking Dogri.	Percentage of Total Dogri speakers.	Percentage of total population of District or State.
Gurdaspur . .	81,282	38.24	9·87
Sialkot . . .	22,463	10.57	2.22
Chamba . .	106,591	50.13	9.47
Other District or States	2,268	1.06	..
TOTAL .	212,604	100.00	..

[1] The license taken in the matter of classification by the officer in charge of the Amritsar divisional office is alluded to in book II of the report. It is to be feared that he may have thrown separate figures for Pahari and Dogri under the above heading.

§317 The Pahari Language of the Eastern Hills

The eastern group of hill languages is shown in our tables as Pahari, and would appear to be practically the same as the Garhwali of the philologists. Its western boundary is the eastern watershed of the Ravi which separates Chamba from Kangra[1]; to the north it is separated from the Tibetan group of tongues by the mid-Himalayas; to the south it extends as far as the foot of the mountains, but not to the low hills at their base; while it stretches away eastward through Garhwal and Kumaon to meet the Nepalese. It is an Indic language, more akin to Hindi than to Panjabi, and is included with Nepalese by Dr. Hoernle in his northern Gaudian Group. But here, as in all mountainous tracts, dialectic variations are numerous, each considerable mountain range separating two forms of speech which differ in a greater or less degree. Thus the Mandi People call their dialect Mandiali, the Kulu people Kuluki, Gaddi is spoken by the inhabitants of the range which divide Kangra from Chamba, and Hinduri by the people of the lower Hill States. The character used is the Thakuri or Thankri of the hills, but the only literature that the language appears to possess begins and ends with a small but interesting collection of rhapsodies in praise of Raja Jagat Singh (A.D. 1650) by a Kangra bard called Gambhir Rai (*JASB* 1875. Pg. 192).

The distribution of the Pahari speaking population of the Panjab is shown below, the corrections for Dogri just described being duly made in the figures of Table IX. The figures for Patiala represent the population of that portion of the state which lies among the Simla Hills.

District or State.	Percentage of Total Pahâri-speakers living in District.	Percentage of total population of District speaking Pahari
Simla . . .	1.65	48.69
Kangra . . .	48.69	84.90
Patiala . . .	3.08	2.68
Bashahr . . .	3.99	78.92
25 Hill States . .	42•00	91.26
TOTAL .	99.41	..

§318 The language of the Hill Gujars

Among the miscellaneous Panjab dialects of Column 12 of Table IX, I have included 17,696 persons who returned their language as Gujari, of whom 14,966 are found in Hazara, 2,434 in Gurdaspur, 279 in Chamba, and 17 in Peshawar. The people of Hazara and Peshawar belong to those Gujar herdsmen who are found in great numbers throughout the mountain regions of Kashmir and Hazara and on the Hazara and Peshawar borders, from the Ravi in the east to the Swat river in the west. They speak, even in the exclusively Pathan Valleys of Swat and Buner, a language of their own of which little is known, but which is closely akin to Hindi, is said to be of a peculiarly archaic type, and differs markedly both from the Dogri and Chibhali dialects and from the Pashto, which together form the indigenous languages of the tract. The people of Gurdaspur and Chamba probably belong to the same class; but some of them may be Gaddis driven down by famine or the winter snows from the mountain range which separates Chamba from Kangra, for the word Gujar is used in the higher hills as practically synonymous with "shephard", and almost all Gaddis are shepherds. The Gaddi dialect is sufficiently distinct from the Dogri and the Pahari between which it lies, and between which in all probability it forms a connecting link.

§319 The Languages of the Higher Himalayas of the Panjab

I have said that the mid-Himalayas which separate the valley of the Chanab on the north from the Satluj and Ravi on the south, form the boundary between the Tibetan Languages of Pangi, Lahul and Spiti, and the Aryan tongues of the remainder of the Panjab. But the line is in reality not so clearly marked as any language would imply, and there are gradations between the pure Tibetan of Spiti and the pure Aryan of Kulu. Moreover the upper Valley of the Satluj after it has pierced the mid-Himalayan range, or that portion of the Bashahr state known as Kanawar, has a language more akin to the former than to the latter. By the Kindness of Mr. Alex

[1] Mr. Lyall, however, who probably knows more than anybody else of the people of the Panjab hills, thinks that the people of Kangra proper, as distinct from Kulu approach both in race and language nearer to the western or Dogra, than to the eastern or Pahari group.

Anderson, who has communicated to me, in addition to his own information, notes on the subject by the Rev. Mr. Heyde, a Moravian missionary living on the spot, I am enabled to sketch with considerable accuracy the distribution of languages in this wildest portion of our territory.

The figures are grouped in Table IX under three headings, Kanauria, Lahuli and Tibeti (columns 9 to 11). But the figures for Lahuli include 3,425 inhabitants of Chamba who returned their language as Pangiali, and who reside in Pangi, the portion of Chamba lying beyond the mid-Himalayan range. The distribution of these languages is shown here :

Territory	Kanauria	Lahuli	Pangiali	Tibeti
Lahul . .	..	5,779	..	41
Spiti . .	..	..	..	2,861
Simla . .	..	..	..	397
Chamba .	..	1,085	3,425	421
Bashahr .	12,209	..	..	871
Nalagarh .	..	..	..	158
Others . .	..	14	..	251
TOTAL	12,209	6,878	3,425	5,000

Throughout the whole of Spiti, which, consisting of the valleys of the Spiti and Pin rivers and of a glacier region belonging to the western-Himalaya system, stretches southwards like a wedge between Kanawar in the south-east and Lahul in the north-west, the language is Tibetan, or Bhoti as it is called by the Tibetans themselves, to whom the word Tibet is unknown.

§320

Beyond the borders of Spiti the same language extends, on the one hand down to the upper course of the Satluj in Kanawar, and on the other hand along the headwaters of the Chandra and Bhaga (which united ultimately form the Chanab) in Lahul down to within some 15 miles of their junction, and throughout that mountain portion of Pangi in Chamba which lies below the Western Himalayas. Lower down the valley of the Satluj till it passes through the mid-Himalayas and out of Kanawar, of the Chandra and Bhaga to their junction, and of the united Chandra-Bhaga till it passes out of Pangi into Kishtwar in Kashmir, a language prevails which was probably the original speech of all this tract between the western and mid-Himalayas, which I have called Kanauria in the east and Lahuli in the West, and which is locally known as Tibarskad in Kanawar, Bunan in Lahul and eastern Pangi, and Pangiali in western Pangi, the three forms presenting only slight local variations. But from about the junction of the Chandra and Bhaga, and probably in the lower portions of Kanawar also, the admixture of Pahari with the original Tibetan stock constantly increases as we move southwards and westwards; and the resulting variations are locally distinguished by different names, the dialect of the lower Bhaga being called Gahri, of the lower Chandra Gondla or Tinun, of the upper Chandra-Bhaga, Pattan or Manchat, and of lower Kanawar, Milchang[1]. Mr. Jaeschke, the greatest living Tibetan Scholar, is of opinion that this mother-tongue of Lahul and Kanawar "belongs neither to the Tibetan nor to the Sanskritian family", and Mr. Heyde writes: "Bunan, which is nearly the same as the Tibarskad of Kanawar, is not a mere dialect of the Tibetan, but a language which stands on its own legs. No doubt you find many Tibetan words in Bunan; but all of them more or less have reference to the *Buddhist religion, and most of them were probably* introduced when that religion was brought into Lahul from Tibet". He points out, however, that directly you pass from the Bunan proper of upper into the Pattan of lower Lahul, and leave the area of Buddhist for that of Brahman influence, the language becomes far more Sanskirtised in its form, and approaches much more nearly to the hill dialects of Pahari; so that "the Pattan or Manchat may be said to stand in about the same relation to the Hindi as the Bunan and Gondla or Tinun stand to the to Tibetan language". It is most curious that while, as pointed out elsewhere, Brahminism is rapidly spreading northwards upto the

[1] More properly Milchanang (pronounced Minchang) the Tibetan for "notorious, very common vulgar". Mr. Cust gives the Luhrung or Kanam, Lidung or Lippa, and Sugnum dialects of Tibetan as spoken in Kanawar, and the Sumchu in Lahul. I do not know what may be his authority. I believe the list in the text to be exhaustive.

valleys of Kanawar and Lahul and driving Buddhism before it, the Tibetan language is making equally certain though not perhaps quite such rapid progress in the opposite direction, and supplanting the indigenous languages of those tracts. Mr. Anderson writes:—

"The Bunan is, however, fast disappearing from Lahul, where Tibetan is displacing it. It has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, no written character. While the Rajas of Kulu ruled in Lahul it was written in the Tankri character, and so also in all probability when Lahul was under Chamba. But now it is written in the Tibetan character; and a man of the lower Bhaga will speak to one of the lower Chandra, not in Bunan, but in Tibetan".

§321 The Bilochi Language

Bilochi is the language of the Biloches, and is spoken throughout Bilochistan except by the Brahois of Kelat territory and by some subject races of Persian origin. It belongs to the Iranic class of the Aryan family of languages, and appears to stand to the modern Persian of Iran in a relation somewhat similar to that existing between Panjabi and the literary Hindi or Braj. It has preserved many archaic forms which have been lost by its western brother, and is more generally far more inflectional in its construction than is modern Persian. It is divided into two main dialects so different that each is almost unintelligible to the tribes that speak the other; and the belt of Brahois who inhabit Sarawan and Jahlawan form the boundary between them. The northern or Sulemani dialect is spoken by the Rind Biloches of the neighbourhood of the Bolan pass, in Kachh and Upper Sindh, and on the lower Panjab frontier. It thus comes into contact with Sindhi, Panjabi, Brahoi, and Pashto. Of these Sindhi and Panjabi have affected the vocabulary considerably, and Pashto very slightly if at all; while Brahoi has probably borrowed considerably from Bilochi. But the nucleus of the vocabulary is the original Persian stock, and the words for common objects, acts, and ideas are nearly all pure Bilochi. The purest form of this dialect is spoken by the Dumki and Bugti tribes; the most corrupt, among the Bozdar. But the local variations are very slight. The southern or Makrani dialect is not spoken in the Panjab. Bilochi is not a written language, there being no indigenous literature. But the memories of the people teem with ballads setting forth the brave deeds, loves and adventures of their national heroes, and the poetic fire is not extinct, for additions are still being made to the stock. The Persian character has been hitherto used by the scholars or students for the record of this traditional literature. The Bilochi is rapidly disappearing at any rate from the Panjab plains. It is said that when we first took the Punjab, Bilochi was the language of the lower valleys of the Indus and Chanab including the Muzaffargarh and the western portion of Multan district.[1] Be this as it may, its limits have sensibly receded within even the last few years, and it is now spoken only on the Suleman border, and by those Biloch tribes of Derah Ghazi, and the southern part of Derah Ismail which, settled immediately below the hills, have retained their tribal organisation. Even among them it is being fast superseded by the local Jatki of the river valley; and a Biloch chief has been known to learn his own national language in order to be able to use it in conversation with European Officers. In fact if it were not that it is officially countenanced as the language of the tribes, it would in all probability have almost ceased to be spoken as the language of any portion of our territories. The present distribution of the Bilochi speaking population is shown below:

District	% of Total Bilochi-speaking population living in the District	% of total population of the District speaking Bilochi
Derah Ismail Khan .	9·73	0·57
Derah Ghazi Kahan .	89·36	6·33
TOTAL .	99·09	..

§322 The Pashto Language*

Pashto, or Pakhto, is the language of the Pathans, as the people of Hindustan call the "Pukhtanah" or the Pakhto-speaking nation, the Pakhtnes of Herodotus; and it extends

[1] So at least Colonel Edimonstone told General Cunningham.

*I am indebted for much assistance in the compilation of the following paragraphs to a MS. account of the Pashto Language, kindly lent me by its writer, Major Trevor Plowden.

from Quetta and the valley of Peshin south of Kandahar to Kafiristan in the north, from beyond the Helmand on the west to the Indus valley on the east, and throughout the hills of Bajaur, Swat and Bunèr. It is generally classed with the Iranic rathar than with the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages, but serves in some degree as a connecting link between the two, being in many respects more akin to the Indian than to the Persian group, and especially in its retention of the cerebrals and in the number of its inflections, which latter it possesses in perhaps greater abundance than any other Oriental language except Arabic. It has very many points in common with the old Magadhi Prakrit, which was probably once the vernacular of the whole of Northern India; and it is not impossible that at one time the same language was spoken by the Aryans of Afghanistan and of the Panjab, till the Śauraseni Prakrit pushing up the Indus, across the five rivers and down the Ganges Valley, separated the eastern Magadhi from which sprang the eastern Hindi, from the western which is now called Pashto. Among the Indian languages the one which has strongest affinities with Pashto is Sindhi, which in several ways forms a connecting link between the Indic and Iranic classes. Dr. Trumpp thus sums up the position—

"It is true that the palatal sibilants of Pashtu can only have their origin from the Zend, and that in the pronouns and numerals many forms receive their only light from the Zend. But on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the Pashtu has preserved the whole cerebrals of the Indian Prakrit tongues, that a very large stock of pure Pashtu words is directly derived from the adjoining Prakrit idioms (Chiefly from the Sindhi, less from the Panjabi) that *the whole formation of the declensional and conjugational process* bears the closest analogy to the Sindhi, and the whole structure of the Pashtu active and casual verbs in the past tenses fully coincides with and can only be explained from the Sindhi. The Pashtu, however, is by no means a Prakrit idiom like the Sindhi, Panjabi and others but *an old independent language forming the first transition from the Indo-Aryan to the Iranian family, and therefore participating in the characteristics of both, but still with predominant Prakrit-features.* This is also fully borne out by the geographical position of the Pashtu between the Indian and Iranian idioms".

Pashto was, till recent times, a purely colloquial language; and the earliest Pashto book to which a date can be assigned is a History of the Yusufzai written by one Shekh Mali in 1417 A. D. There is now, however, a considerable mass of indigenous literature, chiefly consisting of tribal or national histories and of erotic or Sufist poems. Among them may be mentioned the Diwans of Khushal Khan the great Khatak chief (1640-1690), known as "The father of Afghan Poesy" and of Abdul Rahman and Abdul Hamid, Momand (1720 A. D.), the latter of whom is called "the Shekh Sadi of the Afghans"; the Makhzan-Afghani by the celebrated Mughal priest Akhund Darwazah; and the Tarikh-i-Murassa of Afzal Khan Khatak, grandson of Khushal Khan. Persian is however still the language of the Afghan Court and of high life, and Arabic that of their religion and learning. The character used is the Persian, to which the Pathans have added several symbols to express sounds unknown to the Persian alphabet, and among others the *ts* and *dz* sounds which they have perhaps borrowed from the Turanian dialects of Turkistan.

§323

Two dialects of the language are spoken in the Panjab; the hard or Peshawari, in which it is called Pakhto, and the soft or Kandahari, in which it becomes Pashto. The former is often called the northern or eastern dialect, and the latter the southern or western. The line which separates the two is the northern boundary of Khatak tract in Kohat and the south-east of the Peshawar District. North of that line Pakhto is spoken, and with especial purity in Yusufzai and Hashtnaghar. South of it Pashto prevails, and is found in its purest Kandahari form among the tribes of *Pawindah* origin who have settled in Derah Ismail Khan.

The distribution of the Pashto-speaking population is shown, below, neglecting small figures.

District	% of Total Pashto-speaking population who live in the District	% of the total Population of the District who speak Pashto
Rawalpindi . .	2.30	2.54
Derah Ismail Khan .	7.52	15.39
Bannu . . .	19.45	52.84
Peshawar . . .	50.69	77.31
Hazara . . .	2.93	6.50
Kohat . . .	15.76	78.45
TOTAL	98.65	..

n the Peshawar border it will probably remain le language of the people. But south of the Salt ange it appears to be gradually giving way before pe local Panjabi dialects; and the Pathans of the is-Indus tract, and even of the right bank of the ndus, have already ceased to speak Pashto, or se it only as a domestic language, their women etaining it where the men have adopted the Panabi in its place. Mr. Tucker writing of Derah smail Khan says: "There can be no doubt that nder English rule Hindustani is rapidly superseding Pashtu, and that this language is doomed o die out in these parts as assuredly as the Celtic of the Scotch and Welsh Highlands. In Hazara also Hindi is said to be superseding Pashtu, even among the Pathan and allied tribes".

§324 Miscellaneous Dialects of the Panjab.

The figures given under this head in column 12 of Table IX comprise entries in the schedules as shown below :

The *GUJARI*, or the dialect of the Gujar herdsmen of our western hills, is discussed with the other hill languages in §318. The *Potwari* should of course have gone with Panjabi, of which it is the trans-Salt-range dialect; but I did not know even this much when the figures were classified.

Gujari . .	17,696	Sansi . .	34
Potwari . .	438	Bawaria .	67
Labanki . .	2,569	Thalai . .	75
Labanaki .	711	Khetrani .	13
Odki . .	1,498		
		TOTAL .	23,101

Labanki is the name given on the lower Indus to the speech of the Sikh Labanas of that part, who are said to have emigrated from the Central Panjab during the rule of the Khalsa and settled on the river, bringing their dialect with them and taking to sedentary occupations. It is shown as spoken by 1,421 people in Muzaffargarh, 1,146 in Derah Ghazi, and 2 in Multan. *Labanaki* is the dialect of the Labana traders and carriers who once had the whole carrying trade of Rajputana and the Panjab in their hands, though now the railways have left them the hills only as a field. Their operations covered such a wide extent of country that it is not to be wondered at that they should have a peculiar form of speech, which is doubtless intelligible to the whole class. It is shown as spoken by 711 people in Gurdaspur, and is probably identical with the Labanki which precedes it in the list. *Odki* is the dialect of the Ods or wandering navvies who, hailing from the North-West Provinces or Rajputana, travel all over the Province in search of employment on large earthworks. It is returned as spoken by 375 persons in Multan, 550 in Muzaffargarh, 509 in Derah Ghazi, and 64 elsewhere, and is said to be a Marwari dialect in those parts. *Sansi* and *Bawaria* are dialects of the two gipsy tribes of those names, while *Thalai* is said to be another name for the *Bawaria* dialect. *Khetrani* is the language of the *Khetrans*, who are sometimes called Biloch, sometimes Pathan, and are probably Jat. It might well have been classed as Bilochi.

§325 The Written Characters of the Panjab.

I have already in treating of each language stated the character in which it is written. The characters used in the Panjab are the Persian for Urdu, Pashto, and Bilochi, the Gurmukhi for Panjabi, the Devanagri and its Thakuri modification for the Hindi languages of the hills and plains, the Tibeti for Tibetan, and the various mercantile characters.[1] A very interesting quotation from Mr. Beames on this subject will be found at pages 202-304. I add a few notes as supplementary to the information there given. The mercantile cursive used by the trading classes throughout the greater part of the Panjab plains, and commonly known as Hindi or Mahajani in the east and

[1] Dr. Leitner has published a collection of lithographed specimens of the characters of Hindi origin in use in the Panjab.

Lunda[1] further the west, is apparently a Nagri rather than a Gurumukhi character, though it varies so greatly from one part of the province to another that a shop-keeper of the Eastern Plains cannot read the books of his brother of the west. In the lower Indus Valley again the Aroras, or as they are locally called Kirars, use a cursive of their own called Kiraki, which is probably one of the Sindhi forms alluded to by Mr. Beames. The Gurumukhi would appear to be little used save by the Sikhs, while they are of all Panjab communities the most illiterate, few but the priestly classes being able to read and write. Where Persian is not known Devanagari seems to be favourite character, except in the hills where Thakuri takes its place; and there can be little doubt that, owing perhaps to its being the character of our Courts and offices, Persian is rapidly driving all others out of the field. The characters in which the schedules of the present Census were written are returned as shown below for British Territory.

Characters	Towns	Villages	Total
English . . .	106	2	108
Persian . . .	6,760	39,952	46,712
Devanagri . .	64	2,874	2,938
Mahajani . .	1	810	811
Gurmukhi . .	1	82	83
Pahari . . .	22	2,284	2,306
Tibetan . . .	..	25	25
TOTAL .	6,954	46,029	52,983

It is not improbable that the distinction beween Nagri and Mahajani has not always been observed in compiling these figures, but the details are, I believe, otherwise accurate. The Pahari or Thakuri character was used only in Kangra, and the Tibetan in Spiti and Lahul. The Delhi and Hissar divisions, Ludhiana, Hushyarpur and Kangra account for 2,807 out of the 2,938 Nagri writers; while Mahajani was used only in the Hissar Division, Kangra, Firozpur, Multan, Derah Ismail, and Hazara. Of the 83 Gurmukhi writers 40 were in Hushyarpur, 13 in Firozpure, 12 in Rawalpindi, and 14 in Peshawar. Of course every possible effort was made to obtain Persian writers, and especially to avoid the use of Mahajani. Excluding the Dehli, Hissar, Amabala, and Jalandhar divisions, only 492 out of 31,456 schedules were written in any character other than Persian; and the figures showed so many written in that character by enumerators of the shop-keeping class that I made special inquiries as to their correctness. The explanation I received, more especially from the western districts, was that even village-shopkeepers were commonly acquainted with the Persian character, while their sons could read and write it almost without exception. In the Hills the ordinary character is the Thakuri or Thankri, apparently a variety of the Devanagri type; but even there the traders commonly use Lunda character differing but little from that of the plains below.*

[1] Or "tailless"; so called because all unnecessary flourishes and even the vowels as a general rule, are dispensed with.

*Mr. Coldstream tells me that there is a distinct form of the Hill character which is peculiar to the State of Nahan or Sirmur.

PART III

COMPARATIVE SKETCH OF HINDI, PANJABI, AND SINDHI

§326 The languages of the Western Gaudian Group*

The Gaudian speech of cis-Himalayan India comprises seven languages: Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, and Bengali. Of these Oriya is not represented at all in the Panjab, while Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali are only spoken by a few casual immigrants, by the Parsis of our shops, or by the Bengali Babu of our offices. Sindhi proper is spoken only by 5,128 people: but it acquires importance from the fact that Jatki, which is the language of a million and a half of the inhabitants of the Province, is a dialect of Sindhi, or to say the least, stands half-way between that language and Panjabi, thus the three first of the seven languages which form the group are the ones with which we have to deal.

"Of these three languages", Mr. Beames writes, "Hindi is the most important. It is the language of the people from the Panjab to Bengal. Under the general term Hindi are included many widely differing dialects, so widely differing indeed that it is very difficult to say what Hindi is and what it is not. The word itself is foreign, and introduced by the Mahomedans to whom the country was known by its Persian name of Hind; while the natives, on the rare occasions when they used any one common appellation for the whole country, knew it as Bharatavarsha. Hindi then strictly means the language of India. As the two great divisions of Prakrit, the Śauraseni and Magadhi, drew apart and gradually developed into the modern dialects, those of the outlying portions of the Aryan territory took the names of the kingdoms or provinces in which they were spoken. Thus the Hindi of Orissa became known as Oriya, that of Bengal as Bengali, and so on. But there remained in the centre a mass of dialects, for which there was no provincial name sufficiently definite or sufficiently permanent. These consequently have continued to be called Hindi. But recent researches have proved that under the general name are included dialects derived from the Śaursenı, and thus pertaining to the western group of Indo-Aryan speech, and dialects belonging to the eastern or Magadhi group. Had there not been for many centuries an independent Kingdom of Bengal there seems to be no reason why the Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Magadhi dialects of Behar should not have been together with Bengali, treated as one language called Purbi or Eastern Hindi. In the opposite direction had not the Mahomedans imposed on the country between the Satluj and the Indus the Persian name of the Panjab or 'five rivers', no one would in all probability have ever heard of Panjabi as a distinct languge; we should have merely had one more dialect of Western Hindi. Similarly the Arab conquests in Sindh secured for that Province an independent existence, and for its language a name and an individuality which in spite of its marked pecularities it would otherwise not have obtained.

"It was apparently during the 11th or 12th Century A. D. that the dialects included under the *generic term* Hindi first began to take their present shape. At that time neither Gujarati, Panjabi nor Sindhi were yet definitely separated from Hindi or from each other."

"Of the two groups into which the Hindi dialects fall, the western has been the most fortunate. Upon the Braj, the principal member of this group, have been based first the Urdu the *Lingua Franca* of the greater part of India, and later the High Hindi, the literary language of the whole Hindi area."

§327 The composition of the three languages

Our three languages, or Hindi, Panjabi and Sindhi, are all of Prakrit origin; but all three have a large admixture of Arabic and Persian and even Turkish words, which the languages of North-Western India have borrowed from their Musalman conquerors where those of the east and south have gone back to the original Sanskrit. At the same time Hindi still bears clearer mark of its Sanskrit origin than does any other of the Gaudian tongues, the Śauraseni Prakrit of North-Western India from which it is derived, and which is still the Sacred language of the Jains, having been

*For the source whence this sketch is chiefly compiled, see the end of section 300 *Supra*.

a dialect of special purity.[1] In Panjabi, the language of a Province where Mahomedan predominance has been more widely extended and is of older date than in the Hindi-speaking tract, the proportion of words of which the Sanskrit origin is at once apparent is smaller, and the admixture of foreign terms larger than in Hindi; while the language of Sindh, the first part of India to be brought under the influence of Islam, possesses hardly a single word in its original Sanskrit form.

"This", writes Mr. Beames, "is one of those cases in which we observe a regular gradation from west to east. In the extreme west we have Sindh and the Panjab, with a vast majority of Musalman inhabitants, and a large amount of Arabic words, contrasted with a very scanty allowance of Tatsamas.[2] Going east we come into the great Central Hindi area, where the balance between the two races is more even, the numerical superiority of the Hindus being balanced by the greater intelligence of the Mahomedans; and here we find consequently the habit of borrowing from Prasian kept up side by side with recurrence to Sanskrit, such recurrence, however, being less frequent in consequence of the already existing abundance of Tadbhava words. Further east again, in Bengal and Orissa, there is an immense majority of Hindus, while the Mahomedan element consists chiefly of races of Indian origin converted to Islam after their language had finally adopted its present form; and as a natural result their speech contains a maximum of Tatsamas. With regard to the Arabic and Persian element, however, it must be observed that in all the languages it is still an alien. It has not woven itself into the grammar of any of them. All the Arabic words in Hindi, or any other language are nouns, or participial forms used as nouns. They conform to their own grammatical rules as strictly, in the mouth of a correct speaker, as though the rest of the sentence were pure Arabic. Rarely and quite exceptionally occur such words as *tahsilna, kabulna, daghna,* where Arabic and Persian nouns have been furnished with a Hindi termination; but the usual form is *tahsil karna,* where the Hindi verb does all the grammatical work, and the Arabic noun is unaltered and uninflected throughout. When they are used as nouns they take the usual post-positions indicative of case, but as these post-positions are merely appended to them without causing any internal change in their structure, it cannot be said that they are at all affected."

§328 **The structural development of the three languages.**

Here again I quote from Mr. Beames as follows:

"Looking upon the change from a synthetical to an analytical state as progress and development, not as corruption or decay, it may be interesting to institute a comparison between the several languages in this respect. And here, as might be expected, we find in most instances that those languages which are most prone to the use of Tatsama words are also most backward in development."

"The most advanced language is the Hindi, which is closely followed by the Panjabi and Gujarati. In Hindi the noun has lost nearly all traces of inflection; the only vestiges remaining are the modification of the base of the oblique cases of nouns ending in *a* or *ah*, as *ghora* oblique base *ghore*, *bandah*, oblique base *bande*, and the termination of the plural *en, an, on*; and in common talk the plural is very little used, a periphrastic construction with *sab* or *log* being generally preferred. The pronouns exhibit a slight advance upon the Prakrit forms, but have evidently come down to modern time through Prakrit, and therefore retain more of an inflectional character. In the pronouns, each case must be derived from the corresponding case in Sanskrit,

[1] For a most interesting discussion of the probability that the Magadhi Prakrit was once the vernacular of almost the whole of Northern India, but was displaced from Sind, the Panjab, and the Upper Ganges Valley by an immigration, probably from Western Rajputana of an Aryan people speaking the closely allied yet distinct Sauraseni (*vide* pgs. XXXI, XXXII—Hoernle's *Gram. of Gaudian*).

[2] Tatsama and Tadbhava are two convenient terms used by Sanskrit grammarians, "Tatsama or language the same as it" describes words taken straight from the Sanskrit after the language into which they were introduced had developed and assumed its present form, and which therefore retain their Sanskrit garb and remain foreign words. Tadbhava or 'of the nature of it' is applied to words which, derived from Sanskrit, have developed with the language of which they form a part and have conformed with its genius, but have not undergone such alternation in the process as to obscure their Sanskrit derivation.

just as in an Italian verb each person of each tense is a distinct corruption of the corresponding Latin person and tense. But with the Hindi noun the case is different. The noun owes to Sanskrit merely its base or crude form. All its cases are formed out of its own resources, resources themselves of Sanskrit origin, but put together and employed in a way quite foreign to Sanskrit ideas. Thus when a Sanskrit noun exhibits three base forms, the Hindi rejects all these niceties, and takes the simple nominative for its sole base, declining it by means of post-positions."

"In the verb Hindi has still more markedly thrown away the Sanskrit inflectional system. The Hindi verb is an arrangement of participles conjugated by means of the substantive verbs, derived from the roots *as* and *bhu*. Only two tenses are synthetical, the indefinite present, corrupted from the present indicative of the Sanskrit, and imperative from the same tense in Sanskrit. In fact Hindi might appropriately be described as the English of the group, having cast aside whatever could possibly be dispensed with, and commending itself to an Englishman by its absence of forms, and the positional structure of its sentences resulting therefrom."

"Panjabi follows Hindi as regards its nouns, having the same simplicity of declension and the same absence of inflection. Although the particles used to denote cases are different from those used in Hindi, yet the method of their use is precisely the same; only bases ending in *a* are subject to modification, all others remaining unchanged. The verb is very similar in structure to Hindi, and the differences of form are hardly more than dialectic. The pronouns are also nearly the same as Hindi. The claim of Panjabi to be considered an independent language rests more upon its phonetic system, and its store of words not ound in Hindi, than upon any radical differences in its structure of inflections."

"Sindhi ranks next after Panjabi and Gujarati in the matter of development. It is a rough language, loving thorny paths of its own, but there hangs upon it, to my mind, somewhat of the charm of wild flowers in a hedge whose untamed luxuriance pleases more than the regular splendour of the parterre. There is a flavour of wheaten flour, and a reck of cottage smoke about Panjabi and Sindhi, which is infinitely more natural and captivating than anything which the hide-bound Pandit-ridden languages of the eastern parts of India can show us."

"In Sindhi the preparation of the base for reception of the case-particles assumes great importance, there being in nearly every case three separate base-forms in singular and three in plural, the plural forms being in addition various and numerous for the oblique and vocative. That these forms result from a partial retention or half-effaced recollection of the Sanskrit inflectional system is apparent, and this fact places Sindhi in an inferior stage of development to that of the forenamed languages. The cases are formed, however, analytically by the addition of particles; that indicative of the possessive relation is so multifariously inflected as to raise that case into a pure adjective agreeing with the governing noun in gender, number, and case. Whereas Hindi is satisfied with three forms of the genitive particle, Panjabi with four, Gujarati requires nine, and Sindhi twenty. The adjective is also subject to the same multiplied changes of termination as the substantive. The pronouns, as in Hindi, retain more traces of an inflectional system, and closely resemble those of that language. The verb is, as in other languages, composed chiefly of participial forms combined with the three auxiliaries, but, like Gujarati, the future, as well as the indefinite present, shows signs of the synthetical system of Sanskrit, and in some other respects also is less purely analytical than Hindi. The passive in particular exhibits a system of combination in which a tendency to analytical treatment is not fully emancipated from synthetical ideas."

§329 The written characters of the three languages:

On this subject Mr. Beames writes:

"Having thus briefly generalized the structural characteristics of the seven languages, the character in which they are written next demands attention. The Hindi and Marathi use the ordinary Nagri in printed books, and their written character, as also that of Gujarati, does not vary from it more than is natural under the circumstances; the written character in all these languages being

merely a rounder and more flowing variety of the printed. Sindhi has remained till modern times almost unwritten. The rude scrawls in use among the mercantile classes defy analysis, and were so imperfect that it is said no one but the writer himself could read what was written.[1] The abandonment of the matra or top line of the Devanagri letters is a common feature in all these cursive alphabets. It is either dropped entirely, as in the Kayathi character used in Behar, or a series of lines are ruled across the page first like a schoolboy's copy book, and the writing is hung on below as in the Modh or 'twisted' current hand of the Marathas"

* * * *

"The Mahajani characters differ entirely from that used for general purposes of correspondence, and is quite unintelligible to any but commercial men. It is in its origin as irregular and scrawling as the Sindhi, but has been reduced by men of business into a neat looking system of little round letters, in which, however, the original Devanagari type has become so effaced as hardly to be recognizable, even when pointed out. Perhaps this is intentional. Secresy has always been an important consideration with native merchants, and it is probable that they purposely made their peculiar alphabet as unlike anything else as possible, in order that they alone might have the key to it.

"In the mercantile and ordinary current hands, the vowels are only partially indicated; *a* or *i* in its full or initial form generaly does duty for the whole. This is of no great consequence in ordinary correspondence where the context, as in Persian, supplies the key to the meaning. Sometimes, however, difficulties arise, as in the well-known story of the merchant of Mathura who was absent from home, and whose agent wrote from Delhi to the family to say his master had gone to Ajmer and wanted his big ledger. The agent wrote *Bābū Ajmer gayā barī bahī bhej dījiye*. This was unfortunately read as *Bābū āj mar gayā barī bahū bhej dījiye*. "The master died to-day, send the Chief wife"! (apparently to perform his obsequies.

"Panjabi employs the character called Gurmukhi, a name probably derived from the fact that the art of writing was at first only employed on sacred subjects, and was practised by pupils who recorded the oral instructions of their Guru, instead of, as had been the case in earlier times, committing his teachings to memory. The Panjabi character probably took its origin from the Gupta; or it might be more accurate to say that the earlier character of Asoka (3rd century B. C.) underwent modification, the type of which is uniform throughout India down to the Gupta era (about the 5th century A. D.), but that after that the various provinces began to make local variations of their own. The Kutila inscriptions date from about 800 to 1100 A. D.; and as far as we know the history of those three centuries, there was no one paramount power during the time whose authority extended over all Aryan India as there had been at various times in the preceding ages. Subject as it was to the Kings of the Ghazanavi and Ghori dynasties, the Panjab was politically sundered from the Gangetic provinces during a great portion of that time, and we may suppose it to have entered upon a distinct course of linguistic development. This will account for the archaic character of many of the Gurmukhi letters," which generally assimilate more closely to the Kutila or even to the earlier Gupta than does the Devnagari character of Hindi language.

§330 The pronunciation of the Three languages.

The following is an abstract of Mr. Beames' remarks on the pronunciation of the three languages with which we are concerned.

"*Vowels*:—Hindi, Panjabi and Sindhi alike drop the Sanskrit inherent *a* at the end of a word except in poetry, and solve the difficulty of pronouncing a final nexus by inserting an *a* between the two letters. The final *a* is not even restored before inflection—thus *sunkar*, not *sunakar*. In the middle of a word it is retained where its omission is absolutely impossible, but it is omitted wherever it can be slurred over or got rid of. Its position is exactly parallel to that of its linguistic counterpart the final short *e* of early English, which we have in the modern language everywhere discarded

[1] There are some 12 or 13 different alphabets current in Sindh, some of which differ very widely from the others. Of late, however, the Arabic character, though very ill adopted to express Sindhi sounds, has come into common use.

in pronunciation, and in most cases in writing also, only retaining it whereas in *line*, its presence indicates a shade of pronunciation.

Palatals :—The Hindi, truest and most central type of all, holds fast the correct pronunciation of the *j*; but Panjabi, especially in the west of the Province, modifies it into something not unlike a very palatal *y* aspirated. The Hindi-speaking peasant cannot and will not use *z*, the dots of the transliterator not withstanding[1].

Cerebrals :—The cerebrals are pronounced very much like the English dentals. Hindi substitutes the cerebral *r* and *rh* for the Sanskrit cerebral *d* and *dh* except at the beginning of a word or when forming part of a nexus; but Panjabi, having invented new characters for the former pair, preserves the true sounds for the latter. Thus Hindi *gārī* is in Panjabi *gaddi*, a 'cart'. Sindhi follows Hindi, and often replaces the dental by the cerebral *d*.

Semi-Vowels :—In Sindhi *j* is quite distinct from *y*, the latter having a more liquid sound, and being often dropped at the beginning of words. Panjabi and Hindi turn the Sanskrit *y* into *j* in most cases, and write it so. So with *w*, Sindhi and Panjabi keep it quite distinct from *b*, but the latter uses the two indifferently, giving each when written its true sound. Hindi both writes and pronounces every *w* as *b*, except in words taken direct from the Sanskrit and in such words as *wuh*, *wahān*, *waisa*, "*Felices quibus viver est bibere*", if it were but wine they drank, and not the water of a muddy pond in which they and their neighbours have washed themselves, their clothes and their cattle.

Sibilants :—Panjabi and Sindhi use only one sound of *s* for both the Sanskrit forms of *s* and for the *sh*; indeed the former is altogether averse from this class of sounds, generally altering them into *h*. In the central and western Hindi (that of the Delhi territory) *sh* is chiefly confined to Arabic words, and the Sanskrit letter *sh* is used to express the Arabic and Persian *kh*.

Nasals :—In Panjabi the hard *ṅ* is not used, the only *n* sounds in use being the English *n* and the *anuswara* or French *n*. In Sindhi the *n* sounds, except the English *n*. In Sindhi the *n* sonnds, except the English *n*,embody the semi-vowels of their origin, *ny*, *nr*, and the guttural nasal *ng* is used.[2] The last indeed appears in some Panjabi words also, as in *sinng* a 'horn'.

Compound Consonants :—The dropping of the inherent final *a* already alluded to leaves roots ending with one consonant to be followed by inflexions beginning with another. Consequently combinations impossible to Sanskrit tongues constantly occur; but they are pronounced as they stand, the complicated modifications which Sanskrit rules of euphony would compel being unknown to the modern Prakrit languages."

§331 **The literature of the three languages :**

Mr. Beames writes in this connection as follows:

"Hindi literature in its earlier form consists, with one notable exception, wholly of religious poems. This exception is the first of all in point of time, the Prithiraja Rasau of Chand Bardai, in which the ancestry, birth, heroic deeds, and final overthrow of Prithiraja, a Chauhan Rajput and the last Hindu King of Dehli, are recited in many thousand lines of doggerel verse", Even here, however, an immense deal of religion and fable is intermixed with the history "The date of the poem is probably about 1200 A. D. Subsequent Hindi literature consists almost entirely of long tiresome religious poems, together with some of a lighter type, translations, or rather *refaccimenti* of older poems, none of which are particularly worth reading except for the light they throw on the gradual progress of the language."

"Still, there are, as I have said before, some exceptions; the seven hundred couplets of Behari Lal contain many pretty, though fanciful, conceits, and are composed in extremely correct and elegant verse; and here and there among the religious poems may be found meditations and prayers of some merit. The *Ramayana* of Tulsi Dass is probably only admired because the masses are unable to read the original of Valmiki. In modern times a perfect cloud of writers has arisen, among

[1] It would appear that the *ts* and *dz* sounds, for *ch* and *j* which Mr. Beames calls "unassimilated palatals" are chafacteristic of the comparatively understood Turanian languages, and are found among Aryan tongues only when the latter have come into contact with Turanian speech, as in the Marathi which marches into Telugu, and in Pashto and Kashmiri which are in close juxta position with the languages of Turkistan and Tibet.

[2] Mr. Beames notes that the original Panjabi spelling of the Sikh name "Singh" is with a *gh*, and that if the spelling *sinh* is now used, it is probably a modern Sanskritised form such as is now coming into fashion in Bengali.

whom, however, it is impossible to single out any one deserving special mention. The introduction of the Persian character, in supersession of the clumsy Nagari, has rendered the mechanical process of writing much easier and more rapid, while many good lithographic presses in all parts of the country pour forth books of all descriptions, the majority of them undoubtedly pernicious trash, but some here and there of a more wholesome tone, which, though probably not destined to live, may pave the way for productions of a higher style.*"

"Of the other languages it cannot be said in strictness that they have any liteature, if by that word we mean written works. In most Aryan countries in India there has existed from the earliest times a large body of unwritten poetry. These ballads or rhapsodies are still sung by the Bhats and Charans, two classes corresponding somewhat to our European bards, and the antiquity of some of the ballads still current is admitted to be great. The poems of Chand, to which I so often refer, are nothing more than a collection of these ballads; a collection probably made by the poet himself, when in his old age he bethought him of the gallant master whom he had so long served, and who had died in the flower of his manhood, in that last sad battle at Panipat. Throughout all the country of the Rajputs, far down to the mouths of the Indus and the confines of Bilochistan, the Indian bards wandered singing, and a considerable quantity of their poems still lives in the mouths of the people, and has in these latter times been printed. This, as far as I know, is all that Sindh can show of ancient literature. And the case is not far different in the Panjab. In that Province the language is still very closely connected with various forms of western Hindi. Though Nanak, the great religious reformer of the Panjab and the founder of the Sikh creed, is generally pointed to as the earliest author of that language, yet few writings of his are extant, and in the great collection called the Granth, made by Arjan Mal, one of his disciples, in the 16th Century, there is nothing distinctly Panjabi. It is for the most part an anthology called from the writings of Hindi poets, such as Kabir, Namdev, and others, and consequently the language is pure old Hindi.

§332 **Dialects of the three languages**

I have already pointed out how innumerable are the local dialects of the Panjab, and how little we know about them. In my sketch of the distribution of the Panjab languages (§302), I have endeavoured to indicate the types of the principal dialects current in the Province, and the limits within which each obtains. The Hindi language is commonly divided into four strongly marked forms, of which the Maithil of Tirhut, the Magadh of Monghyr, and the Bhojpuri of Eastern Hindustan are included under the name of Eastern Hindi. The fourth dialect extends from the neighbourhood of Benares to the eastern limits of Panjabi, and is known as Western Hindi. Mr. Hoernle, however, considers that the western dialect of Hindi possesses less affinity with the eastern dialects of the same language than they do with Panjabi, Sindhi and Gujarati. He separates the dialects of Oudh and Baghelkhand, which is apparently what we in the Panjab call Purbia, under the name of Baiswari, grouping it, not however without hesitation, under Eastern Hindi, and he classes Western Hindi, including the Rajputana dialects, under the name of Western Gaudian, together with Panjabi, Sindhi, and Gujarati. Of this Western Hindi, with which we are chiefly concerned in the Panjab, and the other dialects of Province, Mr. Beames writes :—

"When we go beyond the Bhojpuri area, about Benares, we come into Central Hindustan, and from Benares to Delhi the dialectic differences are not so very great as to call for special remark. It is true that there are many diversities in the words, and occasionally also in the inflectional forms used in various parts of this wide tract, but there is no very striking divergence from the central type. To the south, however, in the vast regions of Rajputana, strongly marked dialectic peculiarities again meet us, and there is a large number of provincial forms of speech. The Marwari, which I have alluded to before, merges gradually into Gujarati, which is conterminous with it on the south, in such forms as the infinite in *wo*, and the form of the future in *si*. It still retains the ancient genitive signs, *ro, ri, re,* and many other distinctive marks. Some of the Rajput

*Those who wish to pursue this subject further should read M. Garcin de Tassy's "*Histoire de la litterateur Hindustani*" in which an immense amount of information is collected. The author is an ardent admirer of Hindi literature.

dialects again exhibit a tendency to approach to Mahrati, and others more to the west modulate gradually into Panjabi and Sindhi.

"Panjabi is spoken half-way through the country between the Satluj and Jamna. It is impossible to say where it begins, both it and Hindi being spoken with equal fluency and equal incorrectness, just as an Alsatian speaks French and German, both equally badly. Throughout the Panjab and Sindh the most important tribe in point of numbers is that of the Jats, who under the name of Jats also spread far into Rajputana and the Doab. Panjabi, Sindhi, and Western Hindi, regarded as the mother-tongue, appear to us almost as one language, with a regular series of modifications extending in waves from the Persian Gulf, up the Indus, across the five rivers, and far on into the deserts of the Rajputs. Thus the present participle in Hindi ends in *ta*, in Eastern Panjabi this is softened to *da* with a *n* inserted when the root ends with a vowel, thus *Karda* 'doing', but *Khanda* 'eating'. As we get further into the country going westwards and southwards about Shahpur and Jhang, we find this *n* always used even after bases ending in consonant, thus *marenda* 'beating'. When, however we get right down into Sindh, the form in *nda* has become the regular classical termination in universal use, and is fortified by a long vowel; thus *marindo* 'beating' which takes us back to the Prakrit *marento* and Sanskrit *marayant*.

"There are so many dialects in Panjabi that it is impossible to enumerate them. In every district, nay in every paraganah a difference is preceptible. The general features are the same throughout, but there is a twang, a dozen or so of inflections, several scores of words, quite peculiar to that one place, and not understood out of it. In fact, in all the parts of India with which I am personally acquainted I have noticed something of the same peculiarity, namely, that the words which the peasant uses to express the objects around him, the different descriptions of the cattle, tools, seeds, grasses, crops, diseases of crops, grain in various stages, soils, waters, weathers, and the like, differ in every district I go to. Going from Gujarat to Jhelam, and from Jhelam to Rawalpindi, the whole of the ryots' surroundings change their names completely twice over. Perhaps the only exception is the plough, which I only know by two names,—*hal* in the Upper India and *nangal* in Bengal and Orissa. The cow may be perhaps cited as another exception, and in truth *gau* and *gai* would perhaps be understood in most places, and the generic term *goru* for cattle in good many—but the peasant is not content with this. His cow is red, or dun, or grey, or white, or fertile, or barren, or has had one calf or two, or is milch or dry, or has its horns bent forwards or backwards, or straight, or of uneven length, and each of these peculiarities has a name, and that name is used, to the exclusion of the generic term "cow" and differs in every district; so that to the superficial observer, or perhaps even to a careful student, who judged from this class of words, there would at first sight appear to be more dialects in the language than there really are. Still, after making all due allowance for those peculiarities, I am of opinion that, owing to the absence of any written standard, our brave Panjabi peasants possess a number of *bona fide* dialects which is considerably in excess of that possessed by most languages spoken over equal area of level country in any other part of India.

"Panjabis for the most part understand Hindi readily, and very quickly learn to speak it correctly, abandoning the peculiarities of their own language as mere dialectic vagaries. The Hindustanis, from their superior cultivation, take high tone with the simple Panjabis and laugh them out of their pronunciation and local forms, insisting, as do certain Bengalis with regard to Orissa, that these latter are mere vulgarisms, to be shunned by correct speakers. Of course in wilder parts of the Panjab Hindi is not well understood, and in the very wildest not at all.

"With regard to Sindhi, the reverse is the case; while it is fairly intelligible to the wild wandering Jat and Gujar tribes of the desert and to the Southern Panjabis generally, it is quite more unintelligible to the more settled and cultivated population. I have known a Sindhi come to my court at Gujarat, in the northern part of the Chaj Doab, lying between the Chenab and Jhelum rivers, and not a single person could make out what he said".

CENSUS OF INDIA 1891

GENERAL REPORT

BY

J. A. BAINES, F.S.S.

OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

A.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE

'Εστι δε πολλα 'εθνεα 'Ινδων, Κα ου'κ ομοφωνα σφισι. Herodotus.

Scope of the inquiry :

The committee which drew up the scheme of statistics for the Census of 1881 recommended that a return of mother tongue should be obtained, which might serve, in combination with another of birthplace, as an indication of race, in cases of foreigners and those of mixed blood. The results are to be found in the report on that census. For 1891, an expansion of the schedule was proposed, to allow for the separate entry of race in the cases in question, but it was thought advisable to retain the column for parent tongue, not so much for comparison with that of the preceding census as to serve as an aid to furture phlilological inquiry. The off-hand inquisition which alone is, practicable at a census, is, admittedly, not much of a step in this direction, still, a step it is, and the object in view was to get, as in the case of occupation, a photograph, as it were, of the existing distribution of languages in India, from the popular standpoint, which might, to some extent, guide the more leisurely and comprehensive researches of competent specialists. In accordance with this view, the instructions issued regarding language ran as follows :

"Enter here the language ordinarily spoken in the household of the parents, whether it be that of the place of enumeration or not."

General results :

The question put to those enumerated was, no doubt, simple enough, but even to the most optimistic Superintendent of census, this is no reason for expecting a straight answer. In accordance with the general tendency noted in the introductory portion of this chapter, the first impulse, in many cases, is to return the name of the caste as that of the language. For example, the potter gives "potterish," the tanner "tannerish," or the weaver "weaverish" as his mother tongue, especially if he be either a member of a large caste or a stranger to the locality where he is being enumerated. In other instances, the name of the District or State will be returned. The defect is no doubt on the right side, though the superfluous detail tends to complicate the process of compilation, and there are cases, too, where the tribal designation indicates a real distinction. But a further difficulty arises when the name mentioned happens to be not in accordance with the enumerator's notion of what is fit, or where official views on matters philologic may have filtered down to him. In that way a good deal of valuable information may have been lost in the course of the census; as where, for instance, a general term, such as Hindi, was substituted for some name locally recognised. But, on the whole, a very fair delimitation has been obtained of the various language fields of the country, and it can be seen how far the accepted scientific nomenclature is in accordance with the usage of the masses. So far, the attempt has been successful, if only as an aid towards getting a complete and scientifically conducted survey of the whole field of investigation. An operation of that description can only be conducted by a skilled philologist, who knows exactly the lines on which information should be collected, so that the results may be susceptible of comparison over the whole of India. It is hardly necessary to add that he must have a practical knowledge, too, of the country and its inhabitants, and should not work from books alone. Then, again, an inquiry of this sort should be commenced, if taken in hand at

all, without further delay. In the plains, old linguistic landmarks are being rapidly obliterated by the advancing tide of popular instruction. The Hill tribes of the central belt are being brought more or more under the influence of a vernacular too far from their own in construction and dialectic variety to amalgamate with it, so, ultimately, the weaker must give way, and the tongue of the Korwa, like that of the Cornishman, will become a tradition in the mouth of a single tough old woman, and a debased vernacular from the plains will reign in its stead. Many a dialect, which may be, as Sainte Beuve puts it, "une ancienne qui a eu des malheurs, ou bien une nouvelle qui n'a pas fait fortune," will ere long be beyond the reach of investigation, in the process of opening out the Hill tracts. It is not the intrinsic merits of these rude forms of speech that makes one regret their decay, but the links they afford between the tongues of localities far apart from each other. The languages of the eastern frontier are only now being brought under observation by the industry and experience of officers working independently. By the time the results of their labours have been collated, not only with each other, but with the corresponding out-turn of those working on the same lines in distant fields who can tell how much that is of value in the dialects may not have fallen into disuse? For this task a single inquirer, and he a specialist, seems necessary, for the path of the philologist in India is so full of the pitfalls of incomplete data, false analogy, question-begging titles, and imposing speculation, that only a highly competent scholar can expect to tread his way by it successfully.

Tracts not enumerated by mother tongue :

Rajputana and Central India.
Kashmer.
Nipal.
Manipur &c.

As regards the geographical scope of the inquiry it was thought as in some of the less advanced Feudatory States the agency available for enumeration would be inferior in experience and superivising power to that of British Provinces, it was inadvisable to throw upon it the burden of collecting detail which would probably turn out untrustworthy. The schedule for use in such tracts was therefore limited to the more general points on which statistics were wanted for the Imperial returns, and along with the columns that were thus thrown overboard, went that relating to language. So far as this part of the inquiry is concerned, the loss is not great in Rajputana, where the dialect is fairly uniform. In Central India, however, there are wild tracts in which the Hill tribes use forms of speech that are said to be dying out, so it is a pity that the opportunity was lost of getting a record of them whilst they were still current. The omission of Kashmer is far more to be regretted, as there is much room for information about the dialects prevalent amongst the tribes inhabiting the outskirts of the State and its encircling mountains. Philology requires something wider regarding the archaic tongues of the recesses of the Hindu-Kush and the Thibet frontier than the indications, often meagre and inconsistent, of chance travellers. Then, again, we have to do without statistical information about the linguistic distribution of the population of the interesting State of Nipal. This is the more to be deplored as it is probable that there has been considerable change in the relative prevalence of the numerous dialects since Mr. Hodgson published his valuable studies on them many years ago. Finally, Manipur, where the census was duly taken, cannot be brought on to the returns, because, as stated in the introductory chapter, the records were destroyed in the deplorable outbreak of March 1891. A similar misfortune happened to those of the census of some of the small States on the frontier of Burma. This is a pity, as what was said in the preceding section of this chapter on the variety of tribe and race to be found in that part of the country, and our general ignorance of it at present, shows what a field lies open there to the philological investigator.

Variety in the results:

Disintegrating influence on language in India.
Influence of an exclusive literary class.

The omissions above mentioned include a population of over 26 millions, but we still have left the return for 262 millions, or about 90 per cent. of the population dealt with at the census.

The titles of the languages returned, as culled direct from the schedules, numbered many hundreds. Even after sifting out synonymous entries, and grouping under main heads dialectic variations which it was not thought worth while to distinguish in the general return, it has not been found practicable to reduce the latter to less than about 150 items, though some 50 may have been relegated to the provincial portion of the table. In the majority of the reports by the superintendents, the details are fully shown, and the fina selection is embodied in Table X of the Imperial series. But the main value of this information, as in the case of so much of the material collected at the census, lies in the variety of its component parts, not in their numerical bulk. India is, indeed, the happy hunting ground of the philologist, as it ought to become that of the ethnologist for here we find language in every stage of its development; or, to put it otherwise, forms of speech are here current which appertain to nearly every one of the main classes recognised in philology. Its geographical isolation, almost as much as its political history, have contributed to this, as can be judged from the general sketch of the ethonography of the country above given. Especially in the case of language have the influences to which it has been subjected been peculiarly local and restrictive. A mountain range, a belt of dense, dark forest, the deep gorges of the Himalaya, so completely separate the respective inhabitants of their flanks that communities which have split off from the same tribe but three or four generations ago are often unable to understand each other's tongue. Politically, again, the spread of the more civilised along the plains and great river basins has driven a considerable portion of the older population to the shelter of the hills, which thus stand out like patches of cover in the midst of cultivation, affording a place of refuge to all the wild animals that have been expelled from the rest of the country. Nor was the immigration itself more favourable to the maintenance of the integrity of the languages thus introduced into the country. Setting on one side the Skythians, of whose tongue practically no trace ramains, the only movement of importance, from our present standpoint, is that of the Arya. Now the progress of this community was not that of a united race or nation, but of various collections of clans which were disintegrated with great rapidity into small independent bodies. The growth of the community, therefore numerically, seems to have been in advance of that of their civilisation, and by the latter alone can a language be spread uniformly through the mass of the population. Then, again, the intercourse with the darker race must have had its effect on the tongue of the immigrant, and its influence is likely to have been far greater than that which is usually assigned to it. But the establishment of a number of separate States and free admixture with the daughters of the land were not the only influences that helped to break up the unity of the language brought with them by the Arya. The firm establishment of that race in the plains was followed by a highly peculiar ecclesiastical development, which will be noticed in its place in the next section of this work. But as it has a direct influence on the linguistic tendencies of the community, its general features must be briefly described here, in anitcipation of a more complete account. It began, then, with the elevation of the family priest into the member of a hierarchy, so that, from being the agent of the tribal or family patriarch, in the ceremonial of sacrifice, he became the controller of all social as well as religious ritual. The sacred formulæ became his monopoly instead of the special appanage of the chief, and it is not difficult to conceive how this change weakened the hold of the original language amongst the other classes. For the farther the latter spread over the country from the primary settlements, the more exaggerated was the value the priest was able to place on the exact knowledge of the sacred words, and the closer was the restriction of that knowledge to within the hieratic class that he was able to impose. There was accordingly no linguistic standard available to the masses, and, in the end, it was made penal for any but the upper classes to even listen to the recitation of the texts. A survival of this triumph is found in the present day, when in some parts of India it is the practice of the impure castes of Brahmanic system, who are the direct descendants of the helots mentioned above, to get an ecclesiastical sanction for their unions by performing their wedding within sight of, though at a distance from, the corresponding ceremony amongst the orthodox, who are being

tied together with full rites. Until comparatively modern times, the prohibition in question amounted practically to the denial of instruction of any sort to the masses, since the greater part of the learning here, as in so many other countries in the corresponding stage of their development, consisted solely of expansions of various forms and uses of the ritualistic texts, known only to the ecclesiastical body.

Results of Buddhism on language distribution :

A temporary break in the continuity of this system was caused by the rise of Buddhism, a sect which repudiated the monopoly of the key of salvation by the priestly class, and was the means of diffusing a certain amount of instruction amongst the middle classes also. There were, about the time of this reformation, two main offshoots of the original tongue of the Arya current in India, the Magadhi and the Sauraseni. It is an open question, perhaps, whether these divisions represented real distinctions in the vernacular, or were only the creations of the grammarians of a later period. At all events, the new faith was preached in the Magadhi dialect of what is known as Prakrit, which was prevalent, it is said, in the east and north of the rallying point of Brahmanic civilisation, that is, the middle tracts of the Ganges and Jamna Doab. This dialect was thus carried by Buddhistic missionaries far into the Himàlaya and Hindu-Kush, and it is possible that it may have been the foundation of those now current in the outlying portions of Kashmer and, in Afghanistan. In the latter, however, the original tongue of the Paktæi of the Greek writers the modern Pakhtwan, of Pathan, as they are termed in India, has been overlaid to a great extent by a veneer of Persian received from the west, so that its construction alone remains to indicate its Arya origin. In another direction, it penetrated into what is now Nipal, where the religion it served took so strong a hold of the higher valleys that in latter years, when the Brahmans, driven out of the plains by the Musalmàn invasions, fled into this part of the country, they were able to make an impression only on the lower valley. Here, however, they found consolation of a worldly character, and started a colony of mixed blood, which became a power in the land, and in the whirligig of time managed to incorporate the ruling race into the orthodox pale, as being of the warrior caste of that system. The language introduced by them, with the invariable local modifications by the masses, became in time the court dialect, and obtained possession of the whole of the lower portion of the State.

Influence on southern Indian language :

It has already been stated that a somewhat similar process of incorporation was adopted in the southern part of India, though here, as there does not seem to have been any mixture of blood, at least at the time in question, the local dialect assimilated only the vocabulary required in ritual and in social ceremonies. It is not improbable that the intercourse with the south did not grow really close until the wave of Buddhistic monasticism spread over the pensinsula, and crossed the straits into Ceylon. If this were the case, it would account for the peaceful nature of the conversion of the Tamil races, for the expulsion of Buddhism from India seems to have been a merely sectarian measure, and owed its completeness to the superior social attractions held out to the masses by the general lowering of the Brahmanical tenets to nearer the pre-Aryan level. The structure of the language remained unchanged, and the vocabulary received useful additions, as was the case in Burma, to which country the Buddhist missionaries proceeded after their success in Ceylon. The Hill tribes of the South followed the same course as their compatriots of the Central Belt, with whom they are physiologically and otherwise inextricably mixed.

Later foreign influences :

The subsequent political changes that have occurred in India consist of either the short and sharp impact of alien races from the more temperate regions of Asia, or movements of sections of the people of the country itself, neither leaving any marked imprint on the language of the community as a whole. We have, again, the occupation of the country by foreigners from a distance, who, whether they share the honour of philological Aryanism or not, are still farther from the parent stock than even the denizens of India

at the present day, and come in such small numbers that even if they had the intention of permanent colonisation of India, instead of the reverse, they could only have an insignificant effect on the language of the places they thus favoured.

Musalman influence:

On the invasions by land a short comment is all that is required in this section. The Musalman dynasties imported with them a foreign element that settled in the country and administered its resources. They thus set their mark on the vocabulary, but left the rest of the language untouched. The dialect known as Urdu, from the Turki name for the citadel, or chief's camp, consists of the vernacular of the tract round the seat of government, interlarded with large numbers of Persian words, or of Arabic words received through the Persian.* There has been no introduction of the Persian construction, nor are the Arabic terms inflected according to their own rules, but they have to conform to the grammatic system of their host. Of Turki there is but a very slight trace in the vocabulary and none elsewhere in the language. But some of the conquerors sought to propagate their creed amongst the people under their rule, and the results on the language of the latter is curiously varied. In the north, where the conversion has been on a large scale, the vernacular has suffered no change. For instance, in Baltistan or Little Thibet, where the population is Musalman almost to a man, the language is the same as that of their Buddhistic neighbours in Ladakh, and only the special terms required by the new faith are introduced, and these are modified to suit the local pronunciation. In Kashmer, where again the masses are Musalman, it is the same with the Aryan vernacular. No change, too, is noticed to follow conversion in the Panjab. In its neighbour, Sindh, and in the Laccadive Islands and with the Mappila of Malabar, it is the same, though for correspondence the Arabic character has been adopted with a few modifications. There are, similarly, certain well-known mercantile bodies in the west of India who are all Musalman, but though they study Arabic for religious purposes, they have remained staunch to their native Gujarathi or Kachhi in all besides. So, too, the converted cultivators of Gujarath are undistinguishable in speech from their Hindu neighbours, and the colonies of probably Arab blood that have settled there, have adopted the same vernacular. On the other hand, there is all over India a numerous class of Musalman converts, especially in the towns, comprising artisans, domestic servants, and those who largely swell the bodies of the police and the native army, who have not only abandoned their original caste titles, and, as already stated, have affiliated themselves to foreign tribes, but regard the dialect of Hindi known as Urdu as the peculiar appanage of their faith, and adopt it, accordingly, with a strange and varied garnish of the local vernacular.

Sikh and Maratha influences:

As to the movements amongst the inhabitants of India itself, those of the Sikhs and the Marathas may be briefly noticed. One of the results of the success of the Sikhs in emancipating themselves from Brahmanic orthodoxy was the erection of Panjabi to the position of a separate language. This was an accident, like the establishment of Vraj or the Delhi Hindi as the court language of the Moghals, with this difference, that the latter had already an established position, whilst the former cannot be even now said to have any recognised standard. Then, again, as the Panjab tongue was so nearly related to its eastern rival, there was no occasion for an aggressive propaganda on the part of the new State across the Jamna, and Lower Indus vally did not tempt occupation. In the case of the Marathas, too, no attempt was necessary to extend their language. The object of their expeditions was mainly gain, where it was not to obtain possession of territory already inhabited by their own race under foreign domination. The invader took what was to hand, and left a sufficient establishment of his own adherents to ensure the due realisation of future benefits, when the time came. In the meantime he was called to distant duties, and when ousted in his turn from his new nest, naturally nothing would be found of a permanent character in his arrangements, still less in the effect of his occupation on the language of the conquered tract. For instance, in

*The account given by Bernier, of Delhi and Agra, which cities he describes as moving almost *en masse* when the Emperor shiften his quarters for the summer, has been quoted on page 46.

Orissa there is no trace of Marathi in the language, though the Maratha domination lasted over 50 years. In Tanjore, the Deccani is a myth save in the precincts of the late court.

Influence of caste on the Indian languages :

This summary of what may be called the dynamics of Indian philology, can be fitly brought to a close with a few remarks on the results of the influences above described in the present day. The particularism that has been noted as the leading tendency pervading the atmosphere of the country, has prevented the evolution of anything in the nature of a *lingua-franca*, current throughout the continent. What is termed Hindustani is generally the addition of a few conventional terminations to the local vocabulary, with the introduction of some Persian words. The language of the ruling race is known as a working means of communication to a few residents of the larger towns, and these belong to a very restricted class. The vernacular is apt to change not only territorially, as it does from county in England, but by classes also. Then, again, the gap between the literate and the rest is so great that it can hardly be appreciated from the mere repetition of the fact that only six per cent of the population is not wholly illiterate. It will be seen in a later chapter, of this work that a very high proportion of this small number is found in three or four groups numerically insignificant, compared to the predominating interests of the country. Thus, it is not only the want of a standard in language that is felt, but the absence of root or depth. The expanding needs of the tongues in modern times are supplied not from the living language, but by reference to a classic, whose scope was for ages narrowed down to a few academic uses by a class desirous above all things to prevent its vulgarisation in the mouths of laymen. The diction of the literate bifurcates, accordingly, on all important points from that of the masses, on which it lies like an artificial stratum, stifling the natural capacities of the "voice of the people".

"Et sua mortifera est facundia".

On this point the words of the late Mr. Lowell are well worthy of consideration :—

"It is only from its roots in the living generation of men that a language can be reinforced with fresh vigour for its seed. What may be called a literate dialect grows ever more and more pedantic and foreign till it becomes at last as unfitting a vehicle for living thought as monkish Latin. That we should all be made to talk like books is the danger with which we are threatened by the universal schoolmaster, who does his best to enslave the minds and memories of his victims to what he esteems the best models of composition; that is to say, to the writers whose style is faultily correct and has no blood-warmth in it. No language that has faded into diction, none that cannot suck up the feeding juices secreted for it in the rich mother earth of common folk, can bring forth a sound and lusty book.

. . . There is death in the dictionary, and where language is too strictly limited by convention, the ground for expression to grow in is limited also, and we get a "potted" literature, Chinese dwarfs instead of healthy tress . . . The school master has been busy starching our language and smoothing it flat with the mangle of supposed authority."

Mongoloid influences :

So far as to the languages of India proper. The description of the remaining linguistic divisions will occupy but a short space. In the Himalaya and the high lands that they support to the north, the Buddhistic propaganda secured a certain stability of language, by the medium of monastic institutions, but the basis of the tongues were unaltered. So, too, in Burma, where the same system, through its teaching agency, has given a power to the language of the majority that seems to enable it to absorb gradually most of the local distinctions of dialect prevalent amongst the minor tribes. The gap between the Burmese races and those of the central Himalaya is difficult to fill from the material to be found in the Delta, but some connection no doubt there was in times long past. The general course of the population of Assam has been already sufficiently described, and the tribal languages thus introduced seem to have remained undisturbed in the hills first occupied. On the descent of a community to the valley, however, freedom of communication seems to have been fatal. The Kochh, for instance, has given place to Bengali; the Ahom substituted for their own language that of their conquest, the Chutia, and now the few relics of the former language can hardly be deciphered, even by the tribal priests, and are used

only on great occasions, such as for rain in time of drought. The Chutia, in turn, have fallen before the Assamese of the valley, and in their case, too, the original tongue is known only to a few priests and exorcists. But in the Hill tracts agglutination is left to work out its own reformation.

Linguistic classification :

Reviewing the whole position from a philological standpoint, it will be seen that India is hemmed in on the north and east by forms of speech of what is known as the Tonic class; in some parts, too, in the agglutinative stage. The central belt of hills has been left to forest tribes using an atonic form, rudely agglutinative; and the south of the peninsula is almost entirely Dravidian in language, that is, the agglutination has reached a stage in which it is scarcely distinguishable from the Inflectional or Synthetic class. This last forms the basis of the language of the whole of the northern plains and the base of the Himalaya, with the Gangetic delta, the whole course of the Indus and the upper coasts of the peninsula, both east and west. It stretches, too, beyond the British frontier towards the west. The influence of the displaced Dravidian, however, is traceable throughout in the degradation of both construction and vocabulary from the Aryan original, but in the highest stage of the latter, that is, in the region round its traditional centre, it is the least inflectional, or the most analytic, of all this class, approching the western languages of Europe in its tendency in this direction. It meets in this stage the lagging Hill dialects above-mentioned; and what with the opening out of the country by roads and railways, the administration of the forests on the modern economic system, and the reluctant advance of the village schoolmaster, even the wildest of those tribes are being brought within touch of the outside world. Means of livelihood are being disclosed to them of which a few years ago they never dreamed, and each step forward is accompanied by the acquisition of something fresh in the way of vocabulary, even if the adventurer does not pick up an entirely new dialect, with which the philologist of the future will have to wrestle, even as his predecessors strove with the mongrels of their day.

The general classification of the language return is as shown in the following table:—

TABLE A.—Showing the General Linguistic Distribution of 10,000 of the Population

Language & class	Number per 10,000
A. Indic-Aryan	**7,460**
Hindi	3,269
Bengali	1,578
Marathi	721
Panjabi	676
Gujarathi	405
Úriya	344
Úrdú	140
Sindhi	99
Western Pahari	58
Assamese	55
Central Pahari	44
Marwadi	44
Kachhi	17
Halabi	6
Kashmeri	1
Goanese, &c	1
Eastern Pahari	1
Minor Languages	1
B. Dravidian	**2,021**
Telegu	759
Tamil	581
Kanarese	371
Malayalam	207
Gond	53
Tulu	19
Oraon	14
Kandh	12
Kodagu	2
Mal-Pahadia	1
Brahui	1
Minor Languages	1
C. Kolarian	**113**
Santhal	65
Munda and Kol	25
Korwa and Kur	7
Bhil	6
Sawara	4
Kharria	3
Baiga, Bhinja, &c	2
Gadaba	1
D. Gipsy Dialects	**15**
E. Khasi Dialects	**7**

Language & Class	Number per 10,000
F. Thibeto-Burman	278
Burmese	212
Arakanese	14
Kachari	8
Nipali dialects	7
Garo	6
Tippera	5
Khyin	5
Naga dialects	4
Mikir	4
Mech	4
Kathe (Manipuri)	3
Miri-Abor	1
Kuki	1
Lalung	1
Lushai	1
Thibetan	1
Minor Languages	1
G. Mon-Annam	9
Mon(Talaing)	9
H. Shan (Tai)	7
Shan (unspecified)	7
J. Malayan	..
K. Sinitic	27
Karen	26
Chinese	1
L. Japanese	..
M. Eranic-Aryan	51
Pakhtu	41
Balcoh	9
Persian	1
N. Semitic	2
Arabic	2
O. Turanic (Ugrian)	..
P. European-Aryan	9
English	9
Q. Basque	1
Hamitic	
Not distinguishable or not returned.	

Aryan & Dravidian groups :

Kolarian group.

First of all come the tongues which are traceable to an origin amongst the immigrants that have been termed the Ārya, which are returned by about three-fourths of the population. Secondly, in numerical sequence, though *longo intervallo*, comes the Southern or Dravidian group, in which are included the languages of the Hill tribes of the central ranges which form the northern frontier of the Deccan on the eastern side. They are almost isolated geographically from their comrades, and much intermixed with the next class. The northern but entirely separate language, Brahui, since it has been admitted to be morphologically of the south, has also been included, though with considerable diffidence. Sinhalese, too, and its offshoot Mahl, or the tongue returned by the inhabitants of the lonely little island of Minikoi, midway between the Laccadiv and the Maldiv groups, have been similarly treated, swelling the total to about one-fifth of the population. The small remains of an older type of language, restricted to the tribes of the hill tracts of Western Bengal and Central India, with a branch or two running west and south has been denominated Kolarian, though there are no doubt good objections to that name. It has been adopted, however, by so many distinguished writers on Indian philology and ethnology that though it may be wrong it is quite intelligible. The whole group bears a proportion of but a trifle over 1 per cent. of the total, and contains only two items of any considerable prevalence.

Khasi , and the Gipsy dialects :

There are two groups statistically insignificant, but having special interest of their own in other ways. The first is the tongue of the inhabitants of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills, between the two main valleys of Assam. It has not been affiliated to any of the surrounding languages, whether of the Aryan or the Tonic families. Till recently it was unwritten, but now, owing to the study and enterprise of the Welsh missionaries, the Roman character has been generally adopted. The whole community, however, with its three dialects, only numbers about 178,000 souls. The second of these groups is that of the many

tongues spoken by the wandering or Gipsy* tribes of the plains of India, and numbers just over 400,000. It is out of the question to distribute these languages amongst those having fixed dialects, as their character changes with the locality most favoured by the tribe using them, and, whilst retaining a backbone peculiar to itself, freely assimilates the local vocabulary and pronunciation. The most prevalent of these dialects is that of the Brinjaras or Lambani, the carriers of Upper and Central India, which is based on a sub-Himalayan Hindi vernacular. The tribe, however, is found as far south as the Madras table-land, and it is not improbable that the Lambani of the Deccan could hardly make himself understood by the corresponding caste farther north. Again, the earth-workers called Od or Wâddar, carry a language of their own from Peshawar to the sea, using vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated. More difficult still, as regards classification, are the dialects used by the less reputable tribes of wanderers such as the nominal Hindi of the thieving and mat-weaving castes of Hindustan, and the Telugu and Marathi of the acrobats and pickpockets of the Deccan. All these can doubtless be generally divided into degraded forms of either Hindi or Telugu; but in doing so we have to disregard the local characteristics just mentioned, so they have all been taken under a heading of their own, namely, Gipsy dialects.

Thibeto-Burman groups :

Minor Tonic Groups

We pass now into the Tonic zone of language, which comprises in all its branches just over 3 per cent. of the population. As in the case of the regions of India linguistically Aryan, this proportion would be higher if the whole of the races using language of this formation had been brought under enumeration. But a large tract or the borders of Burma and Assam had to be omitted from the census, owing partly to the unsettled state of the tribes just included within our territory, and partly to the difficulty of getting competent enumerators for a population not only entirely illiterate, but using a language in most parts which has never been reduced to writing. In tabulating the information obtained, it has been found convenient to group this otherwise unwieldly class by geographical position, beginning with Thibet, and working eastwards through Assam down into Burma, where the largest of the component units are found. Here the main group, called in the return the Thibeto-Burman, is touched by three smaller gropus of a kindred class, though differing enough to be separately shown. These have been already mentioned as the Tai or Shan, the Mon, and the Karén. The two first appear in the tables to a very small extent compared to the total number of the races by whom they are spoken. The Tai group, for instance, includes a small colony or two in East Assam, and a few more representatives in Burma, but the bulk of the Shans are found either in the border States, where language was not returned, or in the neighbouring kingdom of Siam. The Mon language, too, is returned only in Lower Burma, and in an isolated tract occupied by the Palaung on the frontier of Upper Burma; but the greater portion of the Mon race lies in Anam and Cambodia, or Khmér. The Karens are chiefly confined to Lower Burma, and their language has been classed with the Chinese, to which, according to the best authorities that have been consulted, it can be most safely affiliated. The Japanese language is hardly represented. The Malay class is chiefly interesting, from an Indian point of view, on account of the curious group of sea-gipsies called Salon, inhabiting the Mergui Archipelago in the south of Tenasserin. The Nikobâri was returned by one individual only and as its correct allocation has been not yet satisfactorily settled, its single representative has been allowed to bring up the rear of the Burman group, though possibly he would be more congenially mated with the Malays.

Other groups of language :

On the same grounds as those on which Chinese has been grouped with Karén, though the bulk of those who use it are foreign to India, this survey may include the Eranic section of the Arya language, which is represented by a considerable number of border tribes on the north-west; and the Semitic, because Aden shows the majority of its small population to be speakers of Arabic. The Skythic or

*The term Gipsy is here used conventionally, as the equivalent of vagrant. The only class to which it now applies in its European signification is that mentioned at the end of this paragraph, the subdivisions of which are very numerous.

Turanic group is a very small one in the return, and the Hamitic, like Arabic, is almost confined to Aden, where the settlers or sojourners from the opposite coast are relatively numerous. As for the European element, all that need be said is that the whole tale is about 246,000 persons, of whom 238,000 return English. To conclude the list, one person returned Basque as his parent tongue.

The statistics of language :

Hindi.

Pahari.

The languages have how to be reviewed in detail. It is as well to begin within the largest group, which is also the most advanced, namely, the Indic-Aryan, or the Inflectional or Synthetic class. This has been subdivided into three geogrophical sections, the northern, the western, and the eastern. The first is by far the largest, as it includes Hindí, which pre-dominates throughout Hindustan and Bihar, two of the most thickly peopled tracts in India.

Language	Population returning it
Hindi	85,675,373
Western Pahari	1,523,249
Central[1]	1,153,233
Eastern	24,262
Panjabi	17,724,610
Kashmeri	29,276
Hindu-Kush dialects	17
Total, Northern Group . . .	106,130,020
*Garhwali	647,739
Kumaoni, ...	505,494

This title is admittedly a comprehensive one, and includes all the varieties of Aryan speech between the Jamna and Rajmahal. It has thus absorbed such distinctions as *Vraj*, *Baiswari*, and *Bhojpuri*, as well as *Maithili* and other Bihar varieties of Hindi. The same is the case in the south and west of Hindustan, where *Bundèli*, *Bagheli*, *Rangadi*, and *Nimadi* were returned by but a small fraction of the persons known to use a local variety of the standard language. On the other hand, *Lariа*, the last form of Hindi found in the south-east, was returned pretty completely. A want of detail of this sort is often attributable to the absence of literature in those tongues, a fact which led to the enumerator's hesitation to give them official recognition in a formal document, such as he considered the schedule to be. It is noticeable, too, that most of the returns of dialect were made by persons not belonging to the place where they were enumerated, so the census agents, having foreigners to deal with, thought it most prudent to accept the term dictated to them rather than betray their ignorance by controverting its use. Then, again, as far as Hindustan proper is concerned, that is, the present North-West Provinces and Oudh, the language of the plains is officially "Hindustani" so it is not likely that any attempt would be made through the medium of the census to contravene this authoritative decision.* On all these considerations, therefore, all such sporadic entries have been absorbed into the general title, lest the separate recognition of such small and scattered numbers should give a misleading notion of the actual prevalence of the dialects in question. It should be pointed out, too, that west of the Jamna, the boundary between Hindi, Panjabi, and Marwadi is scarcely distinguishable; and similarly on the east, the tongue of North Bihar becomes gradually more and more Bengali in construction as well as vocabulary and pronunciation. In South-West Bengal, too, Hindi is returned by many of the Hill tribes, who have abandoned their own tongue in favour of a very vulgarised form of the language of the plains. The variety of dialect prevailing in the submontane tract and lower valleys of the Himalayas west of Nipal requires a few words of explanation. The term "Pahari' or Hill tongue, has been taken as distinctive of the whole body; but as the dialects are by no means uniform in detail, the tables show them in three sections, the Western or Panjab, the Central, including Garhwali and Kumaoni, and the Eastern, which is practically equivalent to the Nipali dialect of the sourth-western portion of that State. The title of Nipali is not available for this last, as it has been appropriated by the regiments of Nipal

[1]Garhwali, 647, 739; Kumaoni, 505, 494.

*It is a question, too, whether the distinctions are recognised at all, otherwise than by grammarians.

soldiers collectively known as Gurkhas, whose language is very largely of the Thibetan type. At the same time it is said that owing to the adoption by the ruling families of the Khas or Parbatia dialect, which , as has been already stated, is based on Hindí, there is a tendency on the part of the tribes of the higher valleys to abandon their own tongue as they enter more intimately into the military system of the State. But until Nipal is brought under the census operations we are without clear information on this point. As regards the territorial distribution of Hindí, it may be observed from the table on page 364 of vol. I of the Returns that though this language was returned in every one of the main divisions of India, out of the 85½ millions of *soil-disant* Hindi-speakers, 77 millions were enumerated in Hindustan, Bihar, and the Panjàb, and seven millions more in the Central Provinces.

URDU :

In connection with the statistics of Hindi, a few remarks are needed about the Urdu form of that language. As to Upper India, it may be broadly stated that no line can be drawn between the vernacular and the Persianised speech of the larger towns, where, as before observed, the foreign element has been assimilated to the local construction. South of the Vindhya range, in places where the Musalaman element is in a considerable minority and has been recruited in such a way that the converted communities do not retain their original *status*, there is in use a distinctive dialect, based on the Dehli dialect, largely tempered with vernacular words. This was returned as Musalmani or Deccani, and it has been taken to be the equivalent in the south of the Urdu, or *lingua franca* of the foreign settlers in the north. It must be distinctly understood, therefore, that the 3¼ millions entered under this designation by no means represent the relative prevalence of the diction of the Bagh-o-bahar and the Prém Sagar.

Panjabi :

Next in order of the Northern group comes Panjabi, which differs from Hindi rather in vocabulary and pronunciation than in any other particular. It owes its position as an independent language more to political causes that anything else, and throughout the tract of its adoption shows variety every few miles. The three main branches are the south-western, called Jatki or Multani, the Dogri and the Pahari. The first is returned by 1¾ million persons, all from the plains of the Indus and the borders of Sindh.* The second is the lower hill dialect of Jammu westward, so it is represented more in the Kashmér State than in our returns, and is, moreover, lapsing into Panjabi, where it meets the tongue of the plains, . The third, which has been noticed above, shows over 1½ millions of representatives. In the south of the province the language is mixed with Bagri, here classed with Marwadi though in the eastern districts the latter element is very weak. Curiously enough in the west there is no trace of Sindhi. Owing mainly to the number of recruits frunished to the native army by this province, Panjabi is found represented widely over India and Burma, but as a vernacular it is confined to the land of the Five Rivers.

Kashméri and the Hindu-Kush dialects :

Of the other languages in this group there is little to say. Kashméri, the most interesting and important, has strayed but a short way out of its native valley, and is spoken chiefly by the colonies of weavers and carpenters in the Panjab, and by wandering shawl-merchants elsewhere. The falling off since the last census is probably due to the temporary immigration in 1879 of people then allowed for the first time to leave their country under the pressure of famine, and who have now returned. The small settlement of Kashmeri in the North-West Provinces is a permanent one, consisting apparently of the Hindu or literate class,not of Musalman artisans. There are but few instances in the census record of the languages of the Hindu-Kush. In the Panjab a few families of Ghilghit, Chitràl, and even of Kafiristan and Hunza, or Borishka, origin were found, but the bulk of the population of those tracts was altogether outside the census. There is no need, therefore, to enter into the discussion of the correct nomenclature or classification

*The tongue of the Jats, Getæ (Xanthii), through whom we derive probably our words Egyptian, Gipsy, Gitano, as it was a colony of this tribe which was first transported from Western India to Persia and Asia Minor, and spread thence into the Lower Empire and through Rumelia up the Danube.

of this group of little known but philologically interesting languages.

SINDHI :

Language.	Population returning it
Sindhi	2,592,341
Kachi	439,697
Marwadi	1,147,480
Gujarathi*	10,619,789
Marathi†	18,892,875
Goanese &c.	37,738
Total Western group . . .	32,729,920

*Patnuli.... 77,534.
†Konkani....314,435.

The Western group includes nearly 33¾ millions. Taking the languages in their geographical order, Sindhi comes first. Philologically, it is a more backward language than Hindi, having retained far more of the inflections it derives from its Sanskrit parentage. On the other hand, owing to its frontier position, it has borrowed freely from the languages of the Persian Gulf. Indeed, since the country has passed under British rule, a modification of the Arabic character has been adopted in place of the local combinations of debased Devanagari letters. These last, both here and in parts of the Panjab, only serve to record personal memoranda or accounts, and can hardly be called a means of correspondence, since one of the main objects of the scribe is to keep his production legible by no one but himself. Sindhi is not at all a widely spread language, and most of those speaking it beyond the province are to be found in the two States of Kachh and Bahawalpur, contiguous to Sindh, where the proportion of the sexes amongst those returning it shows that the migration is only the ordinary interchange of children in marriage between adjacent villages. Like the Kashmér trader, however, the merchant of Sindh is met with in most of the large towns of India, and, if a census were taken of Russia, he would be found in the far-off markets of Bokhara and Samarkand, and even in Nizhni-Novgorod, or, rather, he would have been so found at the time of the Indian census, for there is a report that this race has since received notice to quit the territory of the white Tsar.

Kachhi :

The connection between Kachhi and Sindhi is very close, and were it not that the parent State of the former is politically and geographically more in touch with Gujarath than with Sindh, it would be hard to say that Kachhi was not still a dialect of the latter. In the present day, however, the vernacular is receiving a strong tinge from its southern neighbour. As Kachhi is the home of a large body of the most enterprising merchants of Western India, it is not surprising to find their language returned from nearly all parts of the country.

Marwadi :

The case of Marwadi, again, is one in which it is hard to say whether a distinction should be drawn as with Panjabi, or whether the language thus returned should not be absorbed, like Bundéli, Maithili, and so on, into the general term Hindí. We have not, however, the advantage of seeing from the census of Marwar what is the opinion of the people of that State and Bikanér, or rather, that of their enumerators, on this question. At any rate, Marwadi approaches very near Gujarathi as the latter is spoken on the south border of Rajputana ; so it is taken as forming a link between Gujarathi and Hindí. Like Sindhi and Panjabi, when written by Hindus, Marwadi has no graphic merits, and several good old tales are current as to the consequences of extending its use to correspondence, a purpose for which it was never intended. As regards its local prevalence, it is superfluous to state here that Marwadi is a widely spread tongue. As we have seen in the second chapter of this work, the thrifty denizen of the sands of Western and Northern Rajputana has found his way to fortune all over India, from the petty grocer's shop in a Deccan village to the most extensive banking and broking connection in the commercial capitals of both East and West India. The census returns show Marwadi as a vernacular only in the tracts immediately adjacent to Rajputana, but it appears largely in Berar, where the

race has established itself in the villages and in connection with the cotton trade, and also in Bombay and the Central Provinces, for much the same reason, with additional attraction in the case of the former, of the grand field of speculation in rain, grain and silver afforded by the circumstances of the chief town. Relatively to the population, and the distance of the region from their native land, the Marwadi is strong in Assam, but Burma is a country which he has not yet begun to tap. To a peaceful man, whose inclination is to start life in a village remote from competitors commercial existence in rural Burma is too full of the unexpected to be palatable.

Gujarathi :

Gujarathi, in like manner, has become the commercial language of Western India. But as it is also the vernacular of a considerable area of British territory as well as of Baroda and many of the States connected with the Bombay Presidency, it appears in the returns to be nearly ten times as prevalent as Marwadi. In reality, it may be about thrice as numerously represented, if the whole country be taken into account. Gujarathi is one of the main offshoots of the Prakrit of Northern India, and differs little, save in detail and its more complex inflection, from vernacular Hindi. It is almost free from dialect, but as it is the language of commerce, it acquires modifications according to the class using it. For example, the Musalman trader combines it with Kachi, and the Parsis, who have abandoned their original tongue in favour of it, have engrafted certain peculiarities of their own. One very remarkable offshoot of Gujarathi is found in the Patnuli or Saurashtri dialect of the silk weavers of the Deccan and Madras. The migrations of this class have not been clearly traced, but probably it was first brought above the Ghats through one of the many local courts of old time in the Deccan.* The descendants of the original silk weavers are now found exercising the same trade in Mysore, the Deccan, and in quite the south of the peninsula. The dialect they use is peculiar to themselves, and is not current amongst them when dealing with other communities, though it has taken the colour of the countries through which the caste has passed, and is at present mainly Telugu, whereby it has lost its northern twang. The reason for this segregation may be found, perhaps, in the fact that a class of this sort, especially when engaged in a lucrative industry, raises its demands for social recognition as it recedes farther from its place or origin. We thus find the Saurashtri weaver of the south employing priests of his own caste, who claim Brahmanical honours and ignore connection with a region where silk-weavers are not in such a high position. This leads them to neglect or depreciate their former tongue. There are, nevertheless, over 77,000 Patnuli in the Madras province who still return their language as of yore. In addition to the extension given to the Gujarathi language by traders and artisans, there has been a considerable movement up the Tapti valley, in the shape of agricultural colonists, from the plains below, and Sindh, too, has received its share from across the lower desert. Then, too, there is the well-known class of domestic servants, called Suratis, who were returned in most provinces in India.

Marathi :

Marathi is the chief language in the Western group. In structure and vocabulary it is remarkable for its adherence to the later Sanskrit dialects of North India, and may be called particularly Brahmanic in all its elements. It has suffered less change than the rest of its companions, and retains much of the complexity of grammatical form that has been sloughed off by Hindi and Gujarathi. The Brahmans of Western India have for generations borne a high reputation for scholarship, and as the region under their influence was late in receiving the shock of Musalman invasion, and more or less successful in repelling it, the Hindu character of the language has been well maintained, whilst its fertility has enabled it to develop without the expedient of continually taking to itself fresh grafts from the Sanskrit. It is what some writers have called a "playful" tongue, abounding in jingles and alliterations, such as "andhala-pangala," a blind

*Hofrath Dr. Buhler has directed my attention, since this was first written, to the Gupta Inscription, translated at page 79, vol. III., of the Corpus Inscriptionum. In this, the colony of silk weavers which immigrated to Dasapur (Mandesur) from Central and Southern Gujarath, are praised for their industry and piety; the latter being shown by the erection of a temple to the Sun in the time of Kumara Gupta. J.A.B.

and lame man; "dagad-gigad," a stone; "lagbag", close by, and "jat-pat," quickly. Foreign words, too, are not respected, for we find "bandhuk-enduk," a gun; "padri-widri," a missionary; "ardoshi-pardoshi," the neighbours, and so on. The Marathas have named their hill-forts and any villages that have anything striking about their position on the same principle, and their tongue has struck out, it is said, more diminutives and secondary words than any other of the Prakritic derivatives. Setting aside the variety of pronunciation, Marathi is singularly uniform throughout the Deccan. There are, it is true, certain entries from the north of that tract giving Ahirani as a distinct language, but this is the result of caste, not linguistic, difference. It may be recollected that the later Prakrit grammarians applied the ancient name Apabhransha specially to the language of the Abhira or Ahír, the cattle-grazing communities of the north-western plains, and there has always been some jealousy between the agricultural classes and those of nomad stock who settle down amongst them at a later period. A real distinction is drawn, however, on the other hand, between the Marathi of the table-land and that of the Konkan, or the strip of country between the coast and the foot of the Ghats. As far south of Goa this distinction is not recognised, except amongst a small community of native Christians, who entered that fold under the auspices of Portuguese missionaries, and have adopted the language of their instructors from Goa; for in the latter territory there is a decidedly Portuguese element in the vernacular, due probably to the discouragement of native studies and to the destruction of the records in the vernacular when the western Christians first occupied the coast and took in hand the propagation of their religion. The basis of the language, however, is distinctly Marathi. Farther south, the foreign element changes to Kanarese, which is more perceptible as we approach Mangalore, where Konkani gives way to pure Kanarese and to Tulu. But wherever Konkani is the vernacular it may be held to be a variety of Marathi. The language spoken by the Christian natives of Goa, who are found nearly all over British India, is usually given as Goanese, but so many have returned it as Portuguese that to avoid misconception the two have been combined, and are placed after Marathi in the Indic, not the European, section of the tables. The return of birthplace shows that only 168 persons were born in Portugal, and whatever may be the language used by the class in question in their correspondence, the proportion of Portuguese in the spoken dialect is insignificant. The geographical distribution of Marathi remains to be noticed. It covers a wide area, including, as it does, the whole of the North Deccan plateau, the Konkan coast, Berar, the western portion of the Central Provinces, and the greater part of the western districts of the Nizam's dominions. It is met above the Ghats by Kanarese in the south and Telugu in the south-east. On the coast, as just stated, it merges through Konkani into Kanarese or Tulu. In the north, it meets Hindí and Gujaràthi, without mixing with either. Settlements of Marathas are to be found in Mysore, and there is the small Tanjore colony in the south of Madras ; but, as a rule, the language is not found much in tracts where it is not the vernacular. In Baroda, for instance, which is a Maratha State, there are only about 52,000 Marathi-speakers, mostly confined to the south division of the State, where there is a forest tract in which it is the vernacular, and to the troops and retinues of the Gaikwar and his officials. In other parts of the west and centre of India, those who return this language are chiefly in the native regiments, or engaged on railways or as clerks, and in the north as priests.

Halabi :

Crossing India from the Deccan, only one Aryan language is met before we enter the Eastern group of that family. This is the Halabi, which is prevalent only in the south-eastern portions of the Central Provinces and the tracts adjacent thereto. It has been grouped with the eastern

Language	Population returning it
Halabi	143,720
Uriya	9,010,957
Bengali	41,343,672
Assemese	1,435,820
TOTAL, EASTERN GROUP .	51,934,169

Aryan tongues from its position, although in structure and vocabulary it is more akin to Hindi. In fact, it seems doubtful if it is not mainly a dialect of the latter adopted by the Hill men on coming into contact with others from the plains, like the cases mentioned above in connection with the Gangetic valley. On the other hand, it is surrounded by Dravidian Hill languages, and the people by whom it is spoken are not reputed to have made such an advance in civilisation as would lead to the improvement of their former language. Their whole strength is only 143,000 souls.

Úriya :

The Eastern group proper begins with Úriya or Útkali, the least advanced of the Prakritic tongues. The country of its adoption is difficult of access, and the hilly tracts that protect it on the west bear an evil name for air and water, the two elements of comfort in a residence that a native of India first values. They have been left, accordingly, in the possession of a collection of tribes of the race either Dravidian or Kolarian. The language of the Hindu population of Orissa, therefore, has retained a good deal of its archaic form and vocabulary. It is also peculiarly free from dialectic variation. In addition to geographical isolation, Úriya has the drawback of a remarkably complicated and awkward character, attributed by several good authorities to the use of strips of the leaf of the Palmyra (borassus flabelliformis) as writing material, on which the the local scribe performs with a sharp steel stylus, in place of the reed pen common to most of Aryan India. Thus the horizontal line which keeps together the Devanagari characters and their immediate descendants is here out of the question, as it would split the leaf along its fibre, so the top stroke is omitted. Again, it appears that in writing, the style is worked on the left thumb as a fulcrum, a process which imparts a circular form to the results. Mr. Beames, from whose work the above explanation has been taken, adds, "Perhaps the above account may not seem very convincing to European readers, but no one who has ever seen an Úriya working away with both hands at his style and strip will question the accuracy of the assertion, and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add that the native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this". It should be mentioned in confirmation of the above that the same explanation has been adopted by Dr. Caldwell, the chief authority on Dravidian language, the sourthern forms of which are always written on the same material as Úriya. Mr. Beames states alsò that when he wrote in 1871, the extension of the use of paper was leading to the abandonment of the round top to the Úriya letters; but judging from the census returns, the fashion is certainly dying hard. The literature of Orissa is neither extensive nor valuable, except as showing the little change the language has undergone in the last few centuries. As to the geographical prevalence of Úriya, it appears that this tongue is practically confined to the tract from which it takes its name and the bordering districts and States of Madras and the Central Provinces. Its representatives found at the time of the census elsewhere in India belonged probably to the class of palkibearers and domestic servants, for which Orissa and the north-east coast generally are famous.

Bengali :

Bengali is the largest in point of numbers in this group, and is surpassed in this respect by Hindí alone. Though it has no distinct dialects, it resembles Panjabi in having no standard, so that it varies from place to place more probably than any other of the Aryan tongues. It is true that some years ago an attempt was made to degrade Úriya into a dialect of Bengali, so as to exclude it from schools and public offices ; but fortunately history and philology prevailed over political ambition, and the elder language has held its own against its hybrid sister. For Bengali has no doubt been unfortunate in the circumstances that have attended its development. The latest of all the Prakrit offshoots to be recognised as a language at all, it dates in that capacity only from the decay of the Delhi empire. Bengal, too, is the province of all others in which there is the widest gap between the small literary castes and the masses of the people. One of the results is that the vernacular has been split into two sections ; first, the tongue of the people at large, which, as remarked above, changes every few miles ; secondly, the literary dialect, known only through the press, and not intelligible to those who do not also know Sanskrit.

The latter form is the product of what may be called the revival of learning in Eastern India, consequent upon the settlement of the British on the Hughli. The vernacular was then found rude and meagre, owing to the absence of scholarship and the general neglect of the country during the Moghal rule. Instead of strengthening the existing web from the same material, every effort was made in Calcutta, then the only seat of instruction, to embroider upon the feeble old frame a grotesque and elaborate pattern in Sanskrit, and to pilfer from that tongue whatever in the way of vocabulary and construction the learned considered necessary to satisfy the increasing demands of modern intercourse. He who trusts to the charity of others, says Swift, will always be poor ; so Bengali, as a vernacular, has been stunted in its growth by this process of cramming with a class of food it is unable to assimilate. The simile used by Mr. Beames is a good one. He likens Bengali to an overgrown child tied to its mother's apron-string, and always looking to her for help, when it ought to be supporting itself. For instance, when the instructions for filling up the census schedule had to be translated into the vernacular for use in this province, the local Superintendent of the operations, a civil servant of much experience of men and cities, obtained versions, not from the men of light and leading in the capital, but from officers administering districts, who knew what the lieges can and will understand. A good working translation was thus obtained, which, when read over to a Calcutta scholar, no doubt made him stare and gasp, and mourn over the opportunity thus lost of giving the widest possible dissemination of culture in style. It is to be feared that not Bengali alone is passing into the hands of official scholarship, though this language is probably the least unwilling captive. Bengali, in whatever form it may be, is spread all over the sourthern valley of Assam, which was till 20 years ago a part of the province of Bengal. In Arrakan, too, this language has made some way, but elsewhere it is confined to a few colonies, at religious centres, and to persons employed in offices of Government or the railway companies, both of which look largely to Bengal for their supply of clerical labour.

Assamese :

Assamese, which concludes the list of Aryan vernaculars, has had, like Úriya, the experience of resisting the attempt of the ambitious Bengali to reduce it to a patois, and thus open a wider field of employment to the studious youth of the Lower Provinces; and, like Úriya, too, Assamese has been hitherto successful.* Possibly the political separation of the province from Bengal may have helped on the declaration of independence, for the tongue of the eastern and northern districts of Bengal bears scarcely greater resemblance than Assamese to the euphemistic speech of Calcutta and Naḍiya. Assameṣe is hardly found out of its native valley and the immediate neighbourhood.

Sanskrit :

In bringing to a close this review of the Aryan tongues of India, the fact should be mentioned that 308 persons returned the language habitually spoken in their parents' household as Sanskrit. This survival of 25 centuries is a thousand less than the corresponding tale in the last census returns ; still it is hardly expected that the ladies, at all events, of the households in question spoke in a classical language. The truth seems to be that in the south of India the term *Nagaram* is used by the priestly families of the Gujarathi silk-weavers to denote their divergence from the ordinary language of their caste, whilst in the rest of the country, the entries may be set down to schoolboys or undergraduates studying the rudiments of the ancient tongue of their faith.

Tamil :

In dealing with the Dravidian section of the subject, two groups have been formed. The first or southern covers nearly the whole field occupied by this class of languages, but the balance, which is here called the northern, comprises tribal forms of speech differing from the rest, except in general structure ; so it has been thought best to keep them apart. The first language to be mentioned is the Tamil, not because it is numerically or geographically the most important, but by reason

*There is a tendency, however, towards assimilation, I understand, in the present day.—J.A.B.

of its being the most cultivated and the best known of the Dravidian group. It has, indeed, given to the latter its original name.$ Two dialects are by

Language	Population returning it
Tamil*	15,229,759
Telugu	19,885,137
Kanarese †	9,751,885
Kodagu	37,218
Malayalam	5,428,250
Tulu ‡	491,728
Toda	736
Kota	1,201
Sinhalese	187
Mahl	3,167
TOTAL, SOUTHERN DRAVIDIAN GROUP	50,829,268
Gond	1,379,580
Kandh (Khond)	320,071
Oraon	368,222
Mal-Pahadia	30,838
Kharwar	7,651
Brahui	28,990
TOTAL, NORTHERN GROUP	2,135,352
TOTAL, DRAVIDIAN	52,965,620

*Kurumba, 5,288. †Badaga, 30,656. ‡Koragu, 1,868.

some attributed to Tamil, but these seem rather caste varieties than those of special tracts; so both *Irular* and *Kūrūmbar* have been included under the general head, whilst *Yerukala*, which has been in some cases separately tabulated, has been added to the Gipsy dialects, of which mention has been made above. Tamil, then, may be taken to be a homogeneous language, covering the whole of Southern India up to Mysore and the Ghats on the west, and the Ceded Districts, as they are called, on the north. It is disseminated, however, as widely as any tongue in India by special classes, such as labourers, who flock chiefly to Ceylon and Burma, and domestic servants, who are found hailing from the Tamil country in every large town and cantonment in India. The Madras servant is usually without religious prejudices or scruples as to food, head-gear, or ceremonial, so he can accommodate himself to all circumstances, in which respect he is unlike the northern Indian domestic.

Malayalam :

Next to Tamil comes Malayalam, or the language of the Malabar coast. This is an offshoot of Tamil, and has maintained a close relationship with its parent. Its name is derived from "mala", the local term for a hill, and an abstract noun signifying possession, like the Persian *dar*, so that it means the "mountain tract". The term Malabar is comparatively modern, as the last syllabale is brobably the Arabic for a coast or roadstead. Malayalam has been closely hemmed in by its neighbours, and, indeed, the whole tract in which it is spoken has been peculiarly secluded from the foreign infeuences which have swept over the table-land overhanging it. Those returning this language in Coorg and Mysore are probably settlers just within the frontier, or temporary sojourners who have gone above the Ghats for the coffee season. In other parts of India there is reason to suspect that, except at the seaports, the entry really means Malabari, a vulgar name for Tamil, originating with the early Portuguese travellers.

Kanarese :

I come now to Kanarese, the north-western representative of the Dravidian group. As stated in the introductory chapter, its name seems derived from the Telugu words for *black* and *country*, a title that the denizens of the light soils of the eastern table-land would not improbably apply to the rich western tracts of what is now known as "cotton soil", but other derivations have been suggested. The language itself, however, has a far greater affinity with Tamil than with its neighbour on the east. The only form of speech that can be called a dialect of Kanarese is that of the *Badaga* tribe on the Nilgiris, called by our early historians the *Burghers*. If this be admitted, it seems not unreasonable to attribute to *Kodagu*, the dialect of Coorg, a like relationship. Both communities have been shut off by their hills and climate from Brahmanising influence, and seem to have preserved in their speech the older forms of Kanarese, which have been rubbed off that language in the busier life of the plains. The tract held by Kanarese

$Dravid is said by Dr. Caldwell to be a corruption of Tamir. J.A.B.

is very compact. It includes Mysore, most of Coorg, and a strip of the coast between the Tulu and the Marathi. Above the Ghats, it stretches eastwards well into the Nizam's territory, and northwards to the Kistna river.

Tulu :

Its neighbour, Tulu, is confined to a small area in or near the district of South Kanara in Madras, and it is doubtful if it ever prevailed far beyond its present limits. It has the curious feature of linguistic independence without a character or literature of its own. Dr. Caldwell regards it as a very interesting and highly developed tongue, bearing but a distant relationship to Kanarese and Kodagu, still more distant to Malayalam, which presses on it from the south, and most distant of all to Tamil. The Kanarese character has lately been adopted in printing modern Tulu works, and it is likely that Tulu will ultimately give way to that language. But as it is, it shows an increase of 10½ per cent. over the return of 1881.

Telugu :

The last of the chief Dravidian languages is Telugu, which is also the most numerously represented at the census. It is said to be the most euphonious, and, next to Tamil, the most ancient and advanced of the whole class. There are no dialects returned under it, for the languages returned as *Yanadi* and *Chentsu* in 1881 are said to be merely tribal corruptions of the standard language, and in no way distinct. On the other hand, the language of certain wandering tribes, such as the *Waddar* and *Kaikadi*, though no doubt of Telinga origin, suffers such change in the course of the peregrinations of these earth-workers and mat-weavers, that in provinces beyond Madras it has been grouped with the Gipsy tongues instead of with Telugu, wherever it has been returned under a tribal designation. The Telugu character has been adopted for Kanarese, as the latter has carried it on to Tulu. Like the Tamil, Malayalam, and probably the ancient form of Kanarese, it has been modified from the Devanagari of the Southern Asoka inscriptions, curved at top to suit the palm-leaf book which is current here as in Orissa. A very ancient form is still occasionally used in Malabar or formal documents, but, for the most part, the resemblance to the original is scarcely traceable. A counter theory has been adopted by some writers, namely, that the Asoka character is based on Dravidian forms ; but though the question cannot be considered yet closed, the balance of evidence and probability seems rather on the side of an Aryan ancestry.

As a vernacular, Telugu is more widely spread than Tamil. We find it not only all over the eastern coast of Madras, but throughout the Ceded Districts above the Ghats and in one half of the Nizam's territory. It has also gained a considerable footing in Mysore and in a corner of the Bombay Karnatak, with branches in Berar, the Central Provinces, and Orissa. Although only the inhabitants of the North Coromandel coast have any right to the name of Kaling, that title is applied on the other side of the Bay of Bengal to labourers from both Kalingapatam and Negapatam. During the rice-shipping season, and now, in fact, throughout the year, Burma is thronged with labourers from this part of the peninsula, who have almost monopolized the hard work so distasteful to the Burmese. It was noticed that in some of the schedules filled up by or for this class, the antiquated term of Gentoo was used to denote caste or race. This word was introduced by the Portuguese, to whom all Hindus were Gentiles, even as to the British soldier all natives of India, whether Musalman or not, were collectively Moors. In the present day Gentoo means a Telingana man.

Toda & Kota :

There are a few of the minor Dravidian languages belonging to the Southern group which require a word or so of comment. First, the Toda of the Nilgiris. The tribe has received a great deal of attention, ethnological, phernological, social, and linguistic, mainly because it resides within an easy walk of a favourite hill resort. One member of the tribe has even been distinguished by temporary incorporation into the establishment of the greatest showman of the world, the late Mr. P. T. Barnum, of New York. Toda is returned by 736 persons, instead of 673 as in 1881, and the members of the tribe are only more numerous by three than those who return the tribal tongue. This last is of similar origin to the Tamil and Kanarese, and was kept from advance by the

secluded life of the tribe in the hills. The Kota is another of the Nilgiri tribes, lower in position and occupation than the Todas, and speaking a dialect of archaic Kanarese, like that of the Badagas or Northerners mentioned above. Neither of these languages extends beyond the limits of the eponymic community.

Sinhalese & Mahl :

A few entries of insular languages of this class may as well be noticed here. The Sinhalese is included amongst the Dravidian, since it shows morphological peculiarities which distinguish it from the Aryan class in which, owing perhaps to the cultivation of Pali by the literate classes of the island, it used to be placed. Then, again, the Mahl is returned only by the inhabitants of the little island of Minikoi, situated almost midway between the Maldiv and the Laccadiv archipelago, and belonging politically, though not linguistically, to the latter. The language in question is allied to the Sinhalese, it is said, though the Arabic character has been introduced, as in the Laccadiv, to suit the Musalman proclivities of the people.

Gond :

The Northern group of Dravidian languages comprises one large item, which includes the various dialects spoken by the numerious Gond tribes of Central India. These dialects, which are all unwritten, differ considerably in detail from each other, but are all Dravidian in their main characteristics. The Gond tract, entered in the old maps as 'Gondwana-Unexplored", radiates from the Central Provinces into Bengal, Berar, Madras, and Nizam's dominions, and the tribes therein are suffering much change, in the course of which their tribal dialects will infallibly assimilate a great deal of the vernacular of the encircling plains.

Kandh :

The Kandh or Khond of the hills of Orissa and the neighbourhood has, like the Toda, attracted more attention than was perhaps his due, owing to his persistent attempts to keep up the habit of human sacrifice as a means of securing a good harvest. The language is localised to his native hills, and the only wanderers found on the census roll are in Assam, where, if the return be not due to clerical error, the Kandh speakers must be immigrant labourers who have joined a gang of adventurers from Orissa. It is the same with a few of the Kolarian tribes, which have been found even in Burma, though not retaining their tribal language there.

Oraon & Kharwar :

Farther north, we enter the region of the Kolarian languages, and the distinctions between them and the Dravidian becomes much weakened. The Oraon, however, and the Kharwar may be said to present decidedly Dravidian features. As to the language of the inhabitants of the hills of Rajmahal, who hold that tract against the Santhals, there seems to be less information available. Following such authority as seemed trustworthy, a Dravidian ancestry is attributed to the language of this curiously isolated community. If this be correct, the survival of this relic so far from its fellows seems to indicate the former existence of a considerable Dravidian colony between the Kolarian and the mixed races of Eastern Bengal, though the two former may have been indentical in blood.

Brahui :

Last of the Dravidians has been placed the Brahui, though the link attaching it to the rest is of the thinnest. There are, however, curious features in common which can hardly be ignored. Ethnically, there seems to be absolutely no resemblance between the tawny cattle-graziers of the Khelat desert and the squat dark cultivators of the peninsula or the mountain tribes of Central India, any more than can be found between the former and the Mongoloid settlers of the north-east, to whom Signor Finzi would, on linguistic grounds, attach them. The bulk of Brahui speakers dwell in Balochistan, a tract which was not enumerated at the census, and the traditions of the race as to their migrations have yet to be satisfactorily investigated. The language of a good number of the Brahui tribes would no doubt be returned as Baloch, to which their own tongue is

rapidly approaching in the frontier districts, so here again we have an instance of the obliteration of valuable philological evidence.

Kolarian Class :

The Kolarian class, to which our attention is now directed, is small, but considerably subdivided amongst tribal dialects. The Chief is the

Language	Population returning it
Santhal*	1,709,680
Munda or Kol	654,507
Kharria	67,772
Baiga and Bhunjia	48,883
Korwa or Kur	185,775
Bhil	148,596
Sâwara	102,039
Gadaba	29,789
Juang and Maler	11,965
Total, Kolarian	2,959,006

Santhal, which includes nearly three-fourths of the whole. This language, like so many others, owes its reduction to grammar and writing, to the labours of missionaries, chiefly Danes and Germans, who have devoted their lives to the study of this race. It is widely disseminated over Bengal, as the Santhals are first-rate labourers, and show no reluctance to leave their native country for work at a distance. They are found even in Assam, both as settlers and as temporary hands on tea estates.

Munda & allied tribal dialects :

Kur and Bhil.

The Munda, in which returns of Kol and Ho have been included, has apparently a somewhat wider range, but this is probably due to the partition of their tract amongst three provinces. Like the Santhal, the Munda has taken kindly to foreign labour. The language seems to resemble Santhal in its main features, but its local varieties are frequent, and each main clan returns a separate designation to both itself and its language, and also, by the way, to its religion. The Kharria is on the same pattern. The Baiga, Bhinjwa, or Bhunjia is probably a tribe of earlier date in the country than the Munda or the Dravidians of these hills, judging from the fact that amongst the other tribes the name is used for a priest or exorcist, even if the functionary is not of the Baiga tribe. In the Central Provinces, the Baigas are said to speak Hindi to a large extent, but whether their women do or not is more important, on which information has not been furnished. The Kur, Korwa, or Kurku reaches across the hills to the west of the Kolarian tract, and joins the Bhíl, which carries the class on nearly to the sea. The former varies in detail throughout its length, and is different in Berar, for instance, from what it will be found to be in the Chutia Nagpur division of Bengal. As to the Bhíl tongue, it has been adulterated to such an extent that it retains little but corrupt Hindi, Marathi, or Gujarathi, according to locality, in its vocabulary, though its construction, at all events in the eastern portions of the tract it occupies, is still agglutinative.

Sawara, &c. :

The most southerly forms of Kolarian speech are the Sawara and Gadaba, both of which are almost confined to the hills bordering on Orissa, in the Madras Presidency. The former may have extended nearly to the sea in earlier days, as it is said that the *Suaroi* of Greek geographers are the ancestors of the present Sawara. The last of this class of languages which has to be noticed is the Juang or Patua, spoken by a tribe which Colonel Dalton, in his work on Bengal Ethnology, considers the lowest of all found within the tract he describes. It is but within the last few years that either sex wore clothes at all. The women were till then content with bunches of leaves tied round the waist in front and behind, and renewed, as required, when the fair wearer went to fetch in the cattle from the wood which provided her millinery.¶ With the Juang is grouped the Malér, which is not returned by more than a few hundred persons.

*This figure for Santhal has been since reduced, on final revision of the Bengal return, to 1,642,154, the balance being distributed apparently between Bengali and Hindi.

¶An attempt was made some years back to introduce waistcloths, which were distributed gratuitously, but it is reported, I believe, that, as a rule, the innovation did not outlast the material.—J.A.B.

Gipsy dialects

The group entitled Gipsy dialects contains many items which are in use only amongst a single caste or tribe. The chief of these, the respectable body of carriers and cattle-breeders, called Brinjaras, is a community which is spread all over Northern India as far as the Deccan, where many have permanently settled as landholders, speaking Marathi only. In the south of the latter tract it gives place to a similar tribe, known as the Lambani, which is the term used, too, in the Punjab. In both provinces the tribe has an evil repute. There are also the numerous tribes of wandering artisans, such as knife-grinders, grindstone-makers, and matting-plaiters ; the last of whom alone is held popularly to be of bad character, wherever in India it is found. Perhaps, as formerly with the broom-making trade in England, the facility of the occupation makes people regard it as only a cover for nefarious but more lucrative means of livelihood. Then come the tumblers, rope-dancers, and acrobats, with the castes which unabashedly maintain the name of cut-purse (Gantichor), all notorious evil livers, each with its special form of thieves' Latin unintelligible to respectable people. Jugglers and snake-charmers, who are equally nomad in habit are not invariably regarded malevolently, though open to suspicion. These tribes collectively represent the class from which originate the Rom or Gipsy of Europe and Asia Minor and the Luri of Persia. Their name of Gipsy is probably a corruption of Zotti, or Jat, as already mentioned, which become "Egyptian', either by misnomer, or because, as some say, Nikomedia, through which they reached Europe, was sometimes called "Little Egypt". The other term for them, 'Zigane', is probably due to their capacity for music, *Chang* being a stringed instrument in Persia', and *Tchingian* or Tsigan, the musician, in Western Turkey.

Khasi :

There remains the small group of Khasi dialects (178,637) between the above and the enormous field of the Thibeto-Burman tongues. It has been stated already that this group cannot be affiliated to any of its neighbours, and it is confined to the range of hills that separates the two valleys of Assam. There are three tribal dialects the Lyngam, Dyko, and Synteng. Through the efforts of the Welsh missionaries in this tract, the Roman character is now used in all three, and the census was taken in it. It seems thoroughly established, and as the surrounding languages are different in structure, Khasi will probably withstand their influence.

Thibeto-Burman languages

The Thibeto-Burman group, which is the first and largest of the Tonic class with which the census has to deal, has been subdivided, chiefly for convenience in treatment, into geographical sections, in the same way as the Aryan. The first of these comprises not only the Thibetan of the region immediately to the north of the Himalaya, but the language of the Mongoloid tribes of the higher valleys on this side of the range, and those of Sikkim and Bhotan, none of which regions were included in the census. We are thus dealing with immigrants, except in the comparatively insignificant case of Kanawari, or the language of the higher valley of the Satlaj, where it passes through the State of Bashahr, between Thibet and the Panjab.The Thibetan was found chiefly in the valleys of the Panjab Himalaya, in the neighbourhood of Sikkim and the Bengal Himalaya, and in the Tarai of the north-west, which is the winter resort of the inhabitants of the upper

Language	Population returning it
Thibetan dialects	
Thibetan	20,544
Kanawari	9,265
Nipali, unspecified	141,273
Nipali, Murmi	20,597
Nipali, Mangar	11,281
Nipali, Limbu	12,605
Nipali, Newari	5,217
Nipali Sunuwar	4,236
Other Nipali dialects	657
Lepcha	10,125
Bhotani	9,470
Total, Himalayan Group	245,270

Language	Population returning it
Bodo (Kachari)	198,705
Garo	145,425
Lalung	40,204
Koch	8,107
Mêch	90,796
Tipperah	121,864
Other Bodo dialects	4,314
Total, Bodo Group	609,415
Mîri-Abor	35,703
Other Frontier dialects	1,282
Total N.E. Frontier Group	36,985

valleys of Kumaon and Garhwal. The Rong or Lepcha is nearly allied to the Thibetan, like the Bhotani, or the tongue of that portion of the Himalayas known in India as Bhotant, or the end Bhot, Thibet. The former language is found only at Darjiling, and the latter either there or amongst the winter traders in North Assam. Most of the languages of Nipal of the Tonic class are the mother tongues of people living beyond the British frontier, and many of those mentioned by Mr. Brian Hodgson, the chief authority on the subject, were not represented at the census at all, either because the tribes had not penetrated down to India, or, having got there, were confounded by a Hindu enumerator in the general term Nipali. In addition to the recruits in our infantry regiments, Nipal furnishes a fair number of immigrants of Himalayan race to the adjoining hill country in Bengal and the west of Assam. The Gurung and Mangar are the main languages returned by the former class, and Murmi, Limbu, and Newari, by the latter. It is remarkable that we find hardly any trace of the great Nipali family of Kiranti languages in the schedules, and none of those of what Mr. Hodgson calls the "Broken tribes" of the lower portion of the State. The Nipali soldiery as often as not had their language set down as 'Gurkhali, a title to which probably very few of them would have advanced a claim in their own country.

Language	Population returning it
Nipàl dialects	
Naga dialects*	102,908
Mîkir	90,236
Kakhyin and Lushai	5,669
Total, Naga-Kakhyin Group	198,813
Manipuri (Kathe)	88,911
Kuki	18,828
Zho (Lushai)	41,926
Khyîn	126,915
Total, Khyîn-Lushai Group	276,580
Arrakanese (Magh)	366,403
Burmese	5,560,461
Total, Burmese Group	5,926,864
Nikobari	1
Total, Thibeto-Burman Group	7,293,928

Bodo dialects :

Keeping still to the east, we enter the thorny path of Assam Hill philology, which requires as cautious treading as those of the country itself, where stockades, pitfalls, and bamboo caltrops beset the unwary at every turn. The languages of the western and southern tracts are comparatively easy to classify, as they have been studied for some years. Following the practice of local experts, they have been formed into a separate group, called, from the leading dialect, the *Bodo* or *Kachari*. This last has been fully examined in the works of Messrs. Hodgson and Endle. It is spread widely over the tract in question, and holds nearly the whole of the north-west of Assam. There is no literature or means of keeping up a standard of Bodo, and variations are therefore frequent. It is curious that no trace of the allied language, Dhimal, mentioned by Hodgson, should appear in the Assam return, nor in Bengal are there more than a couple of individuals returning it. It is probably confined to the Eastern Tarai, within Nipal territory. So the two persons just mentioned have been included under the Nipal group. The Garo language is curent in the Western Assam Hills, and is said to be closely allied to the Bodo. The Méch, Rabha, Hajong, and Hojai, with the Lalung, are all more or less local forms of the same family, and prevail respectively in small tracts

*Seven, but not completely distinguished in the returns.

along the Bengal and Assam border-land and the north bank of the Brahmaputra. There are two other languages of this group worth note. The Kochh, which includes the so-called Pani Kochh, belongs to an early tribe of settlers along the great river, which has been almost entirely converted to Bráhmanism. They number no less than 2,364,000, but the vernacular has been abandoned for Bengali towards the west, and the small State which represents the former Kochh domination found no more than a dozen in it to return the ancestral tongue. The Tipperah language is found almost contiguous to the south-eastern branch of the Bodo, with which it is closely connected. It is returned chiefly from the State bearing this name on the Bengal frontier. The repelling force of the Hill tribes of a more northern descent has proved sufficient here, as farther south, to keep the dialects of the plains strictly within their political limits.

Miri-Abor group :

Of the curious group of Tonic languages spoken amongst the wild tribes of our north-eastern frontier, we have but little on the census record. The Aka, Daphla, Abor, Miri, and Mishmi inhabit the lower valleys of the Himalaya and send but few offshoots into what is known there as the "inner belt" of our influence. There is a settled colony of the Mishmi, however, in British territory, and some progress has been made with the investigation of the languages of this and the neighbouring tribes by frontier officers, to whom we have to look at present for our knowledge of the subject. Probably better acquaintance will lead to the discovery of more links between the various forms of speech amongst them; for in this corner of the empire tribal hostility is the leading feature of intercourse, and the mere fact of separation is reason enough for considering a neighbour a natural enemy, and in disclaiming, of course, any former connection with him.

Naga-Kakhyîn group :

Between the above group and the next in order lies a small wedge of the Tai or Shan family, which will be dealt with in connection with the languages of Burma later on. The Naga group is not confined to the tribes which bear that name, but, as stated in the introductory section of this chapter, includes the inhabitants of the Mikir hills to the north-west, and the tract stretching east, probably along the whole of the northern frontier of Upper Burma, which is in the hands of the people collectively known as Kakhyîn. There are seven tribal languages of the Nagas returned at the census, but unfortunately there is also a large body of people who are shown as speaking Naga only, without the distinction that could easily have been obtained had the enumerators been warned to look out for it. We have, for instance, a fair approximation to the number of the Angami and A-o Nagas, but the Kacha or Empe-o, the Kezhama, the Lho-ta, the Séma, and the Rengama are but poorly represented. The language of the main Naga tribes on the western slope of the Indo-Burman watershed has been reduced to more or less grammatical form by Mr. Davies, the officer in charge of the Hill tracts, who is at present the best authority on the subject; and when similar work has been accomplished for the language of the Burmese tribes of the same race, the two results will be a very valuable contribution to philology. The curious off-shoot of the Kakhyîn race in the north-east corner of Assam has been already mentioned under the name of Sing-pho, or, more correctly, Ching-pau. It had its centre at Mogaung on a tributary of the Irawadi, near which the fighting took place last year, and established itself in Assam near the end of the last century, and made slaves of a good many of the Assamese of the neighbouring tribes. A mixed race, the offspring of this connection, is in existence, but returns the language of the country, not of the foreigner. The whole community is very small, just over 2,000 in all, of whom two-thirds are Sing-pho, and the rest, Duania, of half-breeds.

Kuki-Lushai group :

The next group of languages on which comment is required comprises the languages of the tribes of the range of hills separating India from Burma. In their northern extension these tribes are collectively known as Kuki. The term Lushai, which is applied farther south, is not recognised by the people themselves, who use the name Zho. Shendū is also a synonymous title for the Lushai tribes. The tribes of the country between Bengal and Burma are known collectively as Khyîn in the east, and by a variety of local names in Bengal. The whole lot was left very much to itself in former years, as the inhabitants of the plains hold such races in considerable

respect, and, trading on this feeling, the mountaineers have manifested their superiority over the peaceful communities they overhang in ways that the British had to stop with some vigour. It is hardly necessary to point out that with so many tribes close together, each under hereditary obligations to lay by a store of the skulls of its neighbour, the diversity of language is as great as in the tract across the Brahmaputra. Information on these dialects has not yet been obtained, as the hills have but recently been permanently occupied. The only civilised community is that of the valley of Manipur, which acquired so painful a notroiety from the disturbances of March 1891. The language of this tract is called Manipuri in Bengal and Assam, and Kathé or Ponnu in Burma. The returns available relate only to the colonists or visitors in the adjacent portions of Assam, and the *entourage* of the late chief in Bengal and Mathura. In Mandalay there is still a considerable colony, descended from prisoners or slaves brought over during the wars of the late dynasty. In Lower Burma the number is decreasing, owing either to cessation of immigration or to the adoption of the Burmese language by the settlers, since there is no single colony in that part of the province like that in Mandalay, where the similarity of fortune and intimacy of intercourse has helped to keep up the original language. The culivated dialect of Manipur has been studied and described by Colonel Lewin and Mr. Brojonath Shaha, according to whom it shows a great advance on the rest of the tribal dialects. It is said to have had a special character of its own, which, like that of Malayalam, is now only used occasionally in formal deeds. For ordinary purposes it has been superseded by Bengali, introduced by the officials and settlers from that province. Manipur, like Nipal, has had its Brahman invasion, with its concomitant traditions of the orthodox descent of the ruling family from the demigods of Bindraban on the Jamna, and there is a good deal of mixed blood in the central valley, which accounts for the relatively high culture of that tract. The hills are still held by Kuki and other tribes of the same stock and it is doubtful, therefore, if the language of Imphal is current far beyond the immediate influence of the court and its Hindu officers.

Khyin dialects :

Between the Zho country and Arrakan the tribal languages are badly mixed at the census. We have, however, grammars and vocabularies of the dialects current on the Burma side of the Yoma hills, amongst the Southern Khyíns, but the literary Burman, in his contempt for the men of the mountain, avoids discrimination of the rest of these tribes, and to him all Khyíns are one, or nearly so. We find, however, a few tribal languages set down, such as Mro (15,891), Khwé-mi (14,126), and Daignét (856), from Northern Arrakan, but some of the races returning these are doubtless more numerous than the above figures would imply. Possibly, therefore, as the tribes expand beyond the shelter of the hills, they are absorbed linguistically into the gulf of Burmese.

Arrakanese :

We then come to Burma itself, and here it has been found advisable to show the main language under the two heads of Burmese and Arrakanese. Historically and philologically they are the same but geographically it is possible to distinguish them. Arrakanese is the older form of the language, and has preserved features, especially of pronunciation which the soft and indolent inhabitant of the rest of Burma has been willing to let drop. But there are still dialects outside Arrakan which belong to it rather than to the inland tracts. *Tavoyer*, for example, the special dialect of Tenasserim, and *Chaungthâi*, a vanishing relic, may be cited in proof of this. On the Bengal side of the bay, north and east of Chittagong, the language is returned as *Magh*, a name unkown to Arrakan, and, like the Goanese of the western coast, calling to mind the modern kitchen rather than the ancient kingdom from which it is derived, for the Magh and the Goanese furnish European India with the best of its *chefs*.

Burmese, &c. :

In Burmese we have the language most numerously represented at the census of all the Tonic class. We have had occasion to mention already the tradition that this tongue came from the west, but in fact, the only impression received from India via Ceylon is the alphabet in a very modified form, and a comparatively small vocabulary relating to the Magadhi-born religion. On the other hand, the appearance of the people betokens a far more northern origin. Within historic times Burmese has proved itself a great absorbent of local dialects, either owing

to political influences from Pegu and Mandalay or to the prevailing ecclesiastical system, which includes monastic training and education. *Yebein*, a tongue held to be distinct from the Burmese, and which was represented by 436 persons in 1881, has vanished from the returns, though there are nearly 2,300 of the tribe left. *Kadu*, *Danu*, and *Yau*, too, are well on the way to the same fate, and show signs of decrepitude in the last 10 years, though the tribes are flourishing. But however strong the Burmese may be in its own country, it spreads but little into India. With the exception of the Maghs of Chittagong, most of the Burmese speakers who are to be found across the sea have strayed thither against their will, and include the late King and his establishment, and the "true patriots" scattered amongst the Indian jails—

"For be it understood,
They left their country for their country's good."

Mon group:

The Mon or Talaing languages may be mentioned here, though little more need be said about them than is to be found above in connection with the general subject of classification. The language is found in Anam and Cambodia, though in the latter case the influence of Chinese is very marked. It is worth noting, too, that the same tradition as to the advent of a prince from across the Bay of Bengal is current in all three communities. The only link between Pegu and the Mon colonies of the far east is found in Palaung, a language spoken by a small and isolated tribe in the north-east of Upper Burma. In the time of the late dynasty the Mon language was almost obliterated in Lower Burma, owing to the discouragement of it by the Burmese rulers and their officials, and it was expected to become extinct in a generation or so. Now, however, the census returns seem to indicate that this language is either reviving, or that persons who were reluctant to return it on former occasions have taken heart, for there were only 154,553 returning it in 1881; but it is imprudent to prophecy that it will ever resume its position as one of the leading vernaculars in Amherst and Pegu. As yet, it is returned by little over one-half of the Mon-Talaing community in Lower Burma.

Language	Population returning it
Mon	226,495
Palaung	2,847
Total, Mon Class	229,342

Shan or Tai group :

Between the two branches of the Mon there has been thrust a long belt of the Shan language, called in the centre and south Lao, or, by Europeans, Siamese. It has already been pointed out that that the Ahom or Shan settlers of Upper Assam failed to preserve their language in their new circumstances, so we find no entries of that tongue amongst them; and the Aitons, a more modern tribe, are returned as mostly speaking Shan only, which is very likely due to mistake on the part of Hindu enumerators. The two other Shan colonies in Assam return a few entries of Khamti and Phakial respectively, but the tongue does not extend beyond the limits occupied by those tribes. Khamti has been investigated by a frontier officer, and a grammar written of it; but there is a gap between this tract and the Lao or Htai of the Siamese kingdom, in which the intervening linguistic changes have still to be investigated. This cannot be done until the cis-Salwîn Shan States have been brought into closer touch with the new administration of Upper Burma. By next census, therefore, more information will have been obtained, even if the States be not completely enumerated,

Language	Population returning it
Shan	174,871
Lao (Htai)	4
Aiton	2
Khamti	2,945
Phakial	625
Total, Taic Class	178,447

Malay Group :

The Malayan class of languages is represented chiefly in the south of Burma, where there are a few settlers from the peninsula. The Sea-Gipsies or

Language	Population returning it
Malay	2,437
Salon	1,628
Javanese	19
Total, Malay Class	4,084

Salon of the Mergui Archipelago, too, speak a tongue of this class, and owing to more careful enumeration, show nearly double the number that appear in the returns of 10 years back. The rest of the Malayas are seafaring people, enumerated at the ports of India. As this class of languages does not really prevail within the sphere of the census operations, no more need be said about it.

Japanese :

Japanese can be disposed of in the same way. A few residents of the chief towns are all that return this language, and as the women returning it are more numerous than the men, its introduction is probably due to the fame of the Musmé of the baths and teahouses of the Far East, which has been productive of emulation.

Chinese :

The Sinitic class is represented by two languages Chinese and Karén. The former is scattered nearly all over India, since merchants, carpenters, and cane

Language	Population returning it
Chinese	38,504
Karen	674,846
Total, Sinitic Class	713,350

workers of this race are to be found in most large towns and cantonments. In Rangoon and Upper Burma there are regular communities from the Flowery Land, though in the latter the number of immigrants seems to have decreased since the country became British. In nearly every district, however, there are a few Chinese. They belong mainly to two classes. First, the merchant who hails from Canton or the east, and who comes round by sea; secondly, the people from Yun-nan, who come across by land to trade in petty wares and forest produce, and whose language is different from that of the former.

Karen :

Karén has been classed with Chinese on the authority of Dr. Cushing and other missionary scholars. The Karén tract has been for some years the main field of missionary labour in Burma, and the results are to be found in most districts of the lower division of that province. The three chief dialects of this language differ considerably from each other, owing probably to much the same reasons as is found operative in the case of the Lushai group, namely, the dispersion of the tribe over wide tracts of difficult country, after the first arrival from the north. The Pwo dialect was returned by 449,450 persons, though only about 27,000 are given as of that tribe. The Sgau shows 225,193. The Bghai or Karén-nî was returned under these titles by no more than 16, so is evidently included in the first-named dialect. Taungthu, Mopghâ, and so on, are said to be only local names for one or other of the above three dialects. The Karén does not extend much beyond the tract occupied by the tribes themselves, and some of the outskirts are said to be getting rapidly Burmanised in speech.

Eranic-Aryan language :

Persian.

We can here take leave of the languages of India, and discuss the return of other Asiatic tongues. First comes the sister branch of the Aryan class,

Language	Population returning it
Persian	28,189
Armenian	833
Pakhtu (Pashtu)	1,080,931
Baloch	219,475
Total, Eranic-Aryan Class	1,329,428

which may be called the Eranic, because, whatever its origin, the few representatives we have to deal with are well under the influence of Persian. As regards this last, in spite of the connection of India with Iran, and the settlement of natives of the latter in the north and west of the country, the language has obtained, as a parent tongue, little footing within the empire. It is still the language of polite society and the *belles letters* amongst the educated classes of Musalmans, but those to whom it is the only or the most familiar language are but few. In Bengal and Rangoon there are remnants of the old ruling families of Delhi and Lucknow; in the Panjab, traders and immigrants are found, and the refugees from Afghanistan; and in Bombay, horse-dealers and emigrants from Persia, who have settled down in the chief towns. Beyond these centres there is hardly any real Persian spoken, and a good deal of what is returned as such is but the better sort of Urdu.

Armenian :

Armenian is the parent tongue of a small colony of that race in Bengal, Lower Burma, and a few other parts of India. The persons returning it are permanently domiciled in India, and probably use English more and more each generation.

Pakhtu :

Pakhtu or Pashtu, the language of the Pathan (Pakhtwan), belongs, as has been said, to the Indic-Aryan class in its structure, but to the Eranic in much of its vocabulary. It has been grouped under the latter, as it is geographically beyond India, and Persian of a sort is undoubtedly the vernacular of the north and west of Afghanistan. Most of the Pashtu-speakers are located in the Panjab, either as settlers or amongst the retainers of the refugees. There is another class which travels over nearly all India peddling rugs and fruit, and sometimes selling horses brought down from their native land. They leave the latter in the autumn, perambulate the genial plains of India during the winter, and return to Ghazni, or wherever it may be, in the late spring, in time to resume their home occupation of agriculture and fruit-growing. Year after year they do this, and many tribes of the Sulaiman and Kharoti map out India into regular divisions, one of which is assigned to be exploited by each company. There are a few who do not return at all, but remain all the year round in India, varying the monotony of commerce, according to the police, with exploits less legitimate.

Baloch :

Baloch, again, is a language of Persian affinity, used as a vernacular only in the frontier districts of the lower Panjab and in Sindh. The prevalence of this tongue, according to the returns, in some of the native States, is due to the number of mercenaries of Baloch race entertained by the chiefs as personal retainers and treasury guards. They are usually Makranis, speaking that dialect of Baloch. They have a strong strain of African blood, and are not of the pure type of the north.

Turanic languages :

Next to Eran, we naturally come to its enemy, linguistically known as Turan, but the latter is very poorly represented in India linguistically.

Language	Population returning it
Turki	607
Finn	10
Magyar	42
Total, Turanic	659

The majority of Turki speakers come from Turkestan, and there are a few Osmanli settled in Bombay and Haiderabad. It is not worth while for so small a number to distinguish the various entries of Uzbegi, Yarkandi, Chagatai, &c., from the cultivated dialect of Stamboul. The Finn entries are from the vessels in port on the census night at Calcutta and Rangoon. Magyar is returned by a few merchants and travellers, and by artisans on the railways, where nearly all the tongues of Europe are to be found. The term Turanic has been reserved for this class of languages, instead of being extended, as is sometimes done, to the whole of the Tonic and Agglutinative languages of Burma and the Himalaya, for which the title selected above raises, it is to be hoped, fewer questions.

Semitic languages :

Arabic.

The Semitic is the last of the Asiatic classes with which the census is concerned. It is made up mainly of Arabic, the vernacular of Aden, which

Language	Population returning it
Arabic	53,351
Hebrew	2,171
Syriac	12
Total, Semitic	55,534

Settlement furnishes nearly half the return. Most of the rest of the entries are returned from Haidrabad, where a portion of the Nizam's force and the body-guards of his chief nobles are recruited from Arabic-speaking tribes of Africa and the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Hebrew :

Hebrew was returned by a number of Jews' much on the same principle that Sanskrit was put down by Brahmans and Arabic by Musalman teachers of the Kuran. It is the distinctive language of their faith, though it can hardly be called a mother tongue, so it is considered dignifying, if the head of the house is at all conversant with it, to have the fact recorded. The entries were chiefly from Jewish colonies where Arabic, Marathi, or Malayalam would be the correct return. Turkish Arabia supplies a good number of Israelitish settlers. In Cochín there are two permanent colonies, one of which is certainly of foreign origin, whilst in the coast district round Bombay the class of rural Jews habitually use Marathi in their households. In Aden, too, the colony is permanently settled, and speaks a dialect of Arabic. No definite information has been recorded about the few entries of Syriac which are found here and there. Possibly they are traceable to Nestorian priests, of whom there may be some in Cochín and other parts of the country.

Negro dialects :

From Africa we get a number of dialects, found mostly in Aden, where there is a constant stream of migration to and from the opposite coast. The Somali and Swahíli tribes furnish most of the entries. The negroes who are employed on board the steamers trading with India are often called Sidi or Habshi, which, strictly speaking, is Abyssinian. They are from farther south, however, and usually take ship at Zanizibar, or come from the Persian Gulf ports, such as Mascat. It would be incorrect, therefore, to class their languages as Abyssinian, which would bring them into the Semitic class. It may be remembered that in the early days of operations against the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, vessels full of boys and girls were captured, and the children made over to certain missionary orphanages and other institutions in Bombay. They were trained to a mechanical trade or to domestic service, and thus remained in the country of their adoption. Another class found in the households of chiefs and rich nobles is still recruited in less reputable ways, mainly on account of the high character for fidelity to their employer borne by men of this race.

European languages :

We have now to consider the return of the languages of Europe and the west. Of these there is a great variety, though none but English is strongly

Language	Population returning it
Teutonic :	
English	238,499
German	2,215
Dutch	119
Flemish	22
Scandinavian :	
Danish	94
Swedish	187
Norwegian	152
Keltic :	
Welsh	245
Gaelic	264
Irish	299
Keltic (unspecified)	2

Language	Population returning it
Mediterranean :	
Greek	380
Latin	1
Italian	690
Maltese	32
Roumanian	22
Spanish	159
French	2,171
Slavonic :	
Russian	95
Polish	46
Czech	1
Bulgarian	49
Slavonic (unspecified)	1
Basque	1
Total, European	245,746

represented. This last, which, for census purposes, is held to include *Scotch*, though not Gaelic, is returned by 100,000 or so born in the United Kingdom, by scattered denizens of Australia, the United States, and Canada, &c., as well as by the increasing class of Europeans of British descent born and domiciled in India, and the Eurasians. Of the other languages returned, German, French, Italian, and Greek may be taken as those of commercial sojourners, and Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish are recruited from the regiments that happen to be on service in India. In the same way, the Scandinavian languages depend on the number of vessels in port on the census night for their representatives.

Comparing the return of these languages with that of the preceding census, it will be seen that the Europeans have increased by some 37,000, out of which number more than 35,000 are amongst the English speakers. Changes in the garrison, as well as the natural increase amongst the domiciled population and Eurasians, sufficiently account for the latter. Of the foreigners, the three commercial classes, German, French, and Greek, have all largely increased, but the Italian-speaking population has fallen off, owing partly to the disappearance of a colony of that nationality from Rangoon, where it was established during the existence of the kingdom of Upper Burma. The Scandinavians were much fewer, and the Celts many more, than in 1881, owing to the temporary causes just mentioned. Looking up some of the details, it appears that the priest who returns Latin as being the tongue of his mother, the Church, has safely weathered the intercensal decade ; so too, have the two Kelts and the single Slavonian, who still refrain from further particularising their mother tongue; but the Lapp has given place to a Basque, and representatives of Bohemia and Iceland have appeared, besides various Bulgarians.

Comparison of Tribal languages with Tribal population :

No general comparison between the returns for the two enumerations has been attempted, since, partly owing to the wider scope of the present operations, partly perhaps, to the better understanding of the rules by the enumerators, it is only in the purely localised or tribal dialects that such comparison could be practicable. But there is a certain interest, connected with what has been said regarding the prevalence of tribal dialects, in comparing the return of languages in this table with that of the tribe in Table XVII. The following statement, accordingly, gives specimens of the results of this comparison, the population where language was not returned being deducted in all cases :

Tribe, &c.	Numerical Strength		Difference of B. form A.
	A.-By Tribe	B.-By Tribal Language	
N. Central Belt :			
Santhal	1,494,045	1,642,154	+148,109
Bhil	933,512	1,48,596	—784,916
Baiga, Bhinjwa, &c.	1,030,332	48,883	—981,449
Munda, Ho, Kol Kur, and Korwa.	1,109,157	840,282	—268,875
Kharria	68,425	67,772	—653
Kharwar	112,298	7,651	—104,647

Tribe, &c.	Numerical Strength		Difference
	A.- By tribe	B.-By Tribal - Language	of B. from A.
Central Belt :			
Oraon . .	523,258	368,222	—155,036
Gond . .	2,897,591	1,379,580	—1,518,011
Sawara . .	438,317	102,039	—336,278
Gadaba . .	34,127	29,789	—4,338
Kandh . .	627,388	320,071	—307,317
Mal-Pahadia .	18,506	30,838	+12,332
Juang . .	9,179	11,171	+1,192
Nilgiri :			
Irula . .	58,503	1,614	—56,889
Toda . .	739	736	—3
Kota . .	1,201	1,201	..
Assam :			
Miri-Abor .	36,738	35,703	—1,035
Khasi . .	172,150	178,637	+6,487
Kachari . .	243,378	198,705	—44,673
Kochh . .	2,364,365	8,107	—2,356,285
Garo . .	150,227	145,525	—4,702
Mech . .	96,873	90,796	—6,077
Naga . .	101,568	102,908	—1,340
Manipuri .	84,540	88,911	+ 4,371
Kuki . .	25,940	18,828	—7,112
Lushai . .	43,840	41,926	—1,914
Nipal :			
Murmi .	21,889	20,597	—1,292
Mangar . .	19,383	11,281	—8,102
Limbu . .	15,079	12,605	—2,474
Sunuwar .	5,210	4,236	—974
Newar . .	4,979	5,217	+238
Burma :			
Burmese . .	5,408,984	5,560,461	+151,477
Arrakanese .	452,164	366,403	—85,761
Karen . .	540,876	674,846	+133,970
Mon . .	467,885	226,495	—241,390
Chinese . .	41,832	38,504	—3,328

The general drift of the statement is to show how the tribal tongues are falling before the general, dialects of the plains. This is marked out very plainly in the figures for Bhíl, Gond, Baiga, with its companions, and Kharwar, in the case of Hindí, and equally well in that of Uriya, amongst the speakers of Kandh and Sawara. A Table showing proportionally, the LANGUAGES prevalent in each PROVINCE, &c.

Province and Language	Percentage on Total
1. Ajmér :	
1. Hindi	56·58
2. Marwadi	42·20
Others	1·22
2. Assam :	
1. Bengali	50·06
2. Assamese	25·82
3. Hindi	4·20
4. Kachari	3·59
5. Khasi	3·25
6. Garo	2·19
Others	10·89
3. Bengal :	
1. Bengali	52·89
2. Hindi	36·65
3. Uriya	6·46
4. Santhal	1·99
Others	2·01
4. Bengal States :	
1. Uriya	45·21
2. Bengali	19·72
3. Hindi	15·29
4. Santhal	8·25
5. Tippera	3·34
6. Munda, &c.	3·19
Others	5·00
5. Berar :	
1. Marathi	79·46
2. Hindi	9·67
3. Gond	3·24
Others	7·63
6. Bombay :	
1. Marathi	53·82
2. Gujarathi	20·78
3. Kanarese	15·59
4. Urdu	5·62
Others	4·19
7. Bombay States :	
1. Gujarathi	60·68
2. Marathi	22·19
3. Kanarese	7·25

Province and Language	Percentage on Total
7. Bombay States—(*concld.*)	
4. Kachhi	4·73
5. Urdu	3·20
Others	1·95
8. Sindh :	
1. Sindhi	83·00
2. Baloch	6·20
3. Marwadi	4·74
Others	6·06
9. Baroda :	
1. Gujarathi	93·00
2. Urdu	3·39
3. Marathi	2·11
Others	1·50
1. Central Provinces :	
1. Hindi	60·25
2. Marathi	19·61
3. Gond	9·32
4. Uriya	6·35
5. Urdu	1·43
Others	3·04
11. Central Province States :	
1. Uriya	42·41
2. Hindi	36·06
3. Gond	8·47
4. Halabi	6·48
5. Kandh	3·06
Others	3·52
12. Upper Burma:	
1. Burmese	92·91
2. Shan	2·68
Others	4·41
13. Lower Burma :	
1. Burmese	60·49
2. Karen	14·28
3. Arakanese	7·41
4. Mon	4·85
5. Bengali	3·50
6. Khyin	2·15
7. Shan	2·02
Others	5·30

Province and Language	Percentage on Total
14. Coorg :	
1. Kanarese	43·99
2. Kodagu	20·40
3. Tamil	9·36
4. Malayalam	6·47
5. Tulu	6·94
6. Urdu	3·99
7. Telugu	2·14
Others	6·71
15. Mysore :	
1. Kanarese	73·94
2. Telugu	15·19
3. Urdu	4·73
4. Tamil	3·22
Others	2·92
16. Madras :	
1. Tamil	39·51
2. Telugu	38·32
3. Malayalam	7·54
4. Kanarese	4·06
5. Uriya	3·63
6. Urdu	2·29
7. Tulu	1·34
Others	3·31
17. Madras State :	
1. Malayalam	73·54
2. Tamil	22·86
3. Telugu	1·54
Others	2·06
18. Hyderabad :	
1. Telugu	43·61
2. Marathi	30·28
3. Kanarese	12·58
4. Urdu	10·38
Others	3·15
19. North-West Provinces :	
1. Hindi	97·06
2. Kumaoni	1·46
3. Garhwali	1·19
Others	0·29
20. N. W. Province States :	
1. Hindi	69·58
2. Garhwali	30·32
Others	0·10

Province and Language	Percentage on Total
21. Panjab:	
1. Panjabi	63·13
2. Hindi	17·63
3. Jatki	8·43
4. Pakhtu	5·06
5. Western Pahari	3·54
6. Bagri (Marwadi)	1·50
Others	0·71
22. Panjab States :	
1. Panjabi	60·40
2. Western Pahari	18·39
3. Hindi	11·21
4. Jatki	3·27
5. Marwadi (Bagri)	5·61
Others	1·12

A few items seem to be capable of special explanations. For instance, the Khasi speakers include those returned as Christians, not under the tribal name. The Manipuris, too, use the title of Kshatria, or the warrior caste of Brahmanic society, to some extent. Assamese, moreover, seems gaining ground amongst the Kachari tribes and their fellows, as Burmese in further south. The discrepancy between the two returns of Karéns is not explicable on the surface, as the Christians who have returned that as their race are included for the purposes of this table under the tribal head. The Chinese have the peculiar custom of attributing their own nationality to the male children of mixed parentage, but of returning the females as Burmese, a fact which seems to account for the difference noticeable in the table. The Irula tongue is no more than a rude dialect of Tamil, so there is no reason to expect its return under a distinct head. In the case of the Nipal tribes the mother-tongue was mostly entered simply as Nipali or Pahari. The figures for Mal-Pahadi are clearly confused with those of other tribes. There is no more detailed explanation available as to the rest of the discrepancies in the statement.

The third part of Table X in the Imperial series shows the linguistic distribution of the population of each province and State. A proportional summary of it is shown opposite. It seems to require no special comment.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1891*

ASSAM

BY E. A. GAIT

ARYO—INDIC LANGUAGES

Languages
Aryo-Indic.

160. Of the languages proper to the province, the first two to be mentioned are Bengali and Assamese, both of which are of the Aryo-Indic family.

Assamese and Bengali

Bengali is spoken by the great bulk of the people in Goalpara, Sylhet, and the plains portion of Cachar. Assamese is the parent tongue of the Musalmans and Hindus, including the Hinduised aborigines, of the Brahmaputra Valley. Both languages are too well known to require detailed description, and I shall confine myself to the following quotation from the Census Report of 1881, in which the peculiarities of Assamese, and its claims to rank as a separate language, are very clearly stated :

Between Bengali and Assamese there has been waged a battle of the dialects to which some interest attaches, and which has not altogether been composed to rest. A few years ago it was the fashion for Government officials to assert that Assamese was only a corrupt and vulgar dialect of Bengali, a *patois* bearing to it the same relation which Yorkshire bears to the literary English, and that it ought in no way to be encouraged, but to be crushed out as quickly as possible, by using Bengali as the official tongue and teaching it in schools. This view was earnestly opposed by those educated Assamese who cherished a feeling of patriotic pride in their country, and who claimed for their speech the position of a distinct dialect and a literary tongue; they were warmly supported by the American missionaries settled at Sibsagar, who were the first to print educational works in Assamese; and in the end they won the day. Assamese is recognised as a separate tongue, and is taught in all primary schools in the Brahmaputra Valley, while instruction is conveyed only through the medium of Bengali in the middle schools, in default of a complete set of educational works in the Assamese language. The real position of the facts in this controversy appears to be as follows. All over the Bengali-speaking area, there is much fluctuation and variation of idiom; the vernacular dialect of Western Bengal differs strongly from that of Central Bengal, and still more strongly from that of Eastern Bengal ; but the language which in its fixed and literary form is called Bengali is a special dialect (that of Nadiya), which has been selected and cultivated as the standard speech, and which differs in some degree, greater or less, from every vernacular dialect. The gradations in the popular utterance from west to east are insensible, but on reaching the easternmost extremity of the Bengali area, the Brahmaputra Valley, these insensible variations are found to have become so great that the speech of the west is hardly understood in the east. Assamese is, probably speaking, only one of many dialects springing probably from one central origin, the majority of which dialects are ordinarily grouped under the name of Bengali, but it has received a literary form under the Assam kings for indigenous Assamese literature in the shape of Boranjis, Kirtans, and translation of Sanskrit religious poems, is far from inconsiderable, and this has tended to stereotype its dialectical peculiarities, and it stands in undeniable opposition to literary Bengali. Probably the vernacular of Sylhet, and still more so that of Cachar, would appear to the speaker of Western Bengali equally foreign and difficult with that of Nowgong or Sibsagar; and had Sylhet ever acquired a literature we might have been entitled to speak of the vernacular of that district as a distinct tongue, as we do of Assamese; but it has no literature of its own; its literary standard is that of Nadiya, and thereby its distinctiveness is lost. Assamese differs materially from Bengali in grammatical forms; its plural is formed in a different way from the Bengali plural; the feminine gender is shown in a different way; there is much difference in the conjugation of verbs, especially in the present and future tenses; and it differs also in idiom, in the syntax and collocation

*This Reprint, except where unavoidable, is being given without diacritic marks.

of words. There is also an important difference in its vocabulary; it has an infusion of non-Aryan words, picked up from various tribes, who have been welded together into the population of Assam, and it retains a considerable proportion of Prakritic words, for which Bengali has substituted Sanskritic words. There is a further difference in pronunciation, which more than anything else tends to make interchange of ideas difficult between a speaker of Bengali and of Assamese, *viz*; the change of the letters *sh* and *s* to *h* and of *chh* and *ch* to *s*.

Tibeto-Burman Languages :

Languages.
Tibeto-Burman.

General Remarks.

161. Leaving these two languages of the Aryo-Indic family, we come upon a large number of languages, all of which, with the exception of the small Khasi family and a few Tai or Shan dialects, bear traces of close resemblance. They belong to the great family of Tibeto-Burman languages.* Our knowledge regarding many of them has increased greatly of late years, but a great deal has still to be learnt, while the comparison of one language with another and the examination of their affinities and points of difference is a subject which has hitherto been scarcely touched. It must, therefore, be understood that the classification (if such it can be called) which I have adopted above is purely tentative, and will undoubtedly require considerable modification when more is known of the true relationship of these languages to each other and to the languages of Tibet, Arracan, and Upper Burma.

Their general kinship with Tibetan, which is now admitted, was first pointed out by Robinson, who founded his conclusions chiefly on a series of short grammatical sketches which he contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.† His method was attacked by Brain Hodgson, who pointed out that no conclusions could be drawn from grammatical resemblances, until it was known how far these resemblances, many of which were shared by a much larger group of languages, were peculiar to those under comparison. He argued, therefore, that lists of vocables were really a better test.‡ Now, there can be no doubt that much of the grammatical structure of these languages is common not only to that of other languages on this frontier, but also to many other, as will be seen by comparing the brief account of the Kachari grammar on the next page with the late Bishop Caldwell's description of the main characteristics of the Dravidian languages as distinguished from those of Sanskritic origin.§ At the same time the vocables of these nomad forms of speech are so constantly changing that it is often difficult to trace linguistic kinship through their aid alone. Max Muller points out that "The most necessary substantives, such as father, mother, son, daughter, have frequently been lost and replaced by synonyms in the different dialects of Turanian speech, and the grammatical terminations have been treated with the same freedom", and Sayce, that neither grammar nor vocables alone can be accepted as sufficient evidence, but that the test of linguistic kinship is agreement in structure, grammar, and roots taken together. I have neither the time nor qualifications needed for a detailed examination of the affinities of these languages, and shall accordingly confine myself to noting briefly some of the main features of the structure of those languages of which grammars have been published, and furnishing in some cases short lists of vocables. It should, however, be clearly understood that only the most general conclusions can be drawn from these fragmentary sketches, which I have given simply in order to bring together some of the main results which have been arrived at.

I have already pointed out£ that, although language is no proof of race, it has a more than philological value. An enquiry into the affinities of the tongues spoken on and around this frontier would

*This family was called Tamulic by Hodgson, and Gangetic and Lohitic by Max Müller. The term Indo-Chinese has also sometimes been applied to it or parts of it. Mr. Cust, I believe, was the first to use the term Tibeto- Burman, which seems to be more suitable than any other which has hitherto been suggested. The term Tibeto-Assam, which is used to denote the languages of this family which are found in Assam, is less felicitious, as it combines a geographical with a philological classification. This, however, cannot well be avoided until the affiinities of the languages are better known than they are at present.

†Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, pages 183 and 310, 851, page 126, and 1855, page 307.

‡Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, page, 451-460, reprinted at page 1, Volume II of his 'Eassys on Indian subjects'.

§'Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', page 51. £*Supra*, page 92.

clear up many of the doubtful points regarding the origin and migrations of the various tribes, of which we at present know so little, and now that our knowledge of the different languages has been so much increased by the publication of outline grammars, it is to be hoped that some one with the requisite scientific and linguistic attainments will take up the enquiry, and arrange and classify the material, of which so much is now ready to hand.

The Bodo group.

162. The first languages to be mentioned are those to which Brian Hodgson has given the generic name of Bodo, a term which, in its more limited application, applies to the tribe of that name, otherwise called Kachari, whose language is more widely spoken than any other of the group.

Kachari.

The Kachari language has been made accessible by the researches of Brian Hodgson and more recently by the Rev. Mr. Endle, whose grammar not only gives an excellent description of the idiom, but also conclusively establishes the identity, with slight dialectic differences, of the Kachari speech of the North Cachar Hills with that spoken in the Brahmaputra Valley. The census shows that Kachari is the parent tongue of 197,330 persons, who are distributed over every district in the province, but are chiefly found in Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, and North Cachar. The Kacharis are gradually being converted to Hinduism, and when this process is completed, many adopt Assamese as their parent tongue, at least as soon as they drop their distinctive racial name. Many, indeed, take to Assamese while still calling themselves Kachari, and the census returns show that there are 47,028 persons of the Kachari tribe in excess of the number shown as conversing in the tribal tongue. The language is, I think, undoubtedly dying out.

Grammatical sketch.

The following short outline of Kachari grammar is given for comparison with that of other languages of the group. In Kachari inanimate objects have no gender; that of animate objects is denoted by a qualifying word placed after the noun, the particular word used varying according to the class of objects referred to. There are only two numbers, singular and plural, the former being sometimes made more emphatic by the additon of a word meaning 'one'; the latter is denoted by the postposition 'fur' or 'fra'. Case is denoted by affixes which are added to the nominative form, the only modification being the occasional insertion of an euphonic 'i' between the stem and the termination. Adjectives sometimes precede, but usually follow, the noun they qualify, the case-ending in the latter alternative being attached to the adjective, and not to the noun. They undergo no change in termination to make them agree with the gender or number of the noun they qualify. The comparative is formed by adding some word meaning 'than' to the dative of the word with which the comparison is made, and 'sin' to the adjective which immediately follows it. The superlative is formed in the same way, some word signifying 'all' being placed before the word compared.

The numerals only run up to ten, higher numbers being expressed by the use of the word 'zakhai', meaning a group of four. Thus, fifteen is three groups of four, *plus* three. Different prefixes are used with numerals according to the class of noun referred to, 'sa' being used for human beings, 'ma' for irrational animals, 'gang' for flat things, and so forth.

There are three personal pronouns which are used without distinction of gender, and are declined in the same way as nouns. Possession is denoted simply by the use of the genitive. There is no true relative pronoun;* its place is usually supplied by the participle. Thus, 'the man whom I saw yesterday has run away' is expressed in Kachari by the 'the yesterday seen man has run away'. There are interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, which are declined in the usual way, except that the former seldom take the plural affix.

The imperative is the simplest form of the verb, the different tenses being denoted by affixes, which remain unchanged for all persons, numbers, and genders. Potentiality is expressed by the use of the infinitive with the auxiliary verb 'hanu', to be able. The past participle is frequently used as a noun, and in such cases is declined as such. The passive is

*A borrowed relative, '*zi*', is sometimes used.

formed by prefixing the past participle to the different tenses to the verb 'zaanu', to be, and the causative by conjugating 'hunu', to give, with the infinitive of the main verb. Negative verbs are formed by inserting 'a'* between the stem and the termination, except in the imperative, when 'da' is prefixed to the stem. Adjectives are often conjugated like verbs, and verbs are frequently compounded with other verbs, the latter only being declined in such cases.†

Adverbs are often separate words, but are also frequently formed from the corresponding adjectives by adding 'hui' or 'ui'. Sometimes they are declined like nouns. The relations of space and position are expressed by postpositions. Conjunctions are very sparingly used, their place being largely taken by participles. 'I saw and called him', for instance, would be expressed as 'I seeing him called'.

163. The Hojais, as will be explained in the chapter on castes, are true Kacharis, remnants of the old Kingdom at Dimapur, whose special name is derived from the fact that they live on hills (Kachari 'Haju' hill) just as their brethren in the plains often call themselves Duimasa, or people of the 'rivers'. Damant says that their speech is the purest form of the Kachari language. In any case, Mr. Endle has shown that it is not a separate language, but simply one of several dialects. I have accordingly classed it as a dialect under the main head 'Kachari', as the latter is the more general and better known expression. Less is known regarding the Hajongs and their language, but the general opinion is that the name is simply a local designation of a section of the Bodo tribe and tongue, but as it is uncertain whether it is more nearly allied to Garo or Kachari I have thought it best to enter it as a separate form of speech.

Hojai and Hajong.

164. One Bodo form of speech has escaped notice at the present census and also in 1881. The Morans of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur have a tribal tongue of their own. It is fast disappearing, and, owing probably to their desire to rank as Ahoms, was not entered as a language in a single instance in the census schedules. It is evidently very closely allied to Kachari (although the Morans are said to deny all connection with that people), as will be seen from the Kachari equivalents, which I have added to the following list of Moran words collected by Lieutenant Gurdon :

Moran.

English	Moran	Kachari
Water	di	dui,
Salt	Sim	Sankhri (Sham Tipperah)
Paddy	mai	mai
Rice	mai um	mairang
Cooked rice	miyam	mikham
Flesh	mohan	bidot (Tipperah, muihan)
Sun	san	san
Moon	dan	dan
Stars	hatarai	hatorkhi
Heaven	dansa	akhrangsa
Rain	makuhang	nakha
Tree	senphang	bangphang
Cloths	hingka	hi
Head	khero	khárá
Body	han	mádam
Teeth	hatai	hathai
Hand	hapka	akhai
Foot	happatola	atheng (yapha tala 'sole'. Tipperah)
Male	hiwa	hoa
Female	hich	hingzhau

165. I have said that the Kachari language is dying out. Chutiya has already practically disappeared from the realms of current speech. It was formerly the tongue of the Chutiyas, who were the dominant race of Eastern Assam until they were overthrown by the Ahoms, but the whole of the tribe now speak Assamese. Seven persons were returned at the census as speaking Chutiya, but it is believed that the conversational medium even of these is Assamese, and that Chutiya is only a secondary language, of which they have but a very fragmentary and traditional knowledge.††

Chutiya

*Sometimes also 'i' or 'e'.

†This failure to realise the distinction between the verb and other parts of speech is found in nearly all the languages of the world except the Indo-European and Syro-Arabian families, and is attributed by Byrne to inferior mental power ('Principles of the Structure of Language', volume II, page 275).

††The few persons returning this language as their mother tongue were probably priests, or Deori Chutiyas, who still use their old language at some of their religious ceremonies.

166. The Garo language is spoken by the Garo tribe, which has its home in the hills to which it has given its name. The very close affinity to Kachari, both in its vocabulary and grammatical structure, is clearly seen from the vocables, forms of declension, and sentences given by Mr. Endle in the note prefixed to his Kachari Grammar. A few further points of resemblance are noted briefly below. Adjectives in Garo, as in Kachari, generally follow, the noun they qualify, the case-ending being attached to the adjective, and not to the noun. They undergo no change to make them agree with the gender and number of the noun. Comparison is expressed by the dative case of the noun, to which is added some word meaning 'than'. The superlative degree is formed by the use of a word signifying 'all', and the word 'than' affixed to the adjective. The numerals differ from Kachari in being arranged on a decimal system, but so far as the Kachari numerals go, the words used are practically identical. There is this further similarity, that the Garo numerals, like the Káchári, take varying prefixes according to the class of objects to which they are applied. When human beings are referred to, 'shak' (Kachari 'sa') is prefixed; for irrational animals the corresponding prefix is 'mang' (Kachari 'ma'), and for inanimate objects 'ge' (Kachári 'gang' or 'thai'). The conjugation of the verb is similar to the Kachari, but the particles used are different.* The potential mood, as in Kachari, is expressed by words signifying ability, & c., added to the infinitive of the main verb. Except in the imperative, where 'da' precedes the verb as in Kachari, the negative is expressed by the addition of the word 'ja' (Kachari 'a') after the verb, and the same particle is also used to make adjectives express negative quality. The interrogative particle 'ma' (Kachari na) is usually placed, as in Kachari, at the end of the sentence.†

Garo

167. The Garo Hills and Goalpara are the only districts in which Koch appears as language.§ It seems doubtful whether it is really a separate language, or is merely a Garo dialect. The only reliable information regarding it which I have been able to trace is the vocabulary furnished by the late Captain Williamson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¶ An inspection of this vocabulary shows that the language has a Bodo basis, with a considerable admixture of Bengali words and expressions. Thus, the numerals are all Bengali, and so also are the words for silver, cultivator, God, before, behind, & c. The great bulk of the vocabulary is, however, Bodo,‡ and appears, on the whole, to be more similar to Garo than to Kachari. This, however, is not invariably the case, as will be seen from the following illustrations :

Kach

English	Koch	Kachari	Garo
Eye	Mukun	megan	mukrun
Mouth	kakham	khuga	kushik
Tongue	thelai	thilai	srí
Eat	sa	za	chha
Come	fai	fai	ríba
Water	tí	duí	chhi
Die	thína	thoinu	sína
I am	an danna	ang danga	ana hon

The construction is a curious mixture of Bodo and Bengali, but too little is known about it to enable me to describe it at all fully or accurately. On the whole, it seems advisable for the present to treat Koch as a separate language of the Bodo group rather than to include it under Garo or Kachari.

*There are, however, resemblances, *e. g.*, the Garo 'enga', signifying the present definite, correponds to the Kachari 'dangman', and 'khing' the sign of the future, to the Kachari 'gan'.

†The Garo forms have been gathered from Robinson's Skeleton Grammar (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,1849, page 207). A fuller grammar has been published by the missionaries, but this I have not seen.

§In the Naga Hills 454 persons were returned as speaking Koch, but further enquiry has elicited the fact that the persons in question were really Kacharis, and that the entry of Koch was due to a mistake on the part of the enumerator.

¶Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1869, page 14. A vocabulary is also given in the late Sir George Campbell's 'Specimens of the Languages of India', but this compilation, which would otherwise be so valuable, unfortunately teems with misprints.

‡No doubt more careful enquiry would elicit Bodo equivalents for the Bengali words in Captain Williamson's 'Vocabulary'.

168. Mech is returned as the tongue of the tribe of that name, the home of which (so far as Assam is concerned) is in the Goalpara district. The language is very closely allied to the Kachari, so closely, indeed, that it seems doubtful whether it should not be classed as a dialect of that language rather than as distinct tongue. I am not aware that any Mech grammar has ever been published, but a vocabulary was prepared by the late Dr. A. Campbell*, and a vocabulary and some sentences are also given in Sir George Campbell's 'Specimens of the Languages of India', which, however, is unfortunately full of misprints.

Mech

169. The great bulk of the Lalung-speaking people reside in Nowgong†, a comparatively small number only being found in Kamrup and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. There is no grammar of the language, but the vocabulary collected by a late sub-divisional officer of Jowai presents fewer points of resemblance to Kachari than does any other language of the group. We cannot, however, base any very strong argument on this, as words are constantly changing, and although verbal resemblances are less common, they are not by any means wanting, as may be seen from the following list :

Lalung

English	Lalung	Kachari
Fish	nga	nga
Paddy	mai	mai
Rice	rong	mairang
Fire	nor	ât (Tipperah 'hor')
Father	pha	apa
Goat	prum	burma
House	noh	nu
Head	khabal	khârâ
Sun	sal	san
Tiger	michah‡	mosa
Tongue	chilli	s lai
Water	tea‡	dui
Come	phoi‡‡	fai
Bring	lava	labo

170. Rabha has been returned as a language by a few persons in Kamrup, Darrang, and Nowgong. It is clearly a language of the Bodo group, but very little is known regarding it. Damant, writing twelve years ago**, said that the Maitrai Rabhas had up to that date retained their own dialect, which bore a close resemblance to Garo and Koch. He gives a list of 20 words, most of which are clearly allied to the corresponding words in other languages of the Bodo group. Whether it is a separate language or only a dialect of some other Bodo language is uncertain. It is rapidly disappearing, and this is probably the last census in which it will appear as a spoken language.

Rabha

171. Tipperah is the language of the people of Hill Tipperah, and belongs more to Bengal than to Assam, the only persons speaking it in this province being the immigrants along the southern border of the Sylhet district. The close affinity of the language with Kachari has been clearly proved by Mr. Endle, and the comparative vocabulary prepared by Mr. J.D. Anderson, I.C.S, shows that the number of words which cannot be traced to common origin is extremely small.

Tipperah

172. I have several times mentioned that various languages of this group are disappearing. This fact is clearly shown by a

Tendency of Bodo languages to die out

Statement No. 109, *comparing the persons returned as speaking Bodo languages with the figures for the census of* 1881.

Languages &c.	Census of 1891	Census of 1881
Garo	120,473	112,248
Hajong	999	1,246
Hojai	2,799	263,186
Kachari	197,330	
Lalung	40,204	46,920
Mech	69,217	57,890
Rabha	509	56,499
Tipperah	8,017	3,984

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1839. page 623. This vocabulary refers to the Meches of Darjeeling.

†Those residing in the part of the Nowgong district north of the Kallang are said to have entirely forgotten their old tribal language.

‡The differences in these and other cases would be less marked if the system of spelling were more uniform.

**Note on the locality and population of the tribes between the Brahmaputra and Ningthi rivers.

comparison with the return of 1881. The number of persons speaking Garo has increased owing the better enumeration of the Garo Hills district, and there are more Tipperahs than before, owing to immigration. The increase under Mech is probably due to some confusion between this language and Kachari*. With these exceptions, the falling off in the number speaking the languages of this group is very marked. Only 200,129 persons now speak Kachari, against 263,186; Lalung is the language of 40,204, against 46,920; and Hajong of 999, against 1,246. But the most marked defection from their mother tongue is shown by the Rabhas, of whom only 509 now acknowledge that they speak their tribal language, against 56,499 returned under that head ten years ago†. It is strange that these tribes, which have been for centuries in the province, and have until recently maintained their own languages intact, should be now so rapidly taking to Assamese in preference to the forms of speech of their ancestors. The only reasons I can offer are the better communications of the present day and the greater amount of trade and travel which have in consequence taken place. Thousands of Kacharis, &c., leave their homes for a few months annually to work on tea gardens and roads, and while away from home they must perforce speak Assamese. I myself was for three years in the centre of the Kachari population of the Brahmaputra Valley, and during the whole of that time had only on two or three occasions to employ an interpreter as a medium of communication with Kachari litigants. The process will doubtless continue at an annually increasing rate, and the entire extinction of all these languages, in the same way as Chutiya has already been extinguished, is probably only a matter of a very few years

173. The next group of languages consists of those spoken in the Naga Hills, which I have classed together as the Naga group. There is unfortunately a great deal of vagueness regarding these languages, and our census officers seemed to think that the general term 'Naga' was a sufficient description of them all. The result is that the language table gives a very imperfect view of the strength and distribution of the different languages of the group, and the caste return is really a better guide than the language table as indicating the number of persons speaking each Naga dialect. The relation which the principal languages of the group bear to one another and to the Bodo group is clearly set forth in the following valuable note from the pen of Mr. A. W. Davis, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills district:

The Naga group

All the tribes in this district, which we lump together under the general term Naga, speak languages which are at the present day, whatever they may have been in the remote past, so different that a member of one tribe speaking his own language is quite unintelligible to a member of the next tribe. That these languages were derived from the same stock is, I think, best shown by a comparison of word-lists from the various languages. I have therefore given below lists of words from the following Naga dialects and Manipuri, *i.e.* Angami, Lhota, Sema, Ao (Chungli and Mongsen)‡. From these lists, and from the more detailed comparison between Angami on the one hand and Kachari and Mikir on the other, which will be found below, I think that there is good evidence to show that not only Manipuri, but also Bodo and Mikir, are derived from the same stock as the languages spoken by the various Naga tribes. Further, in order to show more clearly the common origin of the various Naga dialects, I have made a special comparison between the Angami and Ao Naga languages. I have taken these languages for special comparison for the reason that the tribes in question are separated from each other by the Lhota, Rengma, and Sema tribes, and have from time immemorial never had any connection with each other:

*It will be seen in the chapter on castes and tribes that there has been a large increase of persons described as of the Mech tribe and a decrease amongst the Kacharis of the Goalpara district.

†I think there must have been some mistake about the number then returned.

‡These two dialects differ as much from each other as from other Naga dialects, as will be seen on a reference to some word-lists furnished by Mr. Davis, which have been printed as Appendix G.

English	Angami	Sema	Lhota	Ao (Mongsen)	Ao (Chungli)
One	po	laki	ekha	akhe	akha
Two	ke-na	ki-ni	eni	ana	ana
Three	sê	ke-tü	etham	asam	asam
Four	da	bidi	mezü	peli	pezü
Five	pengu	pungu	mungo	panga	pangu
Six	suru	saghà	tirok	t'.ok	tirok
Seven	te-na *or* tenia	sini	ti-ing, scang	teni	tenet
Eight	tetta	ticha	tiza	taset	thi
Nine	tekwo *or* tepfü	teku	toku	tekhü	teku
Ten	kerr'	chighi	taro	tara	terr'

	Kacha Naga	Manipuri	Kachari	Tamlu	Mikir
One	kat	ama	se	huk	isi
Two	gana	ani	ne	ngi *or* ni	hini
Three	gujum	ahum	tham	cham	ke-tham
Four	madai	mari	bre	peli	phili
Five	mingao	manga	ba(bonga)	nga	phongo
Six	suruk	taruk	do, ro	wok	therok
Seven	sena	taret	sni	nyet	theroksi
Eight	dasat	nipal	zat	tset	nerkep
Nine	shugui	mapal	skho	chhu	sirkep
Ten	gareo	tara	za, zi	an	kep

The resemblance all through is very great, it being borne in mind that in making comparisons of words between the different hill languages, the first syllable of any word should always be left out, being merely a prefix denoting either a noun or adjective.

The resemblances which strike one most at first sight are those between the words for 'two', 'five', 'six', and 'nine'.

The words for 'three' are identical in the Lhota, Kachari, and Mikir languages.

The words for 'three' are identical in the Ao, Manipuri, and Tamlu.

The words for 'four' are identical in the Ao (Mongsen), Manipuri, Kachari, Tamlu, and Mikir, if it is remembered that the syllables me, ma, pe, pa, be, ba are interchangeable in the Naga dialects.

Again, we have great resemblances in the Angami, Sema, Ao (Mongsen), and Kachari words for 'seven'.

The words for 'eight' in Angami, Sema, and Lhota are almost the same.

The same thing happens with this same number in the Ao (Mongsen), Kacha Naga, Kachari, and Tamlu dialects.

It will be observed that in forming the words for 'eight' and 'nine' Manipuri and Mikir use the same methods, *viz.*,—

Mikir, 8=Nerkep=10- -2

Manipuri, 8=nipal, or nipan—10—2; 'pan'=10 in the Tablung Naga dialect, not given in the lists.

Mikir, 9=-serkep=10—1

Manipuri, 9=mapal or mapan=10—1.

The words for 'ten' used in all languages except Kachari, Tamlu, and Mikir are practically *identical*.

English	*Angami*	*Sema*	*Lhota*	*Mongsen*	*Chungli*	*Manipuri*
Water	dzu	azu	otsü	atsü	tsü	ishing
Fire	mi	ami	omi	amü	mi	mai
Fish	ko	aka	ongo	ango	ngo	nga
Flesh	themo, chŏ	ashi	oso	asa	shi	sa
Sticks	si, sà	asü	otsang	asüng	süng	sing
Pig	the-vo	agvo	wokoro	aok	ak	ok
Paddy	telha	aghu	otsok	atsak	tsak	phau
Rice	Shoko (telhako)	àtikishi	otsang	achang	chang	cheng
Rice (cooked)	tie	akena	otsi	acha	chi	chak
Mat	zopra	ayupu	ophak	apak	pak-ti	phak
Cloth	kwê, pfê	aphi	oscü	assü	ssü	phi
Smoke	mikhu	amikhu	omiekhu	mükholi	mükhozhü	maikhu
Thatch	zogha	aghi	tesü	a-i	azzü	i
Cultivation	le	alu	oli	alu	lu	lau
Tiger	tekhu	amisipu	mharr	akhu	keyi	kei
Spear	rongu	ani, angu	otso	ani	ni	ta
Liquor	zu	azi	soko	azi	yi, yü	yu
House	ki	aki	oki	aki	ki	yim, sang
Load	ka	akwo	oha	aku	ku	pot
Sun	tinaki	atsunkyihe	engi	tsungi	anü	numít
Road	cha	ala	olam	yemang	lemang	lambi
Cow	mithü	amishi	mangsü	massü	nashi	sal
Fowl	thevü	agvu	hono	an	an	yel
Child	nà, nu	nu	ongo	ningchara	chir tanur	macha
Father	pu, pfö	apu	opu	aba	oba	ipa
Mother	zo, pfü	aza	opvü	avü	ocha	ima
Husband	mupfö	kimi	orapvü	nebaya	tekinungpo	mawa
Wife	Kima	nipfü	okikhamm	nenü	tekinungtsü	muttu
Red	kemerri keha	akuhü	rakhia	temaram	temaram	angangba
Black	keti	aketsu	nyika	tanak	tanak	amuba
White	kekra, kecha	..	emhua	tenen tàru	temessung	angouba
Good	kevi	akivi	mhona	tepung	tachung	aphaba
Bad	kesha	akesa	mmho	tamaru	tamachung	phataba
True	ketà	akutso	otscotsco	tetsa	atangchi	achumba
False	ketidji	amiki	ntsa	tamarak	tiazü	minamba
Hot	kelê	akelu	tsco-a	telem	telem	asaba
Cold	kemekhu si	mekhu si	myima	temekhung asuk	asok	aingba
Die	sa	ti	tchhi	asü	asü	si
Do	chi	si	lyu	tà	si	tau
Eat	chi	che	tso	chi	chiung	cha
See	ngu	züti	mhu	ngu	ngu	yeng
Arrive	tso	to	chana	tung	tung	thung
Buy	kri	khi	shi	li	li	lei
Sell	zê	zê	yê	yuk	yuk	yon
Cry	kra	kha	khia	chep	chep	kap
Laugh	nü	nü	ematha	mani	manu	nok
Give	tsu, pi	tsü	pi	ki	aketsü	pi
Take	le	lü	pen	tsà	agi	lau
Carry	pfü	kapfü	pu	àpen	àpen	pu
Run	tha	pove	yung	chen	chin	chen
Call	ke	ku	tsa	cha	cha	kau

The lists, together with those given of the numerals above, show, I think, pretty clearly that the Naga languages and Manipuri are all very closely connected. The resemblances between the Ao Naga dialects and Manipuri are especially striking. Thus we find :

Ao	Manipuri	English
Ngo	'nga	fish
Asa	sa	flesh
Süng	sing	sticks
Aok	ok	pig
Chang	cheng	rice
Acha	chak	rice (cooked)
A-i	i	thatch
Lu	lau	cultivation
Keyi	kei	tiger
Yi	yu	liquor
Ta	tàu	do
Tung	thung	arrive
Li	lei	buy
Chen	chen	run
Chap	kap	cry

N.B.—In making comparison between the various hill languages the following common vowel and consonantal changes must be borne in mind. These changes occur not only between different languages, but in the same language in different dialects of it. They are for vowels :

Examples

a to i . . ma, mi=man (Ang.),
i to ê . . mi, mê=fire(Ang.)
e to u . . (Ang.) le=lu (S)=fields
a to u . . na, nu=child (Ang.)
o to u . . thenuma, thenomi=woman (Ang.),

and for consonants,

f=sh . . (tefü, teshud=dog(Ang.),(fü,shi=say (Ao)
kw=pf, ph . . kwê, pfe=cloth (Ang.)=phi (S)
t=ch . . tino, chino=khel (Ang.)
k=ch . . ki, chi=house (Ang.)
ts=t . . kemetsu (S)=all=kemete (Ang.),
ts=ch . . tseda, cheda=now-a-days (Ang.),
kr=ch . . kra, chà=white (Ang.),
y=l . . yung, aling=bamboo tie (Ao),
j=d . . ji, di=is not (Ang.),
y=v . . yi, vü=liquor (Ao),
z=y . . zok, yok=send (Ao),
zh=y . . zha, ya=help (Ang.),
m=p . . pete, mete=all (Ang.),
p=b . . pa, ba=he (Ao),
kr=khkri . . (Ang.)=khi (S).=buy,
r=gh . . soru (Ang.)=six=sogha (S).

The negative particles are mo, ma, te, de, he, a, e, sho, sa, tivi, na, 'm, da, ri, kanu.

These negatives are distributed over the following languages:

		Ordinary	Negative Imperative
Negative particles used in the Naga Languages, Kachari, Mikir, and Manipuri, with the method in which they are used	Angami .	mo, lho	hê, sho.
	Sema . .	mo, lho	tivi, sa
	Lhota .	'm, 'n	ti
	Ao . .	ma	ti
	Tamlu .	na	te
	Kacha Naga	ma	sho
	Manipuri .	de, te, tre, loi	kanu
	Kachari	a	da
	Mikir .	e	ri

These languages may be divided into two classes :

(1) Those in which the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies.

(2) Those in which it precedes the root.

To class (1) belong Angami, Sema, Kacha Naga, Kachari Manipuri, and Mikir, *i.e.*,

Angami . .	vor=come	vor*mo*=not come.
Sema . .	gwagi=come	gwagi*mo*=not come.
Kachari . .	nu=see	nu*a*-not see
Manipuri .	lak=come	lak*de*=not come
Mikir . .	vang=come	vang*ve*=not come

To the second class belong the Ao, Lhota, and Tamlu languages, *i. e.*,

Ao . .	alli=is	*ma*lli=is not.
Lhota . .	li=is	*n*li=is not
Tamlu . .	ang=is	*na* ang=is not

In Kachari though the ordinary negative follows the root of the verb it qualifies, the imperative negative precedes that root, thus—

Kachari . .	nu=see	da-nu=see not,

While—

Angami . .	ngu=see	nguhê=see not,

In Angami also there is a trace of the negative particle preceding the verbal root in the phrase 'm-ba-wê=it is not, where 'm=mo=not, ba is the substantive verb and—wê the verbal termination.

These constructions must be relics of the time when in the Naga languages the negative particles were used indifferently either before or after the word they qualified.

There is one point with reference to the use of the negative particles in which all the languages mentioned above agree, *i.e.* all of them use a form for the imperative negative different to that used in the ordinary conjugation of the negative verb, thus:

Angami . . { povor*mo*=he has *not* come
vor*he*-=*don't* come.

Ao . . . { pa maro=he has *not* come
*ta*ro=*don't* come.

Manipuri . . { ma lak*dê*=he has *not* come
lak*k*anu=*don't* come.

Sema . . . { pa gwagi*mo*=he has *not* come
gwagi*tivi*=*don't* come.

And so on for all the other languages.

The word for 'bad'. In nearly all these languages the word for 'bad' is merely the word for 'good' used with the negative particle. Thus—

Manipuri . . *apha* ba=*good.*
pha TA ba=bad, *i.e.*, NOT *good.*

here pha=good, while ta=not, the initial 'a' and final 'ba' are merely adjectival formative particles.

Kachari . . gaham=good,
ham-*â*=*not* good=bad,

here a=not; the ga in 'gaham' is the adjectival prefix.

Ao . . . ta-*chung*=*good*,
ta *ma* chung=*not* good=bad,
ta=adjectival prefix ma=not,

Lhota . . mho=good,
'mmho=not good=bad,

here 'm=not.

Tamlu . . mayang=good
na mayang=*not* good=bad.

Angami and Sema have separate words for 'bad' *i.e.*, kesha and akesa, but the word for 'good' with the negative particle 'mo' is as frequently used to express 'bad' as the special words, thus:—

Angami . . kevi=good
vi *mo*=*not* good=bad,

Sema . . . ake vi=good,
vi *mo*=*not* good=bad,

'ke' and 'ake' are adjectival prefixes.

At the time of the last census, 1881, the Mikir language was classed by Mr. Lyall as an outlier of the Bodo group. That the two languages are derived from the same stock and do not at present differ much more from each other than the various Naga languages do from each other is I think pretty evident from an examination of the lists of words and sentences given by Mr. Lyall. I shall now try and demonstrate the fact that the Kachari and Mikir languages are pretty closely connected with the Naga group of languages. In order to show this connection, I shall take sentences from the Angami Naga languages. In the word lists given at the end I have made comparisons with other languages, specially Ao.

Comparison showing the resemblance between the Angami, Mikir, and Kachari (Bodo) languages

Numerals.

As far as numerals are concerned, the resemblance that exists between Kachari and the Naga dialects has been referred to in the short notes appended to the lists of words given to show the general connection of all the Naga dialects known to us at present. To this it is not necessary to refer again. I shall now take the resemblances that exist in Kachari, Mikir, and Angami in the method of forming words and sentences.

Formation of Adjectives

These are formed substantives by the following prefixes:

Ga . .	Kachari		
Ka, ke . .	Mikir		
Ka, ke . .	Angami.		
Examples—			
Kachari . .	det=greatness	gadet=great	
Mikir	the=greatness	ke the=great	
Angami . .	di=greatness	kedi=great	

The resemblance here is not only in the method of formation, but also in the word: 'det', 'the', 'di' are all the same word.

The change from final 'et' to 'a' or 'i' is not an uncommon one in the Naga languages :

cf. Ao . . tenet *or* teni=seven,
akha *or* akhet=one,
taka *or* taket=hand,

'det' and 'di' are therefore the same word.

Again *cf.* (Mikir) . . phere=fear=pri (Angami), kaphere=afraid=kepri.

(Mikir) . do=abide to (Angami), kedo=abiding=keto.

(Mikir) . chok=beat=vü (Angami), kechok=assault=kevü.

Method of forming Causatives

This is done in a similar way in all three languages. In Bodo by the prefix fa fe, (pu, Hill Kachari). in Mikir and Angami by the prefix 'pe', thus—

Numa . (Hill Kachari) =ngu (Angami)= to see.

Punuma . (Hill Kachari) =pongu (Angami)=to cause to see.

cf also— . . . Si (Angami)=know, pesi=to inform.

Thi (Mikir)= die, pethi= to kill.

Ran-nu (Kachari) to be dry, faran-nu to cause to dry.

Sa-le (Angami) to be dry, pe-sale =to cause to dry.

Si-nu (Kachari) to be wet, fesi-nu =to wet (act.).

Che-le, tse-le (Angami) =to be wet, petse-le to wet (act).

Mesen (Mikir)= good, pemesen= to cause to be good.

Kevi (Angami) =good, pevi- =to improve.

These examples are, I think, sufficient to show that the method of forming causatives in the three languages is identical.

The formation in Kachari and Angami of compound verbs from two verbs, the first giving the method and the second the result, is similar in both languages. The compounds from the word to 'kill'- (Kachari) 'that', (Angami) 'kri'—show this resemblance very clearly, thus—

Kachari . gau } gau-that-nu } to shoot
Angami . jê } to shoot, jê-kri-le } and kill

Kachari . bu } bu-that-nu } to beat
Angami . vü } to strike, vü-kri-le } to death.

Kachari . dan } dan-that-nu } to cut
Angami . du } to cut, du-kri-le } and kill.

In Angami the word tsê =break, is used in similar way, *e.g.*,—

Keda=to trample on, keda tsê=to break by trampling on.

Bê=to handle, bê tsê=to break

Vü=to strike, vü tsê=to strike and break.

Formation of Intensitive Verbs

The method followed in both languages is the same, *i. e.*, intensitives are formed by a particle following the verbal root, Thus—

Kachari . mai habai } =he has cut his paddy,
Angami . polê lê awe }

but—

Kachari . mai ha *khang* bai } he has finished cutting
Angami . polê lê *pre* awe } his paddy
his paddy cut *all* } *entirely* } is

Here khang (Kachari)=prê (Angami).

Again—

Kachari . boi gamini mansuifra thoi-bai
Angami . lu rena ma sa-te.
that village men die did.
Kachar . boi gamini mansuifra boibu thoi-tra-bai
Angami . lu rena ma peteko sa { *pu* / *kwi* } te.
that village men all die *completely* did.

Here tra (Kachari) = pu, kwi (Angami)

Kachari . lamai au mansuifur fai-dang.
Angami . cha nu nu thema ko vor-zhuwe.
road along men coming are.

and—

Kachari . lamai au mansuifur fai *su* dang.
Angami . cha nu nu themako vor { *pi** / *se* } zhuwe.
road along men coming *much* are.

Here su (Kachari)=pi, se (Angami).

In all these sentences it will be observed that the intensitive particles are used in precisely the same way.

Formation of the Negative Verb

The method by which this is done is the same in both Kachari and Angami, *i.e.*, both languages affix a particle to the verbal root. In Kachari this particle is 'a' in Angami —'mo', thus—

Kachari . nu=see, nu-a=not see.

Angami . ngu=see, ngu-mo=not see.

Definite Article

This is expressed in a similar way in both languages. In Kachari it is expressed by the addition of the vowel 'a' to a noun, and in Angami by the addition of '—u', thus—

Kachari . dau za-lai-a gasip dang.
Angami . vü dzu-u khu bawe.
English . cock the crowing is.

*These are alternative expressions.

The above resemblances in word formation and the structure of sentences between Angami Naga on the one hand and Kachari and Mikir on the other are, I think, very striking, and go far towards establishing the fact that all these languages are derived from the same source.

I append word lists giving words in Mikir and Kachari, which have almost exact equivalents in some of the Naga languages.

The following abbreviations are used in these lists to indicate the particular Naga language from which the specimen is taken:

Ang.=Angami S.=Sema
Lh. = = Lhota M. = = Manipuri
H. K. = = Hill Kachari K. Naga=Kacha Naga.

Pronounciation—
a= a in ball ê=a in pray
á= a in master ü = German ü
u= u in bull

List of words in Mikir that are similar to words in the Naga dialects

English	*Mikir*	*Naga*
Abide	do	to (Ang.).
Abode	ke-do-adim	ke-to-ki (Ang.),
Ache	keso	—chi (Ang.), sü (S).
Afraid	kaphere	kepri (Ang.).
Ascend	thur	á-to (Áo).
Assault, to	chok	á-sok (Áo).
Cast away	vár	vá (Áng.).
Cup	bong	bung (Áo), bu (Ang.)= receptacle.
Cut	thu	du (Ang.).
Dead	kethi	keti (S).
Descendants	asoasu	aso (Áo)=born.
Ear	no	nie (Ang.).
Eat	cho	chi (Ang.), chá (M.).
Egg	voti	vüdzi (Ang.), a-ti (Tamlu).
Fall	klo	krü (Ang.).
Father	po	po (Ang.).
Female	pi	nupi (M.), pfü (Ang.).
Fire	me	mi, me (Ang.).
Give	pi	pi (Ang., Lh., M.).
Pig	phák	ák (Áo).
Paddy	sok	tsak (Áo).
Rice	sáng	chang (Áo), cheng (M).
Yawn	kohê	kehê (Ang.).
Fowl	vo	vü (Ang.).
Great	kethe	kedi (Ang.).
Village	rong	rena (Ang.).
Day	ni	ni (Áo, M.).
How many	keán	keyá (Áo), Keiá (M).
Speak	pu	pu (Ang.).
Sun	árni	anü (Áo).
Carry	pon	pu (M). pfü (Ang.).
Ignorant	kelu	keloho (Ang.).
Name	men	nung (Áo), ming (M).
Ripe	kemen	kemê (Ang.).
Rope	ári	ke rê (Ang.).
Shield	chong	tsung (Áo).
Snake	phìrui	perr (Áo).
Stomach	pok	ta-bok (Áo).
Stone	ár-long	lung (Áo).
Sword	nok	nok=dao (Áo).
Tail	arme	mi (Ang.).
Cloth	pê	pfê (Ang.) ,phi (S).
Tiger	te-kê	tekhu (Ang.).
Tooth	so	hu (Ang.).
Youth	riso	krisá (Ang.).
You	náng	nang (Áo, M).
Write	tok	tu (Ang)..
I	ne	ni (Áo, S.).

Similar Words in Kachari and Naga dialects

English	*Kachari*	*Naga*
I	ang	á (Ang.).
Thou	náng	nang (Áo, M).
Fire	at	á (Tamlu).
Water	dui	dui (K. Naga), dzü (Ang.), tsü (Áo) .
Hand	a-khai	te-ká (Áo).
Fish	nga	nga(M.), ngo (Áo),ongo Lh.).
Cow	mosau	á-mishi (S.), massu (Áo), nashi (Áo), Mangsü (Lh.)
Bird	dau	pe-rá (Ang.),
Egg	dau-dui	vüd zü (Ang.), a-ti (Tamlu).
Tiger	mosá, misi (H.K.)	ámisipu (S.).
Madh	zau, ju (H.K.)	zu (Ang.), yi (Áo).
Eat	zá, ji (H.K.)	chá (M.), chi (Ang., S., Áo).
Walk	thá	tá=run (Ang.).
Sit	zà	zhü=lie down (Ang.).
Laugh	mini	mani (Áo), nü (Ang.).
Go	thang	to (Ang.).
Cook	sang	chá (Ang.), su (Áo).
See	nu	ngu (Ang.), ngu (Áo).

English	*Kachari*	*Naga*
Bamboo	o-á	wa (M.), á-u (Áo).
Say	bung	pu (Ang.).
Now	dá dá nu	thá (Ang.), ,thanü (Áo)-to-day.
Cut	dán	dá (Ang.).
	si	tse, chê (Ang.).
Great	gadit	kedi (Ang.).
Bitter	gakhá	ta-ká (Áo), kekfü (Ang.)
Long	galáu	tulu (Áo).
Deep	ga-thán	ke-su (Ang.)
Tall	gazau	kechá (Ang.)
Cry, to	gab	krá, (Ang.)
Village	gámi	ghá (S.), ghina (S).
Fear	gi	ki (M.).
Say	han	hái (M).
Chase	há su	há (S.), ho (Ang.).
Cloth	hi	phi (S.), ssü (Áo).
Head	khoro	to-kolák (Ao.).
Quickly	mámár	mhái (Ang.)
Grave	mángkhor	mokru (Ang.).
Body	mádam	themo (Ang.).
Eye	megan	mhi (Ang.), mek (Mikir).
Husk rice, to	sáu,	tu (Ang.).
Stay	thá	thá (Ang.)=stand.

With a fuller vocabulary of the Kachari language and with a more extended knowledge of the other Naga dialects except Angami than I have at present, it would doubtless be possible to make great additions to these word lists. Enough, though, I think have been given to show the resemblance that exists between Kachari and Mikir on the one hand and the Naga dialects on the other.

The Kachari words and sentences used in this Note have been taken from the Reverend S. Endle's 'Outline Grammar of the Kachari Language'.

The Mikir words used have been taken from the Reverend R.E. Neighbor's 'English and Mikir Vocabulary'.

Comparison showing points of resemblance in words and structure of the language between the Angami and Ao Naga (Chungli) languages, with notes by the Reverend E.W. Clark.

At first sight there would appear to be scarcely anything in common between these two languages. In sound they are very different. The Ao shows great preference for the nasal 'ng' sound as a termination, as in the words 'asüng' to-morrow, 'tazung' good &c. This sound does not occur at all in the Angami language.

Again, the negative particle in Ao precedes the root which it qualifies; in Angami it follows it. *e.g.*, 'aro' come, 'maro' not come. Angami-'vor' come, 'vormo' not come.

The only trace that I can find in Angami of the negative preceding a verbal root is in the phrase 'mba' =Ao, masu. Here the '*m* is the negative.

But now to trace the resemblances between the two languages. To do this let us first compare the numerals in the two languages from one up to twenty:

English	*Angami*	*Ao*
One	po	akha
Two	kena	ana
Three	se	asam
Four	da	pezü ('peli' Mongsen)
Five	pengu	pungu
Six	suru	tirok
Seven	tenia, tena	tenet ('teni' Mongsen)
Eight	teta	thi ('taset' Mongsen)
Nine	tekwu *or* tepfu	teku
Ten	kerr'	terr'
Eleven	kerr opokrü *or* kerr di po	teri akha
Twelve	kerr o kena	teri ana
Thirteen	keero o se	teri asam
Fourteen	kerr o da	teri pezü
Fifteen	kerr o pengu	teri pungu
Sixteen	kerr o suru	metsü mapen tirok
Seventeen	mekwu pemo tena	metsü mapen tenet
Eighteen	mekwu pemo teta	metsü mapen thi
Nineteen	mekwu pemo tekwu	metsü mapen teku
Twenty	mekwu, mepfu, mechi	metsü, mekhi (Mongsen)

The resemblances in this list between the words for 2,5,6,7,9, and 10 are very striking. Above 10 we find the same method used in the formation of the numerals. In forming 17,18,19 both languages employ the same methods, these numbers being denoted by the expressions 'the 7 below 20', '8 below 20', and '9 below 20' respectively. In Ao, however, this method of notation begins at 16, or one place further back than in the Angami.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—

For 'one' I think 'aka', 'ka' are true forms.

For 'three' I think 'asum' better than 'asam'.

For 'six' I think 'terok' or 'trok' better than 'tirok'

For 'ten' I think 'ter' better than 'tirr'.

For 'sixteen' & c. ' 'maben' is, I think, rather better than 'mapen', but *b* and *p* are easily changed one for the other.

'Meben' means 'not brought', so 'metsu maben trok' is '20 not brought 6'.

'Mapen' and 'pemo' are identical words—E.W.C.]

Pronouns (Personal)

These present considerable points of resemblance They are—

English	*Angami*	*Ao*
I	a, i, ene	ni, ngi.
Thou	no	na
He	po	pa

Dual

English	*Angami*	*Ao*
We two (inclusive of person addressed)	avo	ona (Mongsen)
We two (exclusive of person addressed)	hena	..
You two	nena	nena
They two	luna, una	pana (Mongsen)

Plural

We (inclusive)	uko	..
We (exclusive)	heko	onoke
Ye	neko	nenoke
They	hako, luko, uko	parenoke

The forms 'i', 'ene' given for 'I' in Angami are Eastern Angami variations. They are not unlike the Ao 'ni'. The words for 'thou' in both languages are practically the same, as also are the forms for 'he'. Both languages form the dual and plural in a very similar manner.

Note by Mr. Clark—

Singular	*Plural*
I-ni	We-ononok, onoke, ozo, ozoe
Thou-na, nae	Ye-nenok, nenoke
He, she, it-pa, pae	They- parenok, parenoke, pare

The letter *e* is a nominative case-ending, which may be omitted if such omission causes no confusion, but not otherwise. Of course, you can select from these forms.

Dual

'Kena' *or* 'kuna', *lit.*, my two, but meaning both of us. 'Ne na', *lit.*, your two, meaning both of you. 'Tena', the two, that two, meaning both of them.

The dual 'na' *is* evidently from 'ana' two, and this dual 'na' can only be used for two; if more than two are included a similar form, 'prungla' must be used. Hence 'ona' would be improper, because *o* would mean 'our' and 'our' added to the person addressed would mean at least three. Yet 'ona' may be used, though I have not heard it. The 'ke' in 'kena' and the 'ne' in 'nena' are possessive forms. 'Pana' may be occasionally heard, but 'tena' is much more used. The dual is quite common, as 'ita anü na' both moon and sun, 'tanur-o tetzür na' both the child and its mother.—E. W.C.]

The following list gives a few words in the two languages, which are very similar or identical:

English	*Angami*	*Ao*
House	ki	ki
Fire	mi	mi
Smoke	mikhu	mukhozü
Man	ma, mi	ami (Mongsen)
To-day	thà	tanü
Call, to	ke, che	chá
Eat, to	chi	achi, chiung
Salt	metsa	metsü
Water	dzü	tsü
Liquor	zu	yi
Blood	te-za	a-zü
Laugh, to	—nü	menü *or* mani
Give, to	tsü	aketsü
Red	kemeri	temeram
Tell, to	pu, si—she	shi, ffü (Lungkam)
One day	konha	kanyü
Cooked rice	tie	chiu
To see	ngu	angu

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Today, 'tanü' probably from 'anü' the sun, but 'nü' also means day, as 'pa nü' that day, 'qei nü'? how many days?

To call, 'aza, za', or 'aja, ja'.

To eat, 'achi, chi', 'chiung', or 'Chiyong'.

Water, 'tzü'.

To laugh, 'menü' not 'manü'. To laugh at one 'menütsü'. To give, kü' or 'gu., as 'kü'nüm küa' me to give. This 'küa' is an irregular imperative for 'küang', and the pronunciation is 'kwa' or 'kwang'.

To give to another 'agütsü' or 'aküts' which is not infrequently pronounced 'aketsü'.

One day, 'ken nü', usual form, though, 'ka n ' is correct.

Cooked rice, 'chi' or 'zi'.—E.W.C.]

Again, let us take the example of a word which is apparently very different in the two languages. Such a word is Angami 'zogha'=thatching-grass=a-i (Mongsen). Here 'zo' is a generic and 'gha' a specific term specifying the kind of grass,' —gha' therefore is 'thatch'. Now, in the Sema language, the language most closely connected with Angami, thatch='a-ghi', 'a' being the prefix placed before all substantives in the Sema language: cutting off this prefix, we have—

Sema	*English*	*Angami*
ghi	thatch	gha

These words are identical, for 'i' and 'a' are commonly interchanged in the two languages. Now between—

Sema	*English*	*A'o*
a-ghi	thatch	a-i (Mongsen)

there is scarcely any difference in pronunciation, and the words may be fairly said to be identical. We have thus 'zogha'='a-i'. This method could be easily applied to other words.

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Yes, 'a-i'pronounced 'ai-i or 'aei' is Mongsen for thatching-grass, and in Zungi it is the word for all other kinds of grass except thatch. 'A-i' or 'aei' in Zungi is a general term for weeds and all grass but thatch, and would include that when growing as a weed on a cultivation.—E.W.C.]

From a comparison of the subjoined list, I think it may be fairly assumed that the Ao termination 'r'= the Angami 'ma' or 'mi'=man (*homo*):

Ao	*English*	*Angami*
Tambu*r*	old man	ketsa *ma*
Tantsi*r*	old woman	ketsa pfu *ma*
Tanu*r*	child	nichu*ma*
Tebu*r*	male	tepfo*ma*
Ayi*r*	maid	reli*ma* or ali-*ma*
Asongr	young man	krisa*ma*
Tata*r*	village elder	peyu*ma*
Tetsü*r*	woman	thenu*ma*
Taka*r*	a rich man	keni*ma*
Temetü*r*	one who knows	kesi*ma*
Taru*r*	a comer	kevor*ma*

Again, take the phrase—

Ao . . Na ko yim 'r ?
English . You what village man (are)?
Angami . No ki ra ma?

and the answer to the question :

Ao . . Ni Lungkam nung 'r.
English . I Lungkam of man (am).
Angami . A Lungkam no ma we.

cf. also Angami 'Hurukre no ma'=Hurukre's men, and the corresponding Ao phrase, which would be 'Hurukre nung'r'.

It being established then that Ao 'r'='ma'= man, we have the following identical words in the two languages:

Ao . . 'Te-bu-r'=male.
Angami . 'te-pfo-ma'=male.

Here 'te' is a mere prefix, the essential part of the word is in Ao 'bu' and Angami 'pfo', which may be taken to be identical words,'—pfo' in Angami being a common male termination for animals as well as men.

Again—

Áo . . 'a-yi-r'=a maiden

Angami . 're-li-ma' *or.* 'a-li-mi'=a maiden

Here the essential part of the word in both languages is Ao 'yi', Angami 'li', and as 'y' and 'l' are commonly interchangeable, *cf.* (Mongsen) 'aling'=(Chungli) 'yung'='a bamboo tie', the identity of 'ayir' and 'relima' is established.

Again (Áo) 'ta-nu-r' =child

Cf. Angami 'nu' = child

Formation of Nouns of Agency in the two languages.

Assuming Ao 'r'=ma'. (Angami), we find that the formation of these nouns is the same in both languages. Thus, in Angami they are formed by prefixing 'ke' and affixing'—ma'=man to the verbal root, *e.g.*, 'vor'=come, 'kevorma'=the comer.

In Ao these nouns are apparently formed by prefixing 'te' and affixing ''r'='ma'=man to the verbal root, thus 'aro'=come, 'te-aru-r'='tarur'= the comer.

N.B.—In both languages the prefixed particle is the common adjectival prefix.

Other examples are—

Angami .	'ni'=is possessing,	'kenima'=a rich man
Ao . .	'aka'=is possessing,	'takar'=a rich man
Angami .	'si'=know,	'kesima'=the knower
Ao . .	'met'=know,	'temetur'=the knower

[*Note by Mr. Clark.*—Am sorry, to say I must disagree with you *in toto* as to meaning of Ao termination 'er', which I once spelled 'ür'. Am confident it is a present tense form of an old verb 'to be'. There is another such form 'ar'. If I am right, then the stem of 'er' is 'e', which is the termination of a negative participle, as 'pa omü-zümbie ao', he not speaking (or without speaking) went, and the stem of 'ar' is 'a', the termination of positive participle, as 'pa ozumbia ao' he having spoken went.

When by inflection or the composition of words in Ao two vowels come together, one disappears or the two coalesce and form a new vowel, so when 'er' is affixed to a word ending in a vowel, the 'e' is usually dropped.

'Tainbur' is from 'tain' mature or old, 'bu' man, and 'er' is; 'the man is old' or 'an old man'. 'Tantzür', old woman, is formed in same way from 'tzü' as a base. 'Tanur' is from 'anu', 'nu' to be small or little and 'er' is, with the prefix 'te' or 't', which in such places ='the', so 'tanur' =the little one, or the little ones. 'Te-bur'='te bu er' the man is or it is, a man or a male of the human race.

'Asangur', a young man, is probably from 'asang-va-er'

'Takar' for 't-aka er' the one who has, the rich one.

'Temeter'=the know-er

'Tarur'='laru-er'=the come-r

The 'er' in these last two instances changes a verb into a verbal noun or participial noun both in the Ao language and in the English, as in neither case does the 'er' mean man.

'Im'=village.

'Im—er'=village-r

'Na ko imer?' or 'qei imer?' You what villager?

'Tarur' and the like may be simply emphatic present tense forms, the prefix 't' or 'te' in such cases simply giving emphasis, and so 'tarur' may mean come, is or *has* come, or is arriving, so in future 'tarutsu', *will* come; in like manner 'aben', 'ben', to bring, 'tabener' *has* been brought, or the action of bringing is just being completed.

'Nunger' as a noun is peculiar, a noun formed from a postposition or a suffix having the force of a postposition. It has equivalents in English, as 'ins-and-outs'.

'Ayir' or 'aeir', a maiden, could be spelled 'a—ir', the 'y' is not essential, sometimes omitted and sometimes not; 'aeir' means not only a maiden, but may also be applied to a young married woman.—E.W.C.]

Similarity in the construction of sentences.

Angami	. . . .	tie	chile	ro	a	ki nu	vorche.
Áo	. . . .	chiu	chiunge	rang	uzzü	ki tange	arungma.
English	. . . .	rice	eaten	having	my	house to	come.
Angami	. . . .	a saha	ze	kerr'	chi-to(idi)	vorrawe.	
Áo	. . . . .	ni sahab	ten	u	chimpitsü	aro.	
English	. . . .	I saheb	with	conversation	to have	have	come.
Angami	. . . .	po	ngu	ro	a	ki	pushiche.
Áo	. . . . .	pa	ngu	ra	ke	tang	shiokang.
English	. . . .	him	having	seen	me	to	tell.
Angami	. . . .	sileche	nichu-u	mu	pozo.		
Áo	. . . . .	*shishiang*	tanur	*-o*	*tetzü.*		
English	. . . .	arise	the child	and	his	mother.	
Angami	. . . .	una	ze	Israel	kiju	nu	votache.
Áo	. . . . .	na	anir	Israel	lim	ae	o-ang.
English	. . . .	the two	taking	Israel	land	to	go.
Angami	. . . .	heko	le	le	pre	lete.	
Áo	. . . . .	onoke	alu	ru	ma	ogwo.	
English	. . . .	we	fields	cut	all	have.	

Here, the similarity of the construction for 'all', 'entirely', is very marked, it being represented in both languages by a particle following the verbal root.

174. Empeo or Kacha Naga is spoken by the tribe of that name which inhabits the north-western portion of the Naga Hills district and the east part of the North Cachar subdivision. From Mr. Soppitt's grammar of the language, it seems that the rules regarding the gender, number, and case of nouns are precisely the same as in Kachari*. The adjective invariably follows the noun. It is not inflected for the different genders and numbers. Comparison is effected by affixes to the noun compared, the adjective remaining unchanged. Thus 'boys are stronger than girls' is rendered 'girls than boys strong'. There are separate words for the numerals from one to ten, and for twenty, a hundred, and a thousand, intervening numbers being expressed by multiples of these. Different prefixes are used according to the class of objects referred to, 'hâng' for human beings, 'gâng' for money, 'bâng' for trees. The prefix is attached to the last numeral, thus sixty-nine men would be 'men sixty and (prefix) nine'. The description of Kachari pronouns applies also to Kacha Naga. It may be noted, however, that the personal pronoun may be combined with the substantive verb, and that, although the participle is used in preference, there is also a relative pronoun. The verb is conjugated as in Kachari, except that the imperative mood has a distinctive affix. Like Kachari, adjectives and nouns may be conjugated as verbs. The passive is formed by the use of the perfect participle with the different tenses of the verb 'to be'. A few intensitive particles are in use, and are inserted between the stem and the termination. Causative verbs are formed by appending the verb meaning 'to give' to the infinitive of the main verb. The negative force is given by adding 'mak' to the stem. In the imperative the negative follows the stem, as in other tenses, but greater force is given by inserting it once before and again after the stem. Adverbs may be declined like nouns. Words corresponding to the English prepositions follow, instead of preceding, the noun. There are a few conjunctions, but they are very rarely used. The following list compares a few Kacha Naga

Kacha Naga

*The exact particles used differ as much as other vocables.

words with the equivalents in Angami Naga, Kachari and Kuki. The corresponding Manipuri words are added to save repetition when the Kuki languages come to be discussed :

English	*Kachari*	*Angami Naga*	*Kacha Naga*	*Kuki*	*Manipuri*
Water	dui	dzü	douî	duî	ishing
Fire	at	mi	mi	mê	mai
Fish	nga	ko	hâkâ	nâ	ŋgâ
Flesh	bidat	themo	hêmêi	mhê	sâ
Pig	oma (vak, Garo)	thevo	gabâk	vok	ok
Paddy	mai	telha	jeo	buhom	phâu
Rice	mairang	telhako / shoko	shibi	bufai	cheng
Cloth	hî	kwê, pfê	pai	pun	phi
Tiger	mosa	tekhu	hârâgdi	kâmgêr	kei
House	nu	ki	gi	in	yim, sang
Cow	mosau	mitha	godompui	serhât	sal
Fowl	dan	thevü	enrui	âr	yel
Father	apa	pu, pfö	âpêo	gapâ	ipâ
Mother	âi	zo, pfü	âpui	ânu	imâ
Good	gaham	kevi	îdâ	âsâ	a-pha-ba
Bad	hama	keshà *or* vimo	shiâda	shâmâk	phata-ba
Die	thoi-nu	sa	jai-râ	âtî-roshê	si
Eat	za-nu	chi	têo-râ	âfâk-roshê	châ
See	nu-nu	ngu	nâö-râ	en-roshê	yeng
Buy	bui-nu	kri	lu-râ	erjâ-roshê	lei
Laugh	mini-nu	nü	momdâ-râ	âmî-roshê	nok
Give	hu-nu	tsü, pi	pê-râ	pê-roshê	pi
Take	lang-nu	le	têtâ-râ	lâ-roshê	lâu.

175. Mikir is the language of the tribe of that name which is found chiefly on the hills on the east, south, and south-west of the Nowgong district.

Mikir

Mr. C. J. Lyall, I.C.S., C.I.E., has shown that the language is more nearly allied to the Bodo, and therefore to the Tibeto-Assam family, than to the Khasi. He says :

The country which, from its geographical nomenclature, we should look upon as the home of the Mikir race is tolerably extensive, and includes a large area of hills in which there are now few or no Mikirs. The characteristic elements of Mikir topographical nomenclature are *Lang*, river, water; *Langso*, small stream; *Inglong*, mountain; *Long*, stone; *Rong*, village; *Sar*, chief. In the isolated mountainous block which fills the triangle between the Brahmaputra on the north, the Dhansiri Valley on the east, and the Kopili and Kalang Valleys on the west, these names are found everywhere, as well in the southern part now inhabited by the Rengma Nagas from the hills across the Dhansiri as in the northern portion included in the Nowgong district, and known more particularly as the Mikir hills. They are also found in considerable numbers to the south of the Langkher Valley, in the mountains now inhabited by Kukis, Kutcha Nagas, and Kacharis (*e.g.*, *Langreng*='water of life',

Langting, Long-lai, & c.) as far south as the courses of the Jhiri and Jhinam. In the centre of North Cachar they are rarer; but there is a considerable group of Mikir names again to the west of this tract, about the head waters of the Kopili and on the southern face of the hills north of Badarpur. Mikirs also abound, mixed with Lalungs, on the northern face of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and along the courses of the Kopili and Umkhen rivers. Across the Brahmaputra the topographical nomenclature shows no trace of them, though there are a few recent colonies of the race in Darrang.

They are thus essentially a people of the lower hills and adjoining low lands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo Hills to the Patkoi. Their neighbours are (1) the Santengs of Jaintia on the west; (2) Bodos or Kacharis on the south; and (3) Assamese on the north and east, where the country is inhabited at all; and, intermixed with them, are recent colonies of Kukis and Rengma Nagas, and older ones of Lalungs and Hill Kacharis.

To what linguistic and national group they should be affiliated, whether to the Bodo (Kachari, Lalung), Naga or Khasi (Santeng), is a question the answer to which must be sought in their language. Mr. Neighbour's very full vocabulary of Mikir (Calcutta, 1878) and the little Mikir catechism in the Assamese character printed at Sibsagar in 1875 afford the means of making an examination of the problem. Khasi is well known; and so also is Bodo, from Mr. Brian Hodgson's Essays and from the Reverend Mr. Endle's sketch of Kachari grammar. Of the neighbouring Naga dialects, unfortunately, we know nothing as yet.*

The vocabulary of Mikir does not appear to afford many coincidences with the neighbouring tongues. The nouns especially seem to be generally quite different in it and in Bodo and Khasi. But a nominal vocabulary of a hill language almost invariably shows a strong tendency to local divergence. Even in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where there can be no doubt that the race throughout is the same and the language closely akin, the nouns employed vary immensely in neighbouring tracts. We must look rather to the pronouns, the numerals, the system of word-building, and the structure of the language as exemplified in the sentence, for our affinities. And here, I think, there are sufficient indications to warrant us in declaring Mikir to be the kinsman of Bodo rather than of Khasi.

The following are the personal pronouns in the three languages :

English	*Mikir*	*Bodo*	*Khasi*
I	ne	ang	nga
Thou	nang	nang	me
He, she, it	la	bi	u, ka
We	ne-tum	zang-phur	ngi
Ye	nang-tum	nang-sur	phi
They	la-tum	bi-sur	ki

Although, except in the second person, the words used in Mikir differ from those in Kachari the formation of the plural is in principle the same in both languages. The following are the numerals in the three languages :

English	*Mikir*	*Bodo*	*Khasi*
1	i-si	se, sui (Lalung, *jessa*)	wei, shi
2	hi-ni	ne. nui	ar
3	ke-thom	thàm	lai
4	philli	bre, brui	sau
5	phong-o	ba	san
6	therok	da	hinriw
7	therok-si	sni	hiniew
8	nerkep	zat	phra
9	sirkep	skho	khandai
10	kep	zu, zi	shiphew

Here there are no coincidences between Mikir and Khasi; but the first three numerals in Mikir and Bodo appear to present the same elements; and if we consider the Bodo preference for the *b*-sound, and the Mikir for the *p* and *ph*, there is an apparent relationship in the words for 4 and 5

*This note was written ten years ago. Since then, grammars of several Naga dialects have been published.

(the Garo word for 5 is *bonga*). The *the* in *therok* may be the Bodo *da*. After 6 the list in Mikir is differently constructed from that of the other two; 7 is evidently 6+1, and 8 is 10—2, and 9 is 10—1.

In the declension of nouns the machinery used by Mikir, though it differs in detail from that of Bodo, exhibits the same principles, *viz.*, the employment of postpositions. The following appears to be its scheme :

Singular

ARLENG, man.

Nom. Arleng-si (*lit.*, man-one)
Acc. Arleng-ke
Dat. Arleng-aphan (=man-for),
Gen. Arleng (placed *before* the governing word)
Abl. Arleng-apen (=man-from)
Loc. Arleng-arlo (=man-in)

Plural

Nom. Arlenge-atum, arleng-ta
Acc. Arleng-atum-ke
&c. &c.

Compare this with Bodo

Singular

MÁNSUI, man.

Nom. Mansui-a
Acc. Mansui-kho
Dat. Mansui-nu
Gen. Mansui-ni (*ni* sometimes omitted)
Abl. Mansui-ni-phrai
Loc. Mansui-au

Plural

Nom. Mansui-phur (with case-endings as above).

The formation of adjectival from verbal or root-stems in both languages presents some resemblances. In Bodo the characteristic formation is the prefix *ga* (in Garo also *ga, go, gu*), as *ham*='being good', *gaham* good; *det* greatness, *gedet* great; *dàn* newness, *gadàn* new. In Mikir, *ke, ka, ki* appear to perform the same functions; *reng* live, *kereng* alive; *phere* fear, *kaphere* afraid; *do* abide, *kedo* inhabiting; *thi* die, *kethi* dead; *rap* help, *kerap* helping; *the* greatness, *kethe* great. The formation of diminutives by a subjoined enclitic syllable (Mikir *so*, Bodo *sa*) is another point of resemblance, e.g., *lang* river, *lang-so* brook; compare Bodo; *dui* river, *duisa* brook.

A very striking point of resemblance is in the formation of negative verbal stems. In Bodo this is effected by the addition of the syllable *-â* to the verbal root, which is then conjugated exactly like a simple stem; as, *nu* see, *nua* not see. In Mikir the subjoined vowel is-*e*; but before it, if the root begins with a consonant or consonantal group, the consonant or group is repeated, thus, *un* be able, can, *un-e* cannot; *thek* know, *thek-the* know not; *pu* speak, *pu-pe* speak not; *prang* open, *prang-pre* open not.

In the imperative, however, both languages agree in using other machinery. Thus *see* (imper.) is in Bodo *nu*, in Mikir *thek-non*; *see not* (imper.) is in Bodo *da-nu*, in Mikir *thek-ri-non*; or *thek-ri*.

The structure of the sentence in both languages is strikingly similar. Examples :

"Did you call us?"

BODO.—*Nang zang-phur-kho ling-nai na?*
"You us (*acc.*) call-did?"

MIKIR.—*Nang netum-ke lang-lo ma.*
"The tiger ate the cow."

BODO.—*Mossaia mossaw-kho zabai.*

LALUNG.—*Misa masu chaga.*

MIKIR.—*Teke-si chaynong-ke cholo.*
"Tiger (*nom.*) cow (*ace.*) ate."
"I will eat and come again."

BODO.—*Ang za-nà-nai phai-phàphin-gan.*

MIKIR.—*Ne cho-det-si vàng-voi-phàk-po.*
"I eat-having come re-peat-will."

In all these sentences the order of the words and structure of the phrase is exactly the same in both languages.

It is needless to the quote corresponding combinations in Khasi, for they differ completely from those in Mikir in form and syntactical arrangement.

As regards Vocabulary, a thorough search among word-lists, and a further investigation of the corresponding sounds of the languages, would, no doubt, disclose many more points of likeness between Mikir and Bodo than are apparent on the surface. I give below a few coincidences which I have found on a hasty search :

English	*Bodo*	*Mikir*
Eat	za (*Lalung* cha)	cho
Run	khat	kat
Go	thang	dam
Need, must	nang	nang
Remain	tha	do
Come	fai	vang
Die	thoi	thi
Say	bung	pu
Wash (clothes)	su	chok
Face	makhanga	mehang
Great	gedet	kethe

Turning to Garo and Dhimal, admittedly of the Bodo stock, further coincidences are found thus :

English	*Garo*	*Dhimal*	*Mikir*
Eye	makar	mí	mek
Egg	tau-chi(fowl)	tui	vo-ti(fowl)
Elephant	..	naria	ing-nar
Fire	..	me	me
Head	..	pr-ring	phu
Hog	vak	..	phak
Iron	shurr	chir	ing-chin
Leaf	(*Bodo*) lai	lhava	lo
Mouth	ho-tong	..	ing-ho
Name	mung	ming	men
Stone	long	..	arlong
To-day	thing-ni	na-ni	pi-ni
To-morrow	ga-nap	..	pe-nap
Stand-up	chap	jap	ar-jap
Give	..	pi	pi
Strike	tok	..	thok-ni
Ripe	(*Bodo*) ga-mang	..	ke-men
Sweet	,, ga-doi	..	ke-dok
Bitter	,, ga-kha	..	ke-ho

The only point of resemblance which I have been able to find between Mikir and Khasi is in the formation of the causal verb. In Khasi this is made by prefixing *pan* to the root, as, *ia* die, *paniap* kill ; *bha* good, *panbha* make good. In Mikir *pe, pi* is similarly used : *mesen* good, *pemesen* make good; *pleng* being full [full (adj.), *kepleng*], fill *pipleng*; *me* well, *peme* heal ; *phi* die, *pethi* kill. It is possible that we have here no borrowing, but merely an analogous formation, for *pan* in Khasi means 'to produce' and *pi* in Mikir 'to give, yield'. In Bodo causals are formed by the means of hū-n-nu 'to give', but there the auxiliary follows the verb turned into a causal.

176. The exact position of the language in the Tibeto-Assam family is still a matter of some uncertainty. Its close connection with the Bodo group is apparent from the above note. Mr. Davis in his note on pages 168-171 has shown that it also resembles the Naga languages, while Captain Forbes has pointed out its similarity to Burmese and Kuki, and has given a short comparative vocabulary, which I reproduce below :*

English	*Burmese*	*Mikir*	*Kuki*
One	ta	isi	khat
Two	hnit	hi-ni	ni
Three	thong	ke-thom	thum
Four	lay	phi-li	li
Five	ngâ	pho-ngo	ra-nga
Bitter	khâ	kê-ho	akhai
Eye	myet(k)	mêk	mit
Eyebrow	myet-kon	mêkum	kemitkho
Fire	mee	mê	mei
Fruit	a-thee	athê	..
Great	kyee	kê-thê	..
House	eim	hêm	in
Nose	na-koung	no-kan	nakui
Rice	tsan	sang	changchang
Tail	a-myee	armê	amei

Many of these resemblances are, however, common also to the Naga and Bodo groups, and the place which Mikir should occupy among the Tibeto-Assam languages cannot be determined until the grammar, structure, and vocabularies of all of them have been subjected to careful comparison and analysis.

*Languages of Further India, pages 72-73.

177. The term Kuki is applied to several tribes allied to the Lushais, who are settled in Assam, and also to their language. Each tribe has slightly different dialects, Rangkhol, Poi, Jansen, Thadoï, &c., but they are all very similar to each other, not only in their grammar, but also in their vocables. Mr. Soppitt has given us a grammar of the Rangkhol-Kuki dialect. The rules regarding the number, gender, and case of nouns may be described in precisely the same words as those already used to explain the corresponding portion of Kachari grammar. The adjective always follows the noun. Like Kachari it undergoes no change of termination to make it agree with the number and gender of the noun. It has a negative form. The comparative and superlative degrees are formed by changes in the termination of the adjective, the noun compared remaining apparently in the nominative case. The numerals only go up to ten, 'twenty' being expressed by 'two-tens', 'thirty' by 'three-tens', &c. There are words for a hundred, a thousand, &c., but these appear to be new formations, The numerals follow the noun, and take separate prefixes when applied to inanimate objects and irrational animals; when human beings are referred to, no prefix is used.

Kuki

There are three personal pronouns, and also demonstrative and interrogative pronouns as in Kachari. Relative pronouns are mentioned by Mr. Soppitt*. The description I have given of the Kachari verb applies exactly to the Kuki, of which the imperative is the simplest form. The potential mood has a special affix, as in Miri, instead of being formed by the addition of an auxiliary verb. The construction of the passive is the same as in Kachari and Kacha Naga, the past participle of the principal verb being used with the different tenses of the verb meaning 'to be'. The negative force is given by adding 'mak' (changing to 'noni') to the tense termination of the verb. The negation never precedes the verb, as it does in the imperative mood in Kachari and some of the Naga languages. The causative is formed, as in Kachari, by the use of a word meaning 'to give' combined with the root of the principal verb. As in Kachari, adjectives are often conjugated like verbs, and verbs are frequently compounded with other verbs. The other parts of speech call for no remark, except that postpositions take the place of prepositions, and conjunctions are very sparingly used. Short lists of Kuki vocables will be found in Mr. Davis's note and in the paragraph dealing with Kacha Naga, The numerals, which are noted below, are similar to those of the languages for which they are given in Mr. Davis's note above :

One	en-kât
Two	en-ní
Three	en-tum
Four	mílí
Five	ringah
Six	garûk
Seven	sarí
Eight	garít
Nine	guok
Ten	shŏm

I note below a few other resemblances:

English	*Kuki*	*Kachari*
Day	shun	san
Water	dui	dui
Egg	âr-dui (fowl water)	bi-dui (fowl water)
Male	âjâl	zala (sign of masculine).
Blood	ati	thoi

178. Lushai is the language of the Lushais, a tribe of the Kuki-Lushai family. It is spoken in the tract of country to which the tribe has given its name, and also to a small extent in Cachar. From the comparison made by M . Soppitt, it appears that the structure of the sentences in the Kuki dialects and Lushai is very similar, but that there is a good deal of difference in the vocabulary. Out of 64 words given, 30 are the same in Lushai and Rangkhol Kuki, and 11 more vary very slightly; the remaining 23 appear to be altogether different. The apparent differences

Lushai

*I do not, however, find that they are used. In the sentences in Mr. Soppitt's grammar, on the other hand, I find the relative avoided in the same way as has been described in the case of Kachari and Miri. For instance, 'There was a big male which he fired at' is turned thus 'there was big male, this male he fired at' (page 70). Similarly, 'The man whom I saw yesterday', is rendered 'The man yesterday seen' (page 43).

could probably be considerably reduced in number if care were taken to see that the words compared are exact equivalents.

Manipuri

179. Manipuri is spoken by the tribe of that name, which constitutes the dominant race in the Manipuri State, and of which numerous settlers are found in Cachar and Sylhet. The language is known to us through the grammar of the late Mr. Primrose.*

The plural of nouns denoting human beings is formed by adding 'sing' to the word. The plural of other nouns is denoted by the addition of some word meaning 'all' or 'many'. Inanimate objects are neuter. The gender of animate objects is shown by affixes, which vary according as men or animals are referred to. Adjectives undergo no change to denote gender or number. They appear to follow the noun. There are the usual personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns, which are declined like nouns. Relative pronouns are not used, their place being taken by participles as in almost all the other languages on this frontier. Conjugation is effected by affixes to the root, as in Kachari. Numerous tenses are given, but they all seem to be resolvable into three, the present ending in 'i' or 'li' the past in 'e' or 'le', and the future in 'gani' or 'ge' continuance being expressed in all cases by the insertion of the letter 'r' before these affixes; distance by the similar insertion of 'khi'; the expectation of an equivalent by 'khir', &c. These particles apparently correspond to the intensitive particles used with the Kachari verb†. The Manipuri verb has a negative form, as in the Kachari and other languages, but it has not been very fully described. Some affiinities of Manipuri with the Naga languages have been noted by Mr. Davis. There are also some points of resemblance to the Kuki-Lushai dialects; but in the absence of more detailed information than is at present available, it is difficult to say to which it is more nearly allied. The general opinion is that it is nearer akin to Kuki, but this must perhaps still be considered an open question.**

The Abor Miri Group

180. The last group of Tibeto-Assam languages to be mentioned is the Abor-Miri, in which I include Abor, Miri, and Dafla. Abor and Miri have been shown by Mr. Needham to be practically identical, while the differences exhibited by the Dafla idiom are not greater than those found to exist between some of the languages of the Bodo group.

Miri

The Miri language has been made known to us by Mr. Needham; and the brief notice of its grammar, which is given below for comparison with Kachari, is abstracted from his work on the subject. Inanimate objects have no distinction of gender; that of animate objects is denoted by different words or by suffixes, which vary according as human beings or irrational animals are spoken of. There are two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being formed by the addition of 'kiding'. Case is denoted by the following affixes : 'a', (nom.)' 'em' (obj.), 'lok' (instr.), 'ma' (dat.), 'ka lok' (=of from, as in Kachari) (abl.), 'ka' (gen.), and 'la' (loc.), all of which are added to the crude form without any modification.

Adjectives usually precede, but sometimes also follow, the noun they qualify. They undergo no change for number or gender. The comparative is formed by adding 'punum' (=than) to the accusative of the noun and affixing the comparative sign 'ya' to the positive degree of the adjective. The superlative is formed by the insertion of words signifying 'than all' before the comparative form of the adjective. The numerals do not go beyond ten, higher numbers being expressed by the addition of as many tens as may be required 'twenty-one' being 'two-tens and one' and so forth. The numeral always follows

*An earlier and somewhat scantier sketch was furnished by Mr. Damant in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of 1875.

†See Endle's Kachari Grammar, Page 29.

**It has been classed with Kuki in the language map, which was prepared before I received Mr. Davis's note on the languages spoken inland around his district.

its noun, and different prefixes are used according to the class of objects referred to, such as 'dor' for animals, 'bor' for flat things, 'pui' for round things, &c.

There are three personal pronouns, 'nga' (I), 'na' (thou), and 'bui'* (he or she). They have no distinction of gender, and are declined like nouns, except that the sign of the plural is different. The possessive is simply a modified form of genitive of the personal pronoun. There is no relative pronoun, its places being supplied by the use of the participle, *e.g.*, 'This is the man who I saw yesterday', is rendered 'of me yesterday seen man he this is'. The same end is also sometimes attained by the use of two simple predictions, *e.g.*, 'This is the deer which he shot' may be rendered 'He shot a deer, this is it'. The interrogative and demonstrative pronouns are declined much in the same way as nouns. The latter is repeated in a curious way, being used both before and after the noun it refers to. The use and conjugation of the verb is very similar to the Kachari, the tenses being denoted by affixes, which are the same for all numbers and genders. The potential mood is similarly expressed by affixes, the use of a separate word, meaning 'to be able', being much more restricted than in Kachari. The imperative is used only in the second person, and has a special affix instead of being the verbal stem, as in Kachari. There is no passive voice. Causative verbs are formed by affixing 'mo' (=make) to the stem of the main verb, and adding the conjugational terminations in the usual way. Compound verbs are formed much in the same way as in Kachari verbal roots being often compounded with other verbal roots or with various particles. Adjectives and nouns are also sometimes conjugated as verbs. The negative verb is formed by the particle 'ma' or 'mang', which sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the tense affix. The prohibitive form of the imperative is supplied by the addition of 'yoka' instead of the positive form 'toka' to the root.

Adverbs are often separate words, but are frequently also formed by adding 'pü' to the adjective. The place of prepositions is supplied, as in Kachari, by postpositions. A comparison of the above brief grammatical sketch with that already given of the Kachari suffices to show the very close grammatical relationship which exists between the two languages. The vocabularies, however, present very few points of resemblance, apparently not more than exist between all languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

181. Our Knowledge of the Dafla language is much less extended, and for an account of it I am compelled to refer to Robinson's short Note, written more than forty years ago. † But this

Dafla

Note furnishes quite enough material to prove clearly the close connection which exists between this language and the Miri. The general description of the gender, number, and case of nouns given above applies also to Dafla, and so also does the description of the form and use of the adjective. The same similarity is found in the use of the pronouns and verbs, so far as one judge from Robinson's very incomplete account, while the vocabulary contains numerous words closely allied to those of the Miri language:

English	*Dafla*	*Miri*
Arrow	opok	epuk
Bear	sutum	situm
Bird	patta	prettang
Blood	ui	i *or* iye
Bone	solo	a long (soglong=jaw bone)
Brother	boro (*younger brother*).	buirá
Buffalo	mendak	menjak
Call	gokto	gok
Chin	choktak	sokkor
Cook (v)	niangto	oying kur**
Crow	pak	puiàk
Cry	kabto	kap
Cut	patő	pa
Deaf	rongbepa	rubea
Deep	arangpa	aringa
Earth	kede	kede
Finger	lakcheng	lakkeng
Fire	ame	umü

*There is no neuter personal pronoun, the demonstrative 'da' being used instead when necessary.

†Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851, page 131.

**Lit., to cook vegetables. Barbarous tribes have very few general abstract words, but use different expressions for each specific object; and it is this which adds considerably to the difficulty of estimating the extent to which the vocabularies of two tribes agree, as in the absence of full and carefully collected list of words, vocables apparently dissimilar are really only so because they are not really synonymous.

I could add considerably to this list, but the above seems sufficient to show how closely the vocabularies of the two tribes correspond.

182. Aka is the language of a tribe to the north of the Darrang district, and does not strictly belong to this province. Only nineteen persons have been returned as speaking it, and these are nearly all temporary visitors. I am not acquainted with any grammar of the language. The Reverend C. Hesselmeyer has given a list of words, ‡ and another list will be found 238 of the late Sir George Campbell's 'Languages of India'. As, however, the words given in the two lists differ as much from each other as from those of other languages, it seems useless to institute a comprison with other languages.

Aka

183. Singpho or Kakhyen is spoken by a large tribe or group of tribes to the east of Lakhimpur. Mr. Needham has written a grammer of the language, of which I note the prominent features below. Inanimate objects are neuter. The gender of animate objects is shown either by distinct words or by suffixes, which vary according to the class of objects in question. In the case of human beings gender may also be shown by a prefix. The plural is not specially marked except when it is necessary to do so to avoid ambiguity, in which case some word meaning 'heap', 'crowd', &c., is added, the inflectional particle being affixed to the latter. Case is marked by terminations, as in Kachari. The adjective usually follows, but may precede, the noun. Comparison is expressed by putting the noun in the ablative case, or by adding a word meaning 'than'. Thus, 'larger than a horse' is rendered 'horse-from large', or 'horse-than large'. The formation of the superlative is the same, except that in this case 'gran', meaning 'exceedingly', is prefixed to the adjective. Negative adjectives are made by prefixing 'n', There are separate words for the numerals up to ten, for twenty, a hundred, and a thousand. Other numbers are expressed in multiples of these, 'thirty-five', for instance, being 'three-tens and five'. Numerals usually follow the noun, but occasionally precede it. There are, as in Kachari, personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns, but no relative, the place of latter being taken by participial constructions. The pronouns are declined as in Kachari, except that the first and second persons of the personal pronoun take a different form in the plural instead of a distinctive suffix. The place of the possessive is taken by the genitive of the personal pronoun. When relatives of the second and third persons are spoken of, a pronominal prefix is used as well. Thus, 'your father' is 'nâ-nâ ningwâ' 'of-you your-father.'* The infinitive is the simplest form of the verb. The other tenses are formed by suffixes, which undergo no change for the different numbers, persons, and genders. Potentiality is expressed by the addition of the word 'ngul' (=able) to the root, but this mood is used in the future tense only. Unlike the Kachari, there is no conditional mood; participial constructions are used instead, *e.g.*, 'If I beat the child it will cry' is expressed 'Child beating shall cry will'. There is no passive voice. The causative is formed by conjugating 'sinun' (to cause or authorise) after the imperative mood of the main verb. Intransitive verbs are made transitive by prefixing 'sî' or 'tsi'. Compound verbs are extensively used, and are formed and conjugated as in Kachari, Miri, and other languages. There are said to be no intensitive particles. The negative is expressed by the suppressed sound of 'n' prefixed to the verb. This particle may be prefixed to adjectives in the same way. Adverbs are either separate words, or are formed by adding 'di' to the corresponding adjectives. They precede the verb or adjective to which they refer. Post-positions are used instead of prepositions. Conjunctions are very sparingly used.

Taken as a whole, although the grammar contains more points of difference from that of other Tibeto-Assam languages than usual, there are numerous marked points of resemblance. A comparison of the vocabulary with that of other languages shows that here also there are more differences than are

‡Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1858, page-202.

**cf.* the Kachari 'nang-ni num-fa'

found between other languages. But still numerous resemblances exist, a few of which are noted below.*

English	*Singpho*	*Other languages.*
Water	n'chin	ishing (Manipuri)
Fire	wan	wal (Garo)
Fish	ngâ-shan	ngâ (Kachari, Tibetan, &c).
Mother	nu	ânu (Kuki)
Good	gajâ	âsâ (Kuki)
Die	si	si (Manipuri)
Eat	sha	zâ (Kachari), châ (Manipuri)
See	mu	mu (Kachari)
Laugh	mani	mini (Kachari)
Take	lâ	lâng (Kachari), le (Angami) lân (Manipuri)

184. The Mishmis live beyond the Dibrugarh frontier, and only a few of them were found in British territory. There are three dialects,—Chulikata, Digaru, and Mijhu,—the differences between which appear to be considerable. The enumerators, however, made no distinction between them, and all three are shown under the general head 'Mishmi'. Mr. Needham has given a very brief sketch of the Digaru and Mijhu dialects and a vocabulary. The grammar appears to be not unlike that of other languages on this frontier, but the vocables are less similar. I give a few below :

Mishmi

English	*Digaru*	*Mijhu*	
One	khing	komo	A-ken (Dafla)
Two	kai-ing	kin-ning	ne (Kachari), hi-ni (Mikir)
Three	kâ-sâng	kâ-sâm	tham (Kachari), kethom (Mikir)
Four	ka-prei	kam-briu	brūi (Kachari)
Five	màngà	ka-lim	phanga (Mikir), manga (Manipuri)
Six	ta-râ	ka-tâm	dâ (Kachari)
Liquor	yu	sî	zu (Angami)
Fire	na-mîng	mai	mai (Manipuri), mê (Kuki)
Father	nâ-bâ	kî-hai	âpâ (Kachari), îpâ (Manipuri)
Head	kuru	ku	khârâ (Kachari)
Bird	m'pia	wâ	vo (wa Mikir)
Water	mâchî	tî	dui (Kachari & Kuki, &c.)
Eat	thân	shâ	shâ (Singpho), cha (Manipuri), zâ (Kachari)
Drink	tum	tong	lang (Kachari), thung (Bhutia)
Give	hang	pî	pî (Angami, Mikir & Manipuri)
Go	bo	thai	thang (Kachari), anbo (Garo)
Die	sî	sî	si (Manipuri and Singpho)
Bring	chî	lâ	labo (Kachari), la (=take, kuki)

Tai Languages

185. The next family to be mentioned is the Tai or Shan. It belongs to Burma rather than Assam, and the only tribes which speak it here have immigtrated within historic times. The census returns notice only three Shan dialects,-Khamti, Phakial, and Aiton. Ahom does not appear because the language has died out, and the people of the Ahom tribe now speak Assamese.** The small number

Khamti, Phakial, Aiton

*This list shows the resemblances discovered out of 22 words, *i.e.*, half the words compared were found to correspond with those in one or other of the languages examined.

**Regarding this subject, Rai Jojesh Chandra Chatturji Bahadur, Extra Assistant Commissioner, writes—

'Ahom, as a spoken language, is already extinct. It is nowhere spoken, even in family circles. Some of the Deodhais, Mohans, and Byllongs have still some written records of their old language, but these are seldom consulted or used, except on rare occasions, for predictions and for invoking the deity for rain in time of drought. There are only a few elderly men of the priestly class who can decipher the Ahom letters".

of persons returned under the general head of 'Shan' includes the descendants of the Shans who accompanied the Burmese in their invasion of the province, and settled down here after their defeat by British troops, and also some Aitons and Turungs. Ahom, Aiton, Khamti, and Phakial are all very closely allied; but I shall refrain from giving grammatical sketches of these languages, as their affinities are well known, and they differ only to a very slight extent from Siamese. They have a character of their own, derived from the Pali* and to this must, doubtless, be ascribed the fact that they have undergone so much less verbal change than has been found to have taken place amongst the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

186. The language of the Turungs has been described as Shan; and for this reason, if for no other, it finds a place in this group. At my request, Lieutenant Gurdon very kindly sent me a vocabulary of their language, which I compared with lists of Aiton, Khamti, and Ahom words, and found them to differ entirely. I then compared the Turung vocables with those of other languages, and thus ascertained that they were word for word the same as Singpho. On communicating this fact to Lieutenant Gurdon, he made further enquiries, and subsequently informed me that during their captivity amongst the Singphos,** the Turungs had not been permitted to speak their own language; and, as a result of this, their language was almost entirely forgotten. At the present time he says that the Singpho language is almost exclusively used amongst the rising generation, and that only the older Turungs know or remember their old Shan dialect. Mr. Gurdon adds :

Turung

In the *bapu chang* (prayer-house) I saw two holy books: one was written in the Burmese Character and the other in what I suppose to be Shan.† Only two men, the *bapus* (priests), could read the latter, and only one of them could read the Burmese book. These priests interpret the scriptures to the people in Singpho, which all can talk and understand. The Turungs must have been longer in the Singpho country than they like to admit. Why they still continue to talk Singpho I cannot understand, and they themselves could not explain. ‡

The vocables of the original language of the Turungs are in most cases identical with those of one or other of the Shan tribes in Assam.

Khasi Languages

187. The Khasi languages are in every way dissimilar to those of the groups which have already been mentioned. At the census Khasi, Synteng, Dyko, and lyngam were returned as distinct languages, but it seems doubtful whether they are anything more than dialects£. In any case, their close affinity to each other is so clear and well known, that it is unnecessary to illustrate it by reference to their grammar and vocables. I will, however, note a few of the leading features of the grammatical structure of the standard Khasi dialect in order to show the vast difference that exists between these languages and those of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Khasi, Synteng, Dyko, Lyngam.

All nouns, including the names of inanimate objects, are either masculine or femine, the gender being denoted by the article@ which precedes every noun. Nouns are not declined, the accidents of case being expressed, as in English, by prepositions. The plural is marked by the plural number of the article, the noun remaining unchanged. The comparative degree of adjectives is formed by prefixing 'kham' (more) to the positive, and the superlative by affixing 'tam' (to exceed). Ordinals, which do not exist in Tibeto-Burman languages, are formed by

*It resembles the Mon rather than the Cambodian type— Forbes' 'Languages of Further India', page. 96.

**Mention of this will be found on in the Caste Chapter.

†I sent a page of this book, with which Mr. Gurdon had furnished me, to Mr. Needham, who informed me that the idiom and character were pure Khamti.

‡Mr. Needham suggests that the reason is that Singpho is a much easier language than their Shan dialect.

£Other dialects are said to exist, such as Batoa, Amwi, and Lakadong, but these were not distinguished by the enumerators. The Lyngam dialect is said to contain an admixture of Garo forms and vocables.

@This is really the third person of the personal pronoun.

prefixing the adjectival sign 'ba' to the corresponding cardinal number. There is a species of relative pronoun, which is formed by the use of the article with the conjunctive particle 'bâ' (that). The verb is conjugated by means of prefixed auxiliaries, and undergoes no terminational changes. There is no real passive voice, the passive being expressed simply by the omission of the subject of the active verb. Thus, 'I was loved' is rendered 'loved me'. A curious feature of the language is the way in which the different parts of speech are formed from one root. Thus 'bha' is an adverb meaning 'well', 'ba-bhâ' is the corresponding adjective meaning 'good', 'jing-bhâ' the abstract noun 'goodness', and 'pyn-bhâ' the causative verb 'to improve'. Another peculiarity is the repetition of the article before the verb, *e.g.*, 'the man goes' is rendered 'the man ye goes'.

188. Before closing this chapter it is advisable that I should explain what might otherwise be considered to be discrepancies between the number of persons shown as speaking each language and the number returned as belonging to the corresponding tribes. In Cachar the number of persons speaking Kachari exceeds that of the Kacharis by race, because many call themselves Kshettriyas, but in most other districts there are more Kacharis by race than by language, because the tribal speech is there being replaced by Assamese. The same explanation applies also in the case of other languages. A further explanation is that when people of these tribes become Musalmans or Christians, they are shown as Shekh or Native Christian as the case may be, and not under the tribal name, although they may still speak their old language. Thus, in Cachar there are many Musalman Manipuris who have been entered as Shekh, while their language is still Manipuri, so that the number of persons speaking Manipuri naturally exceeds the number shown as such in the caste table.* In the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the number of Khasis by race is less than number by language, because the former does not include those Khasis who are Native Christians.

Discrepancies between language and caste table

In some few cases the difference is due to mistakes on the part of the enumerators or in my office. As an instance of the former, I may mention the case of three Oraons in Lakhimpur who were returned by the enumerators as speaking Mikir, while in the latter category may be mentioned the four persons shown as speaking Aka in Lakhimpur. The entry in the schedules in the caste and language columns was Aka, but as it seemed open to suspicion, I referred the matter to the Deputy commissioner for local enquiry, the result of which showed that the persons in question were hill Miris who are often called Anka or tattoed Miris by the people of the plains. Prior to the receipt of this reply, the language table had been printed, so that in this table the persons in question were described as speaking the Aka language. In the caste table they have been rightly shown as Miris.

*Some Manipuris were, also like the Kacharis, entered simply as Kshettriyas, and thus found no place in the figures showing Manipuris by race.

CENSUS OF INDIA; 1891
MADRAS
BY
H. A. STUART
CHAPTER VIII
PARENT TONGUE
(TABLE X)

267. In the parent-tongue table the languages have been distributed in territorial groups, the members of each group being arranged alphabetically, without any regard to linguistic classification. In attempting such a classification I should prefer to avoid the use of the term 'dialect' altogether, and to limit my efforts to assigning each language to its proper linguistic family; but as dialects are shown in the scheme which has been circulated for guidance in dealing with this part of the report, an endeavour will be made to distinguish in each case between dialects and languages. The difficulty of making this distinction was recognised by the Census Commissioner in his circular on the subject, and it is also noticed by Mr. Cust in his book on *The Modern Languages of the East Indies,* but in neither case is any solution suggested. Nor do the standard writers on comparative philology afford much assistance, for the two words 'language' and 'dialect' are generally used as though they were interchangeable terms. One eminent author, for example, writes with equal frequency of the Romance languages and of the Romance dialects, meaning the same thing by both expressions. Professor Whitney, however, states clearly that the words 'language' and 'dialect' are two names for the same thing looked at from different points of view.* "Any body of expressions," he goes on to say, "used by a community, however limited and humble, for the purposes of communication and as the instrument of thought, is a language; no one would think of credting its speakers with the gift of dialect but not of language. On the other hand, there is no tongue in the world to which we should not, with perfect freedom and perfect propriety, apply the name of dialect, when considering it as one of a body of related forms of speech Even the most cultivated tongue that exists is only the dialect of a certain class in a certain locality—both class and locality limited, though the limits may be wide ones. Thus English has its own dialects, but English and Dutch and German and Swedish, and so on are the dialects of Germanic speech. In the loseness of popular parlance, an attempt is made at the distinction of degrees of dignity and importance by means of the same words, as when the literary language of a community is alone allowed the name of language and the rest are styled dialects. For ordinary purposes the usage is convenient enough; but it has no acceptance on other grounds; it forms no part of linguistic science."

Difference between a language and dialect

We have here an attempt to indicate the difference which popular usage makes between language and dialect, the former term being applied to the most important member of a group of dialects. But, accepting this, we have still to discover how we are to determine whether a dialect should be included in any particular group. Thus of the English group of dialects, one (the East Midland) became the literary dialect and this developed into the English language. In the early days of the Saxons' settlement in Britain the dialects spoken by them were similar to those spoken by many of the peoples on the continent of Europe, but the political separation and distinct literary standards soon developed differences so great that the dialects of the English and those of the Saxon peoples of the mainland could no longer be included in the same group. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to determine the degree of variation at which the line of demarcation is to be drawn. Political connection, no doubt, plays a large part in deciding the question, for there are English dialects which bear

**The Life and Growth of Language* by Professor Whitney, International Science Series.

a closer resemblance to Dutch dialects than they do to standard English and which owe their classification mainly to the fact that the people who speak them belong to the English nation. In India this political element is wanting, and the only criterion I can suggest is that of mutual intelligibility; but this goes somewhat too far as a Tamil man can understand the substance of what is said by a man speaking Malayalam, and a Telugu man can similarly comprehend Canarese. Each of these four languages, however, has a distinct literature of its own and is undoubtedly a language, in the popular sense of that term.

268. In the following table I have adhered, with a few exceptions, to the classification given in the list issued by the Census Commissioner in **Linguistic Classification** the case of languages foreign to Madras, while for the languages of the presidency I have followed Dr. Caldwell, with the addition of Mahl to his list of Dravidian languages:—

Family	Group	Language	Dialect	Population Returning It		
				Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			I—INDIAN LANGUAGES			
Aryan	Eranic	Pashtu		67	47	20
		Balochi		77	53	24
	Indic	Kashmiri		1	1	..
		Punjabi		498	477	21
		Sindhi		68	42	26
		Hindi	*Hindi*	339	268	71
			Hindstani or Deccani	817,146	416,644	400,502
			Marvadi	1,108	785	323
			Bondeli	110	68	42
		Gypsy Dialects	*Lambadi*	27,079	14,332	12,747
		Gujarati	*Gujarati*	6,863	4,895	1,968
			Patnul or Saurashtram	73,352	36,772	36,580
			Kach' hi	558	372	186
			Kathri	37	20	17
		Marathi	*Marathi*	120,607	60,729	59,878
			Are	2,923	1,560	1,363
			Konkani	132,783	66,629	66,154
			Goanese or Gomantaki	96	78	18
		Bengali	*Bengali*	1,142	1,039	103
			Chittagoni	31	31	..
		Uriya	*Uriya*	1,292,163	638,696	653,467
			Bastari	346	211	135
			Poroja	15,037	7,605	7,432
		Sanskrit		151	79	72
Dravidian		Tamil	*Tamil*	14,076,989	6,872,748	7,204,241
			Yerukala or Korava	37,536	18,774	18,762
			Irula	1,614	822	792
			Kasuva	316	164	152
		Telugu		13,653,674	6,808,186	6,845,488
		Malayalam		2,688,332	1,330,665	1,357,667
		Mahl		3,167	1,261	1,906
		Canarese	*Canarese*	1,445,650	714,319	731,331
			Badaga	30,656	15,413	15,243
			Kurumba	3,742	1,961	1,781

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dravidian—*concld.*		Tulu	*Tulu*	461,176	223,117	238,059
			Koraga	1,868	841	1,027
			Bellara	668	246	422
		Khond		190,893	98,919	91,974
		Gond	*Gond*	6,694	3,304	3,390
			Gotte	353	182	171
			Koya	36,503	18,702	17,801
		Toda		736	424	312
		Kôta		1,201	556	645
		Kodagu		947	433	514
Kolarian		Gadaba		29,414	15,208	14,206
		Savara		101,638	52,071	49,567
Tibeto-Burman		Burmese	*Burmese*	872	859	13
			Arakanese	24	24	..
Tai or Shan		Shan		5	5	..
Sinitic		Karen		5	5	..
		II—LANGUAGES FOREIGN TO INDIA				
Aryan	Eranic	Persian	*Persian*	213	133	80
			Armenian	14	4	10
	Indic	Singhalese		68	55	13
	Greek	Greek		6	5	1
	Italic	Italian		48	42	6
		French		554	305	249
		Maltese		1	1	..
		Spanish		4	3	1
		Portuguese		2,896	1,408	1,488
		Roumanian		2	..	2
	Teutonic	German		334	212	122
		English		36,951	19,803	17,148
		Dutch		40	27	13
		Flemish		3	3	..
		Danish		27	12	15
		Norwegian		33	33	..
		Swedish		8	6	2
	Celtic	Gaelic		2	2	..
		Irish		67	42	25
		Welsh		14	11	3
		Celtic		1	..	1
	Slavonic	Russian		3	2	1
		Polish		1	1	..
		Lyric		2	2	..
Turanian	Ugrian	Basque		1	1	..
	Tatar	Turkish		1	1	..
Semitic		Arabic		3,083	2,906	177
		Hebrew		19	10	9
		Syriac		2	2	..
		Abyssinian		8	8	..
Malayan		Malay		9	9	..
		Javanese		1	..	1
Sinitic	Chinese	Chinese		77	73	4
Tai		Siamese		1	1	..

Percentage returning each family

Family	Percentage
Aryan	7·18
Dravidian	92·44
Kolarian	0·37
Others	0·01

269. From the above table we get the marginal abstract, which shows the proportion of the total population returning languages of each family, omitting those who have made no return. A very high proportion of the people speak Dravidian languages and this is the feature which distinguishes Madras from the rest of India, so far as mother-tongue is concerned.

270. The Aryan languages and dialects native to Madras are Uriya, Poroja, Hindustani or Deccani, Patnul, Kathri,* Konkani, Arè and Lambadi.

Aryan Languages of Madras

271. Uriya is returned by 1,292,163 persons. It is the language of the people occupying the northern half of the Ganjam district and also of a large section of the inhabitants of the Vizagapatam Agency tracts. It has many varieties and has in some parts been greatly affected by the neighbouring Dravidian languages. Uriya is indeed a curious connection link between the Aryan and Dravidian families, for, while its vocabulary is Aryan, many of its grammatical forms and much of its structure are essentially Dravidian.

Uriya, 1,292,163

272. I have classed Poroja as a dialect of Uriya, because two out of three vocaubularies I received are evidently mere varieties of Uriya. The third, however, which represents the language of Pengu Porojas, is unmistakably Dravidian and bears a close resemblance to Khond. In the report of the Ethonological Committee of the Central Provinces, Pòroja, or Purja as it is there called, is mentioned in one place as a synonym of Gudwa (Gadaba) and in another as identical with Bhuttra (Batra); the vocabularies given under these two heads are entirely different, the latter being Dravidian, while the former is Kolarian. The word Poroja is, however, sometimes used as equivalent to ryot, and in Vizagapatam, as in the Central Provinces, it is frequently applied to Gadabas. I have no doubt that it is this wide signification which has led to the confusion that gives us three Poroja dialects, belonging respectively to the Aryan, Dravidian and Kolarian families. The Dravidian Poroja of the Centra Provinces seems allied to Gond, but the vocabulary is not sufficiently detailed to enable me to speak with any certainty on the point.

Uriya dialect, Poroja 15,037

273. Hindustani or Deccani is returned by 817,146 persons, of whom 416,644 are males while 400,502 females. The bulk of these are Musalmans. The considerable excess of males I attribute to the fact that a number of that sex have returned their parent-tongue as Hindustani while the real house-language is Malayalam or Tamil. The women speak the latter only but the men have some knowledge of Hindustani and claim it as their parent-tongue from a desire to assert a fictitious foreign origin. The total number of Musalmans is 2,250,386, so that at least 1,433,240 have returned some language other than Hindustani as their vernacular and make no claim to a foreign origin. The number is, in fact, somewhat greater than this, as a few Hindu castes have Hindustani for their mother-tongue. The figure given above includes a considerable number of persons who returned their vernacular as Hindi and Pharsi. It was clear from the names, birth-place and other entries that these people were not Persians or Hindi immigrants, and I, therefore, took them to mean that their language was Hindustani.

Hindustani, 817,146

274. Patnul or Saurashtram is the language of a large caste of silk-weavers (*pattu*, silk and *nul*, thread). It is a dialect of Gujarati, and the Census Commissioner, when visiting Madras, found no difficulty in understanding it by the help of his knowledge of the parent-language.

Patnul, 73,352

*In Table X *Kathri* is shown as a language foreign to Madras, but as I have not seen it mentioned elsewhere I have treated it here as a dialect peculiar to this presidency.

275. Kathri is also the language of a weaver caste, which is, however, quite distinct from the Patnul caste. It, too, is a dialect of Gujarati, with a strong admixture of Hindustani words. It has been returned by only 37 persons.

Kathri, 37

276. In 1881 Konkani was incorporated with Marathi, but it is a distinct dialect of that language. It has been returned as their parent-tongue by 130,191 inhabitants of South Canara and by between 2,000 and 3,000 elsewhere.

Konkani, 132,783

277. Are was entered as a separate dialect of Marathi on the strength of information received from the Collector of South Canara, but vocabularies obtained from that district and from Bellary after the parent-tongue table was struck off show that it does not differ appreciably from ordinary colloquial Marathi. It should, therefore, have been treated as identical with that language.

Are, 2,923

278. Lambadi or Lambani is the language of the tribe which is known by those names or as Brinjaris, or Banjaris or Sugalis. They bring grain down to the coast on pack-bullocks and return with loads of salt. Some of them have now settled down as agriculturists. Mr. Cust describes their language as semi-Dravidian. The caste returns show their numbers to be 37,894, so over 10,000 of them must have returned Hindustani or some other language as their parent-tongue, or made no return.

Lambadi, 27,079

279. The group of languages known as Dravidian is placed by comparative philologists in the southern division of the Turanian family. The connection between the members of this great family is much less close than in the case of the Aryan and Semitic groups, the chief bond of union being the agglutinative character of the languages. Recent authorities, however, sub-divide the Turanian languages into a number of families, of which the Dravidian is one, and there can be no doubt that this classification is at once more accurate and more in accordance with the principles on which the Aryan and Semitic families were treated. The original name for the Dravidian family was Tamulic, but the term Dravidian was happily substituted by Dr. Caldwell in order that the designation Tamil (not *Tamul*) might be reserved for the language of that name. Dravida is the adjectival form of Dravida, the Sanskrit name for the people occupying the south ofthe Peninsula and 'Tamil' is merely another form of 'Dravida'. Dr. Caldwell was unable to determine the original meaning of *Dravida*, but suggested that the root might have belonged originally to "some old North Indian vernacular, some pre-Aryan—but not necessarily non-Aryan—speech, which had disappeared before the literary history of Sanskrit commenced."*

The Dravidian Languages

280. The Tamil language is returned as the mother-tongue of 39·86 per cent. of the population who made any return at all. It is the prevailing tongue south of a line drawn in an easterly direction from a little to the north of Madras to the Eastern Ghats. The Western Ghats form its western boundary; while its eastern boundary is the sea. It also holds the north of the island of Ceylon. It is found in more or less strength beyond these limits but only as the language of foreign settlers. It is not met with in the Telugu country to the same extent as Telugu is found in Tamil districts. There is no indication that it is ousting either Telugu or any of the other chief Dravidian languages.

Tamil, 14,076,989

281. Three dialects of Tamil are shown in Table X, *viz.*, Yerukala or Korava, Irula and Kasuva, but Tamil has in addition several distinct provincial varieties. These are peculiar to localities and are not the languages of particular tribes or castes; and as they are all called Tamil they do not appear separately in the returns.

Tamil dialects

282. The Yerukala dialect of Tamil is the language spoken by the Koravas or Yerukalas and has

**Comparative Grammar* p. 13, 2nd edition.

been returned by 37,536 persons. Yerukala is the Telugu name for the Koravas, but as the language was shown as Yerukala in the returns for 1881, I retained it although Korava would have been a better term as the Koravas do not themselves use the term Yerukala even in the Telugu country. They are a wandering tribe of basket and mat-makers, pig-breeders &c., but they add largely to their legitimate sources of income by pretty theft and burglary. In Mr. Cust's *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, Yerukala is shown as a separate Dravidian language,* but it bears such a close resemblance to Tamil that it may fairly be classed as a dialect only. A good account of the language is given in the *Nellore district Manual* and in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1879.† I have obtained vocabularies from Kistna, Nellore and Cuddapah, and notice some slight variations in words, but not in grammatical forms. The total number of Koravas or Yerukalas, according to the caste returns, is 133,577. The majority of them have returned Tamil as their mother-tongue.

Tamil dialects, Yerukala or Korava, 37,536

283. The number of persons who returned Irula as their parent-tongue is 1,614, of whom 1,196 were enumerated in the Nilgiris and 377 in the adjoining district of Coimbatore. The remainder were found in Cuddapah (32), Salem (8) and North Arcot (1). The number of Irulas given in the Caste Table (57,339) is much greater than the number who have returned the dialect of that name as their parent-tongue, for Tamil has been returned as their home-speech by the majority. In 1881. Irula was returned by only 287 persons, of whom not more than 35 were found in the Nilgiris; but the record of parent-tongue in that district was defective in 1881. Buchanan says of the Irulas of the Nilgiri slopes, whom he calls Eriligaru, that they speak "a bad or old dialect of *Karnata* language,"‡ and from this he concluded that they must be of a different race from the Irulas that he saw in Mysore, who spoke a dialect of Tamil. Dr. Caldwell, however, describes their language as a 'rude Tamil' and the vocabulary given by Hodgson§ renders it clear that this dialect approaches more nearly to Tamil than to Canarese. I have not been able to obtain any vocabulary of the language spoken by the Irulas of districts other than Nilgiris, but it is probable that the corrupt Tamil dialect which they are said to use is identical with the language known as Irula.

Tamil dialects, Irula, 1,614

284. Kasuva is a dialect returned by 316 persons of the Nilgiri district. It is not found in any previous returns. The following note on the tribe and dialect was kindly furnished to me by the collector of the Nilgiris, Mr. C. F. MacCartie. "Kasuba or Kasuva is the language spoken by a jungle tribe of that name inhabiting the comparatively level strip of jungle intervening between the base of the Nilgiris and the Moyar river, Masinigudy being the extreme south and west limit. The tribe is probably known in the Mysore 'ungles across the Moyar, because the language is a curious mixture of Canarese and Tamil and is unintelligible to other tribes. I can find no account of this tribe or the dialect in any of the published works available, probably because the population is very small, but I should describe the language as a corrupt dialect of Canarese."

Tamil dialect, Kasuva, 316

I subsequently obtained a vocabulary of the dialect. It bears a close resemblance to Irula, but there are differences both in words and in grammatical forms and further investigation is necessary before any final conclusion can be arrived at.

285. Telugu is returned as the mother-tongue of 38·67 per cent. of the population. Its habitat, if I may use the expression, extends from the northern boundary of the tamil country to Ichapur in the Ganjam district. It is found above the Eastern Ghats, but it does

Telugu, 13,653,674

The Modern Languages of the East Indies, p. 78. It is there spelt Yerukala, but this is incorrect. The Yerukalas are said to dwell "somewhere in the hill country of Vijigapatam (*sic*) district", There are, however, very few Yerukalas in those tracts and they are by no means a hill or forest tribe. A description of them will be found in Chapter X.

†A list of Yerukala words is given in *Essays relating to Indian Subjects*, by B. H. Hodgson, vol.ii, P. 119. This vocabulary is reproduced in Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of Non-Aryan Languages*.

‡Buchanan's *Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, vol.i, p.462.

§*Essays relating to Indian Subjects*. vol.ii, p.105.

not penetrate into Mysore or the western limits of Anantapur and Bellary. On the other hand, it is the home-speech of many of the inhabitants of the Nizam's dominions and the Central Provinces. In the Tamil districts it is returned by considerable numbers, the descendants of colonies of cultivators or the soldiers of invaders. In most of these southern districts the Telugu-speaking people have increased as fast as or faster than their Tamil neighbours, but in Tanjore there has been a decrease from 85,670 in 1881 to 80,630 in 1891. This may possibly be due to emigration and not to the supplanting of Telugu by Tamil in the homes of these people, a process which we certainly do not find going on in other Tamil districts. In Malabar also there has been a slight increase among the Telugu-speaking inhabitants.

286. In 1881 Yanadi was shown as a dialect of Telugu, but on the present occasion it has not been given a separate existence as the language of this tribe is in reality Telugu. In 1881 only 148 out of some 64,000 Yanadis returned their tribal name as the name of their language, so it is clear that they themselves do not consider that they have a distinct dialect of their own. Mr. (now Sir Henry) Stokes gives an account of these people in the *District Manual of Nellore*, and he states that "they speak Telugu only among themselves, with an 'elongated sound', as it is described, probably a drawling pronunciation of the long vowels." This description of their method of articulation has been confirmed by the inquiries I have made, which also prove conclusively that the mother-tongue is Telugu.

The so-called Yanadi dialects of Telugu

287. Malayalam, the third most important language of the presidency, is returned by 7.61 per cent. of the population. Its home is the district of Malabar, the native States of Cochin and Travancore (for which the statistics will be given later), the Kasaragod taluk of South Canara and the Wynaad taluk of the Nilgiris. Very few Malayalam-speaking people are found outside these limits. There are no definite dialects of Malayalam, though local peculiarities are found, as is the case with all languages. I have not met with any evidence to support the statement in Mr. Cust's book that the Mappillas and the natives of the Laccadive Islands use a distinct dialect. My inquiries go to prove that their language is ordinary colloquial Malayalam, though in writing they use a modified form of the Arabic character. The other Malayalam dialect, mentioned by Mr. Cust—Mahl—has been treated in this report as a separate language and not as a dialect. An account of it is given below.

Malayalam, 2,688,332

288. The Canarese language is returned as the parent-tongue of 4·09 per cent. of the population. It is found chiefly in Bellary, Anantapur, Salem, Coimbatore, Madura and South Canara. It is also the language of nearly four-fifths of the population of Mysore, of a considerable number of the inhaitbants of Dharwar, Belgaum, Kaladgi and North Canara in the Bombay Presidency, and of over a million of the subjects of His Highness the Nizam. The Canarese people of Madura are immigrants, more or less isolated from the main body, and no part of Madura is, therefore, included in the Canarese region in the language map given in this report.

Canarese, 1,445,650

289. Badaga was returned as their parent-tongue by 30,633 persons in the Nilgiris, 21 in Coimbatore and 2 in Malabar. In 1881 only 1,019 persons returned this language, but as this was obviously incorrect, the attention of the Collector of the Nilgiris was invited to the matter before the enumeration and instructions were issued that Badaga and not Canarese was to be entered as the parent-tongue of persons who spoke the Badaga dialect. The Badaga language closely resembles old Canarese or Hala Kannada. A vocabulary is given in Hodgson's *Essays relating to Indian Subjects* (ii, 105), but from inquiries made personally of Badaga farmers and labourers I gather that some of the words given there are Canarese and not Badaga.

Canarese dialects, Badaga, 30,656

290. The Kurumba dialect referred to here is the language of a wild tribe occupying the slopes of the Nilgiri mountains. The Kurumbas or Kurubas of the plains use ordinary colloquial Canarese. Dr. Caldwell calls the dialect of this forest tribe a 'rude

Canarese dialects, Kurumba, 3,742

Tamil', but Mr. Metz more correctly describes it is a corruption of Canarese with an admixture of Tamil. There can be no doubt that it is a Canarese and not a Tamil dialect. The vocabulary shows the change of *p* into *h* which is characteristic of the Canarese dialects, and the grammatical forms are closely allied to those of Canarese, being in many cases identical with Badaga. The number of persons returning Kurumba is 3,742.

291. Tulu or Tuluva is the language of nearly one-half of the inhabitants of the South Canara district. Only 967 persons enumerated outside that district have returned it as their parent-tongue Dr. Caldwell describes Tulu as "one of the most highly developed languages of the Dravidian family" but it has no literature or character of its own. It most nearly resembles the language of the Coorgs. It shows no decided signs of being driven out by other and more widely spoken languages, for the numbers claming it as their mother-tongue have increased by 8·20 per cent. since 1881.

Tulu, 461,176

292. The Koragas are an uncivilized tribe of South Canara, who live chiefly by basket-making. The caste returns show 4,355 of them, but only 1,868 have returned Koraga as their parent-tongue. The Acting Collector of South Canara, Mr. Vernor Brodie, writes of them as follows :—

Tulu dialects, Koraga, 1,868

"Koragars are an aboriginal race. In their intercourse with other poeple they speak Tulu, but it is believed they speak a separate language at home quite unconnected with any other main language. No one, however, seems to have been able to learn the language up to this as they will not impart any knowledge of it to others or even talk it in their presence."

This unwillingness to give information regarding their language is also noticed in an account of the Koragas given in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for May 1886. Subsequently, however, Mr. Brodie obtained for me some good vocabularies of the dialect, and in forwarding them he said :—

"Though the language appears to have affinity to the other Dravidian languages, especially Tulu, yet it is not greater than what exists between Tulu and Canarese or between Malayalam and Tamil. It would, therefore, seem to be more correct to show the language as an independent Dravidian language than as a dialect of Tulu or other language."

After Mr. Brodie left the district, I obtained another and larger vocabulary, and from the large number of Tulu words in it, I thought it best to show the language as a dialect of Tulu. I do this with great diffidence, as I have no knowledge of Tulu, but further investigation is necessary to justify the addition of another member to the Dravidian family. I hope to have an opportunity, at an early date, of publishing the vocabularies.

293. The Bellaras or Berleras are another Canara tribe, who make bamboo and grass mats. They are mentioned in the *North Canara Gazetteer*, where it is said that their home-speech is Canarese; but the accounts I have received state that they have a language of their own, and this is confirmed by a vocabulary kindly furnished by the Collector of South Canara. I have classed their speech as a dialect of Tulu, but it contains a greater admixture of Canarese words than does the Koraga dialect. The total number of Bellaras is 674, and 668 of these have returned Bellara as their parent-tongue.

Tulu dialects, Bellara, 668

294. Khond is returned as the parent-tongue of 190,893 persons, but the total number of Khonds is 326,586 according to the caste tables. The difference is in part due to the non-return of parent-tongue by 306,241 of the inhabitants of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency tracts, and in part to incorrect returns. This language was returned by only 58,151 persons in 1881, but a distribution of the 'Not Stated' raised the total to 205,045. The standard dialect is said to be that of the Goomsur Hills, but "there are different patois in the Kotiahs, at Daringabadi, at Rumes and in other parts of the country, and a man from one part can hardly be understood in another."* These separate dialects

Khond, 190,893

**A Practical Hand-book of the Khond Language*, by Major J. McD. Smith, p.iv.

find no place in the census returns as all go by the name of Khond. The probability of one of the dialects returned as Poroja being a Khond dialect has already been stated. There is also another language which bears a close resemblance to Khond. I refer to the speech of the caste called Konda, Kondadora or Kondakapu, which is found on the slopes and eastern summits of the Eastern Ghats in Vizagapatam. These people all speak Telugu and the majority of them have returned that as their parent-tongue, but a large number returned their caste name in the parent-tongue column. As no evidence of the existence of a separate language was forthcoming, I took the parent-tongue of these also to be Telugu, a decision in which I was confirmed by information received from the local officers. I have, however, since received a vocabulary which is said to be taken from the dialect of the Kondadoras, and if this is correct, then the real speech of these people is a dialect of Khond. This is a fact of considerable ethnological interest, and has, I think, an important bearing upon the vexed question of the etymology of the word Khond.

Gond, 6,694

295. Gond was returned by 6,694 persons, of whom 5,704 were enumerated in the Vizagapatam district. The country of the Gonds lies in the Central Provinces, but they extend across the frontier into the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam and Godavari.

Gond dialects, Koya, 36,503

296. The Gonds found in those parts belong to the Koya, Koyi or Koi tribe, a name which bears a striking resemblance to Kui, the title which the Khonds use for themselves.

Gond dialects, Gotte, 353

297. The other Gond dialect returned is Gotte, the language of Gattu or Hill Koyas. Mr. Cust mentioned this dialect of Gond under the name of Gotta, but I now understand that the correct form of the word is neither Gotte nor Gotta but Gattu.

Toda and Kota, 736 and 1,201

298. These two languages were classed by Mr. McIver as dialects of Canarese, but Dr. Caldwell treats them as distinct languages, and they are certainly very different from modern Canarese. Todas and Kotas are said to understand each other's language.

Mahl, 3,167

299. *Mahl is the mother-tongue of the natives* of the island of Minicoy. It does not appear in the returns of 1881, but Mr. McIver wrote of it as follows :—

"It is said to have no resemblance either in structure or vocabulary to the neighbouring Malayalam; but this is doubtful. There are certainly many unmistakable Dravidian words in the vocabulary. It has no written character. The few people on the island, who can read or write, use the Arabic character. One curious feature in the language is that it uses the duodenary system of notation."

A vocabulary compiled by Mr. W. Logan, is given in the second volume of his *Malabar District Manual.* Some few words are akin to Malayalam, but many more bear a resemblance to Singhalese. The natives of the Maldives are said to speak a dialect of Singhalese, and it will probably be found that that dialect and Mahl are closely allied. I have, however, shown it as a Dravidian language, for it is a moot point whether Singhalese itself does not grammatically belong to the Dravidian family, though its vocabulary is largely Aryan.

Kodagu, 947

300. Kodagu is the parent-tongue of the natives of Kodagu or Coorg, and is not, strictly speaking, a language of the Madras Presidency.

The fictitious Chentzu language

301. In the report on the Census of 1881, Chentzu is shown as a speparate language, and is classed with Lambadi as semi-Dravidian, although in another passage it is described as a corruption of Telugu. It was returned by only 70 persons—all in the Godavari district. The Chentzus are found chiefly in the mountains of Kurnool, and they number 5,910 souls. They have in reality no separate language, but speak Telugu "in a harsh and peculiar tone." The error that they possessed a distinct dialect, of a semi-Dravidian type, originated with the publication by Mr. B. Hodgson of a vocabulary furnished by a Madras officer. The compiler of the *Kurnool Manual,* a native official of considerable experience of the district, emphatically denies that the Chentzus

possess a dialect of their own, and says that Mr. Hodgson's vocabulary "seems to belong to the dialect spoken by the Lambadis who sometimes wander about the hills," and he makes the plausible suggestion that the list of words was obtained from these people under the impression that they were Chentzus. I have made inquiries of other officers acquainted with the Chentzus of Kurnool and they all agree that their speech is Telugu. One of them added the further information that there is a settlement of Lambadies in the Chentzu country, so it is easy to see how the two tribes were confused.

Kolarian languages: Savara and Gadaba

302. There are two Kolarian languages native to Madras, the Savara and Gadaba, spoken by tribes of those names. The Savaras number 182,295, but the number returning the language is only 101,638. The explanation is the same as that already given in the case of the Khonds. The Gadabas number 33,401, and 29,414 of these have returned Gadaba as their home-speech. There are various vocabularies of both languages, but these differ among themselves and very little is accurately known of the dialects. So far as I can ascertain from these vocabularies, the connection between Gadaba and Savara is not very close.

European languages

303. The only European language returned by any considerable number of people is English, which was given as their parent-tongue by 36,951 persons: about two-thirds of these are Eurasians. The number of Eurasians in the Presidency is 26,643, but some of them have returned Portuguese, French and Tamil, as their parent-tongue. On the other hand some natives have given English as their vernacular. Portuguese is chiefly returned from Malabar where, in the form of a corrupt dialect, it is the language of Eurasian descendants of the Portuguese.

LYRIC was returned by two natives of Fuime. I made inquiries and found that Illyric, a Slavonian dialect, was meant. Illyric or Illyrian was the language of the original inhabitants of Dacia. BASQUE was returned by a Spanish priest.

Discrepancies in the returns

304. The total number of persons returning European languages is 40,999 and the total number of Europeans, Americans and Eurasians is 40,060, so at least 939 natives must have returned Eglish as their parent-tongue. This is, however, a great improvement on the results of the census of 1881, when 40,126 individuals returned European mother-tongues, but there were only 32,734 Europeans and Eurasians. The comparatively slight discrepancy that still exists in the present tables is due to inaccurate returns, for whenever a discrepancy was discovered in the taluk totals it was carfuly traced back to the schedules. The entries in the latter were accepted as final, however probable the error of the entry.

Compilation of the returns

305. In compiling the returns of parent-tongue much difficulty was experienced owing to the multitude of names which were given in the schedules as languages. The caste or tribe name was frequently entered in the parent-tongue column and it was far from easy to determine whether the particular tribe or caste had a special dialect of its own or not. The synonyms, such as Balobanthu (Marathi), Andhra (Telugu),&c., presented but little difficulty. For guidance at future census I give below a list of entries in the schedules which were treated as meaning or implying other languages. I have omitted common caste names, such as Vellala, Balija, Kapu, as the vernacular in such cases is well known. It should be added that the numbers returning each of the names in the list were very small, so the effect of an error in classification will be triffling.

Parent-tongue entered in the schedule	Languages in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
Absi	Abyssinian	The ordinary Indian name for Abyssinians is Habshi.
Afghani	Pashtu	

Parent-tongue entered in the schedule	Language in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
African	Abyssinian	
Alba	Uriya	Alba is a mistake for Halaba. It was returned as parent-tongue by a few individuals in the Vizagapatam Agency. Halaba is not an Uriya dialect, but the meaning of Alba was not discovered until after the table was finally struck off.
American	English	
Andhra	Telugu	Andhra is the Sanskrit name for Telugu.
Anuppar	Canarese	Anuppar is a Canarese caste.
Ara Tulu	Tulu	'Half-Tulu'. Said to be a mixture of Tulu and Marathi. Returned by only seven persons.
Arava	Tamil	The Telugu name for Tamil.
Arukala	Canarese	A caste name.
Austrian	German	
Bahari	Bengali	Returned by two men born in Patna and Dinapore respectively.
Balabandu / Balobanthu	Marathi	
Balanchar	Lamabdi	A mistake for Baljar or Banjar, a Canarese name for Lambadi.
Banovaddi	Uriya	Returned by people of Chachadi caste.
Baytakammara	Telugu	A caste of blacksmiths; literally 'Outside smith'(Telugu).
Bepari	Lambadi	Bepari is an Uriya synonym of Brinjari.
Berlay	Bellara	
Bhonda	Poroja	A sub-division of Porojas.
Bhumiya	Uriya	A caste name.
Biloz	Balochi	This is a Tamil form of Balochi.
Bondili	Hindustani	The language of the Madras Bondili caste is Hindustani, but a few real natives of Bandelkhand were found in Vizagapatam. Their language is retained as Bondeli.
Burgher	Dutch	
Butkul	Hindustani	Returned by a few Muhammadans. Navayats are called Bhatkallis, after the town in which they are chiefly found. If these Muhammadans are Navayats, their language should have been taken as Konkani.
Brinjari	Lambadi	A common name for Lambadis.
Canton	Chinese	

Parent-tongue entered in the schedule	Languages in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
Carnatic	Canarese	..
Chachadi	Uriya	A sub-division of Paki caste; vide *infra*.
Chalaya	Malayalam	A caste name.
Chanar	Canarese	A weaving caste; the correct form is Janar.
Chenchu	Telugu	See text of this chapter.
Chittapavana	Konkani	A sub-division of Brahmans.
Christiani	Konkani	Returned in South Canara.
Dakhani	Hindustani	
Devanagari	Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, &c., according to caste returned	
Devabasha	Patnul	Returned by a man of Patnul caste.
Didayi	Poroja	A sub-division of Porojas.
Dombo	Uriya	Name of the Pariah caste in Vizagapatam hills.
Dommara	Telugu	The Dommaras speak Telugu in their homes though they also sometimes use a sort of thieves' slang.
Dora	Telugu	See Kondadora *infra*.
Dravida	Tamil	Sanskrit name for Tamil.
Eurasian	English	..
Garlic	Gaelic	..
Girvanam	Patnul	Returned by four persons of Patnul caste; it is a synonym of Sanskrit.
Gomantaka	Goanese	..
Goudia	Uriya	Possibly a dialect of Uriya.
Goudo	Uriya	Returned in Ganjam.
Goundan	Tamil	A caste name.
Grandha	Tamil	The name of a character.
Hari	Canarese	Name of a caste said to speak a corrupt form of Canarese.
Havika	Canarese	A sub-division of Brahmans whose home-speech is a corrupt form of Canarese.
Holava	Uriya	A caste name.
Jadara	Canarese	A weaving caste.
Jhoria	Poroja	A sub-division of Porojas.

Parent-tongue entered in the schedule	Languages in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
Jogi	Telugu	Returned from South Arcot. The Jōgis are a low caste of pigbreeders said to speak Telugu.
Jōgira	Tulu	A Tulu caste.
Kalingi	Telugu	Kalinga is the old name for the coast tracts to the north of the Kistna.
Kandhir	Pashtu	Kandahari was evidently meant.
Katakkan	Malayalam	Returned in Gudalur taluk of Nilgiris; name of a tribe speaking corrupt Malayalam.
Konda Kondadora	Telugu	See the remarks in text under Khond.
Konga	Tamil	A Canarese name for Tamil.
Kora, Korava, Koracha, Korcha	Yerukala	These are all names of the Korava or Yerukala caste.
Koradi	Marathi	A Canarese name for Marathi.
Kotiya	Uriya	A caste name.
Kotu	Telugu	Returned in Vizagapatam by Kotuvandlu, which here means Kondadoras and not Khonds.
Kshatri	Hindustani	Most of the so-called Kshatriyas speak Hindustani.
Kudubi	Konkani	A caste name.
Lada	Lambadi	..
Laccadive	Malayalam	Returned by a sailor.
Lohana	Sindhi	A caste name.
Lobhanu	Lambadi	..
Lubbai	Tamil	The language of the Labbais is Tamil.
Malabari	Malayalam	Returned by Malayalam people.
Mali	Uriya	A caste name.
Matiya	Uriya	A caste name.
Malekudi	Tulu	A caste name.
Malasar	Tamil	A forest tribe; their language is perhaps more correctly described as a dialect of Tamil.
Maldivian	Mahl	Returned by a native of Minicoy.
Maple Mappili	Malayalam	The Mappillas speak ordinary colloquial Malayalam and very few returned Maple or Mappili.

Parent-tongue entered in the Schedule	Language in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
Modi	Marathi	Returned by a Madhva Brahman. Modi is the name of a character.
Mullakuruman	Malayalam	Name of a tribe speaking corrupt Malayalam.
Multani	Panjabi	Properly a dialect of Panjabi.
Murasan	Tamil	Name of a sub-dividsion of the Chakkiliyan or Leather-working caste. Its members are said to speak a corrupt form of Tamil.
Mussalmani	Hindustani	..
Nagaram	Patnul	Returned by persons of the Patnul caste and by one Marvadi. In the latter case it was taken to mean Marvadi.
Nagari	See Devanagari	..
Nagpuri	Marathi	..
Nalkeri	Tulu	Possibly a dialect of Tulu. The Nalkeras are a low Tuluva caste.
Navayat	Konkani	The language used by Navayats is possibly a dialect of Konkani, but the difference is slight in this presidency.
Odda	Telugu	The parent-tongue of the Oddas or Voddas (Tank diggers) of this presidency is Telugu.
Odiya, Odram	Uriya	Odiya is the correct name of the language which Europeans calls Uriya.
Paidi	Uriya	A caste of hill Pariahs.
Paki	Uriya	A caste of scavengers and market gardeners. Their language is Uriya with a large admixture of Telugu.
Pania	Malayalam	A caste name. They speak a corrupt form of Malayalam.
Pano	Uriya	The name of the Pariah caste found in the hills of Ganjam.
Paravara	Tulu	A sub-division of Pariahs in South Canara.
Pariah	Tamil	..
Parsi	Persian or Hindustani	See remarks on this entry in the notice of Hindustani. Parsi was also returned by some Parsis, and it was then taken to mean Gujarati.
Patani	Hindustani	
Pengo	Poroja	Pengo or Pengu is the name of a sub-division of Porojas, but their language is unlike that of other Porojas, and should have been shown separately. See text.
Pombada	Tulu	A sub-dividsion of Pariahs in South Canara.
Pulaiyar	Tamil	Returned in Coimbatore. Name of a forest tribe there.
Rajapuri	Konkani	Returned in South Canara. Name of a caste.

Parent-tongue entered in the Schedule	Language in which it is included in Table X	Remarks
Rajputani	Hindustani	..
Rangari	Marathi	Caste name.
Relli	Uriya	Caste name.
Sankara	Yerukala	Returned by (or for) Yerukalas. "Sankara" means hybrid.
Savarastakam Saurashtra	Patnul	The Patnuls say they came originally from Saurashtra.
Scotch	English	..
Sgau	Karèn	Sagu is a dialect of Karen.
Sikhania	Singhalese	Returned by one person who seemed to be a Singhalese.
Solaga	Tamil	Solaga or Sholaga is the name of a forest tribe.
Tanda	Lambadi	A Hindustani name for Lambadis.
Tigalu Tigleru	Tamil	A Canarese name for Tamil (see Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*).
Tivu basha	Mahl	Literally 'island language'. Returned by a sailor born in the Maldives. It should have been shown as Maldive.
Totiga	Marathi	A sub-division of Brahmans in South Canara who speak Marathi.
Toduva	Toda	A separate Toduva vocabulary is given in Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of Non-Aryan Languages*, but there is no such language, Toduva being merely another form of Toda as Tuluva is of Tulu.
Toungthoo	Karen	It is a dialect of Karen.
Tuluku Turaka	Hindustani	The common Dravidian name for a Mussalman.
Upparakari	Marathi	Said to be a corrupt Marathi spoken by a Canara fishing caste.
Urali	Kurumba	Returned by Urali Kurumbas in the Nilgiris.
Vaddi	Uriya	Returned by Uriya caste. 'Vaddi' is probably the Telugu enumerator's attempt at Vodiya or Odiya.
Vatuka Vadaga Vadugu	Telugu	A Tamil name for Telugu. See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p.33
Vattezhuttu	Malayalam	This is the name of the old Malayalam alphabet.
Yanadi	Telugu	See remarks under Telugu in the text.

306. There is nothing calling for special remark in the parent-tongue statistics for Feudatory States.

Feudatory States

In Travancore and Cochin the prevailing language is Malayalam, which is returned by 81·29 per cent. of the population in the former and 88·79 per cent. in the latter State. In Travancore, Tamil is returned by 448,322 persons, mostly inhabitants of the southern part of the State. There is also a considerable proportion (6·20 per

cent.) of Tamil-speaking people in Cochin. Konkani is returned by 10,697 persons in Travancore and 7,330 in Cochin. Telugu is found to some extent in Cochin, where it is the parent-tongue of 12,087 individuals, but in Travancore it is only slightly represented, having been returned by not more than 5,426 persons. Arabic appears as the vernacular of 1,029 inhabitants of Travancore. Hebrew is returned by 138 persons in Travancore and by 263 in Cochin. The number of Jews by religion in the former State is, however, only 125, so the accuracy of the return of Hebrew is doubtful. In Cochin, there are 1,142 persons of the Jewish faith, but Hebrew is presumably returned by only the white Jews. These are all taught Hebrew in the special school provided for them, and the Cochin Census Officer states that they speak Hebrew in their houses, though not invariably.

It will be noticed that in Cochin Kach'hi is returned by 3 males and 215 females. This apparent anomaly was actually found in the schedules, the parent-tongue of the males being entered as Gujarati and that of the females as Kach'hi.

In Pudukota the prevailing language is Tamil which is returned by 94·83 per cent of the population. Telugu comes next in point of numbers, but it is returned by only 2·89 per cent. of the inhabitants. Kurumba appears as the parent-tongue of 1,546 persons; in 1881 it was returned by 3,601 people of this State. I have no information as to whether the language is identical with that spoken by the Kurumbas of the Nilgiris. The Kallans, the principal caste in Pudukota, are thought by some to be a section of the Kurumba tribe.*

Telugu is the prevailing language in Banganapalle and Canarese in Sandur, but in both states Hindustani is fairly represented.

*Nelson's *Manual of the Madura District*, part ii, p. 50.

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NOTE—Abbreviations used in the Bibliography are general. Their full forms are given in the text.

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LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS
(as on 17 February, 1964)

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ALLAHABAD—
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4 Ram Narian Lal Beni Modho, 2A, Katra Road . . . (Reg.)
5 Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road . . . . . (Reg.)
6 University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road . . (Reg.)
7 Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg . . . . . (Rest.)
8 Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg . . . (Rest.)
9 Ram Narain Lal Beni Prasad, 2-A, Katra Road . . . (Rest.)

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ANAND—
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4 The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road . . . . (Reg.)
5 Vichara Sahitya Private Ltd., Balepet . . . . . (Reg.)
6 Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar . . (Reg.)
7 Maruti Book Depot, Avenue Road . . . . . (Rest.)
8 International Book House P. Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road . . . . . (Reg.)
9 Navakarnataka Pubns. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle . . (Rest.)

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3 New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road . . (Rest.)

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BHUBANESHWAR—Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 . . . . . (Rest.)

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BIKANER—Bhandani Bros. . . . . (Rest.)

BILASPUR—Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar . . . . (Rest.)

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3 Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar . (Reg.)
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6 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road (Reg.)
7 Lakhani Book Depot, Girgaum . . . . . (Reg.)
8 Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi . . . (Reg.)
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10 New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road . . (Reg.)
11 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road . . . . (Reg.)
12 Sunder Das Gian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street . . . . . (Reg.)
13 D. B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road . . . . . (Reg.)
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23 Bombay National History Society, 91, Walkeshwar Road . (Rest.)
24 Dowamadeo and Co., 16, Naziria Building, Ballard Estate . (Rest.)
25 Asian Trading Co., 310, the Miraball, P. B. 1505 . . . (Rest.)

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5 M. C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street . . . . . (Reg.)
6 W. Newman and Co., Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street . . (Reg.)
7 Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street . . . (Reg.)
8 R. Chambray and Co. Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension . . . . . (Reg.)
9 S. C. Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd., I. C. College Square . (Reg.)
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12 K. K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta 19 . . . . (Rest.)
13 Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 77, Muktaram Babu Street . . (Rest.)
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15 Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringee Centre . . . (Rest.)
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3 Rania News Agency, Book seller, Sector No. 22 . . (Reg.)

4 Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22D . . . (Reg.)
5 English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22D . . . . . (Rest.)
6 Mehta Bros. 15-Z, Sector 22B . . . . . (Rest.)
7 Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 . . (Rest.)
8 Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22B . . . . . (Rest.)

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COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarkav Road . . (Reg.)

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2 Cuttack Law Times . . . . . (Reg.)
3 Prabhat K. Mahaparra, Mangalbag, P.B. 35 . . . (Reg.)
4 D. P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabag . . . . . (Rest.)
5 Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar . . . . . (Rest.)

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2 National News Agency, Paltan Bazar . . . . . (Reg.)
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4 Uttam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar . . . . . (Rest.)

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8 Metropolitan Book, Co., 1, Faiz Bazar. . . . . (Reg.)
9 Publication Centre, Subzimandi . . . . . (Reg.)
10 Youngman & Co. Nai Sarak . . . . . (Reg.)
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12 All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar . . . . . (Rest.)
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14 University Book House, 15, U.B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar . . . . . (Rest.)
15 Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran . . . . . (Rest.)
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17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16 Netaji Subhas Marg. . (Reg.)
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29 K.L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura . . . . . (Rest.)
30 Adarsh Publishing Service, 5-A/10, Ansari Road . . . (Rest.)

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1 Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P.O. Indian School of Mines (Reg.)
2 New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 . . . . . (Rest.)

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1 The Agricultural College Consumers Co.-op. Society . . (Rest.)
2 Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road . . . . (Rest.)
3 Karnatakaya Sahitya Mandira of Publisher and Book-sellers

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1 Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road . . . . . (Rest.)
2 South India Traders C/o Constitutional Journal . . . (Reg.)

FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road . . . (Reg.)

GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya . . . . . (Reg.)

GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg . . . . (Reg.)

GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency . . . . . (Rest.)

GORAKHPUR—Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road . (Reg.)

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4 Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar . . . (Rest.)

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4 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace . . . . (Rest.)
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2 National Book House, 135, Jai Prakash Narain Marg . . (R.)

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2 Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema . . . . . (Reg.)
3 Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar . . . . . (Reg.)
4 Vani Mandir, Sawai Mansingh Highway . . . . (Reg.)
5 Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar . . . . . (Rest.)
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7 Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane . . . (Reg.)
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4 Bharat Educational Stores, Chhippi Tank . . . . (Rest.)
5 Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents . . (Rest.)

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MUSSOORIE—
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2 Hind Traders . . . . . (Rest.)

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2 B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura . . . . . (Rest.)

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1 Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate . . . . (Reg.)
2 Legal Corner, Tikmanlo House, Amgola Road . . . (Rest.)
3 Tirhut Book Depot . . . . . (Rest.)

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1 H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle . . . (Reg.)
2 Peoples Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace . . . (Reg.)
3 Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers Krishnamurthi-puram . . . . . (Rest.)
4 News Paper House, Lansdowne Building . . . . (Rest.)
5 Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace, Ramvilas . . (Rest.)

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NAGPUR—
1 Manager, Govt. Press & Book Depot.
2 Western Book Depot, Residency Road . . . . . (Reg.)
3 The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House . . . . . (Rest.)

NAINITAL—Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar . . . . . (Rest.)

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2 Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants P.B.No.51 . . . . . (Rest.)
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2 Bhawani & Sons 8F Connaught Place . . . . (Reg.)
3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus . . . (Reg.)
4 Empire Book Depot, 278, Aliganj . . . . . (Reg.)
5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P. O. B. 328 . (Reg.)
6 Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market . . . . (Reg.)
7 Jain Book Agency, Co., Prem House, Connaught Place . (Reg.)
8 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House . . . (Reg.)
9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore), 16/B, Connaught Place . (Reg.)
10 Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place . . . (Reg.)
11 Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus . . . (Reg.)
12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus . . . . . (Reg.)
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14 Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar . (Reg.)
15 Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road . . . (Reg.)
16 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road . . . (Reg.)
17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty & Novelles, P.B.96, Connaught Place . . . . . (Reg.)
18 Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji . . . . . (Reg.)
19 Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath . . . . . (Rest.)
20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath . . . . . (Rest.)
21 People Publishing House (P.) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road . . (Reg.)
22 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh . . . (Rest.)
23 Sharma Bros., 17, New Market, Moti Nagar . . . (Reg.)
24 Aapki Dukan 5/5777, Dev Nagar . . . . . (Rest.)
25 Sarvodaya Service, 66/A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 . . (Rest.)
26 H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 . . . . . (Rest.)
27 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2; Rohtak Road . . . . . (Rest.)
28 Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave . . (Rest.)
29 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura . . . . . (Rest.)
30 Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lody Colony . . . . . (Rest.)

PANJIM—
1 Singhals Book House, P. O. B. 70, Near the Church . . (Rest.)
2 Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers, 5-7 Rau, 3 Ide Jameria (Rest.)

PATHANKOT—The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar . . (Rest.)

PATIALA—
1 Supdt., Bhupendra State Press.
2 Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nashin Bazar . . . . . (Reg.)

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2 J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri-ki-Haveli, Raghunath Bhawan (Reg.)
3 Luxmi Trading Co., Padri-ki-Haveli . . . . . (Reg.)
4 Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore . . . . . (Reg.)
5 Bengal Law House, Chowhatta . . . . . (Rest.)

PITHORAGARH—Maniram Punetha & Sons . . . . (Rest.)

PONDICHERRY—M/s. Honesty Book House, 9, Rue Duplix . (R.)

POONA—
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3 International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana . . . (Reg.)
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PUDUKOTTAI—Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road . . . . . (Rest.)

RAJKOT—Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers & Sub-Agents (Reg.)

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SECUNDERABAD—Hindustan Dairy Publishers, Market Street . (Reg.)

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SIMLA—
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SONEPAT—United Book Agency . . . . . (Reg.)

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TUTICORIN—Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapter Road . (Rest.)

UDAIPUR—
1 Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole . . . . . (Rest.)
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UJJAIN—Manak Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate . . . . (Rest.)

VARANASI—
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3 High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W.C.2.

Railway bookstall holders

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Foreign

1 S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathmandu (Nepal).
2 S/S. Aktie Bolagat, C.E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2, Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).
3 Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenbergstra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West).
4 Shri Iswar Subramanyam, 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 NWY.
5 The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansion, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan).

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