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# COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR <br> of thb 

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES
OF INDIA.
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## COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

of the

## MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

## OF INDIA:

TO WIT,

Hindi, Panjabi, sindHi, goJarati, Marathi, ORPIYA AND BANGALI.

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## ERRATA.

## LINE

3, 19, for this much read such.
10, 9, for मझीत read मझ्ञति.
14, 28, for different read difficult.
19, 21, for पुर्यति read पूर यति.
21,26 , for निषोतितव्य read निषी-

## दित्यं.

34, 3 from below,forPali read Prakrit
36, 8, for bhala read bhala.
39, 28, for धक्तिष्टत् read उक्तिष्ठत्.
44, 2 , for detu read dehi.
47, 26, dele that.
50,16 , for भष्ज read भष्झ.
50,18 , after word a fall stop instead of a comma.
52, 13, for discharged read discharge.
56, 5, for 90 read 38 (ed. Stenzler).
56, 7 , for ${ }^{\circ}$ विघम• read $\circ$ विषम॰.
57, 28, for छ्שष read छ्øष्ट.
58, 5, after Pali a full stop instead of a comma.
61, 25, for hladid read hlatu.
63, 4, for mafj read majj.
65,9 , for तळ read $\boldsymbol{\text { - }}$.
70, 12 , for phrase read phase.
73,16 , for वारी read मारी.
83,24 , for माडाइए read साउाइ्य.
105,6 , for बतों read चत्ये. -
112, last but one, for करसी read बरसी
114, 21, for चम read ग्रम.

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124, 1, dele comma after hearing.
134,6 , for छोडेलो read छोडेली.
135, 29, after dielala insert $f$; for dielat', etc., read delat', etc.
140, 31, for सिउया read सिछ्या.
141, 19, for भति read भीत.
149,24 , for asm $4 h$ read asmah.
154,29, for आक्का read आवया.
162, 7 , for मालोलो read मा बंलो.
163, 2, the words 'aorist सुटा' should be put between brackets.
175, 29, for Ludhiana read Lodiana. 176, 5 from below, for Pr. read $P$.
178, 18, for Nuanti read Nuhanti.
179,24 , for द्खा read दे बा.
196, 10, for 'Daughter'read 'Laughter.'
196, 17, for संजि read रचिचि.
202, 2 from below, for 59 read 60.
214, 4, for Imperfect read Imperative.
225,29 , for द्छती read रहतो.
250, 17, for Imperfect read Imperative.
254, 5, for Oriya read Aryan.
257, 3 , for माबा read राबा.
262,22 , for वर्य read क्षा.
262,23 , for प्रमांगे read प्रमायं।
262,23 , for होर्य read होग.
262, 23, for its read as.
263, 6, for H.-D. read K.-D.
267, 9 , for संडित read सहित.

## COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

## MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

## CHAPTER I.

## structure of verbal stems.

CONTENTS.-§ 1. Structure of the Sansirit Vbeb.-§ 2. Beginninge op the Analytical Sybtbe in Sansirit.-§ 3. Conjugations of the Pali Verb.-§ 4. Tensers of the Pali Verb.- §§ 6, 6. The Verb in Jaina Prakrit.- $\$$ 7. Sgemic Prakrit Vbrb.- §8. Apabiranga Verbal Formb.

 bhó Roots.-§ 13. The bamb prom other Clabsbs of Saneifrit Roots.§14. Modern Nbutbr Stbik prox Sanberit Pabbive Pabt Partictples. - $\$ 16$. Single Actife Stbis. - $\$ 16$. Treatment of Sangerit Roots minding in $\triangle$ Vowbl.-§ 17. The Stbx deit.-§ 18. Doublb Verbs.§19. Sindei Double Steme Dipprineg in the Final Coneonant.-§ 20. Double Strexs Difpering in Vowbl and Final Consonant.- $\$ 21$. Double Strys Difpreing only in the Vowrl.-§ 22. Examples and Illubtra-thons.- $\$$ 23. Laws op thb Formation of Modirn Stbys.- $\$ 24$. Thi Passifg Intrangitive.-§ 25. The Pabsifs.-§ 26. The Causal.-§ 27. The Pasbife Caubal.-§ 28. Tifr Cadbal in $\triangle$ Neutbr Sensb.-§ 29. Srcondary Streks.-§ 30. Redupligated and Imitative Steme.-§ 31. Gipsy Vrrbal Stbme.
§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of
simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the IndoEuropean family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of
pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world's history a certain race of men used such words as bhû, gam, or kar, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to bhu the word ami, and, modifying bhû into bhava, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word bhavami, "I am." What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of "being," in which the consonantal sound $b h$ is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel $\hat{u}$, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression bhû, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of "being" in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this much work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians' tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as bhû, yd, ni, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as ad, ish, $u b h$, or of a vowel between two consonants, as kar, gam, pat. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as $i$, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as grah, pinj, mlai. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as jagar, in others made from nouns, as kumar.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters
of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus भू bhü, " to be," undergoes the following modifications :
\(\left.\begin{array}{ll}Active <br>

Neuter\end{array}\right\} \quad\) bhava. | Passice | bhaya. |
| :--- | :--- |
| Causal | bhâvaya. |
| Desiderative | bubhasha. |
| Intensive . | bobhaya. |

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from pataya "cause to fall," is made a passive patya, whence comes a desiderative causal pipatayisha.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the rootsyllable, which is the common inheritance of them all. ${ }^{1}$ Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

[^0]root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or Parasmaipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Atmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Âtmanepada, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root $K A R$, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

1. E Kri, in 1 du. pf. Par. chakriva, 1 pl. id. chakrima, 2 s. pf. Âtm. chakrishe, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. chakrivahe, chakrimahe, chakridhre; in the whole of the 1 aor. Atm., as akrishi, akrithah, akrita, etc.; in the pass. part. kritah, and gerund kritva, and in the benedictive $\hat{\mathbf{A}} \mathrm{tm}$., as krishtshta, etc.
2. क्रि kri, in bened. Par., as kriyâsam, kriyah, kriyat, etc., and in the passive present, as kriye, kriyase, kriyate, etc.
3. बा kar, in pres. Par., as karomi, karoshi, karoti, and before all weak terminations.
4. 历ु kur, in pres. Âtm., as kurve, kurushe, kurute, and before strong terminations.
5. वार् kar, in pf. Par., as chakara, and 1 aor. Par., as akârsham, also in the causal, as kârayati.
6. क्र $k r$, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., chakra, chakruh, and 1 and $3 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{pf}$. Âtm. chakre.

In the same way the root $C \mathcal{R} R U$ " hear," appears in some parts of the verb as çri, in others as $c ̧ r u, ~ c ̧ u \hat{u}$, çrin, and çrâv. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

| Singular | 1. ami. | 2. si. | 3. ti. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dual | 1. avah. | 2. thah. | 3. tah. |
| Plural | 1. amah. | 2. tha. | 3. nti. |

But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

| Singular | 1. i. | 2. se. | 3. te. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dual | 1. avahe. | 2. ithe. | 3. ite. |
| Plural | 1. amahe. | 2. dhve. | 3. nte. |

This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.
§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance
languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary, however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evidence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by grammarians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from $\sqrt{ }$ तप् "burn," pf. तताप,
 тétpoфa. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs भू "be," बस् "be," and क्ष "do," are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus-
$\sqrt{ }$ छंद् "wet," makes pf. उद्द षकार, चंद्र बभूष or उंद्ध चास. $\sqrt{ }$ चबास् " shine," " चकासा चकार, etc. $\sqrt{ }$ बोधय "explain," " " बोधया चवार, etc.'
Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary बस् "be." Thus from $\sqrt{ }$ बुध् "know," comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of vस् makes
s. 1. बोधितास्यि
2. बोषितासि

## P. 1. बोधिताब्म:

2. बोधिताय्य.
[^1]A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary vस् to form a perfect definite, as चागतोsfि "I have come," or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, "je suis venu," and as we sometimes say ourselves, "I am come." Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेग गतं "by him gone," i.e. "he went," instead of अगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. बगाम may mean "he went," or, "he has gone," but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतो $\leqslant$ सि meaning "he has gone," and तेन गत "he went." Precisely in the same way the Latin had only ego amavi for "I loved" and "I have loved," but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have-

|  | " I loved." |
| :--- | :--- |
| French | "I have loved," |
| Italianai | io amai |$\quad$| j'ai aimé. |
| :--- |
| io ho amato. |
| Spanish yo ame |

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century ${ }^{1}$ before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Açoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

[^2]Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found. ${ }^{1}$ Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting $\overline{\text { o }}$ between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or $\bar{\square}$ before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ Tध् rudh, "to obstruct," makes its present एर्चि runaddhi, but in Pali, while the $\overline{\text { I }}$ is retained, the present is rundhati, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or Bhâ, class prevail. Thus Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ या "to go," pr. याfि, Pali also yâti, but
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मृब् " to rub," pr. मार्टि. Pali majjati, as if from a Skr. मर्षति.
$\sqrt{ }$ ढुह् "to milk," " द्रोगि. "dohati.
$\sqrt{ }$ बिन्ड "to lick,"," सेढि. " lehati.
The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the BhU type. Thus

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भी "to fear," बिभेति. Pali भारति. $\sqrt{ }$ धा "to hold," दधाति. " द्धाति and दहति.

The verb da, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in $\S 16$.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds Jु to its root, the eighth adds $\quad$; but as all its roots except one already end in $\boldsymbol{J}$, it

[^3]comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds -, ना, and of to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take जु and $\boldsymbol{\pi T}$ indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus-
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ 피 "hear," $v$. घृयोति. Pali सुयोति and सुयाति.
$\sqrt{ }$ बल्ब् "bind,"ix. बक्षाति. " बंधति.
$\sqrt{ }$ " "do," viii. बरोति. " बरोति.
$\sqrt{ }$ मज् "think," viii. मजुति. "मझति.
The reason why the forms of the Bhd conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the -as-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirtythree, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhâtupâtha, a grammarian's list of roots, ${ }^{1}$ which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

[^4]well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.
§4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the Âtmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccayana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, satra 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus-


Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form pach in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words karoti, kubbati, kayira, kdhami, akdsi, kattum, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms karoti, kurcate, kurydt, ${ }^{1}$ kartasmi, akarshtt, kartum, are put by their

[^5]side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi, seem to have very little beyond the initial $s$ in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapiunt, sapui; thus, also, ho and ebbi can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin habeo and habui is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing hacer, hago, hice, hare, and hecho, with their Latin originals facere, facio, feci, facere habeo, and factum. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhrança of the Romance Prakrits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei, correspond to Latin tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenui, tenere habeo: also hei, houve, haja, to habeo, habui, habeam, and sou, he, foi, seja, to sum, est, fui, sit. ${ }^{1}$

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number. ${ }^{2}$ These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (luṭ), the benedictive (âçir liñ), and the subjunctive (lett). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhu form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus-

## Skr. 1 pl. पचामशे. 2. पचध्धे. <br> Pa. 1. पषान्ते. 2. पषझे.

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

[^6]any class other than the Bhu, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from $\sqrt{ }$ या "go," we have-
Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याथ, 3. यांति.
which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaipada,

Skr. S. 1. पचानि, 2. पच, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पंतु.
Pa. 8. 1. पचामि, 2. पर्चहि, 3. पचतु; P.1. पषाम, 2. पचथ, 3. पर्चति. and with the Âtmanepada, thus-

Skr. S. 1. पथि, 2. पचस्त, 3. पचतt; P. 1. पचामहै , 2. पचध्ष्व, 3. पषंता.
Pa. S. 1. पषे, 2. पचस्सु, 3. पषतं ; P. 1. पषामसे, 2. पचझो, 3. पषंतं.
Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending fि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediæval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गह चच्री वहहि
"Say thou a good word of them."-Pr. R.i. 9.
where वहि=Skr. काथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Atmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, masai. P. 2 should perhaps be read hoo, not vho, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit dhv.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (lin), thus-

## Parabmal.

Skr. S. 1. पषिये, 2. पचिस्, 3. पचेत् ; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचेत, 3. पचियुस्Pa. S. 1. पचेखामि, 2. ॰्यासि, 3. ॰ख्य; P.1. ॰ ख्याम, 2. ॰्याय, 3. ॰ख्यु.

## Âtuans.

St. S. 1. पचिय, 2. पचेथास, 3. पचेत; P.1. पचेमहि, 2. पचेध्वं, 3. पचेरण्• Pa. S.1. पचेखं, 2. पचेचो, 3. पचेच; P. 1. पचेखान्हे, 2. बखहो, 3. पचेरं.

In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables eyya as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of kar, it follows the Sanskrit, and has karoti, karotu, yet in the potential it treats kar as if it belonged to the Bh0 class, and has kareyyami as though from a Sanskrit kareyam instead of the actual kuryam. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (lun), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a different tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali ( $\sqrt{ }$ गम् " go ") -
Skr. S. 1. गमिष्बामि, 2. ॰र्थसि, 3. ॰ख्यनि; P. 1. ०खामस्, 2. ष्यस, 3. षंति. Pa. S. 1. गमिस्तामि, $2 .{ }^{\circ}$ सससि, 3. ${ }^{\circ}$ स्तति; P. 1. ${ }^{\circ}$ स्साम, 2. स्तथ, 3 स्सति.

Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of $\mathbb{d}$ into सु. The Atmanepada follows the same rule throughout. $_{\text {A }}$ Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate $\mathbf{\Sigma}$, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus $\sqrt{ }$ पष "cook," when it has to take the future termination घ्यति, becomes पब् and पव्ष+ र्यति $=$ पर्सति. Here Pali sticks to the form पच्, because it is used in the present and makes its future पचिस्सति as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future पचिर्थति with the intermediate $\overline{\text { I inserted. }}$

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn ${ }^{1}$ gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बभ् "get," future शप्स्सते. Pali बच्छति but also वभिस्सति.

${ }^{1}$ Beiträge, p. 115.

The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate $\mathbb{C}$ seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the issati which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the issa to them. Thus from दृश् "to see," future द्रस्घति, Pali made a form dakkhati, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future dakkhissati. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem dekh "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मक्त "be able," future घस्यति. Pa. सकिक्बति, whence vulgo सखिस्सति.
In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form :

> Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ इद "weep." Vedic future रोत्सति. Pa. रोच्कति. Classic ditto रोदिष्थति." रोदिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्त is softened to ह, as in काहति, काशिति from करिस्सति, Skr. बरिष्वति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Bindi dialects generally.
§5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Mâgadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a
native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province. ${ }^{1}$ This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Magadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Mâgadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhâgavatî, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra's writings have been printed or edited. Weber's articles on the Bhâgavatî are at present our only source of information. ${ }^{2}$

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhd type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert Fith certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the $\boldsymbol{T}$ as part of the root, as is also the case with the $य$ of the fourth class. The $a$ inserted between the root and termination of the Bha class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to $i$, or changed to $e$ from some confusion between this and the $e=a y a$, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

[^7]

| $\sqrt{ }$ 习ु " hear," v. घृयोति with प्रति, प्रतिघ्यायोति | " पचिसुरेप्र "promises." |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\sqrt{\text { स्पृश् " touch," vi. सुर्यात }}$ | " फुसेद्र. |
|  | " भंबर्ड. |
| $\sqrt{\text { Ex " do," viii. बरोति }}$ | " बरा |
|  | " गेषहा, here again the य has passed into the root. |
| $\sqrt{\text { ® }}$ " ${ }^{\text {know," ix. बाणाति }}$ | " बायद. |

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively harati, vedati, dhati, arddhati, prapanati,
chayati, sunati, bhanjati, karati, grihnati, and jânati, if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhâ conjugation.
It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigma in this dialect as in Padi, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit lat), imperative (lot), potential (lin), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (lrit). The perfect (lit) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus : $-\sqrt{ }$ वम् "bow."
 गमेकि, चमेसि, चमेति; चमेनो, चमेंति.

नसद्ध
जमिंनि.
बमेड्र.
Those terminations which contain the vowel $e$ have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from aya, must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i. 60, we have phaseti, pâleti, sobheti, tlreti, púreti, kitteti, aṇupallë, ârâheï, for Sanskrit सर्घयति, पासरति, घोभयति, तारयति, पुरयति, वोर्तर्यात, चजुपालयति, चाराधयति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the $S .2$ and $P$. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels a and $e$, the $\mathbf{P} .2$ ends in ©, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit ש. Thus-
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बच्" shine," causal रोषय, impv. रोषय, Jaina रोएहि.


The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination eyya with variant ejja.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ गम् "go," $\quad$ S. 3. गच्छेत् Jaina गछेख्ब, गछेन्म. $\sqrt{ }$ वह "take," " मृक्कीयात् " गेखेष्म.
But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as kujja $=$ kuryât, dajja = dadyât (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus-


## 3. स्संति.

It also appears with a termination ihi produced by weakening स्त into and the following $a$ to $i$, thus-

Skr. गमिष्बति, Jain गकिशिति and गमिशिति.
Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali dakkhissati.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ पद् "go," with उप, उपपद्ड "attain," future उपपत्सते, Jaina उवर्वन्म्मिशिति.

Here उपपत्यते would phonetically become उववच्एर, and by still further softening उववन्द्यक्, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववन्मिस्सह and उवरन्बिरिति.
§6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in ant, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

| M. | P. | N. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| पचण् | पघ | पषत्. |
| ఫधन् | डंधती | घहत. |

The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus-


This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य. In verbs which do not take intermediate $\mathbb{L}$, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the I in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the $\pi$ of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by य. If to this we add the regular mutation of व्य into E, we get from तव्य the form यद्व. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in ndus, as faciendus, and expresses that which is to be done, as स्या गन्तव्य " by thee it is to be gone," i.e. "thou must go." In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhâgavatî, as for instance in § 56 :
Jaina एवं देवायुप्पिया गंतब्व, चिट्दियद्व, निसीतियद्वं, भुष्वियव्वं, etc.
Skr. एवं देवानुप्रिया गन्तव्य, स्यातव्य, निषफ्तब्यं, भोकव्य, etc.
"Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat," where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the inserted, such as निषीतितब्ब, भुंजितब.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in तु has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in ㄷ, with the $\pi$ elided and
its place supplied by य, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhâg. §54, इचशमि पद्वावियं, मुंडाविय, सेहावियं, सिक्बाविर्य (Weber, Bhâg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms प्रत्रावित, मुष्डापित, सेधापित, शिचापित, the three last being causals formed with $a p$, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of प् is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.
§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the modern languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Mâharashtri or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhâ class, and the same holds good for the Çauraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic य of the

Sanskrit passive having been worked into the stem, and the terminations of the active, being added to it. The Âtmanepada and the dual are of course rejected.

Of tenses these dialects have a still more restricted range than the Jaina Prakrits. They have the present, imperative and future, with traces of the potential. The past tense is chiefly formed by the p.p.p. with auxiliary verbs. Thus from $\sqrt{ }$ बच् " shine,"


Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting ए as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as बकेमि "I do," Skr. बरोमि, instead of बरामि, which would be the regular result of treating बर् as a Bhû verb, गच्छेन्ट for गघ्हाम, "let us go." The presence of the in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of wस् is used with a past participle; thus we find कट्नि "I was made" = Sanskrit छतोडस्मि, and पेसिद्नि्हि "I have been sent" = Skr. प्रेषितोsषि.

The imperative has the following forms-
8.2. रोच
रोथाहि रोच्ड. रोचह्ड.
3. रोषड.
P. 2. रोषघ
3. रोर्षतु.

The S. 2 has also forms रोषस्त, शोषस्तु, pointing to a Sanskrit Âtmane form रोषस and P. 2 similarly रोषर्ष = Skr. रोषष्ष, though neither are used in a middle sense, but are equivalents as regards meaning of the Sanskrit active.

The following are a few examples：

| पेक्षस्त＂look thou！＂ | Skr．प्रेषख． |
| :---: | :---: |
| बसस्त＂bow thou！＂ | णमस． |
| वह母＂bear ye．＂ | वहत |
| बाध＂go ye．＂ | d |
| चबेष＂go away．＂ | बपे |
| बोशबष＂get out of the way！＂ | （0 |
| बहोध＂do．＂ | कुषा |
| बगे़े＂wake up．＂ | बाग्टत． |

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in \％区्य＝

## s．1．रोषिस्सामि，2．रोचिस्ससि，3．व्इस्． रोचिस्सं


This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali，but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate E．Vararuchi（vii．16，17） gives the following ：－

Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ 习习习＂hear，＂fut．श्रोष्थामि．Pr．सोच्छं．
$\sqrt{\text { वच्＂speak，＂＂व्यामि．＂वोच्छे．}}$
$\sqrt{ }$ गम्＂go，＂＂［गत्सामि］．＂गच्छं．
$\sqrt{ }$ बह＂weep，＂＂Ved．रोत्सामि．＂रोच्रे．
$\sqrt{ }$ विड्ड＂know，＂＂वेत्सामि．＂वेच्छे．
These forms are，however，justly regarded as exceptions；for the rule in scenic，as in other，Prakrits is to retain throughout the root－form of the present．The regular type of the future is that in issa－，and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way，सुखिस्स，वचिस्त，गमिस्स，etc．This स्त

[^8]is softened to $\boldsymbol{E}$, and the following vowel is weakened to $\overline{\text {, }}$ producing as characteristic the syllables ihi. Thus-
$\sqrt{ }$ हस "laugh," s. 1. हसिहिमि. 2. हसिरिसि, 3. हसिहिर, etc.
By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्ह, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like dakkhissati in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्छिस्सनि, and बोध्छिहिति.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables $i a$, erroneously written $i a$ in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying "I saw, I went, I heard," the people said, "by me seen, gone, heard." This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.
§8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Mâgadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhrança. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhrança is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhranças, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.

All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

$\sqrt{\text { E " do," Imperative S. 2. बरी }}$, P. 1. बएकें, P. 2. बरा.

| बरे, |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| बारि, | बरह. |
| बर, | बए. |

In the future, although the form with the characteristic issa is found as सुमरिस्सि $=$ षरिर्थति, Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ सू, yet more commonly we find the form in which स् has been softened to $\overline{\text { E }}$; thus
8. 1. बरिरिसि, 2. बरिरिसि, 3. करिहिए, etc.

The grammarians also give a
P. 1. in ₹ं as कासाइं = वरिष्याम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तब्यं becomes द्वर्व, as बरू्व्व and वरिक्व = वरितल्य (कर्षत्य). The gerund ends in fu्प, म्पिय, and a softened form fa; the ordinary Çauraseni form \%W, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एकई, as घहे ${ }^{5}{ }^{\circ}$, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final is, there is an analogy in the true infinitive लहसके, which very closely approaches to Chand's forms, as बरखङं, बरखすु.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhrança, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have
been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra's works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in an for all three persons, as

> धायिउं = वानित (घातं).
> बहिछ $=$ बधितन.
> चप्पिंच $=$ बर्पितं.

It has a plural in चा or या, as:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { बाया = घागता: } \\
& \text { बारिया = वारिता: } \\
& \text { उद्धिया = छत्यिता: }
\end{aligned}
$$

Sometimes also the $u$ of the singular is rejected and $a$ substituted, as र्षाबत्य = भषितi. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,
and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.
§9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakeable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word sun for "hear," Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus sunna to hear, suntd hearing, sund heard, sunûn I hear, sune he hears, suno hear ye! sunegà he will hear, sunkar having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The
latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally उत्, नि, प्र, and स, as utar "descend," nikal "go out," pasar "spread," sankoch " distress." Second, stems formed by reduplication, as jhanjhan "tinkle," tharthar "flutter." Third, stems with an added syllable, as gutak " swallow," ghastt " drag," karkach, " bind."

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.
§10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.


The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb ( 0 ) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of mere existence, as being something, not doing, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are ho "be," rah "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive ( +1 ) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as soch "think," chal "walk," phir "revolve."

The active transitive comes next (+2). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as mâr " beat," khd "eat," pt "drink."

The next grade is the causal $(+3)$, in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. sund "cause to hear," H. phird " cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal ( +4 ), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. pherd" cause to cause to turn," S. ghàrd "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive ( -1 ). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar Bhavaor Sahya-bheda, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-
isting in the other languages also, as G. abhadd "be polluted" (be in a state of pollution), H. ban "be built" (be in process of construction).

The passive (-2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. dhoija "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal ( -3 ), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. madravi " cause to be struck."

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms :

1. Neuter, including $0,+1$ and -1 .
2. Active, $\quad+2$.
3. Passive, " -2.
4. Causal, " +3 .
5. Passive Causal, " -3 .
6. Double Causal, " +4 .

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive ( -1 ) or the neuter ( 0 ), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like vapulo in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation
of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.
§11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus H . बनना (passive intransitive) "to be madé," takes as its corresponding active बलाना "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as कहला "to tell," कहसाभा "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun ; thus we say " to eye," " to mouth," " to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit agadyati "he is in good health," from agada "healthy"; chapalayate "he trembles," from chapala "tremulous"; panditdyate "he is learned," or "he acts the
pedant," from pandita "a (so-called) learned man"; ${ }^{1}$ yoktrayati "he yokes," from yoktram "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. बड़ावियों "to bang," "crack," H. घवराना "to be amazed," चंचसाजा "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.
§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bha. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as H . वा, P. या or ना, S. यु, G. đुं, M. यों, O. इबा. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भव्वति and होति, Pr. भोदि, होटि, होर, H . हो and so in all, except S. 下ु श, and in 0 . होद is contracted

[^9]to . This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. §66).
$\sqrt{\text { चस् "move," चसति, Pa. id. Pr. घसद, H. S. चब, P. चन, }}$ G. चास, चठ, M. चाष, चस, चठ, O. B. चाक.
$\sqrt{ }$ सग् "stick," सगति, Pa. सगति and सग्गति, Pr. सग्गद्, where the ग्ग is probably caused by the passive सम्यते or the p.p.p. लम, H. सग, P. बगग, S. सग!, in the rest साग. It is neuter in the moderns. $\sqrt{\text { बम्प् " tremble," बम्पति, Pa. id., Pr. कंपए, H. काप, काप, P. वम्ब, }}$ S. बंब, G. M. B. काप, O. वम्प.
$\sqrt{\text { अम् "wander," Pa. भमति, Pr. भमद (Vik. iv. passim), H. भम, }}$ भौं, अंव, P. भरम, भौं or अं, S. अर्म, भम, भछ, अंव, G. अम, अम, M. भोष, भोंव.

There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb stha "stand," being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages :


Of the three forms in Pali that having ठा as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a
fragment in the shape of a past participle S . था $m$. ची $f$., P . घे $m$. घीं $f$. S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus-


The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical ठेऐंं "to be," but from the Pr. form षिट्ठ there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective षित्रा "standing," which seems to point to Pr. चिद्विये, Skr. fित

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit ant and Latin sta in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of "standing," and have come to mean "be," "become." In S. G. and $\mathbf{O}$. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from भू or चस्. Sindhi huanu and thianu, Gujarati hocun and thavun, Oriya hoibd and thibd, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish ser from esse does to estar (from stare). Thus Pedro es enamorado " Pedro is loving (by disposition)," but Pedro está enamorado "Pedro is in love (with some one)." So el es bueno "he is good (by nature)," but el está bueno "he is
well (in health)." In Italian, although stare still means "to stand," yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus sto leggendo "I am reading," does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say parhu thaun. Stai bene? "art thou well?" sta qui vicino "he is living close by," would be correctly rendered in 0 . by the exactly parallel expressions bhala thaü? and ethi nikat thae. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression il se tient debout for "he is standing," literally "he holds himself on end," just in the same way as the Indian has to say khard hai literally "he is propped up," (खडा $=\mathrm{Pr}$. खड्डुर $=\mathrm{Skr}$. स्सब्ब from $\sqrt{ }$ स्तभ् to support).
§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ या "go," ii. याति, Pa. id., Pr. वादि and आर्षदि (the latter as
 some tenses, but in others shorten it to $G$. त, $O$. कि.
$\sqrt{ }$ सप् " sleep," ii. स्वपिति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुवस्, सुष्प्, सुबेस्, H. सो, P. सो, S. सुन्है, G. सु, B. and 0. सो.
$\sqrt{ }$ भी "fear," iii. बिभिति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीष्ष्, भाचद्षा, वीहर् (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. बीह, बीही, विद्ह (not in the rest).
$\sqrt{ }$ गृत "dance," iv. नृत्बतित Pa. वर्चति, Pr. यच्द, H. वाष, P. वच्च, S. चच, G. M. O. B. माच्.
$\sqrt{ }$ घक्त "be able," v. घकोति and iv. घक्यति, Pa. सहूति, सहोति, सहुक्योति, Pr. सक्का, सक्कणोति, and सक्नु०, H. सक, P. सह्க, S. सघ, G. M. शब.

In nâch, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic य of the Div class seems to have got mixed up
with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in sak both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhd root, thus H. सके "he can," postulates a Sanskrit มबति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to $\sqrt{ }$ ू. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps छू became दूर, and $s 0$ गूल and बोल. ${ }^{1}$

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ जू " speak," ii. ब्रवीनि and ज्रूते, Pr. बोब्षर्द (Mrich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. कुस्ब ( $o$ is short in Pr.), H. बोष, S. दोल, all the rest बोष.
§14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits. ${ }^{2}$ These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed form it, just as in English we have verbs "to contract," "to respect," "to edit," from the Latin contractus, respectus, editus, the respective past participles of contrahere, respicere and edere.

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

[^10]directly representing the Latin sta "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as station, etage, from statio, etat from status. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as stationner and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as dip, kram, as verbs, have nouns dipa, diya and derivatives, also krama as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in $\S 2$ of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with घस्, as in गतोsfक्म "I have gone." It was pointed out in $\$ 7$ that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in न्हि to the present tense, as in पेसिद्नि्हि. Examples are:
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ विश् " enter," with उप, उपविय् "take a seat," i.e. to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. उपविष्ट "seated," Pr. उपविद्ठो, Pr. उयविद्टो, and later उवद्टो, whence, by rejection of $\Xi$, H. बैठ, P. id., M. बेस, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between बेठ् and वस. G. has बेक्ष, which is from Skr. pres. उपविर्शनि. Its p.p.p. is बेठो. S. also विद्ह by softening of स to ह, p.p.p. बेठो. With प्र, प्रविश्, "enter," "penetrate," P. पविद्ठो, Pr. पद्टो, whence H. पैठ, "to enter" (generally with the idea of penetrating forcibly). G. again पेश्य from प्रविश्घति, p.p.p. पेठो, s. पिस्द, p.p.p. पेठो-
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ पच् "cook," पचति, p.p.p. पक्ष, Pa. Pr. पछ्लो, H. पक " to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is diuner ready?" your man answers, पषता "It is being cooked"), P. पछ M. पिब. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पाष. There is also a stem from the present पर्चति, as S. पच् "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पक्षो. H. and all the rest have पष, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घुष् "dry," p.p.p. चुष्क, Pa. Pr. सुक्बो, H. सूख " to be dry," P. सुक्त, S. G. M. सुक्ष, B. O. घुक.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भज् "break," p.p.p. अम, Pa. Pr. भग्गो, H. भाग "to flee" (said originally of an army, "to be broken up and dispersed"), G. भाग, M. भांग, " to gield, give way," also अंग $a$, " to break," 0. भांग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bh अंखति, Pa . अंजति, Pr. अंब्र, H. भंज "to be broken," and अव. (See § 19.)

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ गम् "go," with Eह्ड , p.p.p. تद्भत "sprung up," Pr. Eगगफो, H. उग, "to spring up" (as a plant), P. Bगग, S. G. छग, M. Bगव.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from $\sqrt{ }$ भृ with $\mathcal{B e S}_{\text {. }}$. The present would be उद्नारति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is उन्दूत, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has उब्भरिफो as if from Skr. उद्मरित, so that the modern verbs उभर, उभर, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उठ्ट " to rise," but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from $\sqrt{ }$ उद्डु + सा Skr. makes उत्या "to stand up."

|  | 8xR. | p. | PR. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Present | S. 3. उप्तिष्ठति | उन्द इति, उद्ठाति | उद्ध |
| Impr. | S. 2. उन्तथष | उद्ठ, | उट्ठे |
|  | 8. 3. उन्तिष्ठतु | उद्ठतु | उद्ठेछ |
| Future 8 | S. 3. उत्यासति | उद्ठ हिस | उद्विस्स |
| Pres. part. | बत्रिष्ठत् | उद्ठ | उद्ठंत |
| P.p.p. | उतियत | उद्वित | उद्धिदो, उद्ठि |
| Infin. | उत्यातुं | उट्ठातु | - |
| Gerund | उत्याय | उद्राय, उद्धरिसा | उद्विण |

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem छद्ठ, and conjugate it as if it were a Bha verb throughout. It seems as though उद्ध being com-
pounded with ष्ठा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form छष्ठा, whence Prakrit छट्ठ. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping उद् intact, has sacrificed the स of स्सा in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. छठ, P. छट्ठ, S. उथ and छठ, and in all the rest उठ.

The stem TE has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ रह "desert," रहति, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., रहिथो (= रहित) in the sense of "deserted," then almost adverbially, as "without," hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, " to stop," "stay," "remain," from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is रह in H. and all except M. रTह, G. रेह. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पडते रहो " go on reading." (See § 72, 10).
§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of formation as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bha, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ खाद् "eat," खाद्ति, Pa. id., Pr. खाइ (Var. viii. 27, for खाष्ष्), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy khava, Kash. khyun, Singhalese kanava.' Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घर्व "chew," घर्वति, Pr. चद्वर, H. चाब, P. घब्ल, S. चव, G. M. चाव, O. चोबा, B. चाब.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ पठ् " read," पठनि, Pa. id., Pr. पछू, H. पढ़ (parh), P. M. G. id., S. पर्छ (which is only their way of writing पढ), B. प्त, 0. पढ़.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ प्रक् " ask," पृच्चति, Pa. पुच्छर्शति, Pr. पुच्छक्स, H. पूछ, P. पुच्ह, G. B. id., M. पुस् (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पुछ, पषार.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मार्ग् (and मृग्) " seek," i. मार्गति, x. मार्गयति, Pa. मग्नति and मग्गेति, Pr. मग्गद्, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. म₹ (mang), G. M. माग, B. माग, 0 . माग.

[^11]Skr. V रघ् "keep," रचति, Pa. रक्बfत, Pr. रक्ठद्, H. रख "keep," also simply "to put," पोषी को पीठे पर रखो "put the book on the stool," Pr रक्त, S. रस, G. M. B. राख्ब, O. रब, Singh. rakinava.
Skr. $\sqrt{\text { बघच् "say," बचयति, P. बथेति, Pr. बहस, वहोए, H. वहा, }}$ P. S. B. O.id. In M. it is wanting. G. वेह, Singh. kiyanava.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhat type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugational peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are:

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घा "know," ix. वानाति, Pa. id., Pr. वायाति, also वायद (Pr. keeps $\overline{\mathrm{a}} \mathrm{m}$ throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having घायाडि, etc.), H. B. वाण, the rest काय. Gipsy janava, Kash. zanun, Singh. dannavd.

Skr. $\sqrt{\text { E }}$ " do," viii. कारोति, Pa. id. (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कुयाद्र and बरा and the stem बार is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but वर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ ग्रु " hear," v. সृषोति, Pa. सुयोति, सुयाति, Pr. सुख्य, H. सुण, and in all सुन or सुय.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ च्राप "get," v. घामोति (but also i. घापति), Pa. घापुणनति, चापुनाति and घप्पोनि, Pr. (see § 5) घावद्द, seldom used alone. Old H. षप्प "to obtain," also used in the sense of giving.

## घम्ब मक्ति सरसें सबत्या

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati)." -Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.
Also G. ज1प "to give," which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from बर्प् (घ). Far more common is the compound with प्र $=$ प्राप, Pa. as above. Pr. पाBयद्य and later पावद, Old H. and P. पाङ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. id., G. पाम, M. पाव, B. पाषो. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ पद्ह " seize," ix. गृहॉाति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गरां, and Pr. generally गेएह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

| Pre |  |  | गेष्ट्र PR. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Âtm. Pres, | s. 1. गुफ़्ड़ |  | गेरहे |
|  | . 3. चयहीत | vग्गह, |  |
| Impv. | s. 2. गृहाय | गरह, गरहीि | गेरह, गेरहह |
|  | s. 3. गृष्षातु | गरहदु | गेषहद |
| Impv.Â | P.2. गृष्టीtud | गएहईो | गेएहध |
| Fut. | S.1. परीष्षामि | गरिहसं | गेरिहसं |
|  | S. 3. यहीर्थति | गरिहसति, गहेसति | गेरिएसए |
| Infin. | हीत | गरिएक | गेषिहदे, |
| P.p.p. | तa | गहितो | गहिदो, गिहिदो |
| Gerund | गृहीबा | गरिहला | गेरिए, घेत्रून |

There are thus two types in Pa. ganh and gah, and three in Pr. genh, gah, and ghe. The double $t$ in ghettum and ghettûna arises, I fancy, from $e$ being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages $H$. has गह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गE. But M. छे "take," is very much used, as also $S$. गिए्र, and $O$. छेण, the other languages prefer the stem $\begin{gathered}\text { बे }\end{gathered}$ from सभ्. Singh. gannava, perhaps Gipsy gelava, is connected with this root, though it means rather "to bring." (Paspati, p. 241.)
§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ दा "give," iii. ददाति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier
common root which has been lost. Thus we have $\sqrt{ }$ दा, iii. द्वाति "give," $\sqrt{ }$ दा or दो, ii. दाति and iv. बनि "divide," $\sqrt{ }$ दाय, i. दायते and दे i. द्यते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a $\sqrt{ }$ दद, i. ददते, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence. ${ }^{1}$ It is also to be observed that in some roots in $a$ there are traces of a form in $e$ or $a i$, which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and गे "to sing," ध्या and 융 "to meditate," ग्बा and म्बी "to languish," बा and बो "to wither," बा and "to rescue," मा and मे "to measure." Also roots ending in $d$ exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to $i$ or $e$. It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root दा began to be superseded by टे, and that in the modern languages the universal form is $D E$. The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

| Pres. S.1. द्यामि | दटामि, देमि, द्मि द्ष्वामि | द'f ${ }^{\text {PR }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 8. 3. द्राति | द्राति, देनि, टंख्यति | देश्, द् |
| P. 1. ट्म: | द्म, डेम | देमो |
| P.3. द्टति | देंति | देंति |
| Impv. S. 2. दे | देश | देश |
| s. 3. दटातु | देतु | दे |
| Atm. P.2. दू | देथ, द्डाष | देष |
| Fut. S.3. द्वासति | दस्ति | द्ससस, दाहद |
| Infin. दातु | डाषु | दाव, देउ |
| Pres. Part. दटत् | ददबतो, टेत्तो | देंतो (देंती f.) |
| P.p.p. द | दिघो | दिबो |
| Gerund दत्वा | डबा, द्वाय, दडिसा | दाअण, द्धा, द |

[^12]Childers thinks the form deti has arisen either from Sanskrit dayate, or from confusion with the imperative detu. The form dajijati he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of dekh (see §4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form दे is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. दे, P. M. G. id., S. तिज, B. alone has दा, O. दे, shortened in some tenses to दि. Gipsy dava, Kash. dyun, Singh. denava. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are:
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ पा "drink," $i$. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also $\sqrt{ }$ पो, iv. पीयते], Pa. पिवति and पिब०, Pr. पि क्र, H. पी, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पी. Gipsy piava, Kash. chyun, perhaps through an old form pyun, Singh. bonava, p.p.p. bi.

Skr. $V$ की "lead," i. चयति, Pa. चयति, केति, Pr. नेद्, येप्र (pres.
 गय). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus-
(a) With जा = चाणी "bring," Pa. घाजेति, Pr. चायेक्र, H. चाण "bring," in all the rest घ1या. Kashm. anun, Gipsy and́va.
(b) With परि = परिनी " lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. परस, परणा, P. परणाङ, S. पर्या, G. M. परख.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ डी "fly," with उद्ध = उह्दुी "fly up," i. उह्हुयते, iv. उद्रुयते, Pr. उर्तेद, H. उर्ड (ur) "to fly," and so in all. S. has Eरिए, probably a diminutive. Kashm. wudun, Gipsy urgdva.

The root या "to go," was mentioned above; with the preposition जा forming घाया, it means "to come," and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived :

Skr. जाया "come"" ii. चायाति, Pa. id., Pr. जा षाप्र, जाए, H. का "to come," P. id., G. घाव, M. थे, Gipsy avdra, Kash. yun. The B.

जाद्स 0 . चास, $S$. घच seem to come from घागच्छति, but both in B. and 0 . one often hears nin, thus 0 . dsild or aild, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. $a u$, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long $i$ the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long $a$ there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into $i$ or $e$.
§17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by dekh. . Kashmiri has deshun, Gipsy dikáva, and Singhalese dikanava. The root is in Sanskrit $\sqrt{ }$ हृश्, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पम्बति, from which M. derives its verb पार. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of dekh. From $\sqrt{ }$ दुश् comes future द्र चति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्बति. He shows ${ }^{1}$ that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above ( $\S 4, \mathrm{p} .16$ ), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic issa of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future dakkhissati. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in Prakrit. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between dekh and the Prakrit pekkh from Sanskrit पेष्. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word dekh was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used pekkh, which has been changed to dekkh by the copy-

[^13]ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of pekh. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word pekh is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing pekh is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive dekkh from the desiderative of दृश्, which is दिधृषते, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as piydsa "thirsty," from pipasu (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants-
" Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."
For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that dekh is derived through dekkh from dakkh, which is Sanskrit future द्रस्सति turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 et seqq.) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit I represents an older क्, which seems to be preserved in the future.
§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and
occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neuters are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call umlaut or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neuters differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neuters can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. सुषना is "to open," i.e. " to open of itself," " to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलका, the corresponding active, is " to open," i.e. "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार सुष्ता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öfnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार बोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरणा is "sich umkehren," while its active पेरणा is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had
forms which I regard as neuters been true "umlautend" passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as $a, i$ or $u$, the corresponding active has $d, e$ or $o$, occasionally $t$ or $\hat{u}$. As types may be taken, H. katna, $n$, and katnd, $a$; phirnd, $n$, and pherná, $a$; khulna, n, and kholna, a; lipnd, n, and lipnâ, a; guthnd, $n$, and guthna, a. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.
§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.
(1.) Neuter ending in $\overline{4}$.

1. द़क्षयु "to be bound,"
2. बुद्बयु "to be heard,"
3. रक्षणु "to be cooked,"

Active ending in ${ }^{\text {a }}$.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { बधणु " to bind." } \\
& \text { बुंधयु " to hear." } \\
& \text { 广धणु " to cook." }
\end{aligned}
$$

1. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बंध्, ix. बध्राति, Pa. बंधति, Pr. बंधर, whence S. वंध, H. बधि, P. बन्ह. In all the rest बiंध a. Skr. passive is बध्यते, whence Pa. बन्द्यति, Pr. बन्दू, S. बद्म, H. वद्य, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बन्सn. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बद्म is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive $S$. बंधिण्यु.
2. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बुध् "to know," $i$. बोधते, iv. उुध्यते, from the latter come Pa. पुन्बति and Pr. बुन्स्बs, whence S. दुक्ष, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बूस्षणा "to understand," is active. So also
O. बुम्म, B. वूष्य, G. बुच. But M. बुप्ष is both $a$ and $n$. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes דुप्य a neuter and ब犬ंध is probably due to a false analogy with बंध.
3. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ रध् or โध् i. 广धति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. id., Pr. रंधद, S. रंध, H. Tंध a, and so in all but P. Passive रघ्यते, Pa. रन्द्सति, Pr. रन्द्सद्, S. रक्म, not found in the others.

## (2.) Neuter in $\boldsymbol{\text { भ }}$.

1. लभणु "to be got,"
2. यभणु "stuprari"(de muliere),
3. गुअयु "to be milked,"

## Active in ${ }^{\text {E }}$.

हर्यु "to seize."
यहणु "stuprare" (de viro).
.ुहयु "to milk."

1. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घभ् " to get," i. सभते, Pa. सर्भति, Pr. सरा (भ= है Vol. I. p. 268), S. सह, Old H. सद, H. थे, P. बहि and है, G. बे, M. ने, O. ने, B. सतो, all a. Pass. सम्यते, Pa. सब्भति, Pr. सब्भद्, S. सभ, Old H. सब्म, not in the others.
2. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ यभ् "coïre," i. यभति, Pr. छहा, S. यहै, Pass. यभ्वते, Pr. वब्न, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. घवयें, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the $\bar{\sigma}$.
3. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ दुर्, ii. दोगि, Pa. दोत्रति, Pr. दोरद्र and दुछ्द, S. .ुर, H. दुर्ड and दोर्ड, and so in all a. Pass. दुखते, Pa. दुभि (Childers writes duyhati, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagari letters), Pr. उुण्मूर. From this we should expect S. तुब्ये. The form उुभे recalls a similar one in Jaina Pr. सिब्भर्द for सिन्द्रह् (Weber, Bhag. 389, 429), Skr. सिध्यते, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note. ${ }^{1}$ Possibly we have here again a false analogy with बभ, like बुंध with ब̣ंध.

[^14]（3．）Neuter in Iq．
उद्मयु＂to be envious，＂

## Active in $\bar{\xi}$ ．

קहयु＂to torment．＂

Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ दह्य＂burn，＂i．द्शति，Pa．उहति，Pr．दहस，S．तह，H．ताह， दाह，Pass．द्धतेत，Pa．उस्सति（Childers dayhati），Pr．द्वं्म्य，S．तुद्य－
（4．）Neuter in $\%$ ．
1．भऴ，＂＂to be broken，＂
2．भुक़्यु＂to be fried，＂
3．छिक्यु＂to be plucked，＂
4．सुक़यु＂to be heard，＂
5．ख्वक़यु＂to be raised，＂

भशयु＂to break．＂
भुअयु＂to fry．＂
दिन्यु＂to pluck．＂
सुयायु＂to hear．＂
खयायु＂to raise．＂

1．Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ भंघ्＂break，＂vii．भर्गत，Pa．भंबनित，Pr．भंबर्द；ज becomes
 and भब，

## पुरषातन भबे विक्ति हान ॥

＂Manliness is broken，fame destroyed．＂－Chand，Pr．R．i． 172. P．मष्ज，G．भांब．
2．Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ अष्म or भृब्，i．भर्बते，vi．भृष्ष्जति，Pa．भष्ञति．Pr．would probably be भुक्र．I have not met the word，भुंज्र（Bhag．278）is from भुंख्＂to enjoy，＂S．भु刃 postulates a Pr．भु่ंज．In the other lan－ guages the $n$ occurs．H．भुन＂to fry，＂and भूल，P．भुम，G．भुळ，M． भाब，but also भुंख，O．भाब，B．id．，Pass．भृष्यते，which would give Pr．भुष्पर्，whence S．भुक़，but the whole stem is somewhat obscure． P．भुष्ण $n$ ．
3．Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ छिद्＂cleave，＂vii．छिभक्ति，Pa．छिन्दनि，Pr．छिन्द्र （Var．viii．38），whence S．दिण by the process रण＝रष्ठा（Vol．I．p．299）， Pass．छिबते，Pa．धिन्मति，Pr．छिन्न्र，s．₹िक़．

4．Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ 习习＂hear，＂which，as already explained，is always सुख in Prakrit and in modern languages．Pass．श्रूयते，Pa．सूयति or सुर्बति， Pr．generally सुणिम्ब्रह（Var．viii．57），also सुद्ध ，but a form सुज्णह is also possille，whence S．सुज़．
5. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ संद्ध "rise," i. संदति, which would give a Pr. बएड्द,
 seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to $S$., and must not be confounded with खययु "to dig," from Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बन्, nor with Skr. ख " to divide."
(5.) Neuter in $\mathbb{Z}$.

1. कुसयु "to be slain,"
2. गसडु " to be rubbed."
3. लूसयु " to be scorched."
4. मुस्यु "to suffer loss."
5. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ छष् and कुष् "tear" "drag," i. कुषति, Pr. दुसद्य, S. क़ुह, ( $\mathrm{Z}=$ ₹ , Vol. I. p. 250), Pass. कुष्षते, Pr. would be कुस्त, whence S. कुस, by rejection of one s. Persian كُشتن " to kill."
 घिस्स and घस्द, $S$. गस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and धिस, $n$ and $a$, घसीट, $a$, P. id., G. घस and घसर, $a, M$. घास, घसट, घांस $n$ and $a, 0$. B. घस.
6. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बूष् " burn," i. बूषति, Pr. बूसद, S. दूरह, Pass. غूष्षत, Pr. जूसद, $S$ बूस.
7. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मुष् " rob," i. सुषकि, Pa. मुसति, Pr. मुसद्द, S. मुह, Pass. मुखते, Pr. मुस्सद, s. सुस.

There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus-

## (6.) Neuter in 4.

छुपयु "to be touched,"

## Active in ,

छरायु "to touch."
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ छुप् "touch," i. छुपति, Pa. id., Pr. छुपद्. प being unsupported goes out and Fis employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. छु. Pass. छुप्यत, Pr. छुप्पद, whence S. छुप, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. छुक्ष, H. छू, P. छु and छू, G. 토, छू, छौ, O. 후, B. id.
$\S 20$. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral $ट$, while that of the active is the sonant $\boldsymbol{Z}$; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

Nectrr

1. छुट "get loose,"
2. टुट (तुट) "fall in pieces,"
3. पटट "burst, split,"
4. पिट "be discharged,"
5. फुट "be squashed,"
6. जुट " be joined,"

Active.
घोड्ड "set free."
टोज (तोउ) " break."
पाउ "tear."
फेड "discharged."
फोट्ड "squash."
बोड "join."

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ कुट (also चुट, चुंट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to ent," vi. छुटति, but the Bha type would be घोटति, Pr. घोड्र, H. घोड, and so in all except M., which has सोउ, with its usual change of $\bar{\Phi}$ to स (Vol. I. p. 218). H., which is pronounced chhor, while M. is sod, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose." Pass. छुट्यते, Pr. कुट्टद्, whence H. कुट, and so in all, hut M. सुट. It is neuter and means " to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one's grasp, come untied."

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely-
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ छृद् " vomit," vii. छृर्यक्ति, also i. छर्दति and $x$. छर्द्यति, Pa.
 छांड, M. सा广ड. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thas
come round to the same meaning as दोड, with which in consequence $B$. confuses it. So does Origa. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H. , however, छोंडा retains the meaning of vomiting, and M . साउड means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."
2. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ उुद् "break" ( $n$ ), i. चुटति, iv. जुट्र्यति, Pr. तुछ्द, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long $u$, P. टुट्ट, S. टुट, B. id., M. तुट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, causal बोटरति, H. तोड, and so in all but S. टोज. It is active, meaning " to break in pieces, tear, smash."
3. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ स्फट् bas three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.
(a) $\sqrt{ }$ एफट् " split," i. स्फटति, Pa . पर्रति and फलति ( $ट=\overline{\mathrm{B}}=$ बल), Pr. पस्लद् and फटर, H. फट (rustic पाट), P.S. फट and फाट, the rest only पाट, neuter.
Causal स्फाटयति, Pr. पाडेश्र, H. पाउ and so in all. This group with stem-vowel $\mathbf{A}$ indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काठ धूप में पटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काठ को टांगी से पात्ठे " he cleaves the wood with an axe."
(b) $\sqrt{ }$ सिद् "hurt," $x$. स्फिटर्यति, but also vi. सिदटनि, Pr. फिटद्, H. पिट, and so in all but P. पिट्ट, neuter.

Causal स्मेटयति, Pr. फेटह and फेडह्, H. फेट, फेंट and फेत्ड, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosing or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in $P$. injuring.
(c) $\sqrt{ }$ स्फुटट "burst open," i. स्फोटति, vi. स्फुटति, Pa. फुटति,

Pr. पद्डद्र or पुएद (Var. viii. 53), H. पुट and पूट, all the rest फुट, except P. फु尺्ट, neuter.
Causal सोटयति, Pr. पोरेद, H. फोर, and so on in all but B. पोट. Words with the stem vowel $U$ imply the breaking or bursting of soft squashy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोसे पुट्षे " the eyeballs burst."
6. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बुर्ट or वुर्ड, a somewhat doubtful noot, looking like a secondary formation from युष्. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. वुरति, जुटनि. Pa. and Pr. de not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. 亏ुए " to be joined," also चुर्ड, and so in all.

Causal बोटरति, K. बोर्ड, and so in all except P. चुट्ट and घूर्ड, meaning " to join two things together."

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.
§21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples:

1. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ T" cross over," i. तरfि, Pa. id., Pr. तरद, in all तर $n$ "to be crossed over," metapphorically "to be saved."

Causal तार यति "to take one across, save," Pa. तारेति, Pr. तारे and तीरे (Var. viii. 70). In all तार "to save." The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उgु is a word of every-day use; viz.
2. Skr. $\sqrt{\text { उत्रु, Pres. उत्तरति "descend," H. छतर, and in all except }}$ S. It is $n$, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to
that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उत्तार यति "take down," H. EतTर, and so in all except G. and 0. Active, meaning " pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out."
3. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मृ "die," vi. स्रियते, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरद, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal मार्यति, Pa. मारपिति, Pr. कारे, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning " to kill." It rather means "to beat"; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary उास " throw" (see § 72, 12).
4. Skr. $\sqrt{\text { सृ " move," i. सरति, Pr. सरा. In H. सर neuter, means }}$ "to be completed," and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गसा " that affair is done with."

Causal बार यति, Pr. सारेक, H. सार " to finish," and in all. In 0. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).
5. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ E" seize," i. हरति, Pa. id., Pr. इर्. This verb is peculiar. H. तर $a$, "to seize," so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. Tर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as बबाने परिस्ता उावास संभर इपये मांबले ते क्यो हरते "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I roon." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी बाट् हरसों "I lost the lawsuit." ${ }^{1}$

Causal हार्यति, Pa. हारपेति and हरिति, Pr. हारेद, H. हार, and so in all but M. $\boldsymbol{m}$. In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that इTर and ₹र are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

[^15]winning, as क्यां बाचे घूंभर बपये हारशे "I won from him 100 rupees."
The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is " to cause to seize," and then " to permit (another) to seize," hence "to lose." So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 90, the
 भागधेयविश्मततया दथसुवर्पंक बूते हारित sc . मया) "By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play." From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use ₹र in the sense of winning, and दार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate langaages. In Kash. harun is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

1. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ एफड and स्पुर् " tremble," i. सफति, Pa. परति, Pr. पुरद. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root स्फिड् (as in सट्, स्फिट्, स्फुट्), or the moderns have softened $a$ to $i$, the former is the more probable. H. पिर $n$ "to turn (oneself)," "to spin round," "revolve," and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of सिए , that all the moderns have पेर $a$ "to turn (a thing) round," "to make it revolve."
2. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घूर्य " to move to and fro" (n). Allied to this is घुक्ब, i. घोयते, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोएद, H. घुर्स, P. M. घुठ, B. घुष्त, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, " to melt."

Causal घोयर्यति, Pr. घोषेद, H. घोष, P. घोष and घोक, G. M. O. घोक्, B. घोटा "to dissolve substances in water."
3. Skr. $\sqrt{\text { पत् "fall," i. पतति, Pa. id., Pr. पछर् (Var. viii. 51), }}$ H. पर "to fall," and so in all.

Causal पातयति, Pa. पातेति, Pr. पाठेद्, H. पाह "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.
4. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घद् "decay," i. and vi. शीयते, Pr. सड्द (Var. viii. 51), H. द्र, and in all " to rot."

Causal घाद्यति, Pr. सात्रिद, P. and S. साड्ड "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit $\sqrt{ }$ घ्् " to be sick," whence $\bar{\nabla}$ in Prakrit and the moderns.
5. Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ नम् "bow," i. नमते. It is both $a$ and $n$ in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नर्मति, Pr. यमद्, H. नम and नेव, P. नेंड (neï), S. नंवं, B. नू, O. नुंद्र, णोद्द (ठ) "c to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामेति, Pr. यामेद, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नंवा, B. बाम, नुया, O. चुध्राद्ध "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "hody" or "head" as objects, H. सीस नावणा "to incline the head." द्वार धार् पद नायेङ माथा॥ "Coming to the door, bowed his head to (the Guru's) feet."-T. R. Ay-k. 63.
In very common use is the diminutive H. निज्ञ, P. S. id., but in S., meaning "to bury," "press down." M. uses the compound form from Skr. चवनमति, Pr. बोयद् (p.p.p. बोयको = घवनत, Hâla, 9, Mr. p. 165), M. घोयव and घोयाव $n$ " to stoop." Perhaps S. घोगा " to listen," $a$, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ छष् "drag," i. कर्षति and vi. हृषति, Pa. कड्डुति, Pr. करिसद्, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mr. 253 occurs कट्टामि $=$ कर्षामि. The Skr. p.p.p is שष, which would give Pa. and Pr. कड्ड. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p." H. वाब $a$, "to drag

[^16]out," "extract," " to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. व区्ड and सड़, S. बह, G. B. बार्ड, M. O. वाढ. H. has a corresponding neuter वहठ "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वेड़द्= Skr. वेष्टति, which affords an analogy for a Pr. बड़्र like the Pali, very much used in the compound with जिस्; thus-

Skr. निष्वृष्, i. निष्कर्षति, Pa. रिछड़ति "to turn out of doors, expel ;" as to Pr. in Mr. 354 occurs fuERT "begone!" and in the line above सिक्बासेशि "turn him out." For the change of $\overline{\text { S }}$ to Var. viii. 41 Eब्वेसद = उद्वेष्टति affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निक्य $n$, "go out," P. निहरक, S. निनिर, G. निकठठ, O. निनिक्ठ, and H. निकास $a$, "turn out," P. निहाक, S. निकार, निकेर. In the above quoted passages of Mr., the scholiast renders निक्बासेहि by निष्काश्य, erroneously for निष्कासय, from निस् and ध्यस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for $\sqrt{ }$ वास् with fिस् has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as nikal
 and H. निकास $a$, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, " to bring oat," the substantive निकास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पाणी का निकास नहीं " there is no exit for the water," P. निEsास.
§22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ तप् "heat," i. तपरि, Pa. id., Pr. तवर्. In Sanskrit it is both $a$ and $n, 80$ also in Pali. In the latter the passive तप्पति (Skr. तप्यते) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तवद, as in
jaha ditṭho tavai khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hala, 229). Causal तापयति "to cause to burn," Pa. तापेति "to distress," Pr. तावद. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप् $n, "$ to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताष "to beat," P. तरछ, ता, G. ताप, M. id., B. तावा.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ fिप् "smear," vi. सिम्पनि, Pa. id., Pr. ₹िपद्, सिष्ट, H. सीप, श्रेप, P. जिप्प, जिम्ब, सिम्म, s. संब, fिम, G. सिप, M. शेप, B. तेप, O. डिप. Pass. बिप्बते, Pa. सिप्पति, Pr. fिप्पद्, H. fिप" to be smeared with," M. fिप, G. नेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. $\sqrt{\text { घ्वत् "cut," vi. ध्रच्ताति, also i. कर्त्तते, Pa. not given. If the }}$ Bha type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have बह्टा (on the analogy of वड्टा = वर्तथे). I have not met with it. The Bha type being Atmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. बए "to be cut," P. वद्ध , S. बए, M. id., B. बट "to wither," become flaccid, O. बए. The causal is षर्तर्यति, whence G. pass. intrans. (-1) धटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. बाटेर्, whence H. बाए "to cut," S. M. B. O. id.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घथ् घन्द् "tie," i. यर्थति, ix. घथ्नाति, Pa. गर्थति, गंथेति,
 यां, both $a$ and $n$, G. गाठ $a$, B. गात, गाष, O. गद. Passive बन्बते used in a reflexive sense, whence $H$. गंठ " to be knotted," or गठ without anuswara, P. गठ, G. गठा (-1). H. has also forms Jच $n$, and गiँa, the former from Pr. 才च, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. पथित appears in Pr. as गुत्तो, perhaps as if from a Skr. घृचित. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गुण्ब "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गुत्य "to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, wellknit (as limbs)," M. चुत and गुष्ब " to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गुषा, and H. गूष " to thread," G. गुंच.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ टश् "totter," i. टरनि (perhaps connected. with $\sqrt{ }$ चब titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is $n$ in Skr. and thus
H. टस $n$, "to give way, yield, totter," P. G. M. टळ, S. टिस, टर, B. टस " to slip, stagger," O. टक id. Causal टासरति, H. टास $a$, "to drive away," टेल " to push," P. टाळ, G. M. id., S. टार, B. टास " to delay, put off, evade," O. टाळ id.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ तुल्, तूष " raise," "weigh," i. तोलति, x. तुलयति and तोलय", Pa. तुलेति, Pr. तुसद, H. तोल, तोस $a$, "to weigh," P. तोष, S. तोर, G. id., M. तुक, both $a$ and $n, B$. तोझा and तुस, O. तीस. Pass. तुष्मते, would be Pr. तुछद्, $H$. तुष $n$, "to be weighed, to weigh," i.e. to be of a certain weight, P. id., S. तुर, B. O. तुत्ब.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ सम्म् "prop," v. सम्नोति, ix. सम्नाति. Pa., the verb is not given in Childers, it would be षंभति, Pr. चभर्द, H. धांभ, also spelt थाम and धांब $a$, "to prop, support," P. घन्न्ह or चंन्है, S. थंभ, G. थांभ, B. थामा, O. थाम. Pass. सम्बते ; there is also an Âtmane conjugation सम्भते. From this latter probably H. घंभ, धम, थंब $n$, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. घंभ, S. थम, G. घंभ, M. धम, याम, घाब. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is सब्ब, Pr. यड़, whence Old-H. ठाढा "stauding," as गोपी बन वोधिक है चितवति सब ठाडी $॥$ "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."-S. S. Bal Mla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खड्डा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खड़, from सण्ध, $\sqrt{ }$ संग्भ. P. has खरा adj. "standing," whence a verb खर्ठ " to stand."

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ वृत् with नि, निवृत्, i. निवर्त्तते " to come to an end, be finished," Pr. यिय्षत्तद, means "to return," na niattai jovvanam aikkantam = न निवर्त्तते योवनं चतिक्राग्तं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (HAla, 251), but we may postulate a form खिवट्टद, whence $H$. निबउं $n$, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. id., S. निबिड्ड or निबिर, B. निबड, O. id. On the analogy of similar words H. निबाउ, निबेड $a$, "to finish," P. id., S. निबेर, B. O. निबाउ, it might also come from निपतनि $=$ Pr. यिवछ्ह, but the meaning is less appropriate.

Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटते "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघड्र. With loss of aspiration, H. बिगड्ड $n$, "to become useless, to be spoilt," P. id., S. बिगिड, G. बगङ, M. retains the aspirate बिघड, B. O. विगड्ड. Causal विघटर्यति, but Pa. विधाटेति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विघाडेद्र, $H$. fिगाउ $a$, "to spoil," P. S. G. id., M. विघाउ.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhâtupattha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:
H. साद $a$, "to load," P. सह, more from analogy than anything else, S. सं. In all the rest साद्.
H. सद $n$, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) saggests a derivation from $\sqrt{ }$ श्रम्, p.p.p. श्रान्त "tired," or $\sqrt{ }$ सम, p.p.p. ETन्त "tired." This would seem to be confirmed by Russian klad" "a load," klazha "lading," na-kladevat' " to load;" Old-High-German hladid, Anglo-Saxon' hladan "to load," hlad "a load," Mod. HighGerman laden. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. श्रान्त nor कात्र could well have given rise to a Hindi lad. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for sume reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.

Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:
H. खोद् and खोड $a$, "to dig," P. id., S. बोट, खोख, G. खोद, M. बोत्र, खुर, B. खुद. And H. खुद, खुर्" to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. बोल $a$, "to open," P. खोए है, छुन्ब, S. G. M. बोल, B. O. सुल, and H. सुष $n$, "to come open," P. सुन्ह, S. खुल, G. M. id. Pr. has a verb खुछ, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupatha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably $\sqrt{ }$ खण्ड "to divide," with which another root खन् "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खण्ड, "a portion," is formed from $\sqrt{ }$ बन्, and is the origin of $\sqrt{ }$ खष्ड्. The
 "Like a golden pot with its string broken, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कूपे खष्डितपार्यं, etc. Also in Mr. 219, बहुद्रद्दिभषरे गोबासकद्रार को खुडिदो, " While the sun was only half risen the cowherd's son escaped," i.e. broke out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.
H. बूर or उु $n$, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. बुर्उ, G. बुर्ड, M. B. O. id., and H. बोड $a$, "to drown, to immerse," S. id., बोष्ड occars in M. and S., not as active of चुउ, but for मों (मुंद्र) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. तुष $n$, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. 忋 (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as vudda in daravuddavuddanivudda mahuaro, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).-HAla, 37. ${ }^{1}$ The Sanskrit lexicographers give a $\sqrt{ }$ बु⿶ "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form dubb is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

[^17]from Mr. 346, given under बोर्ड above, where the speaker is a Chandala or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhrança. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead masj, Liatin mergere.
H. भेट, मेंट $a$, " to meet" (to join any one), भेर्ड $a$, "to close, shut," P. भेत, S. भेट and भीर, G. भेट, M. भिछ, both $a$ and $n, B$. भेट, भेर, 0. भेट; and H. भिष्ड "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. id., S. G. id., M. भेट, B. भिउ "to approach near to," 0 . भिष्छ "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive भीर "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. Wradu " near," which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.
H. सेट " to efface," P. S. id., and more common H. मिट $n$, "to be effaced, to fail, wear out" (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष्ट " rubbed," p.p.p. of $\sqrt{ }$ मृश््, though one would expect a Pr. मिद्ध or सुट्ठ, and H. मीठ. There are two other stems ending in $\mathbb{C}$, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz. :
H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐेसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिट्ट, M. पिट, both $a$ and $n, B$. and 0. पिट $a$, and H. पीट $a$, "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिद्ठ "to beat," पिट्ठिष एदं चेर्ड खिक्बाये़ि "Having beaten this slave, turn him out" (Mr. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandala), and पिद्धिद्रेय वित्ञ पुयोषि बोट्धिद्वं "I must roll about again like a beaten jackass" (Mr. 107). Here, unless this is a nonSanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिष्ट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of $\sqrt{ }$ पिष् "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस " to grind," and पिस $n$, "to be ground."

wallow," P. बेट, सिट, S. सेट, G. M. id. Probably connected with घोट ; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is $\sqrt{ }$ eी "to lie down;" lotţai $=$ svapiti.-Pischel, Hem. iv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च्, concerning which also there has been some controversy.
Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ की "buy," ix. क्मीयाति and कीयीते, Pa. कियानि, Pr. किसद, H. कीन, S. गिन्र्ह (is not the हe here due to some confusion with Pr. गेयह = पह "take"?), B. O. किण. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with वि, विथी "sell," ix. विक्रीयाति, Pa. विधियाति, Pr. विध्रिसद्, S. विकिय $a$, "to sell," O. निक, Gipsy bikndia. But in H. बिक is $n$, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावष बांत्या विक्षा "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. बिक is both $a$ and $n$, as बिकेस तसें पिकेष "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. बिक $n$, "to be sold." For the active H. has बेच sometimes pronounced बेंच "to sell," as घाब चावए बेचता "he is selling rice to-day." P. बेष, G. वेच, B. वेष. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhat type, it is intelligible that बिक should mean both "to sell" $a$, and "to be sold" $n$, for the Parasmai of the Bha form would be विभ्रयति, and the Atmane विक्यते, and the final syllable being rejected as in $\sqrt{ }$ की and $\sqrt{ }$ ती meutioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be fिका. S. and Gipsy have retained the $\overline{4}$ of the Pr. विधिसद. But whence comes the च in बेच?
H. बेंच, commonly pronounced बेंच "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. सिच and सिंज, G. M. खेंच, B. खेष and सेंघ, O. id. Also H. सिच $n$, "to be dragged," B. सिच, खिंच "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. खिघ. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit $\sqrt{ } \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} ष$ " to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs kark and karh, and in composition to ni-kal and mi-kal, yet it is not impossible that, used
in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like khench and its congeners.'
H. पङंच "to arrive" $n$, written in various ways as पदंच, पझुच,
 O. पञच. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूर and पुग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पर्र, as दिज दोय मंब्ष गीके पर्ंत्य"In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पहोत, e.g. तक्ण वारे नारदणे के वसाय भाव ฑ पहोतो "Says Nala to Nârada, this story does not arrive at mind" (i.e. is not probable).-Premanand Bhat, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पङ्वयु has p.p.p. पङतो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सृप्, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb प\% "near," and वर "make," assuming a change of का into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediæval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पुवार "to call," as the causal of पुग, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक्य. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्राघूर्य "a guest," which becomes in H. पाइन this fails to explain the final $\bar{\square}$.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in $\overline{\text {, }}$, for as $\bar{\square}$ arises from द + य, so $\bar{\eta}$ arises from $\bar{\pi}+\boldsymbol{य}$ (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:
H. भेज a, "send," P. id. Here we have Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भिड़ु "cleave," "separate." Causal भेद्यति, which would make a passive भेबते "he is made to separate," i.e. "he is sent away." If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between $d$

[^18]and $y$; or, taking the simple passive भिबते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिब "to be sent," from which the active भेष "to send," has been formed ; bhij, however, is not found.
H. बब $n$, "to sound," P. id., S. वग़ and बढ़, G. वब, M. वाज, B.id. Also H. बाब $a$, "to play (music)," and $n$, "to sound." Probably from Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ वद् " speak," causal वाद्यति, Pa. वद्ति and बद्धिति, the passive of the causal is Skr. वाबते, Pa. वष्थति "to be beaten," i.e. "to be caused to speak," as vajjanti bheriyo "drums are beaten." Hence the modern $b a j$. The short form $b a j$ is apparently due to analogy.
$\S 23$. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are ho, baith, and uth.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhu type Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and
the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are parh, kar, and ghen.

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in labhanu, lahanu, or as chhor, chhut. Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in tut, tor, or mar, mâr.

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, form in all the languages, it is not used in the same phase in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. गाठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present gánthato, Past gánthala Future gdnthel, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present ganthito, Past ganthilen, Future ganthil. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediæval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढना "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढाणा "to make big," and rustic and
poetical Hindi often uses बाठना for the neuter, as ऐसो देव प्रबट गोवर्ष्घन । बाषे पूजे बाह गोधन ॥"Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle in-creases."-S.S. Govardhanlila, ii. 15 , et passim. So also बाहत बेख्न मृणालक सूत्त" "It grocos like the threads of the lotus."-Padm. This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.
§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the short vowel, but has in its place a form in which $d$ is added to the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked -1 in the scale, $\S 10) .{ }^{1}$ The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having $a$ as the included vowel, it is shortened to $a$, as-

| वांच " read," | वंचा "be read." |
| :--- | :--- |
| बांक " mark, test." | संका "be tested." |
| सांभळ "hear," | सभळा " be heard." |

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is $\hat{\varepsilon}$ or $\hat{u}$, though from the way in which short and long vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus-

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { घीख " learn," घीखा ( झिखा) " be learnt." } \\
\text { มीव " sew," } & \text { घीवा (झिवा) " be sewn." }
\end{array}
$$

Where the stem ends in a vowel, व is inserted to prevent hiatus, as-

| Fा " wasb," | चवा " be washed." |
| :--- | :--- |
| खा "eat," | खात " be eaten." |
| fिही " fear," | fिीीवा " be feared." |

[^19]With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, रामथी रावया मरायो "Râvana was killed by Râma," चा ब्तेतर मां बी ववायुं "In this field seed has been sown;" as expressing habit, एवुं वहेवाय हे सं "thus it is correctly said," i.e. "this is the correct way of expressing it ;" चा घोषरो मूर्ब ब क्यायदे "this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;" as expressing power or fitness, तेनाथी चसाय नहीं "he cannot walk," literally " by him it is not walked;" राजा थी चन्बाय बराय गहि "a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;" बूवो चभउायो माटे एगुं पायी पीवाय वहि "the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk." Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like abhaddyo in the sentence just quoted, which means "to be ceremonially impure," and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from च" "not," and भद्र "good," there had been formed a verb उभद्रायते "it is not good." So also वपरावुं "to be used," "to be in use," as एक चर्ष ना के प्रत्बय वपराय छे "two affixes are in use with one meaning," postulates from ब्यापार, a denominative व्यापारायते, or perhaps the causal of वि + चा + पृ = ब्यापारयति. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as भीमव सुता चुं वट्ग सुधावर देबोले झोभाय। चर्रमा तो चीया पामी घाभमा संताय " "Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhîmaka in its beauty-The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds."-Premânand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here घोभा is "to be beautiful," and looks like a denominative, but सताय has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, "to be hidden," "to hide oneself." Again, द्यंती कुं उद्र देखी

सुसायुं सरोवर "Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (ib. ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also घर बाग्युं त्बारे बूवो सोदावे ए चमि केम घोलवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?" -K.-D. i. 184.' The verb बोलवा is also written होष०, and is probably the same as 0 . चोरा "to descend, alight," M. चोहळ "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from wप + सृ $=$ बपसर ति, Pr. योमक्ष (Mâgadhi), and with change of E to है कोहल. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: चस्से से बोघसध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal ॠोझाषिद्रा मए घफ्डा "I have got the cart out of the way," (ib. 211) = Skr. चपसारिता. This phrase is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus खोवावुं "to be lost." Present बोवाए "he is lost," Future ब्बोवाशे "he will be lost," Preterite बोवाषो, खोवायो, or बोवाएसो 叉े "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as ते णाधी होडाय "he can loose," तेणाथी छोडायो " he could loose," तेनाषी छोठाशे "he will be able to loose."

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पवरह "seize," पवन्हा "be seized," as हम् पकहाइत बा "I am being seized." In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyâpati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, सिकता बस्ष हैछे चर्षहि धुवायक्ष "As water poured out on the ground is dried up."-Pad. 984. धरबी घोटायन गोकुलघाड्। " (He who is) the moon of Gokul rolled himself on the earth."-P.K.S. 77. बनु इंदीवर पबने पेषिस खषि भरे हसटाय। "As a lotus pressed down by the wind is tilted by the weight of bees" (var. lect. भुरि = by a swarm).-Pad. 1352.

[^20]There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the $y$ of Sanskrit into $t a$ or $i a, \mathrm{Skr}$. खाबते $=\mathrm{Pr}$. खाई wé ; and it is supposed that this i has become चय, and subsequently mi, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.
§ 25. The regular Passive (phase - 2 ) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in $\dddot{j} j a$ ( $V$ ar. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. crüyate $=$ suṇijaï, gamyate $=$ gamijjaï, hasyate $=$ hasijjai. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding \%a or $\bar{y}$ to the neuter or active stem. ${ }^{1}$ Thus-
पूरणय " to bury," Passive पूर्जयु " to be buried."
घटखु " to lessen," " घटिक्यु " to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as-

## विशाइयु " to lose," Passive विझाइ्वयु " to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उसणिए बणु "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the i$i j a$ of the passive. Thus Skr. उत्क ए "longing," makes a verb उत्काष्यति" "to long for," whence the Sindhi ukhandijanu. So also चंगुडिज्यु " to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. चतुल, or बहुरि "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb ${ }^{1}$ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.

बहुरयति "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);" उमिर्बयु "to be angry," from उम区 "anger," Skr. उमर "uproar," of which the denominative would be उमरर्यति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

| " ${ }^{\text {drink }}$ thou," | पिश्यु " to drink," | " to be drunk." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| पूउ " thread thou," | पुक्षयु " to thread," | पूर्पक्यु "to be threaded." |
| घोड "wash thou," | धुष्षयु "to wash | धोर्वणु " to be washed." |

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwâri dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are-

| बर यो " to do," | बरीबयो " to be done." |
| :--- | :--- |
| खावयो " to eat," | बवीबयो " to be eaten." |
| हेयो " to take," | किरीक्यो " to be taken." |
| देयो " to give," | दिरीजयो " to be given." |
| जावयो " to come," | षवीकयो " to be come." |

 me it is not come," i.e. "I am not coming." थां सुं खवीबेलो नहीं $=\mathrm{H}$. तुम से नहीं खाया कायगा "by you it will not be eaten," i.e. " you will not (be able to) eat it." This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing. The insertion of $T$ instead of $\bar{q}$ in and दे is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding $\&$ to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in $t a$, as

[^21]mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मारणा "to beat," Passive present में मारीदा "I am beaten," Future में मारीषांगा "I shall be beaten," Potential (old present) में मारीका "I may be beaten."

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, how ever, and is formed by adding the verb वा "to go," to the past participle of the passive, का doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार "beat," H. Sing. मारा बाणा "to be beaten" $m$., मारो बाना $f ., \mathrm{Plur}$. मारे वाना $m$., मारीं काना $f ., \mathrm{P}$. मारिका जाना $m$., मारी $f$., Plur. मारे $m$., मारीwt $f$. Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मार्यों बवुं "to be beaten," with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारि सा कायों, B. मारा बाइते, 0 . मारा fिबा. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. गाई बाधली होती "the cow was tied," and G. यंब बर्यों दे "the book is made;" such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of आाणा "to go," to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होगा "to be," would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of वाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in $i \mathfrak{j j a}$. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular
passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added $j$, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the $\boldsymbol{i}$ of the common word oा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form नारिबे "he is beaten," would easily pass into मारा काए, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head. ${ }^{1}$ They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb padu "to happen" (Sanskrit पत्, modern Aryan पड्) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with $j a$ is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb poyu "to go," is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning "to eat," which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression मार खाना " to eat a beating" = " to be beaten." In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was ever

[^22]borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.
§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable aya to the root, which often also takes guna or vriddhi, $\sqrt{ }$ छ "do," causal वारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting प् between the root and the characteristic aya. These are principally roots ending in a vowel ; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in प has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus $\sqrt{ }$ पष्ट "cook," causal pâcheti, pachayati, pachdpeti, pâchapayati. ${ }^{1}$ In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the aya of Sanskrit becomes $e$, thus वारयति = Pr. कारेद, हासयति = हासेद् (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted प् is softened to च्, thus giving करावेद्र or कारवेद्ध (ib. 27). It is from this form, and not from aya, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the $e$ in karavei is frequently omitted, as it is also in kâreï, and we find such forms as kâraï, taraï, side by side with katravaï (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only av for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

[^23]sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionarymaker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are : ava, ica, zva, avi, ava, àvi, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with प्, modified in Prakrit to व्. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in ava to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding ica, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that ava is the ordinary form, as basanen "to sit," basavanen " to seat." This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form iva is more used, as karanen " to do," karivanen "to cause to do." A third form avi is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as karavinen. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the $v$, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use $\mathfrak{a}$ as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either $i$, as B. kard-i-te, O. kard-i-bd, S. kard-i-nu, or $u$, as Old-H. kard-u-nd, P. kard-u-ṇa, or hardened to $c a$, as G. kard-ca-vun. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, $a v, a v, i v, i v$. Of these four $a v$ approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes ar, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces iv; and the fourth form, $i v$, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or
in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

बर्यों " to do," कर वयें, बरावयें, करिवयें, करीवयें; also वरविंयें, and करीवियें " to cause to do."

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

| बस " sit," | बसव " seat." |
| :--- | :--- |
| मिळ " meet," | fिळव (junction vowel दू) " mix." |
| निब " sleep," | निखव "put to sleep," " soothe." |

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as
मार "strike," मारव " cause to strike."
शिक्ष "teach," झ्ञिवा "cause to teach."
Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as
फिर "turn" (i.e. be turned), फिरव "cause to be turned."
बटट "be cut," कटव, कटाव "canse to be cut."
Simple roots ending in vowels insert a o between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat," खावव (junction vowel द) " cause to eat."
So also with roots ending in $\boldsymbol{E}$, as
सिद्ध "write," सिह्रवव "cause to write."
The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

[^24]guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter :
fिख " write," H.P.B.O.S. सिखा "cause to write," (H. Pres. likhatd, Pret. likhdya, Aor. likhde, or likhay, or likhdve.)

| पठ " read," | $i d$. | पठा " cause to read." |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| सुण " hear," | $i d$. | सुना " cause to hear." |

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

| बमा " be made," | बणाना " make." |
| :---: | :---: |
| बोसणा "speak," | डुलाना " call" (i.e. "cause to speak.") |
| घलना " move," | घसाणा "drive." |
| बागणा "be awake," | अगाना "awaken." |
| Вठना "rise," | उठाना "raise." |
| पषणा " be cooked," | पकाना "cook." |

So also in the case of double verbs given in $\S \S 20,21$, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which $d$ or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the घ् of Skr. as gamyate = gammaï,
a second in $\ell a$, as gamyate $=$ gam\&adi, and a third in $\ddot{j j a}$, as gamyate=gamijijadi. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as marida $=$ martadi, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in $\S 25$. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in aya with long or guna vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as hadrayati=hdreï=hdr; trotayati=toreï=tor; while that which takes the प् causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as karayati (karApayati) $=k a r d r e i=k a r d$.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from फटका are made both फाटटना and फटाना, from हरना are made हारणा and हराना, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix $a, a v$, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is vriddhi, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

| neUtrb. | activb. | causal. |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| तप | ताव | तपा |
| घुल | घोश | घुला |

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or guna stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples बोद्यना and उुसाना, कागना and वगाना given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if $\hat{d}, \hat{l}$, or $e$, into $i$, if $\hat{u}$ or $o$, into $u$. The semivowel
used is sometimes $\overline{\mathrm{Z}}$ or $\mathbf{~}$, but more commonly E . Thus, èm " to take," षिवाना "to cause to take," but-

| H. देगा "give," | दिसाणा " cause to give." |
| :---: | :---: |
| बीना "live," | fिबाणा "cause to live." |
| पी $\mathrm{T}^{\text {c }}$ drink," | पिसाषा "give to drink." |
| खाणा "eat," | खिलाणा "feed." |
| धोणा "wash," | धुषाना " cause to wash." |
| सोणा " sleep," | सुषाणा "put to sleep." |
| रोणा "weep," | बतापा " make to weep." |

In a few cases of stems ending in $\overline{\text { E }}$, or in aspirates, the $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ is optionally inserted, as
H. बहणा "say," धाराना

| देखणा "see," | द्खिाणा | " ट्बिसाणा "show." |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| सीखणा "learn," | सिख्बाणा | " सिखषापा "teach." |
| बैठणा " sit," | विठाबां (or ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ - ) | " विठसाणा (\%)०) "seat." |

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with $\mathbb{T}$ instead of $\boldsymbol{\square}$, as is customary with that language, as ${ }^{1}$

| डिख्यु "give," | डिभ्रारयुु " cause to give." |
| :---: | :---: |
| चुष्यु " leak," | चुभारणु " cause to leak." |
| विद्धु "sit," | विहारणु "seat." |
| सिस्बयु "learn," | सिसारणु " teach." |
| उथडु "rise," | उथार㐌 "raise." |
| सुन्हणु "sleep," | सुन्हारणु "put to sleep." |

Here the $\boldsymbol{\tau}$ is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediæval poets such words as dikharna "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage baithalnd is quite as common

[^25]as bithland. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses $\boldsymbol{\nabla}$ instead of $\mathbf{~}$, as

| धावgुं "suck," | धवाडg " give suck." |
| :---: | :---: |
| घीवडुं "sew," | शीवाउपुं "cause to sew." |
| वागडु "sound," | वगाउ'gं " strike " (a bell, etc.) |

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes a to prevent hiatus, and so also after ह, as

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { था (चडुं) " be," चवाखंतु "cause to be." } \\
& \text { बांg "eat," सबाड़ुं "feed." } \\
& \text { देशु " give," देथाउदु "cause to give." } \\
& \text { सेर्दु "endure," से हैवाइंुं "cause to endure." } \\
& \text { कोर्हंु " rot," कोर्हाउतुं " cause to rot." }
\end{aligned}
$$

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as dhavarar, khavaraiv, with change of $\boldsymbol{\pi} \boldsymbol{\tau}$.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel $u$, as $k h i l d-u-n d$, dikhá-u-nd. In both these languages the old form $d u$ has, in a few instances, changed to $o$ instead of $a$, as

भिगोणा "to wet," from भीगना " to be wet."
डुबोणा "to drown," " उुबना "to be drowned."
Bengali and Oriya have only the causal form in a with junction vowel $i$, as B. kard-i-te, Q. kara-i-bd, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or guna vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in ate, and exhibiting the forms dva, ava, ira, tca, av, $\hat{a} u, 0, a$; the other starting, I know
not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms ar, ad, $a l, r d, l a$. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels $l$ and $v$, is a problem which must remain for future research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is even, in my opinion, highly probable.
§ 27. The Passive Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, "I cause Râm to be struck by Shyâm," or, "I cause Shyâm to strike Râm," the idea is the same. As regards form, the term double causal is more appropriate in some languages. In $H$. and $P$. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. वा, P. वाउ, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable $a v$ of the single causal shortened, and another $a v$ added to it, thus from sun "hear," comes causal sund, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal sunvd, ${ }^{1}$ "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as sund is from the fuller form sundr, so sunvd is from sunâv+ $\hat{\mathrm{a}}=$ sunar $+\hat{\mathrm{a}}=$ sunva. This double or passive causal is in use mostly with neuter and active intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनगा "be made," बनाणा "make," बभवाणा "cause to be made." Thus they say, गठ बलता "The fort is being built;" चवर्ष गठ बकाता "The architect is building the fort;" and राबा चर्व की दारा गठ बणवाता "The king is causing the fort to be built by the architect." In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, the nature of the construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render "The king causes the architect to build," etc., by बभवाणा in any other way than by putting "architect"

[^26]in the ablative with दारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

| उठ "rise," | $\begin{aligned} & \text { उठा "raise" (i.e. "cause } \\ & \text { to rise "), } \end{aligned}$ | उठवा "cause to be raised" <br> (i.e. "cause A to cause B to rise"). |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| बए " be cut," | काट "cut," | वटवा " cause to cut." |
| Eुष "be open," | बोर "open," | डुरवा " cause to open." |

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in $a$ may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting ra (Trumpp, 257), as

विर्ष "be weary," विर्षा "make weary,tire," विर्षारा "cause to make weary."
घा " wound," घारा "cause to wound," घारारा "cause to canse to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

Stack instances also passive causals formed on the same model as ordinary passives, thus

सह "be on fire," साउ "burn," साउा "cause to hurn," माउाइए " be cansed to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापयु "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast), neuter; धाइएयु "to suck the breast," active; धार्द्यु "to be sucked," pass. ; धापिब्यु " to give suck," neut. pass.; धाराइयु "to suckle," caus.; धाराड्बण्यु "to be suckled," pass. caus.;

धाराराद्यु " to cause (another) to suckle," double caus.; धाराराइवयु "to cause to be suckled by another," double pass. caus. The whole of these forms, however, are rarely found in one verbal stem. The double causal is common enough, thus from the causals mentioned in the last section are derived double causals-

```
सुन्हारणु "to put to sleep," सुन्हाराइएप " to cause to put to sleep."
 उथारणु " to raise," उथाराइएयु " to cause to raise" (H. उठवाना).
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§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in $\S 26$ generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in §11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the aya or aya of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double stems mentioned in §19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, et seqq.) the following examples:

| nbutbr. | active. |
| :---: | :---: |
| उद्यामयु "to be extinguished," | उद्याइयु" to extinguish." |
| Bऩामयु " to fly," | BFt'su " to make fly, to spend." |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { आ!पयु } \\ \text { ब!मयु }\end{array}\right\}$ "to be born," | बययु " to bring forth." |
| ד्रापयु " to be satiated," | द्राइयु " to satiate." |
| बामयु " to be on fire," | खाइ्यु " to burn." |
|  | माइस " to contain." |
| विद्रामयु "to be passed, to pass" (as time), | विडाइए " to pass the time." |
| इपामयु " to grow less," | हपाद्यु " to lessen." |

In this group the neuter stems have the type dpa and $d m a$, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type dbe of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the $b$ of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in माइ्यु "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. ل मा "to measure;" but मापणु, Skr. caus. मापयति "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of वापयु the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit $\sqrt{ }$ बन् is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as-

## H. सिसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away." <br> ब्वियाना "to be worn out."

सुजलाणा "to itch."
घबराणा "to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घबराउया.
घमाना "to bask in the sun."
घंचषाणा " to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. id.
P. घराबाउया "to grow
soft" (a scar).

कुन्हलाना "to wither," to grow flaccid." P. id.
In words of this class, also, a syllable ©्य is often inserted, as
सिसियाणा " to grin." P. खिखिय्यांख्या id.
This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24 , which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive
intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राबपुष ही हरप बचते बानाय "He must be a king's son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) it is knovn."-Bhàrat, B.-S. 378, where $j a n d y=j a n a \ddot{e}$, "it appears," " it is evident," a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus-
कडषा "a cracking or crashing sound;" बड्ठावियें "to crack, crash ;" बडवावयें "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."
कमता (from Persian ${ }^{\text {) }}$ "deficient," बमतावयों " to grow less."
बरका "a grating sound," बरकरावियों "to grind the teett."
काँ (Skr.) "doubt," काकसावियों " to be doubtful."
-but this may also be formed from the two words at "why?" बसा "how P" and would thus mean "to why-and-how," "to hum and ha;" just as they use in Urdu the phrase كَيت ولعّل كرنا "لا "to prevaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "perhaps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in $a v a$ and those in avi, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from बोरवा " little," "few," बोरवावथ्यों "to grow less," and चोरकावियें "to make less," but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, उरवावयें $n$, "to bellow," "bluster," and उरकाविलें "to frighten by bellowing;" also उरावयी "the act of roaring at," from उरावियें or उरवियों "to intimidate," where
the $i$ of the infinitive seems to be represented by $a$ in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic Eq is used, according to Stack, convertibly with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus द्राइ्रयु or द्राइ्अयु "to be satiated;" while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as हिरयु and हिराइडयु " to grow loose or slack."

Further examples are-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { द्यपणु and च्यपिब्यु "to grow less ;" also घ्वपामयु " to decrease." } \\
& \text { घ्यकाइ्वयु and द्यकिजणु " to fade," "tarnish." } \\
& \text { माइयु and माइ्रणय "to be contained in." }
\end{aligned}
$$

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack's definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.
§29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in $a k a$ (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lâl.

## कुटी ग शिशुता की घ्यक्यक घ्वसकी घोबज चंग ।

"The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs."-Sats. 17.

Here the substantive घ्यक्ष "glitter," "splendour" (probably formed from $V$ ठ्वस), gives rise to a verb घ्यसकणा "to shine." Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-
necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding -ise, -iser, or -isiren, as colonise, coloniser, colonisiren, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of वट, घट, चाट, चड्ड, चक, वळ, षर, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus-

घासर्ये "to rub" (Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घृष्) , secondary stems घसटयें "rub," घसरयें "slip," घसवटतों (a potential form) "graze the skin," " be practised in" (an art or science), घसाउते "scour" (pots), घासटयों $a$, "rub off, deface," $n$, "be rubbed," " be despoiled of." Analogous is H. घसीटका "drag."
उुबयों "to sink" (rarely used), डुंबयों, गुंभ॰, उुम", "to splash about in the water," हुबकयों id., उुबकवित्यें "to plunge into water," (causal) इुबकठणयं " to dip."

## थांग " place," थागारते " to arrange."

थाप "pat," थापट सें " to pat," घापस यों " to back water," " to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."
हंख "stick," दंख्ये "to press, punish," दंउपयें "to compress," दंखावयों " to stiffen," compare B. उांडाइते "to stand up."

Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add का to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in क, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the afformative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is at, or vat, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having al, al, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.
§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominative character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.
(a) with $a$.

बटबटाणा "to knock, pat, rap," from बटखट n.f. onomatopce.

बङसराणा" to clatter, rattle, jar," from सउत्र n. f. onomatopcea.
खद्सद्राणा " to bubble, simmer," "
 onamatop.
गहगहाणा "to quiver," probably connected with घह q.d. "to be seized and shaken."

हसछ्राना "to mutter, murmur."
क्षख्यहाना "to flap, flop," from क्षस्य "to fall off."
द्वणद्सयाना " to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. द्वयद्यण.
द्मसम्सलाजा "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. उनल्?
फडफाडाना " to flutter, twitch," Skr. सफु?
घरधराजा " to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.
$(\beta)$ with $i$.
सिखियाना "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.
गिर्डगिडाणा "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. गे, गीति?
घियघियाना "to turn sick at," from घिया "disgast," Skr. घृता; there are also verbs धिएियाना, घियौगा and घियाना.
चिचियाना "to squeak," onomatop.
चिर्भचिनाना id. 99
प्रिडक्विडाणा " to rave, rage, scold."
fटिटिंगाना "to twang," onomatop.
( $\gamma$ ) with $u$.
खुपखुपाणा "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. तुभ् through H. खुभना and छुपना "to pierce."

युंगुणाना " to mutter."
.चुपघुपाणा " to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुप " silent."
चुसचुलाना " to itch, tickle."
तुसतुसाला " to be soft or squashy."

## पस $\mathrm{C} स ा ण ा$ " to whisper," onomatop. <br> भुरभुराना " to powder, sprinkle."

The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the rootsyllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswara, as in गुगनाणा, चंचनाना "to throb," and even with E, as घंचलाना " to be unsteady," where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खद्खद्वणा, ख्बखलाना are found खट्वद्राना and खलबसाभा with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाभा and चुलबुलाना, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा "talkative," चरपरा "acrid, pungent," चरफारा "active," चरवरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराणा "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," घरपराणा "to smart," चरफाना "to shake, swing," चरबराना "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are-

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घटपटाणा " to toss, tumble, flounder."
क्षउबडाना " to be on fire."
द्विर्षमिलाणा "to flicker."
तउफछाणा " to flutter."
निरमिराना " to dazzle, glisten."
घटपटाना " to stagger."
तउबताना " to stammer, stutter."
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In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ठों ठीं करणा "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, चुं चु करना "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited : विर्धिडाउ्या "to prate, sputter," चिउमिडाउया "to smart," धुलचुलाठ्या and चुलबुल० "to flutter," घ्मयक्षयाउयात "to tingle" as the limbs when benumbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From सहसह "blaze," comes सह्हाइ्यु "to blaze;" and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कहकहतु and बहवरावु "to rattle," also खडखड़ु; चटपटすु "to fret," चयच्युु "to

 rock." In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from आাa for Skr. कान्त "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form at, they make कमात्रांयें "to be distressed, to starve," and कaातयों "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. बच "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun बचवाच, and then बचकच यों "to gnash the teeth," बचाचर्ंों "to screech," बचकार्ये "to slip, give way with a noise." With a second syllable added, beginning
(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive बचमच expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence बष्यमयें (from बषमष्यें) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of am "dirt," is often changed into कचमळणों "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit छ्धात् "cut," or from बष्ट "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is बह expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence बटकटरों "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word बचका expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence कर्डकउयों, which may be generally rendered "to go kadkad," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is कडमउत्ये "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of मोड "breaking," is also pronounced कहमोडयो". In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows:

> बसकायें " to be feverish," from कता and बएयक्य "feverishness," " heat and throbbing," "cramp."
> बरकरयें " to caw" (as a crow), from बर्बर "cawing" or any other harsh sound.
> "бठकठठयों " to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from कठककण a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit बसर " dispute."

कसकस्यें "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from वसकस "pains and aches."

कठमकरयें the same as कठकळणें.
कठवक्णों "to writhe, yearn."
बिचकिषयें "to chatter" (as a monkey), from बिपषिच "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."
कुणकुययों "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from कुयकुए" low, soft murmaring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted:
घंबम्सडणें " to go to work smartly," from क्ष区ट्यं " smartly, quickly," connected with \& E , which in all the languages means " quick!" "look sharp !"
घयक्षययें " to tinkle, tingle, ring."
क्षळ⿸्बक्यें " to glitter, sparkle."
घ्युरद्युरयें "to trickle, coze, pine away."
फरफा यें " to twitch, flutter."
मिरमिर यें "to sting, be pungent."
In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb kar, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb jhaṇhananenen, B. prefers to say घ्यन घ्मन or घ्यन्म्बण बरिते. The following are a few examples:

घुयघुयाइत्ते "to buzz, growl."
प्विवस्मिक्ष वरिते " to blaze, glitter."
टणटन क० "to throb, ache."
टिपटिपाइते " to fidget, twitch."

> ठकाठकि क० " to backbite or quarrel mutually."
> ठुकठुवा व० " to rap, tap."
> ठबठता क" " to sparkle, shine."
> चुर्ुरिते "to quiver, tremble, shake."
> भयभयाइते " to buzz, hum."
> भुजभुजाइते " to murmur, whisper."

Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoetic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, e.g.

> घणद्बन बहु्या रयाय नूपूर ।
> घुण घुणु घघुर बोपे ॥
> "The bracelets go jhan jhan! the anklets go ran ran! Ghunu ghunu goes the girdle of bells."-B.-S. 299 .

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoetic nouns or verbs.
§31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial $h$ occurs in many words, as asáva "to
laugh," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ हस्, even when the initial $h$ has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in uvâva "to become," Skr. $\sqrt{\text { भू, }}$ Pr. हो. An $a$ is also prefixed to roots, as arakava "to guard, to find," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ Tv, H. रबणा; and in the impersonal verb ardttilotar "it is night," Skr. राथि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus katâva "to spin," H. कातना, kerava "to do," H. करणा, kinava "to buy," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ मी, H. बीनला, ghoshava " to clean," Skr. ل घृष्, H. घिसाना " to rub," but घृष् might give a Pr. घुष्, whence this word, also pronounced khoshava. Koviocava, from koolo urâva, Skr. बोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft;" khanjiocaiva, from khanj uvdea, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. बष्दू "itch," H. खाब, सुबली. Khasiovãva, also khasava, " to cough," Skr. V कास्, but H. खांसणा. Khandava "to dig," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बन् ; khâva " to eat," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ खादु, Pr. खा, H. id., but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form khaderáva, which preserves the $d$ of Sanskrit. Khiniovdea for khino uráva, Skr. बिव्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; ghedâta " to assemble," ghelava " to bring," ghenára "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ गय्य, H . निनणा, for the gh is only so written to secure the $g$ being pronounced hard; the p.p. is ghendo, Skr. गरिएत ; ghedâva is apparently for ghen dâva, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देणा is in H., so that ghen dava = H. fिज देगा. Its p.p. is ghedino, and that of dava is dino, Pr. दिबो, Old-H. दीन्रा and टीना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, ghelára is ghen lâra, where lára means "to take," H. बिणा From these two examples, it would appear that the ghe of ghedara and ghelara is not connected with ghenáva, but is Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ 獂, Pr. चेर " to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected,

move," H. चसाना. It means, however, "to beat," thus $j a$, dik kon chalavela o vuddr, "Go, see who knocked at the door !" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. ja, dekh kon chaldya dwar ko. The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर् and चस् mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चसका meaning "to move," and चरणा "to graze." In Gipsy chardra " to eat," makes its p.p. chalo, the causal charavâva is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb châriovâva or chaliovâva "to be satiated." Again, chalarara "to be satiated with," p.p. chalardo " full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, chumi dava "to kiss," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ चुम्ब्, H. चूमका, but the Gipsy is = चूम देगा. So, also, chungâr dâva "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ षीव्, and connected with H. छोंक, M. थींक " sneeze."

Under a् occur words familiar to us in India, as janava "to know," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ घा, H. बानफा; java "to go," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ या, H. वाणा, with its old-Tadbhava p.p. gelo, B. गेल, H. गिया, गया ; jangava "to awaken," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बागृ, H. अगाना, and the neuter janganiovàra, H. बागरत होना, आागणा; jivava "to live," Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बीव्, H. बीवना, बीना, p.p. jivdo, Skr. बीवित.

Under तwe find tavava "to cook," Skr. तप् p.p. tavdo, Skr. तापित, also tatto "hot," Pr. तक्त, Skr. तप्त, H. तत्ता. Connected with this probably are tâp dâva, tâv dava, "to beat," where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is tabiocava or tapiocaiva "to be burnt," as in leskeré sheresté tábiolas shamdán "at his head burnt a candle." A more modern form with the characteristic $l$ of the p.p. in M. G. B. and 0 . is tablo "hot." A derivative is tabarava (a causal) " to cause to burn."

It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.-§ 32. Classipication of Tenses.-§ 33. The Smple Presbnt or Aorist.-§ 34. The Imprrative.-§ 35. The Futire in Old Hindi and Gujarati.-§ 36. Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi. §37. Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages.-§ 38. Simple Tenses in the Gipgy Verb.
§ 32. The preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the meanings of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the structure of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense
was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,-exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.
Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter
case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have bat one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. मी सुटें "I escape," n, but मी सोरीं "I set free," $a$, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.
§33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-
sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it is a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammarwriters, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)


The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in च世, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in वार् "he does," बटद् "it is." The form in बर् is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ©. It seems certain that this universal $\mathbb{Q}$ has been formed from च区, the termination of this person in

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit चति. Thus चसfत becomes चसद्र, चही, and चले. The rustic Hindi forms चलहि, चex, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus चसति becomes चर्सहि and चलचि. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चले. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करन्ति "they do," मारक्ति "they beat," though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final $i$, and to say karant, marant. P.S. and B. have lost the $\pi$, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anunâsika, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारे "they strike," where classical H. has मारें. After the rejection of the $\pi$, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be चfि, as मारfि, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मारन. The Braj form मारें is deducible also from मारनि, through an intermediate मारंद and मार'. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारीं while the type मरंद is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारंय, where य has been substituted for $\mathbb{K}$, and an inorganic second anunâsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the $t$ of the Sanskrit anti. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as उठती "they rise;" in the modern language उठत. In the Konkani dialect ${ }^{1}$ all three persons of the plural are said to end

[^27]in ti. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, amì assati "we are," tumi assati "ye are," te assati "they are." We should probably write बसति = classical M. बसत. The author tells us, however, that one may also say ami assau "we are," which is classical M. first person plural चान्ही षसूं, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in ए in H. and G., and is from Skr. चस्सि by elision of स, thus चर्षसि, चलहि, चसट्, चसे (Braj), षसे. In B. it formerly ended in षसि, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the $a$ weakened to $i$, thus देधिस "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the a has persisted, as सुटेस "thou dost get free," where the $e$ is apparently due to the epenthesis of the final $i$ of an earlier सुटसि. The $i$ may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटस. P. and S. take anunâsika, as वरें "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the $\overline{\text { B }}$, which has disappeared. The termination E is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as विशिस "he did," बहिस "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination $\boldsymbol{B}$ for this person is abnormal, and $I$ am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in 0 , for though B. and 0 . write $\nabla$, they pronounce $\delta$, and when emphasis is used, $\delta$. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in tha, through Pr. dha and $h a$, thus चबह "ye go," where, by elision of $h$ and conflation of the two vowels, we should get चक्ष and चला. The final $a$ has been lengthened to 0 , as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anuswâra is typical of the plural, so that we get चeti. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets the second person plural ends in $\vec{a}$ without anuswâra.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in बं (ठं), while the plural ends in एं (ए); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in שं, while $\mathbb{i}$ is in M. and 0 . the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive बते from चलामि, where the presence of the final दaccounts easily for the $\mathbb{P}$, and so the plural चसाम: with its Prakrit representative घलामु would regularly result in שi. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चसं and चर्ंौ, चलूं, चसों. In the Rajputana dialects it is चसt, which agrees with the singular of modern $P$. and $S$. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softened to चलांद would become चला女, whence M. and O. चलें "I go," and further shortened, B. चासि id., while the rejection of final ₹ gives P. धबा, S. हसा "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चसाम:, Pr. चसामु, would become चसाह and चसाउ, whence dialectic $H$. चलां (Rajputana), चलूं, चर्षों, चक्षों (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हबूं, M. id., G. चष्यु. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H . and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as "we" even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in un, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, हों, so that it would be natural to say हi करो "I do," on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302). Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular बरों is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final $i$ and softening of the $m$ into anuswàra, we are still as far as ever from the
origin of the plural in en. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of $\mathbf{H}$. the 1 pl . ends in $\boldsymbol{\Pi}$, as मारण " we strike," which seems to be connected with the 3 pl . of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl . is identical with 3 pl . Now the 3 pl . has a right to an $i$, coming as it does from a Skr. -anti, and the presence of the $n$ in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswâra in poetic Hindi, as मारfí "they strike," and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswâra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारीं both for 1 pl . and 3 pl ., where the ending retains the nasal and the $i$, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that करें 1 pl ., "we do," is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as "we," yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say ham karúnga "I will do," literally " nos faciam," a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says "je faisons," " $j$ 'avons;" and the English one "we goes," " he do," " they says."

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert $i, i, a y$ or $i y$ between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. पठये, पडिये, G. पडीये, पठये "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apabhrança
form in imo is the origin, thus इसिमो "we laugh" became हसियो and हसिये, but the change from म to य is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an "Habitual Past," so that मी सुटें means "I used to get loose." In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as 今ें घब्षt "I would send," or, "I am going to send." It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an "historic present," namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus tatpare katak-guli loka giya pathara sangraha kare, emana samaye ekakhani bara pathara khasiyâ pare, " After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;" where kare and pare, though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style. ${ }^{1}$

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

[^28]various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.
§ 34. The next simple tense is the Imperative, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings :

| Hindi $\begin{array}{r}\text { S. } 1 . \\ \text { ® }\end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2 . \\ \sqrt{1}^{1} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3 . \\ \mathbf{T} \end{gathered}$ | $\text { P. } 1 .$ ய் | $\begin{aligned} & 2 . \\ & \text { हो } \end{aligned}$ | $3 .$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Panjabi | $\sqrt{ }$ |  |  | बो |  |
| Sindhi | \% |  |  | जो |  |
| Gujarati | $\checkmark$ |  |  | ब |  |
| Marathi *i | $\sqrt{ }$ | बो | B | - T $^{\text {d }}$ | जोत |
| Oriya ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | $\sqrt{ }$ | 3 | \% | - (o) | घनु |
| Bengali | $\checkmark$ | उक |  | - (o) | उन् |

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. parhe "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

[^29] "read thou!"
separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. घतु, Pr. चB, which in M. becomes wi. In M., however, the termination $\sigma$ for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the 0 . © and B. उक, the final an of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. बन्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. षन्ति. In O., owing to the influence of the final $u$, this termination is often written untu, as karuntu "let them do," jaüntu " let them go."

In all but S . the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final $\mathbb{W}$ is heard, and slightly also in B. and $O$. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a $य$ is sounded after the final consonant, as वर्य "do thou," बोस्म "speak thou," बाद्य "go thou." But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as kar "do," dekh "see." In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in fि, as stated in $\S \S 4,5,7$, corresponding to which is a plural in $\overline{5}$, as

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"Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war."-Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.
This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of $\mathbb{4}$, as पावें "find thou!" for पावद्र, from पारहि, with inorganic anuswâra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in $\boldsymbol{\pi}$, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारब "beat ye!" common in the eastern area, is really a future, " ye shall beat." Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

[^30]the future is used, as राम को चपने संग बाक्षोगे "You will bring Râm with you," that is, "bring him with you!" So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम चावही बरणा "Do all this work today," literally, "(Take care) to do," इस रिए बो चुका दे तब चषी वाना "Pay this debt, and then go away." ${ }^{1}$

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. इये, Plur. इयो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are-

| Sindhi | Sing. 2. इसे, ए冈े, | Plur. 2. इ्वो, एव़ो |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gujarati | " बले, | " षणो. |

In a few stems in $H$. which end in $e$, $\overline{1}$ is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to $\ell$, as हे "take," लीविये, दे "give," दीविये ; the stem का "do" is in this case changed to की, making वीजिये "be pleased to do." Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular इं instead of द्ये, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in $u$; and in the plural, instead of इको, the forms इ्वा, इ्वाए, स्राह, इ्वाइ are used when great respect is implied, as वभिबा़ "be pleased to go," सुखिजाह " be pleased to hear." Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form ; thus Rajputana
 to strike."

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that $j j a$ and $\ddot{j a}$ may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as वरिजेतो "he does," कारिबेला "he did," करिबेश "he will do," बरिशे "do

[^31]thou," in which the junction vowel between the inserted $\begin{gathered}\text { ㅇ } \\ \text { and }\end{gathered}$ the termination has been changed to $e$. As, however, the inserted $\bar{x}$ is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिकेतो "I am struck." Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in $\S 4$, and by the dotted 피 in $S$., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The य of the Skr., as in पषेयं, is doubled in Pa. नथेख्यामि, and hardened to 不 in Pr., whence the modern , with lengthening of the preceding vowel in $H$., and change of $e$ to $a$ in G. (cf. G. द्ख= देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, precative.

To this tense belong the two M. words नहलाले and पाहिंते. The former is the precative of न्हाय (Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भन्) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means " that is to say," "i.e.," "videlicet," as चग्य म्हाणे घोरा "açva, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form न्रायेल, meaning "in that case," as पाऊस पडसा न्हयेे पीवा होर्द्य "If rain falls, then (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहिक्रित, and a future पाहिजेस, is from पाहये "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as "ं काम केले पाहिजे "this work ought to be done," literally "please to see (that) this work is done;" "see" being used in M., as in English, in the sense of "seeing to," " providing for," "taking care for."

Similar to these is the H. चाहिये, lit. "please to wish," but

[^32]meaning "ought," and, like पाई्शिजे in M., used with the past participle, as यह वाम किया चाहिये "this work ought to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, बाहिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say बरने चाहिये. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word बोट्ये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोगु "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मनें बीबो वर बोट्ये करी "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सपर का हे कार्र बोदतु हंतु "Whatever was required for the voyage," बो मारे हरा बोस्ये तो "Should I require venison, then . . . ."
§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem kar "do," as a type:


Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana :-

| sna. 1. | 2. | 3. | PL. 1. | 2. | 3. |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| बारसूं | बरसी | मरसो | कर स्सां | बारसी | बरसी- |

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters स, ग, ©, and $\overline{4}$. The $8 a$ type has a variant $h a$. The $g a, l a$, and $b a$ types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The $8 a$ type, with its variant ha, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H ., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in ishya, as in karishyami, which, as already pointed out in §4, becomes in Pali karissdmi, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करसूं seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करसा, though now a plural, represents करिसामि better than does कारसूं, which latter leads to Pr. plural वरिस्सामु, just as does G. बारियुं. The G. 1 sing. बरीश has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing.' The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the $i$ in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करीपुु, वरियुं, or वरशुं. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the सस of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिशिति side by side with ग्गमस्सति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. वरि represents Pr . बरिद्रद्र from बरिहति; 3 pl . बारिं = बारिंfत, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms बरिही, वरि wहि, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as बरिहों, करें, where the ai has crept into
the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the ga type karai-ga. The commonest form is that given above, with short $i$ in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सावंत सब वुक्Aिंः ॥
राब चंड्ले ग जाय ॥
"We nobles all will fight, (That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish."
-Pr. R. xxi. 94.
के सिर तुमहि समप्पिहीं ॥.
के सिर धरिहीं घण ॥
"Either I will yield my head to thee,
Or I woill put the umbrella on my head."-Pr. R. i. 279.
(i.e. I will either die or conquer.)

कणवक्य सूटि रिधि सब हरिहीं ॥
पाधे जुध मोहोषे करिहीं।
" Having plundered Kanauj, I will carry off all your riches, After that, I will fight at Mahoba."—ib. xxi. 87.
It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsi Das's Ramayan, as

सबहि भाति पिय सेवा करिहीं ॥
मारग बनित सकस बम हरिहीं।
"In every manner I will serve my beloved, I will take away all the fatigue of the journey."
-Ay-k. 399.
Also universally in Kabir, as का वागो कब मारिशे का घर का परदेस ॥
"Ye know not when he (i.e. death) will strike, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 5.

## बङरि न ऐसो पेहीं थाना॥

" You will never find such a place again.-ib. xliii. 2.
where पेहो = पार्ही 2 pl. fut. of पाना "to find."
When the ga future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the
mediæval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.
§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुटएँं " to get loose," and the active सोउऐंं " to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.


Similarly in S. the neuter हसयु "to go," and the active区ख्यु "to give up," conjugate the present thus:-


On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of $t$ in M., and of I in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. Atmanepada, and the forms of the active from those of the Parasmaipada. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. Âtmanepada had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for
an origin from the $\hat{A}$ tmanepada, inasmuch as the known changes of the Parasmaipada afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic aya having been changed in Pr. to $e$, and still further shortened in S. to $i$, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the य of aya into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोद्यद्र or सोधे, for it must be noted that the termination ए resulting from Skr. चति, Pr. बस, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. इचिक्षा represents an older बोटयामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडों for सोटिएं, through सोउयाएं. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic \& holds the same place in the word as the characteristic aya of the Sanskrit causal, namely, beturen the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in $S$. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in $u$, as मरणु "to die," imperative म区 "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in प, as पास्यु "to cherish," imperative पासि " cherish thou." Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in $u$, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in $S$. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in $u$, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in $\mathbf{T}$. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the would
appear to be the representative of the Skr. aya of the causal. Thus while Skr. मर produces S. म区, Skr. पासय produces S. पासि, shortened from पासे (Pr. पासेfि). The second plural of neuters ends in $o$, as हलो " go ye!" while that of actives ends in io or yo, as इडिएो or छघ्यो. The earlier form in iho (Pr. इए) is also in use as छरिछ्हो.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in $u$, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhû conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhû type in Prakrit.
 (Hem. iv. 2).

घाख्युु "to inform," makes चारु and च्याखि, it is from Skr. थाद्बा, imperative चाख्नार्ह, from which comes regularly चर्षि, through a form घार्बहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have चाखु. धंवयु "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंgु and धंवि, it is from Skr. ध्मा, imp. धम, whence regularly धंg. Here the form धंवि, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in $u$. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.

837．Here follows a table showing the simple tenses in each language．A common verbal stem in each is given to exhibit the method of adding the terminations．

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 兑 |  |  | 芯＝＝＝＝ |
| 寝 |  |  | 发：$=$ ：$=$ ： |
| $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \\ \hline \end{array}$ |  | 年 寿 |  |
|  |  | 芴 | 馬：$=2=$＝ |
|  |  | $\vec{F} \quad F$ |  |
| 首 | $\stackrel{:}{i}$ <br>  |  |  |
|  |  | $\underset{\infty}{\vec{\infty}} \underset{\underline{i}}{ }$ | $\vec{\infty} \times \underset{\dot{a}}{\infty} \infty$ |
|  | $\cdot$－sirior | cailvamat | ${ }_{\text {rexamax }}$ |

§38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. $a, 2.8 a, 8,3 . l ; \mathrm{Pl}$. 1. sa, 8, 2. na, n, 3. na, n. Thus from kerava "to do"-

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv. Pl. 1. kerása, or keráa.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { 2. kerása " kerás. } & \text { 2. keréna ", kerén. } \\
\text { 3. keréla ", kerel. } & \text { 3. kerena ", kerén. }
\end{array}
$$

Of the two forms, those ending with $a$ are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the $a$ are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junctionvowels $\dot{a}$ and $e$, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the $e$ originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have पुछामि and पुछेमि, रोचामि and रोचेमि, हारद and हारेद, कर् and वरेद्र. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination ami of S. 1. in Paspati's
 appears in ena or en. The ela, el of S. 3. may stand to ati in the same relation as the ila of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. ita; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the ena, en may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in 8 , is entirely inexplicable.
The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as jami "I go," avami "I come," stúmi "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words, bihemi "I fear," chinemi "I cut,"
dami, demi "I give," jánami, jänemi "I know," enemi "I bring" (from घायी), kinimi "I buy" (到), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms ker " do thou," kerén, do ye," me kerel "let him do," me keren "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix $m e$ is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

CONTENTS.- $\$$ 39. Dgfinition of the Participial Tensge.- $\$$ 40. The
 - $\$$ 42. Marathi Indicative and Conditional Prbsent.- $\ddagger$ 43. Bengali and Orifa Conditional.- $\$ 44$. Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati Prebent.§4ó. The Pabt Participle Pabbivg.-§ 46. Eariy Tadbhava Participles in Sindil and Panjabi.- $\oint$ 47. The sakr in Gujarati and Marathi.§4. The saks in Old and New Hindi.-§ 49. Tensess formed from the Pabt Participle.- $\oint$ 50. The Prayogas.- $\oint$ 51. The Future Participle Pabsive.-§ 62. Tenses formbd prox it in Sindif, Gujarati, and Marathi.-§ 63. The Futurb in Oriya, Bengali, and Eabtbrin Hindi.§ 64. Ter Hindi and Panjabi Futurb.- $\oint$ 65. Marathi Future comparbd with that in Crrtain Hindi Dialbots.-§ 66. Synopsis of the Participial Tenses in all Sbven Languages.- $\ddagger$ 57. Participial Tenses in the Gipsy Vkrb.
§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. chalta "he moves," which is really "moving (he is)," or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. hasatos "thou laughest," which is really "laughing thou art," Pr. hasanto 'si (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words
like H. chalta, and M. hasatos, belong, therefore, to the same category) : (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. dekhta hai "he sees," i.e. "he is seeing," M. lihtt ahe "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmai.), as in पचन् $m$., पचन्ती $f$. , पचत् $n$.
2. The past Passive (with inserted द्व), as in छतस् $m$., छृता $f$., छतर $n$. (Pr. करि को etc.).
3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in दातव्यस् $m$., ${ }^{\bullet}$ तबव्या $f$., ${ }^{\circ}$ तब्व्य $n$.
To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate F in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost
become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.
§40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the $a$-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout ; thus पर्चतो $m$., पचंती $f$., पर्चत $n$. The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of $\pi$ into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (hal "go") -

## Sing. हसंद्रो $m$., हसंद्ी $f$. Pl. हलंट्र $m$., हसंद्नि $f$., "going."

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic $i$ appears ( $\$ 36$ ), but here lengthened to $\{$, as (bhar "fill")-

$$
\text { Sing. भरींदो m., भरींद्री f. Pl. भरींद्य m., भरींद्धिध्ध } f . \text { "filling." }
$$

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as $j a$ " go," बादा " going," ho "be," छंदा " being," seü "serve," सेठद्र "serving." In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंदा or मारेंदा "beating." In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारदा $m$., मारदी $f$.; plural मारदे $m$., मारदी का $f$. Not unfrequently the द् is dropped, and we hear खाना, ज्ञा for बादा,

## उंदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in ant, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination at. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरण तीन भघ्वंत्व "possessing three feet"
(Pr. R. i. 61) ; श्रवन सुणत होर् भंग 1 "the ear hearing, it is broken" (ib. i. 159) ; रत्त " shining," सर्वत "arraying," सुभंत " being beautiful," बटत " being cut," etc. (ib. vi. 18), but बवत "playing (music)," चठत " mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as aात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7) ; गुख़ " humming" (ib. 9); घ्यावत "meditating," पावत " finding," भावत " being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1) ; and this is also common in most mediæval poets, thus Bihari Lall धरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पउत) "falling" (ib.), सोत्रत " being beautiful," ससत "appearing," र्चाह्र्यत "looking" (ib. 7, 9, etc.). Kabir वियत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बंधत "being bound" (ib. 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. मारता $m$., मारती $f$.; pl. मारते $m$., मारतों $f$. "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारतु $m$., मारति $f$. ; pl. मारत $m$. $f$. The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as मारबit, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारतो. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारणू, which probably arises from मारक्तो, just as Panjabi बाना from बाढा.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in $a(=0)$, we must have recourse to Hoernle's theory of the $k a$ - affix, and derive बरंत, बरत from Pr. बरतो, while we derive बरंता, बरता from a Pr. वरंतवो. The ka- theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in ता, as छोडता " loosing," the other declinable, as sing. छाउतो $m$., ती $f$., तुं $n$.; pl. घोउता $m$., ती $f$., तो $n$. The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in ते, as घोउते, which,
like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in ता has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as मारा बंधनें छोड्ता तारा दात भागा "If in loosing my bonds thy teeth should break." ${ }^{1}$ Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as गंगायाम, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as वर्तु. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे अ्रावता "on my coming," the second, of such as करता शिखवेदे " he teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful. ${ }^{2}$

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त्, ता, and ताना, as सुटत्, सुटता, सुटताना. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle $\boldsymbol{\pi}$ added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic $\ell$ appears, as सोडोत, सोडीतो, सोडीतांना "loosing." There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. सुटता $m$. , सुटती $f$. , सुटतें $n . ; \mathrm{pl}$. सुटते $m$. , सुटत्बा $f$. , सुटतीं $n$.

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in © or च, as देखु, देखु " seeing." Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in aif, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in दूत, as देखिते, and is now used as an infinitive, meaning "to see." Literally, it means "in seeing," and is used in this sense by Bidyâpati, and the older .poets. Thus वेश निज्ञांडते बहे बर्ष धारा। "In uringing (or

[^33]from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15) ; हेरादते हदये हानस पांचबाज। "On seeing (her), love smote him in the heart" (ib. 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as आइते पेखनु आाइए गोरी। "I saw the fair one go to bathe (i.e. in going, or while going)" (ib. 13, 13) ; वागु होराइते एबे भेस परमाद् I "In seeing (or to see) Kánh, there has been now delight" (ib. 20, 10). So Bhârat गुणाइते घुनिति पाइ्य समाषार "By causing to hear, and by hearing, I shall obtain news" (Bidya S. 247).
§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi, ${ }^{1}$ to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus
Sing. इसदो $m$., हंद्रो $f$. PI. हसंद्र $m$., हसडिन्छ $f$. "he, she, etc., will go."

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb चस् "to be," though much abraded and indistinct, it runs
 etc., will go."

The singular masculine ends in $\hat{\chi}$, just as does the corre- ${ }^{-}$

[^34]sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, halando asi $=$ haland' asi $=$ haland' ai $=$ halandè. The anuswâra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of $s$, and first stood over the $a$ of $a i$; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from halandi asi, where the final long $t$ of the participle is shortened, and asi= $a i=\tilde{e}$, giving halandiê, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted halandia. The plural masculine arises from halandd stha, where stha has become tha, and then $h a$; the $h$ being dropped, we get halanda $a=$ halando, subsequently resolved into its present form halandaü. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. हबंदुसि $m$., हसंदि थसि $f$. Pl. हलंदासीं $m$., हंबंद्धिसी $f$.
Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of \$ into $\mathbb{3}$, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural खसीं and खसा (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus halando asmi becomes halando asi, then halandu' 'si, the final $o$ being shortened to $u$. In the feminine, however, the elision of the $a$ of asmi cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi ; instead, the $t$ of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing halandy asi, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हंबंबि, or even हरंदियसि. As to the termination सी of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular सि, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. क्ष:, which, if the $म$ be rejected, would yield सो or सु, but not, according to any known processes, सी.
§42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third
person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (bodhitasmi, bodhitasi, but bodhita).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. करितो or करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (sut "escape"):
Indicative. Sing. सुटतो $m$., ती $f$., तें $n$. Pl. सुटतात $m$., $f$., $n$., " he, she, etc., escapes."
Conditional. Sing. सुटता $m$., तो $f$., तें $n$. Pl. सुटते $m$., त्या $f$., तीं $n$., " were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in $o$ in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the to of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb santi, in Old-M. changed to att, just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus:
Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस $m$. , तीस $f$., तेंस $n$. Pl. सुटतो $m$., $f ., n$.
Conditional. Sing. सुटतास $m$., तीस $f .$, तेंस $n ., ~ P l . ~ स ु ट त ा ~ m ., f ., ~ n . ~$

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in 0, sutatos $=$ sutato 'si (asi); while in the conditional, sutatds = sutatd asi, with the modern ending in $d$. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is-

> Sing. सुटतों m., तें f., तों n. Pl. सुटतों m.f. n.

Final anuswâra here represents probably Pr. sing. amhi, pl. amho; but the sandhi is irregular, as $f$. sutate =sutatl amhi; the variant sutatyẽ, used in the Konkan, is more regular for sutaty amhi. The pl. sutatō= sutatâ amho, where, again, the steps of transition to sutatô are difficult to work out.
§43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (dekh "see")-
Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देबितिस, 3. देखित. PI. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. द्रितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): dekhitam therefore $=$ dekhita asmi=dekhita amhi in the sing., and dekhita amhu in the pl., lit. "seeing I am ;" dekhitis=dekhita asi, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the $i$ has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; dekhitd similarly = dekhita stha, whence dekhita tha $=$ dekhitaha $=$ dekhit $\mathrm{A} . \quad$ So, also, dekhiten $=$ dekhita ( 8 )anti, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Origa this tense runs thus:
Sing. 1. दे बंति, 2. देखंतु, 3. देखंता. PI. 1. देख़ुतु (तु), 2. देखत, 3. देख़ते.

In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. dekhanto, O. dekhantá, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. dekhante preserved in the 3 pl . The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Sanskrit present asmi, asi, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with बदि (यदि) "if," prefixed, "if I were to do," etc.; when used alone, it means "I might or should do," and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, "I used to do."

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that "the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural" (Yates's Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will but too often hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example" (ib. p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur रहिष "he remained," बलिसा "he said," विज्यासिसा "he asked," दियाईे "he has given," होर्वे " he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses परिशि " thou
shalt fall," मरिषि "thou diedst," ब्राषिनु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिधि " thou hast done," पाणु " I found," and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.
§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक बरत पञ्वार सनान । गोक्रण महातम सुनत काज ॥"In Kartik he performs ablutions at Puhkar, and hears with his ears the glories of Gokarn."-Pr. R.i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translateable jingles of which Chand is so fond धुवांत धार धार सों । बवंत मार मार सों 11 घ्युवंत घ्यार घ्यार सों । तवांत सार तार सों $\|$ and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased -

They thrust with sword-edge biting, They shout the shoat of smiting; They crouch from weapons sweeping, They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चसत पवन पावक समान। तपस्सत सुताप मन। सुवत सरोवर मचत बीच। तलफत मीन तन ॥ (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind blows like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks $d r y u p$, the mud is stirred up, the fishes' bodies pant." So in Bihari Lal, मकराधत योपास के कुंचस सोहत कान । धर्यो मरी हिय घर समर द्यौढी स्यत निशान "The dolphin-shaped earring shines (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love appears (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart " (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in fin both as a participle and a present. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुसतिय कल डराति ॥ पंजर

बत मंबार ठिन चुब्ब सों सूर्बति बाति ॥"The virtuous wife does not repeat the bad words of her husband's younger brother, fearing (darâti) a quarrel, but dries up with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage" (Sat. xv.).
In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where में घल्दा "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सक्कर दी रोडी मुंखे कुठी दे मुञ पांड्रे "They put a lump of sugar in the month of the boy and girl."

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with "if" prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say बटि में बामता तो कवही वहीं बाता "Had I known, I never would have gone,"-a similar practice to that of $O$. and $B$. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that Fे छोउतो means "I used to loose," or, "I should loose." In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist ₹ छोरुं. The example given is तमे बराबर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं "you used not to keep a fair share."' Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.
§45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in ita (itas, ita, itam), as पतित्त "fallen." The $\pi$ of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits , and in the more common dialects falls out altogether ; thus we have हाषिदं = हारितं "lost," मुसिद्रो = मूषित: " robbed," गहिदं = गृहीत " taken," and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

[^35]which the द्ध has entirely dropped, and instances हसिखं for ₹सितं "laughed," पडिश्य for पठित "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. यी $m$., \& $f$., pl. ए $m$., f $f$. , as बही $m$., छली $f$., etc., " burnt." Here the य represents the of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the \& of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for बब्ये easily passes into बसे.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रह्यौ बोति गय देव घाज। "his body remained bright, he went to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); कर्यों "done," गयी "gone," etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in यी lasts all through the mediæval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मार्यों, pl. मार्या, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारियो, pl. मारिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा m., मारी $f$.; pl. मारे $m$., मारीं $f$., " struck."

Panjabi retains the T of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारि सा $m$., मारी $f$.; pl. मारे $m$., मारीक्षा $f$., " struck ;" so also does Sindhi, sing. हबिषो or हबो $m$., हषी $f$.; pl. हब्या $m$., हधिबं $f$. Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the य has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the c. It is rather the ₹ of द्टो hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in $i$, as dekhi. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in $A$, like H., as dehha jibd "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोडो (chhodyo) $m$., घोडी $f$., घोस्युं (chhodyũ) n. ; pl. घोड्या $m$., घोडी $f$., छोड्या $n$.
G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another
form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is E. The forms may be brought together for comparison-

| G. Sing. | घोचेसो $m$., | घोडेसी., |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| M. (neuter) Sing | सुटसा $m$., | सु | सुट |
| "(active) | \डिसा $m$ | सोडिली | सो |
| G. Pl. | घोडेसा $m$. | छोरे |  |
| P1. | सुटसे $m$., |  |  |
| " (active) | सोडिसे $m$., | सोडिए्बा. $f$, | सो |

B. देखिस, in Old-B. द्डिसा (only used as a tense combined with as), देखिसे " having seen."
0. दे खिस्य (the same), देखिले id.

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मार, in some districts also मारिसा, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is $\mathbf{\Sigma}$. In G., on the other hand, it is ए, while in the neuter of M. it is $a$. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel $a$; some of these are causals by origin, as पळ "flee," p.p. पकाषा, for pald-ild (as in B. and O. पसाइस). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. ay, as उड्ड "fly," p.p. उडाला, Skr. छड्डुयित $\sqrt{ }$ छद् + ती. Others are denominatives, as दीप "be dazzled," दीपासा, Skr. दीपयित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel $a$, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in $l$ is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in ita, through Pr. ido, by change of $\mathcal{C}^{2}$ to ड, and thence to e. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as $\bar{\pi}$ and are concerned, or as far as $\pi$ and Care concerned; but the change from द् to $\bar{\epsilon}$ is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in
support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in $l$.

As regards the change from द to $\mathbf{~}$, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus छ्धत becomes in Magadhi बत्डे (Mr. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form वर्त= कट = वए, so that there is no question of a द at all. So also in वाबह for व्यापृत्त= ब्यापर्त= ${ }^{\circ}$ पट $={ }^{\circ}$ पड (Mr. 227). The only other instance known to me is गडे for गत (Mr. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with बहे $=$ छ्छता. So widespread a form as the modern participle in $l$ must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in $\overline{\text { F }}$ or $\mathbb{4}$ may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from $\sqrt{ }$ बू " cut," शून:, from $\sqrt{ }$ भिद् " cleave," भिम्न:, and in some roots both forms, that in $\pi$ and that in $\Pi$, stand side by side, thus $\sqrt{ }$ " "fill," makes पूर्यः and पूर्त:, $\sqrt{ }$ जुद् "push," गुम्म: and नुप्त:

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic $l$ of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original $d$, and that again from $t .{ }^{1}$ If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from dielat" "to make," pret. sing. dielal' m., dielala, dielalo $n$., pl. dielali $m f n .{ }^{2}$ In Servian the same form occurs, trés "to shake," has-

Sing. trésao $m$., trésla $f$., tréslo $n$.
Pl. trésli $m$., trésle f., trésla $n$.

[^36]Compare Marathi-
Sing. trasala, trasalî, trâsalè.
Pl. trâsale, trâsalyà, trâsalĩ
from चासगों "to trouble." The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic $l$ and $n$ is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from nes "to drag" a pret. past sing. nesén m., neséna $f$., neseno $n$., pl. neseny. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in $l$, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in $t$ seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.
§46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no
less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate $\mathbb{\Sigma}$, so that the affix $\pi$ of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus-



The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in § 19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following :

|  | sxr. | 8. P. | sxr. | Pr. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| सिं " smear," | $\sqrt{ }$ ¢िप् | लितो | बिप्त | सितो |
| तप " warm," | $\checkmark$ तप् | ततो | तप्त | तक्षो |
| सुन्ह "sleep," | $\sqrt{ }$ सप् | सुतो | सुप्त | सुत्षो |
| पा "get," | $\sqrt{ }$ प्राप् | पातो | प्राप्त | पात्तो [?] |
| *1या "bring," | $\sqrt{ }$ घानी | षादो | काणीत |  |
| © "weep," | $\sqrt{ }$ 区 | सो | इटित | बो |

So also the origin of उघणु "wipe out," is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उघठो, which leads to Skr. उEृष्ट, and then we see that ughanu is for ugahanu=udgharshanam. The participles in tho similarly explain themselves, as
8.

BER.
B. P.P.P.

88R.
रिस " see,"

उिठो
モृष्ट
pr.

वस "rain," $\sqrt{\text { वृष् }}$ वस "rain," $\sqrt{ }$ वृष् वठो, वुठो, छठो वृष्ट वुठो वस "rain," $\sqrt{\text { वृष् वठो, चुठो, छठो वृष्ट चुदो }}$

दिद्धो


The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:
उिक्याु "give," p.p.p. چिजो, Pr. टि्बो.
बरणु "do," " कीतो, किषो, क्यो, Skr. धात, Pr. किसो, see under H .

## मरणु "die," " मो, मुषो, Skr. मृत, Pr. सुषो.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type am (§28). These are


There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words : udamanu is, however, certainly from Skr. udd-di, p.p.p. ḍına; ujhâmaṇu perhaps from Skr. ut-kshi, p.p.p. kshtna ; vikâmanu from Skr. vikrl, p.p.p., however, not krina, but krita. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in $n a$, may have been formed the modified p.p. in no for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in apita, e.g. sthapita. In

Hindi, also, stems ending in $a$ take this p.p. in no in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिराणो, or apocopated $n$, as रिसा p.p. रिसाज.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive द्राइयु "to satisfy," and द्रापणु "to be satisfied," from Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ तृप, तर्पति, but the p.p.p. ढ्राषो can hardly represent तृष्त. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. כुतो "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. युक्त, Pr. वुन्तो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be jujanu or junjanu (Pa. युंजनि). Whence then comes it that the infinitive is jumbanu? So also rudho "busily employed" is clearly Skr. इत्र (इध्), one form of the infinitive rujhanu is regularly derived from Skr. वध्यते, but what are we to say to another form rumbhanu or rubhanu?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

| बरा ${ }^{\text {c }}$ do," | $\begin{aligned} & \text { P.P. } \\ & \text { बीता } \end{aligned}$ | sKr. <br> हत (dialectically also बीदा). |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| बाया "go," | गिया, गड्या | गत (also बाया = Skr. यात). |
| बायना "know," | बाता | जात. |
| देखया "see," | दिद्धा | EृE (also 才িट्डा more Sixdhico). |
| देया "give," | दिता, दिया | दण. |
| लेया "take," | घीता, षिया | सभित, instead of classical घ(x) |
| वरसणा " rain," | बट्ठा | वृष्ट. |
| बाया "eat," | खाधा | खादित. |
| पैया "fall," | पिश्रा | पतित, Sindhi id. through पर थो. |
| 4'्रया " bind," | बहा | घ底. |
| पघायना " recognize," | पघहाता | परिघात? $\begin{aligned} & \text { H. परिषानना. }\end{aligned}$ |
| सिड्या "sew," | सीता | सेवित. |
| सोया "sleep," | सुता | सुप्त. |


| पङंचया "arrive," | ${ }^{\text {P.P. }}$ पनात्रो, पुल्षो |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fरंग्हया "cook," | रिष्ठ | र\%. |
| विषहबा "marry," | विष्षहतो | विवाहित |
| हिया " may," | किएा | चित |
| रहिया "remain," | रिहा | रहित. |

In the two last the , has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and kiha, riha, are for kahid, rahid, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.
§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.

| inpis. <br> वरवं "do" | वर्यों, बीधो | 8ir. | pr. वरिषो |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| - | बीधो | बत |  |
| पोरोषवं "arrive" | पोरोंच्यो, पोरोतो | P |  |
| देखवुं "see" | द्ठो, दीठो | छृष्ट |  |
| बीहोपु "fear" | बीहीनो, बीहीधो | भति | fिहिदो (§ 13) |
| खावुं "eat" | खाधो | खादित |  |
| Eपबवु "produce" | उपनो ॰न्यो | उत्पद्म ( | ent utpadyate) |
| भीपबवुं " | भीपनो ॰न्यो | निष्पद्न | s. nishpadyate) |
| पीवुं "drink" | पीधो | पीत |  |
| सुতुं "sleep" | सुतो | सुप्त |  |
| मरखुं "die" | मुषो | मूत |  |
| देg ' ${ }^{\text {give" }}$ | दीधो | दत |  |
| बेशवं " sit" | बेठो | उपविष्ट |  |
| पेशवु "enter" | पेठो | प्रविष्ट |  |
| णासडु " flee" | थाठो | बष्ट (pres | nasyati) |
| बढ़ु "go" | मषो | गत |  |

In the instances of kidho, bihtdho, khadho, ptdho, and didho, we have probably formations based on the analogy of lidho, for the exception of bthidho, which may owe its $d h$ to a combination of the $h$ and $d$ of Pr. vihido, there is no older form which would yield $d h$. The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in elo is also formed, and they say kidhelo, dithelo, and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in yo, the other in elo, the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding elo to the stem, and making karelo, lielo, it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in elo being somewhat more emphatic than that in yo. Thus ₹ं चाब्यो कु "I am come," but के चावेलो छ़ "I am come," (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have-

| बा "go," | p.p.p. गेसा |
| :--- | :--- |
| ये "come," | " चाषा |
| मर "die," | " मेषा |
| से "take" (wear), | " क्याषा |
| वर "do," | " केसा |

Stems ending in $\overline{\|}$ exhibit $\mathcal{C}$ in the participle，as

| बया＂dig，＂ | p．p．p．बटसा |
| :--- | ---: |
| न्रा＂speak，＂ | ＂F्हटसा |
| हाय＂sley，＂ | ＂हाटसा |

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables；thus Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ सण्＂dig＂forms regularly p．p．p．बात，but the 7 being changed to $\mathbb{\|}$ in Prakrit， a p．p．p．बणित would be legitimately formed，whence खए्ट，to which，forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle，M． adds its own participial termination an，and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खटला．So also $\sqrt{ }$ भय्，p．p．p．भ戶ित，whence भए and न्हट＋षा．Skr．हण् has p．p．p．हत，but a Pr．form हचित would be，and is，used，whence हष्ट，and the stem－vowel having been lengthened，हाट＋बा．

To a similar retention of the $\pi$ of the Skr．p．p．p．may be attributed the following，though the etymology is in some cases very obscure ：

| 旦＂take，＂ | घेतसा＂taken．＂ |
| :---: | :---: |
| घू＂washed，＂ | धुतबा＂washed．＂ |
| 阳＂see，＂ | बधितबा＂seen．＂ |
| माग＂ask，＂ | मागितसा＂asked．＂ |
| साग＂tell，＂ | यांगित区＂told．＂ |
| घाब＂put，＂ | घातबा＂put．＂ |
| खा＂eat，＂ | खाता＂eaten．＂ |

In $\S 15$ it was shown that Pr．inserts 7 in forms like ghettum，ghettuna，which may be a retention of $\pi$ in grihita． In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle，as in G．ktdhelo，etc．The origin of घा－् is unknown to me，it looks like an early causal of हे take．In खा the p．p． is apparently a contraction of खादिबा，Skr．खादित．
§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

| करणा " do," | किया " done." |
| :--- | :--- |
| मर णा " die,"" | मुचा " dead." |
| सेणा " take," | fियां " taken." |
| देशा "give," | दिया " given." |
| बाणा "go," | गया " gone." |

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediæval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as ditthau "seen," tutthau "pleased," (tushta) in Chand. The three verbs kar, le, and de, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediæval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:
वार has i. बीयो or वियो. ii. बीनी or किनो. iii. बीछो or fिएो.
दे "i. दीयो or दियो. ii. दीनो or दिन्मो. iii. दीधी or दिष्बो.
से "i. लीयो or सियो. ii. बीनो or बिन्मो. iii. लीधी or सिखो.
The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For kiyau is properly the participle of kar, Skr. छ्वत, Pr. किद्रो and कियो. It has been borrowed by $l e$ and $d e$. So dinau belongs to $d e$, Skr. द्त, Pa. and Pr. दिशो, and has been borrowed by $k a r$ and le. Also lidhau belongs to le, Skr. सब्ध, Pa. and Pr. <ष्यो, and has been borrowed by kar and de. We cannot get kinau or kidhau phonetically from $\sqrt{ }$ E, nor diyau and didhau from $\sqrt{ }$ टा, nor liyau and linau from $\sqrt{ }$ सभ, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with
our oldest author, Chand, कियी, नियो, and दियो, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. कन्या कियी बंदोह ॥ "The girl made lamentation" (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

बीयो तब चित चिहीं दिस ॥
"He then made reflection on all sides."-xx. 20.
बीयो चष्पन को साब ॥
" He made preparation for going."-xx. 28.
Apocopated, as दीय and बीय in
गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ॥
पूरव दिस तन गमन कीय II
" He ontrusted the fort to the castellan, Made a going to the eastern country."-xx. 29.

लीये सब बोलि बंब बज्धिय ॥
"Took all shouting and playing on drums."-ib.
A form with $a$ occurs for $l e$ and $d e$ only, as लयो विप्र गुर बोर्ष ॥" Took Brahmins and gurus, saying" (ib. 20), and दर्द हुण का्या वचक वर $\|$ " When the maiden gave her troth to the bridegroom" (ib. 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two ; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

## गेर मह्रल प्रिथिराज सषी सवका रम दिव्वव ॥ <br> कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रप रस कीवव ॥

" In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love."

So also घूटि धरतो निधि fिद्नव "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with किनव. (In Hindi $a v=a u$, so kinnav is to be read kinnau, etc.)

# विर्षित वरं सगन सिन्नी नरिद्य ॥ <br> " Smiling the king accepted the espousal."-xx. 23. 

## सहस घट्टु सिव उपर कीनो। <br> तीज उपास चैंम तब लीनी ॥

" He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Siva, Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."-i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.
Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

## दस कोस बाय मुक्झाम कीन ॥ <br> विच गाम नगर पुर बूट बीन ॥

" Having gone ten kos he made a halt, Villages and towns between he plundered."-i. 208.

परिमास कुष्ठ पर इबस दीन ॥
"Parimal gave the order for fighting."-xxi. 5.
The third form is more frequently found with de, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination iya sometimes attached to it, as

## दाज मान घन दिध्रिय

"He gave gifts and honours abundant."-i. 342.
In this passage it rhymes with रंखिय, which ought perhaps to be read बिष्रिय " having taken."

There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

## सगरी नाव काय बंध विक्निय ॥

और्षा उद्ब छतरण न दिक्जिय॥
"Carts and boats he went and stopped; Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight."-xxi. 86.
for किज्धो and दिध्धी respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape-

बर दीधौ डुंढा गरिद्॥ ॥
"Dhundhâ gave a blessing to the king."-i. 305.
प्रिथिराक ताहि दो देस दिए ॥
"Prithirâj gave him two provinces."-ib. 307.
All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsi Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms लीन्ही, कीग्ही, and दीम्हो, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das-

## एहि विधि दाह विया सव कीन्दी ॥ <br> विधिवत म्हाइ तिलावुलि दीन्ही ॥

"In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation, Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum."

## मोरि उपद्स दीन्हुर नीका ॥

-Ay-k. 894.
"The guru hath given me good advice."-ib. 928.

## तौ बत बीम्ट्र संग कटकार्ट ॥

"Then why has he taken an army with him ?"-ib. 982.
The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for 0 . मका and कला are merely contractions of मरिला and बरिसा, from मर "die," and वर "do," respectively. From का "go," O. गसा, B. गेस, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.
§49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,
both for active and neuter verbs, as bold "he said," kiyd "he did." In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long $d$ and $t$ of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by $e$. Thus we have ( $m a r$ " strike") -


Also in $m$. मारेच, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable सि is often added, as मारेसि, and variated into हि, as मारेशि $m$., मारिसि, मारिि $f$. Thus चलेठ हरषि हिय धरि रघुणाथा "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunâtha" (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), दे बेठ्ड मयन राम कर दूता "I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram" (ib. 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all, पुणि परीइरेछ सुखाजे $\begin{aligned} \\ \text { पर्या ॥ }\end{aligned}$ "Again she gave up even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), पूक्षेसि लोगन वाह उछाह ॥" She asked the people, why is this rejoicing P" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिष द्रीमिह्ध तोरि ॥" The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee" (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in si, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. asi; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundarakâṇ̣a of Tulsi's work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएसि पस बत्र बिटप उपारे "He eats the fruit, and tears up the bushes" (S-k. 40), वाछु मारेसि बहु मर्टेंसि वछ्रुक मिसायेसि धुरी I" Some he slew, some he trampled under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust," वह्ह संकेय ववन तें

कीसा। केईि के बल घालेसि वस खीसा। कीजी ग्रवा सुर्नेसि भहिं मोहि । . . . . मारसि निशिचर केहि wयराधा । "Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength hast thou torn to pieces the forest, hast thou never heard of my fame, . . . for what fault hast thou killed the demons?" (ib.) Panjabi tbrows no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as maĩ, tư, uh mâria, " $I$, thou, he, smote." Indeed, to such an extent in $H$. and $P$. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say "smitten," we must not use H. mará or P. maria alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. mard hûa, P. maria hoïd. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as बीतोस "he did," which is probably to be referred to S . 区तोsfि. The grammarians, however, suppose that kitos is in some way a metathesis of us ne $k$ kita, so that kitd $+u_{8}=$ kitos. The instrumental, however, of $u h$ "he," is not us ne, but un; us ne is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खादेसा, which is evidently khande+'să, for $a s d=a s m A h$.
Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (hal " go ")-


By comparing these terminations with those of the S . future,
which is based upon the present participle (§41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb as in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in सा $m$., लो $f$. , से $n$., etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p . in ता $m$., ती $f$., तें $n$., etc. Thus

Sing. 1. सुटसों $m$., सुटसे $f$., सुटसो $n$.
2. सुटलास $m$., ॰्बीस $f$., ॰सेस $n$.

PI. 1. सुटसों m.f. n.
2. सुटसी id.
3. सुटसे $m$. ॰ब्या $f$. ॰बीं $n$.

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to $\S 42$. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, M., having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एसा, thus we get मेलेसे बनावर "a dead animal," केलेसा पुर्ष "a made (i.e. experienced) man." The fact so well established for $S$. and M. may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of O. and B., which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. देखिए, 0. constructs a preterite, thus-
Sing. 1. दसिसि
2. देखितु
3. देसिला,
Pl. 1. देखिलुं
2. देखिए
3. देधिते,
where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (pace the Pandits), as-
Sing. 1. देस्बिजु
2. देखिबि
3. देखिब्न.
Pl. 1. देखिलाम
2. देखिशा
3. देखिलेज.

Here the 3 sing. has also देबिलेक् with a final an, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53 . The 1 sing. in $n u$ is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as चप र्रप पेखणु रामा "I saw the fair one looking woe-begone" (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read पेबिजु.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in $y o$ and that in elo, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit as.
§50. In the past tenses of all but B. and 0 . the prayogas or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or kartd prayoga is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus
H. वह्ं बोसा " he spoke," बे बोसे "those men spoke."

वह्ह वोली " she spoke," बे वोर्षं " those women spoke."
So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:


And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no
distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the karma or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. में ने तुम से बत्डे बठोर वचन कहिं "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject maî ne is in the instrumental, the verb kahe hai is masc. plural, to agree with the object vachan. देव ने वैसा ही जोग मिसा दिया (ib.39) "Destiny has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as त्वानें पोषी वाधिeी "he read the book," where vâchili is fem. sing., to agree with potht. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or kartá when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or karma when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically known as bhdva, in which the object is not expressed, and the verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however, this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as तबनें लासा मारिलें "he beat him," literally "by him to him beaten."
§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य, plays an important part in the modern verb in some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive. The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the participle of the future passive, for amandi, amando, amandum, are
respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of amandus. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. tavya becomes in Pr. davca, and with elision of the $d$, avva. Thus Skr. बोधितव्य, Pr. बोधिट्व्व, बोधिष्यव्व. So also Pr. करिद्व, वारिष्व, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form वरित्य rather than to the classical form वर्त्तब्य, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate $\mathbf{\Sigma}$, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in ibo, $\operatorname{Pr}$. बरि चद्बो, losing the $a$ and the first $v$ of the suffix, becomes करिबो, meaning "being done." The transition from the original sense of "that which is to be (or must be) done," into "that which is being done," is simple and natural. Examples are-

| ] " to choke," | " being choked." |
| :---: | :---: |
| डोड़ु " to cheat," | ड़ोरिषो " being cheated." |
| श्वकणु " to seize." | श्גषिबो "being seized." ${ }^{1}$ |

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the and retaining the च, thus making वरवो "being done," as छोउवो $m$., वी $f$., す $n$., etc., "being loosed;" लाववो, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as बgुं "to go," of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the 00 is lengthened, and one $v$ rejected, giving a form करावे, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

[^37]examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases बरावयानें and बरावयास, or कराव्यास. Thus तें मी करावयास सिच घारे "I am ready to do that" (i.e. "to the doing of"), चापयासीं कांही बोलावयाथें जांहें "I have something to say to you," i.e. " with you something of that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of $G$., as in the following passage :

## न बरावा संग। वाटे दुरावावें बग ॥ <br> सेवावा एकांत। वार्टे न बोलावी मातः बन धन तन । वाटे लेखावें वमन ॥

" It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world; It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all; People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."
-Tukaram. Abh. $188 \mathbf{D}^{2}$.
Here rate (Skr. वर्त्तते) means "it seems," i.e. "it seems proper," like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus sanga and ekanta being masc., the participles are masc. karavá and sevava ; mât (Skr. माषा) being fem., bolavt is fem. also; jag, vaman neut., hence durâváven, lekhaven neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be "society is not to be made . . . this seems proper," which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the व sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, सान्हास देशातरीं वायाषें पड्डेल "We shall have to go to another country," for आकाता, literally " to us in another country of going it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. gantavyam asti.

Panjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor
has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in वे or बे, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सुगवे ग बिलक sunbe na kailan, "they did not make a hearing," i.e. "they would not listen," मानिवे न वरिंें manve na karihaĩ, "they will not make an obeying," i.e. "they will not obey."' It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. देस्विबा "to see," genitive देब्बिबार "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as 0 . भष्ड गीत शुखिबा दोष बटे गाइ्या त पाप "the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime" (see § 74).
§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (chhad "abandon"), "I shall be abandoned," etc.

| Sing. m. 1. घर्प्रुसि <br> f. 1. ₹र्जिषिषसि | 2. छर्ति <br> 2. छड्डिबियक | 3. ₹ड्वियो <br> 3. शख्ति |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| P1. m. 1. छड़िबासी f. 1. घशिषिन्धरीं | 2. घप्रिबह <br> 2. हर्तिषिध | 3. घত্রিबा <br> 3. छरिधिषं |

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

[^38]gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or karma, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में छोडवो "I ought to release," i.e. "by me it is to be released," तोरे or वें वीझवाश करवो "you ought to have confidence," i.e. "by thee trust is to be made," Skr. खया विभ्यास: वर्त्तव्य:

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as छोउवानो $m$., नी $f$., पुं $n$. The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus बे काम खमारे करवानु " the work which we ought to do." I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the Âtmane. pres. part. in mana, like bhavamana. It is possible, I think, that though the Âtmanepada has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or karta construction, also the bhava or impersonal; the active uses the karma and bhava. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated
for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (sut "escape")-
Sing.m.1. सुतावा 2. ०वास 3. ०वा PI.1. ०वे 2. ववेत 3. ० चे


The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final $t$ recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the karma construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्यां, तूं or त्वाने सोडावा -वी -वें, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the bhava construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटावं or सोउवें.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short $a$ preceding the characteristic a, which is all that remains of the participial ending, $M$. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus (80d "loose")-
Aorist(Past habitual) मला सोखवे "I used to be able to loose" (rare),

| Present | " सोड्वतें "I can loose," |
| :---: | :---: |
| Preterite | " सोउवकें "I could loose" (rare), |
| Fature | " सो₹वेस "I shall be able to loose," |
| Imperfect | " सोड्वत होतें "I could have loosed," |
| Pluperfect | " सोख्वें होतें "I had been able to have loosed," |

and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhâva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered "by me to be loosed it is, or was," which accounts for the neuter form being used.
§53. It is to this place that I would now refer the ba type of the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the Latin future in bo, as amabo, and the comparison is tempting, but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition that the $b$ of the termination represents the substantive verb $b h \hat{u}$; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that bhû, in its modified form of bhara, had from very early times become ho, losing its labial element altogether, and that the present tense bharami, etc., though much changed and worn away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel o, sometimes shortened to $u$ or resolved into $u a$. It is only when an $i$ follows the $o$, that the combination oi is at times shortened to $e$, as in 0 . heb $A=$ hoïba .

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems that we ought now to see in the B. and 0 . future the Skr. participle in tavya, in combination with the present tense of $\sqrt{ }$ as. The forms are (dekh, "see")-

| B. | Sing. 1. देखिब | 2. देखिबि | 3. देखिबे ०बेक्र |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 0. | " 1. देखिषि | 2. देखिबु | 3. देखिब |
| Bhojpuri. | " 1. देखक् | 2. देखब | 3. देखी |
| B. | Pl. 1. देखिब | 2. देखिबा ०- | 3. देखिबेन |
| 0. | " 1. देखिबुं ${ }^{\circ}$ बा | 2. देखिब | 3. देखिबे |
| Bhojpuri. | " 1. देखा् | 2. देखब | 3. देखिहीं |

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this
group, as they belong to the $s a$ or $h a$ type of the future ( $\S 35$ ). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the $b a$ type, as 2 sing. मारि बेस, 1 pl . मारिब, मारब, and मारिबे, 2 pl . मारिबा. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारबूं, 2 मार बेस, मार बे, 1 pl. मारब, 2 मारबो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब marab is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the $b a$ type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or 0 . terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus 0.-

|  | prbsent. | pabt. | peture. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. | 1. dekhant -i | dekhil -i | dekhib -i |
|  | 2. dekhant -u | dekhil -u | dekhib -u |
|  | 3. dekhant-d | dekhil -a | dekhib -a |
| Pl. | 1. dekhant $-\bar{u}$ | dekhil - $\hat{u}$ | dekhib - $\hat{u}$ |
|  | 2. dekhant -a | dekhil -a | dekhib -a |
|  | 3. dekhant -e | dekhil -e | dekhib - |

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of as, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwa and Avadhi dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic 8 of the Skr. 2 sing. asi. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. dekhib-a does not correspond with dekhit-ám, and dekhil-am. So, also, B. dekhit-is differs from dekhil-i and dekhib-i. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist
mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus dekhitam preserves Skr. asmi, Pr. amhi, better than dekhiba, dekhitis preserves the 8 of asi, while dekhili and dekhibi have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the $b a$ future the Skr. participle in tavya. The final $k$ in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a tag, or meaningless addition, but why a tag should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.
§54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the ga type. This consists in adding H. sing. गा $m$., गी $f$., pl. ते $m$., गीं $f$., to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. $f$., which is गीषा. In the pl.f. H. also ordinarily drops the anuswâra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (sun "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

| H. Sing. 1. सुगूंगा | 2. सुलेगा | 3. सुणेगा |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| , PI. 1. सुथेंगे | 2. सुणोगे | 3. सुनेंगे |
| P. Sing. 1. सुपांग | 2. सुयेंगा | 3. सुलेगा |
| Pl. 1. सुख्याये | 2. डुयोगे | 3. सुखणने |

If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in $\S 33$, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables $g d, g l$, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as haigd, for hai "it is." There can be little doubt that this $g d$ is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गद्रो, गयो, गष्थो. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of jâna "to go," is gaya m., and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to ga. The $f$. is गर्स gat, which easily becomes गी, so also pl. $m$. गए becomes गे. The meaning of the tense is thus, "I have gone (that) I may do," a construction which recalls our English idiom "I am going to do," and French " je vais faire." The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the $b a$ type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.
§ 55. The second type is that which has $l$ for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwâri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwal, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the
plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the la type (par "fall," mar "strike," ho " be," sut, sod).
binaular.

| Marwari. 1. पर्डसो | 2. पडिलो | 3. परीसे |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Garhwali. 1. मारसो | 2. मारिबो | 3. मार |
| Kumaoni. 1. भा बतनो | 2. मारेनो | 3. मारबो |
| Nepali. 1. इंता | 2. होणास | 3. होसा |
| 产宝\{ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { neuter. 1. सुटेण } \\ \text { active. 1. बोरीण }\end{array}\right.$ | 2. सुटसीब <br> 2. बोरिसी | 3. सुटेस <br> 3. सोरी |

plural.


In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form eो sing. and en pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. gA, ge, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the la itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सुटें, and adding क to this, we get सुटेंस, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुटेन. In the 1 pl., however, the has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुटस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुटसि, and सुटषि + =

सुटसीक, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl . aorist सुटा, the has neither been fused with the anuswara into $\bar{F}$, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl .; but there is no trace of the anuswâra; the reason of this is that the anuswarra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply $a$, as सुटा, and it is to this that the - has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुटे + - $=$ सुटेस, and (archaic) सुटती + - $=$ सुटतीक. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this ${ }^{-1}$ as the shortened form of a sing. तो $m$., बी $f$., pl. बा $m$., बीं $f$., of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. $\sqrt{\text { षग्, p.p.p. सम, Pr. }}$ षग्गो, of which the $g g$ has been reduced to $g$ according to ordinary practice, and the single $g$ has then dropped out, leaving बषो, shortened into बो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. कों बगा, "he began to do." In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेब appropriately means "he begins (that) he may do," in other words "he is about to do," "he will do."
§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view
I.-Prisent Par.

Sanskrit पचन् $m$., पषक्ती $f$., पषत् a

|  | Hindi. | panjabi. | sindir. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Participle. <br> (a) declinable. <br> (b) indeclinable. | देखता ०ती ०ते ०ती <br> देखत देखत |  <br> 2. मारदा ${ }^{\circ}$ दी, etc. | Neutor. <br> हसदो ०द्री <br> -दा ०द्धिं | Activ. <br> भरींदों ${ }^{\circ}$ दी <br> ॰्टा ${ }^{\circ}$ दिं |
|  | दर्बता 0 ती <br> $\}$ देखते ॰तीं | मारद्र ${ }^{\circ}$ द्धी <br> मारदे ॰्दीषा | हसंदुसि ०दि शसि हसंदें ०दिखं उबंदो ०दी <br> हबदासीं ॰्बूसीं <br> हसद्ध ${ }^{\circ}$ वूं <br> रसदा व्यू | भरींदुसि, cz भरीडें ॰द्यि भरींदो ०्दी <br> भरींदासी, ece <br> भरींद्ध <br> भरींदा ${ }^{\circ}$ |

${ }^{1}$ On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the macalize
of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.
tictple Active.
Prakrit पष्षतो $m$., •तो $f$. , ロत $n$.

| oujabati. | naratil. |  | orita. | banami. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| बोडतो •ती •तु่ -ता •ती •तो घोरता •ते | Noutor. सुटता ०तो वरें -ते ०ब्बा 0 तो सुटा •ता ${ }^{\circ}$ ताना | सोरिता ०तो वें <br> -तิ •खा 0 ती <br> बोडीत ॰ता ${ }^{\circ}$ तोणा | देघ्ठु ${ }^{\text {- }}$ | देखिते |
| $\}$ घेखतो ०ती 0 ¢ | $\overbrace{\text { सुटतोस सुटतास }}^{\text {सुटतों }^{1}}$ <br> सुटतो सुटता | सोरितों सोरितोस सोणितास सोरितो सोचिता | देखंति <br> देखंतु <br> देखता | देखिताम <br> देखितिस <br> देखित |
| रहोडता ॰तो ०ता | $\overbrace{\text { सुटतात सुटति }}^{\text {सुटतों }}$ | सोरितों <br> यारिता <br> सोरितात सोरिति | देखंतु <br> देखात <br> देखते | देखिताम <br> देधिता <br> देधितिए |

nly of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.
II.-Past Participlr Passive.

|  | Hindi. | PANJABI. | sindil. | oujarati. | marathi. |  | oriya. | bangali. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Participle. | मारा ॰री ०रे ०री | मारिक्रा ${ }^{\circ}$ री ०े ०रीचा | $\begin{aligned} & \text { हसो ०सी } \\ & \text { ०सा }{ }^{\circ} \text { हूं } \end{aligned}$ | छोड्रो ${ }^{\circ}$ ड्डी ${ }^{\circ}$ स्युं $\bullet$ ड्या ०डी ०घ्या and छोडेलो, etc. | सुटषा ब्ली ०न्ने - ल्से ०खा ०लीं | सोरिस्ता ${ }^{\circ}$ बी 0 लें -ब्बे ०्छा •्यी | देखिस | देखित |
| s. 1. 2. 3. | मारा ०री | मारिया ${ }^{\circ}$ | हशिउसि ०चसि <br> इबिए ${ }^{\circ}$ ब्यं <br> इसो $\circ$ 운 | इोड्यो ॰्डी ${ }^{\circ}$ ड्डुं बोजेसो ०्यी ० | सुटलों •लें •ब्बों <br> सुटलास ${ }^{\circ}{ }^{-1}$ से ${ }^{\circ}$ लेंस सुटना ॰्ली ०्यें | सोडिता ०्ली ${ }^{\text {सें। }}$ | देखिबि <br> देखिघ्ब <br> देधिया | देखिजु <br> देखिषि <br> देखिस |
|  | $\}$ मरि ०री |  | हसिदासीं, etc. <br> जिन्न •्यू <br> जिए। ${ }^{\circ}$ | रोख्रा ०ती ०खा दोरिता ब्री ० तो | सुटबों <br> सुटसा <br> सुटत्षे ०्या ०्बीं | सोचित्रि ०्याबी | देखिद्यु <br> रेसित <br> देखित्षे | देखियाम <br> देबिसा <br> देलिनेन |

III.-Future Partictple Passive.

|  | Hund. | ensdit. | oujarati. | marathi. |  | ORIYA. | bangaly. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Participle <br> (Infinitive, etc.). | सुणबे <br> मानिबे |  | छोखवो ॰वी ॰ छुं ${ }^{\bullet}$ वा ${ }^{\circ}$ वी ${ }^{\text {वा }}$ | सुटावा ॰्वी वें -वे •व्वा ॰ वीं | सोणावा वी वें - वे •ब्या ${ }^{\circ}$ वों | देखिबा | देखिबा |
| S. 1. <br> 2. <br> 3. <br> PI. 1. <br> 2. <br> 3. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Bhojpuri.) } \\ & \text { देख््ं } \\ & \text { देस्व } \\ & \text { deest } \\ & \text { देखब् } \\ & \text { देखब } \\ & \text { deest } \end{aligned}$ | इख्ञिसुस ${ }^{2}$ <br> छत्रिं <br> इड्ञियो <br> घचिकासी <br> बत्विब्ठ <br> इड्ञाबा | छोचवी, etc. छोचवाणो, etc. | सुटावा ${ }^{2}$ <br> सुटावास <br> सुटावा <br> सुटाषे <br> सुटवेत <br> सुटावे | सोरावा ${ }^{\text {वी }}$ वें | देधिषि <br> द्बिब्बु <br> देखिब <br> देधितु था <br> देखिब <br> देखिबे | देखिष <br> देबिषि <br> देसिथे •्बक्त <br> टेधिब <br> देखिया ॰्बे <br> देखिबेन |

${ }^{2}$ Only the masculine is given from want of space.
${ }^{1}$ See other dialectic forms in $\$ 58$.
Sanskrit बोधितब्बस m., ॰ व्वा f., ॰बंबं n. Prakrit बोधिद्ध, बोधिबघ.
§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) to or do, (2) $l o$, (3) no. Examples of the first type are-
anáva " to carry," ando, Skr.âní, p.p.p. ânîta, S. ândo.
jivavva " to live, jivdo, " jîv, " jivita.
kerava " to do," kerdo, " kri, " krita, Pers. karda.
nashdva"todepart," nashto, " naç, " nashṭa. chindva "to cut," chindo, " chhid, " chhinna.

Of the second type-
avdva " to come," alo, " âyâ, " âyâta, M. alâ, B.O. jâva" to go," gelo, " yâ, " yâta, M. gelâ, B. gela, O. gala
dikatva " to see," diklo,
B. dekhila, 0.
dekhila.
Of the third type-
dava "to give," dino, " dA, " datta,Pr.diṇṇo,O.-
lava " to take," lino, " labh, " labdha, O. H. Hinnấ,
roodra " to weep," rovno, " rud, " rudita, Pr. ruṇno,
S. runo.
uryata " to fly," uryano, " uḍḍ̂, " uḍ̣îna, S. uḍâṇo.
The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from lino "taken"-
Sing. 1. linom,
2. linân,
3. linâs,
Pl.

1. linân,
2. linan,
3. linAs "I took," etc.

So from kerdo "done," comes
Sing. 1. kerdom, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs,
Pl. 1. kerdâm, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs "I did," etc.
And from nuklo " abandoned" (Skr. mukta)-
Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs,
Pl. 1. muklâm, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs "I left," etc.
This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word kâma, Skr. kâm "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus kerâva "I do," kamakerâva "I will do," i.e. "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspati (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which $\theta$ éncu contracted to $\theta \dot{\text { è and }} \theta \dot{a}$, is used in this way, as $\theta \dot{d}$ ínáyo "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the $g a$ and $l a$ types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.
 Virbs.-§ 69. Thi Root 4s, Pregent Tenbe.-§ 60. Ixplerfect if Panjabi and Gipsy.-§ 61. as with a Nigativb.- $\$ 62$. Coxpound
 Obionn.-§ 64. Tenses derived tharbyrox.- § 65. Coupound Tensis formbd thrrbwith.-§ 66. biti;-the Simple Tbngbe.-§ 67. id.;-tiE Participilal Tenses.- $\$ 68$. Compound Tenses formbd therewith.- $\$ 69$. sthá. - $\$ 70$. 7í.—§ 71. Ancillary Verbs Difingd.-§ 72. Examples of Ancillabise.
§ 58. Further removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,
and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are $\sqrt{ }$ Wस्, $\sqrt{ }$ भू, $\sqrt{ }$ सा, $\sqrt{ }$ या, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form ve्E. It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.
§ 59. $\Delta S$. This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin esse (see under sthd in §12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or ad conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the bhú type for all roots, retain in this verb the ad type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs-

| Skr. | Sing. 1. asmi, | 2. asi, | 3. asti. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| " | Pl. 1. smah, | 2. stha, | 3. santi. |
| and $P$ | $\left\{\begin{array}{r} \text { Sing. 1. asmi, } \\ \text { amhi. } . \end{array}\right.$ | 2. asi, | 3. atthi. |
| " | $\left\{\begin{aligned} \text { Pl. } & \begin{array}{c} \text { 1. asma, } \\ \text { amha. } \end{array} \end{aligned}\right.$ | 2. attha, | ti. |

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as 'mhi, 'mha. These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming
that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the bhú type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the bhî conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the as stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of $\sqrt{ }$ Wस् conjugated after the bhû type, thus-

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Sing. 1. asÂmi, } & \text { 2. asasi, } & \text { 3. asati. } \\
\text { Pl. } & \text { 1. asâmah, } & \text { 2. asatha, }
\end{array} \text { 3. asanti. }
$$

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus-

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Sing. 1. षाहिया, } & \text { 2. षां, षाहीं, } & \text { 3. बाहे. } \\
\text { P1. } & \text { 1. चाहियूं, } & \text { 2. षाहियो, }
\end{array} \text { 3. बाहिजि. }
$$

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunâsikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. ahe is contracted from ahai, which, again, is good Prakrit for asati, but it could hardly be deduced from asti, which, as we have seen, naturally results in

Prakrit atthi. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in $\S 33$, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the bhû type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, जाहा, etc. like हबt, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb as.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has-

| Sing. 1. चारें, | 2. घाशेस | 3. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pl. 1. घाहों | 2. घाहो, | 3. घां |

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having बों instead of 有. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from as. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus-


## Plural.

Old-H. 1. घर्दि 2. बहF 3. घहिं
Avadhî. 1. जही
2. बें, चही
3. बत्रे

Riwai. 1. 总
2. जरें, ही
3. बहेन बत्रें घो.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last $h$, as in Kabir क्रितिया सुष्ष सोष्व एक VEE "There is one line of duty in the world" (Ram. lvi.1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम काम च्ही निब सार॥"The name of Ram is itself the true one" (ib. lxiv. 5), or with long $i$, metri gratia, धर्म वह्हें सब पानी चहार्त" "Religion, he saith, is all (one like) water" (ib. lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहड संभारे राम विचारे कहत चहीं (for चहचं) बो पुकार हो ॥ "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus $I$ am calling aloud, oh !" (ib. Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति पिरी चह्ह बसि भावी ॥"Thus her mind is changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम षराषर नायक सहहीं ॥ " Ram is lord of things moveable and immoveable" (ib. 445), विधि करतब उसटे सब बहहीं "The laws of duty are all reversed" (ib. 617), सुलम सका मय तुन्हु कां चहहीं "All roads are easy to thee" (ib. 574).

By aphæresis of the initial $a$ we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense-

The classical language uses $\overline{\text { ह }}$ in the 1 sing., but हों is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हो, used as a singular, and î, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§33). The form हों seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. ahamu, and inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhi 2 sing. ahes has, like M., a variant ahas, both of which lead back to an older ahasi, just as 3 sing. ahai does to ahati. It is obvious that had $\sqrt{ }$ as not been treated as a bhu verb, there would have
arisen no such types as ahai and hai; for asti goes into atthi, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having-
Sing. 1. हां, 2. हैं,
3. ${ }^{2}$.
PI. 1. हit,
2. हो,
3. $\overline{\text { ET }}$.

It has also, as noticed in §54, a form of this tense with the participial addition गा $m$., गी $f$., étc., as-
Sing. 1. होगा,
2. हैंगा,
3. हिगा,
PI. 1. हांगे,
2. होगे,
3. हणने "I am," etc.,
where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a ga. It is also used doubtingly, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers "well, perhaps it is so"- होगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.
The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspati, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus-

| Sing. 1. isóm, | 2. isán, | 3. isí. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Pl. 1. isám, | 2. isán, | 3. isí. |

§60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form-

Sing. $1,2,3$, सा $m$., सी $f$.
P1. से $m$., सीष्षt $f$., " 1 , thou, he was," etc.
Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, सीमी, सेने, बीगीरा. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the Ludhiana grammar. One often hears बी, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-
line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somewhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3 , and plural 2, are supplied by parts of सा.

Sing. 1. सा. Pl. 1. सा. 3. सन, बैन.

To this, also, is added गा, thus
Sing. 1. सांगा m., सांगी f.

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes ${ }^{\text {Q }}$ to this type-

Pl. 1, 2. हेसे m., हेसीषांf. 3. हैसन.
Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. asita. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of as is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thuo-

Skr. Sing. 1. ब्रासे, 2. बसी:, 3. घासीत्.
Pl. 1. चाझ, 2. घास, 3. घासक्•
Pr. Sing. 1. सं, 2. सी, 3. सी.
PI. 1. सt, - 3. सन.
If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common
process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and $\ell$ being the ordinary termination of the feminine, सी was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine सा was invented to suit it, together with the plurals से and सीषा. This reasoning will account also for the fact that सी is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. हो $m$., ही $f$., pl. हे $m$., हीं $f$. A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. हो, pl. हा. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of as, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of $\mathbb{\pi}$ into $\bar{\varepsilon}$.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects-

> Kanauji. Sing. हतो $m$. , हती $f$.
> PI. हते $m$., हतीं $f$. " I , etc., was."
> Gujarati. Sing. हतो $m$. , हती $f .$, हतुं $n$.
> PI. हता $m$., हती $f$., हता $n . ~ i d$.
which appear to come from Pr. present participle संतो "being." The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb ho (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable as to the present. ${ }^{1}$

Sing. 1. isómas,
2. isánas,
3. isás (isí+as).

Pl. 1. isámas,
2. isánas,
3. isás.

[^39]This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding as to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.
$\S 61$. The derivatives of as in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present as, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."
Sing. 1. गुरें,
2. जुर्द,
3. जुरे
PI. 1. नाई,
2. चाद,
3. माहांक्ति.

Here the $u$ in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of bhû, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply 7 है, "he is not." The insertion of this $u$ is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, nuhe would be for na hue, and nuhanti for na huanti. Nuanti, and not nahanti, is the older form, as in-

> करणा हद्य गुहक्ति निरदय ।
> " Merciful-hearted they are not, but pitiless."-Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in 0 . no positive present from ar, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from bhú; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the $u$, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.
G. has नथी for all persons of both tenses, they say $\overline{\text { jै }}$ वधी "I am not," तु नथी "thou art not," ते नथी " he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for

नथी is clearly derived from घत्यि, the Pr. form of चसि with ग prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of as is kept distinct from that of bhû in Marathi, the former runs thus-

Sing. 1. वाहीं, 2. नाहींस, 3. वाहीं. PI. 1, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत.

In Hindi गहि and वहीं are used to mean simply "not," and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form ; thus कारे or नद्रार्हे " he is not."
§ 62. The present tense from as is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of as to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as-
Def. Present देखता " he is seeing."
Def. Preterite द्या " he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आर्ये है "he comes." This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech. ${ }^{1}$

Panjabi has the following :-

> Def. Present बi< $\frac{\text { है " he is going." }}{}$
> Def. Imperfect घोटा सा " he was going."
> Def. Preterite fिभ्रा है "he has gone."
> Pluperfect निश्रा सा " he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:-
Def. Present हसंदो घारे "he is going."
Def. Preterite ₹सिषो घारे " he has gone."
Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction-

> Def. Present बिह्रीत बार्हे "he is writing."
> " (Emphatic) सिहितो घार्हे "he is writing."
> Def. Preterite लिहिसा घार्षे "he has written."
> Future लिरियार च्रार्हे " he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.
§ 63. $A C H H$. This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from as; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (Śauraseni), asterachchha. But the next sutra gives tipatthi, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipta Sâra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only atthi,
though fragments of a present tense achchhai, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from asti by inversion atsi, as ts we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into चइ, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting achchh as an equivalent for as, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that vutta and khuppa are used for Skr. masj, but no one supposes that vutta can, by any known process of phonetic change, be derived from masj. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that achchh is used instead of as, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that acch is a form of gach ( $\downarrow \mathrm{gam}$ ), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhagavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. acchejja vd citthejia va nisteyya va uya!tejia, "Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up." In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus-

> tuppànaṇà kino ac-
> chasi tti ia pucchiai vahuai.-Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, "Why goest thou with anointed face?" but the scholiast has kim tishthasi, "why standest thou?" The general meaning of the passage is merely "why art thou" thus, i.e. "why have you got your face anointed?" So in 344,
asamattamanorahaim acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, "They are (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled." In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of stay :

> acchaü tâva maṇaharam
piyâi muhadamsanam aïmahaggham
taggâmachettasîmâ
vi jhatti ditṭha suhâvei,
literally, "Let stand (or let be) the heart-entrancing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights." He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, "Her face delights, said I? not her face merely-(or, let alone her face)-why even the sight of the village where she lives delights." Here acchaiu is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in 0 . they would say tâku dekhibà thâü, tahâr gram sima madhya dekhibd anand ate, "Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight." It is like the use of the word alam in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of 0 . था in this construction is that of चाब in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra-

## उपोषे उपोषे लोक हैब मृत प्राय॥ थाकुक बम्नेर कथा अल नाहि पाय ॥

> "From long fasting the folk were nearly dead, Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."-Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food stand (aside)," see $\$ 69$. In the Chingana or Gipsy also ach means "to remain," "to stand." Thus, opré pirende acháva, "I stand on my feet," or simply, "I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" achilo korkoro "he remained alone," ate achilom " here I am," literally " here I have remained;" achen devlésa " remain with God," "good-bye" (i.e. "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."

Not to multiply examples，the use of this verb in a sense which，whatever its original meaning，has become almost equivalent to that of＂being，＂is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hala．The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare．In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root $\boldsymbol{\nabla}$（ $j a n a$ ），as in anasi＝jandsi，anabedi $=$ djnapayati，etc． Also in uno＝punah，and a few other words．

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr．$\sqrt{ }$ 区区् $a k s h$ ，＂to appear．＂This root seems to have borne in Skr．rather the meaning of＂to reach， pervade＂（see Williams＇s Dict．s．v．），but if we are to connect with it षiि＂eye，＂as seems probable，the meaning of＂to see，＂or＂to appear，＂would be natural to it．It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in छ，ष，and $\mathbf{~}$ ，and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier $\overline{\text { ．}}{ }^{1}$

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem ॠच्ह् or च区्ट（Weber writes it in both ways），we may，I think， start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit，and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its con－ nection with षस्．Indeed，as has already been shown，wस् so regularly passes into $\begin{array}{r}\text { TE }\end{array}$ in the moderns，that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become चच्छ्．I

[^40]have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.
§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb wस्, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes चक, especially when derived from an earlier $\overline{\text { a }}$, into $\boldsymbol{\#}$ (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit $\sqrt{ }$ as having in M. become âhe, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. ase, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in षच््. M. has the following tenses :-

1. Aorist-
Sing. 1. चसें,
2. बसस,
3. चसे,
Pl. 1. चसूं,
4. जसा,
5. बसत,
where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.
6. Simple imperative-
Sing. 1. चसूं,
7. चस, ऐेस,
8. बसो.
Pl. 1. Шसूं,
9. बसा,
10. बसोत.
11. Simple future-
Sing. 1. चसेन,
12. बससीर,
13. बसेत्य.
Pl. 1. चसू,
14. जसाब,
15. बसतीर.
16. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb-
Masc. Sing. 1. बसतो,
17. बसतोस,
18. बसतो.
P1. 1. बसतों,
19. घसता,
20. जसतात.
21. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. षसता, etc., as in the ordinary verb.
22. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. चससा, etc.
23. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. vसावा, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Sing. 1. चधि, 2. चकु, 3. चछि - } \\
& \text { PI. 1. चब्कुं, 2. स巨, 3. चछिक्त. }
\end{aligned}
$$

There being no formation from $\sqrt{ }$ as in 0 ., this tense does duty for the simple "I am, thou art," etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now.have-


Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to dekhinu, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial $a$ is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhârat Chandra (A.d. 1711-1755). बाद्ति विसर ठाट प्रथम बयेसे "She was (i.e. had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, के ताल बेताए सिए्र बाषित तोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (KasiM. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme
eastern limits of Hindi，in the Maithila province（Tirhat， Purnia，etc．），where the rustic dialect has the following present：
Sing．1．कू，
2．巨巨
3．हे
PI．1．कूं，2．छूं，3．佥．

It has also a feminine singular छी，plural छीं，uninflected for person．

Close to the Bengali frontier，near the junction of the Mahananda and Kankai rivers，they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali，and have a present－

Sing．1．छि，2．छिस，3．छद् Pl．1．कि，2．लें，3．छे．

Further west，in the same district，one hears－

$$
\text { Sing. 1. छी, 2. छ. } \quad \text { 3. 区्स. PI. 1. दि, 2. बां, 3. छाइ. }
$$

In Bhojpuri，for the present is often heard ब्बे，which is un－ changed throughout both persons．This widely－used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from षष्， for $\begin{gathered}\text { v changes both to } \bar{\circ} \text { and to क्ब．}\end{gathered}$
From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwâl， Kellogg（ p ．201）gives a present of this verb，and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana．It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati－

| bingular． |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kumãon． | 1．घौं，घू | 2．${ }^{\text {e }}$ | 3．区－ |
| Garhwal． | 1．区ों | 2．$\overline{\text { E ，犮 }}$ | 3．$\overline{\text { ® }}$ |
| E．Rajputana． | 1．छ ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ | 2．${ }^{\text {\％}}$ | 3．右． |
| Gujarati． | 1． $\mathbf{g}^{\text {P }}$ | 2．घे | 3．彦． |
| plubal． |  |  |  |
| Kumâon． | 1．घ्यू，छों | 2．छा | 3．छण，घों |
| Garhwal． | 1．छरो，छ्रवाषं | 2．छरन，छयाई | 3．छण． |
| E．Rajputana． | 1．छो | 2．छो | 3．दे． |
| Gujarati． | 1．हर्ये | 2．छो | 3．छे－ |

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle
in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumâon they say sing. छियो, pl. ६िया or £िया, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. चतित $=$ Pr. चच्टियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. बो, pl. हा.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi's Ramayan-

## जाप चबत वुवराब पद रामहि देंड करेस

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, 0 king!"
That is, "during thy lifetime," literally "thou being." The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from बVत, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in $\S 60$ should not be referred to this root rather than to as. The change of $\bar{\Phi}$ into $\mathbb{\#}$ so characteristic of M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छता and छते "(in) being," and declinable छंतो $m$., ती $f$., तुं $n$. ; pl. षता $m$., ती $f$., ता $n$. "being."
§65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as राइत षसतो "he is living," i.e. "he habitually resides," सिरीत चसतों "I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as बसत vसे "he was in the habit of sitting." It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound
tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with वर " if " prefixed, either expressed or understood, as बर काम बरीत घसता "If he were doing the work," पाउस पहत चसता "(If) rain were to fall (as it is now falling)." The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as पड्ता घसता "he would have fallen (if, etc.)."

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as तो जात बसला तर तें काम त्याला सागा "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him." Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो चाला चसका तर "Should he have arrived, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as कर तो कायार घससा तर मला सांग "Should he be about to go, then tell me."

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:-

1. Present participle of verb+future of auxiliary-

तुद्या बाप तुद्यी वाट पाइत चसेब " Your father will be waiting for you" (i.e. is probably now expecting you; râta pahat="looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").
2. Past participle of verb+future of auxiliary-

तो चासा चसेक्ष "He will have come" (i.e. "has probably arrived by this time").
3. Future participle of verb+future of auxiliary-

मी किहियार षसेण "I may be now going to write" (i.e. "I shall probably be writing presently").

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, Ram jat asala, tar tē kam tyala sanga, the words are actually, "Ram going was, then that affair to him tell," where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore
tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi ; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to think in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate nuances of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled ?" Answer, ho! (Yes). "You knew that fact?" ho! "You went home?" ho! "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer na!nd! (No! No!).
＂When you did not go home，before that，they told you？＂ ho！So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above，＂If he should be going，then entrust this affair to him，＂ one would have to say，＂Near him you having gone，he＇I am now going＇having said，this word having heard this matter to him you will tell．＂Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods，I am taking an extreme case；but the remarks will hold good，more or less，for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India，and it must be remembered that the expression＂lower classes＂means in India eight－tenths of the whole population．

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary 叉े in G．are the following ：－

1．Definite present ；aorist of verb＋aorist of auxiliary， as बरे छे＂he does．＂

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel，as
 घो＂ye do，＂etc．

2．Definite preterite；p．p．of verb＋aorist of auxiliary，as बाप्यो 佥＂he has given，＂active used in karma construction with instrumental of subject．तिये काम बवावेबुं छे＂he has performed the work ；＂neuter in kartâ，as 干ैं घट्तयो छुं＂I have ascended．＂

3．Another definite preterite with the second form of the p．p． in elo，as चजेलो कु＂I have ascended．＂There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last．

4．Definite future；future participle of verb＋aorist of auxiliary，as खानारो $\overline{\text { Q }}$＂he is about to eat．＂

5．Another tense with the second form of the fut．part．in vano，as ₹ं बरवानो कु＂I am going to do．＂The uninflected form of the future participle in ar may also be used，as तु शुं करणार 佥＂What art thou going to do？＂These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and
definite purpose, much as in German er will thun differs from er wird thun.

The auxiliary $\overline{\text { Q }}$ is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from bhû, as छोडतो होय छे "he is (now) loosing." Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses that there is not for each one of them a distinct special meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly the case in Hindi, as will be seen below ; and in the poets, who are our only guides for the mediæval period, metrical necessities, rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root, use them also as auxiliaries. ${ }^{1}$ Eastern Rajputana has the definite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and that of the auxiliary, मां $\dot{\text { ® }}$ " $I$ am beating," also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as मारयो $\mathrm{Q}^{2}$ "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly
 to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb हो "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. बो, pl. छा. Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present participle and the aorist मारद् (or मारदू) घों "I am beating;" and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारे $\overline{\text { E }}$ "he has beaten," मारा इण "they have beaten." So does Kumaoni, present मारणु छूं, preterite मारो छ; but in these, also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider range of observations requires to be made in remote and little known parts of the country.

[^41]Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thue-
Def. Present देदितिरिए "I am seeing" (dekhite + achii).
Def. Imperfect दे दिबतिबिणुण "I was seeing" (dekhite + [4]chhinu).
In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl . has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear-

## 

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite द्देखियाइि "I have seen" (dekhiga + Achhi).
Pluperfect देबियाधितु "I had seen" (dekhiga + achhinu ).
Here, also, देखियाषिeताम is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: $\boldsymbol{\Phi}$ loses its aspirate and becomes च, so that we hear for aरितेके a word
 vulgo hoche (हचे), for देखियाे dehhiche (देखिच), and for देखियाषिसाम dekhichilém, or dekh'chilém (देखिधिषेम ?). So also for पालितिएे "goes" chaloche (चसचे). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-

[^42]tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite-

> Def. Present का चदिं "I am doing" (pres. part. karu " doing").
> Def. Preterite बारि चfिं "I have done"(p.p. kari" done").

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say करषिं and बरिशि respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in क prevails, and one hears करंकि "he is doing," and contracted 戸ंधि " he is."
§66. bHÚ. This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form HO; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb "to be," it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be disoussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although ho is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial $b h$ is retained. In Pali, both bhavati and hoti are found for 3 sing. pres., abhavd and ahuvd impf., bhavatu and hotu impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find bhodu=bhavatu, bhavia $=b h u t v a$, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the $b h$ are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. भयो $m$., भर्ट $f$., pl. भए, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the
verbal endings, as भयेछ, भयक, etc. It is also contracted into भो; and in the modern form भया "was," may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a $\operatorname{Pr}$. भविषो $=a$ Skr. भवित, with elision of the $\mathbf{a}$, and $\overline{4}$ called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236) BINGULAR.
Kanauji. ${ }^{1}$ 1. 2. 3. भयो m., भर्द $f$.
Braj. id. भयो m., id.

Old-Pürbi. 1. भयठं m., भा, भक्षं $f$.
Avadhi. 1. भयेच m., भवा, भयिंठं $f$.
Riwai. 1.2.3. भा, भ.
Bhojpuri. 1. भोट्सी, भैली,
2. भेब्न,
plubal.

## 3. भयक्ठ m., भा भर्द. $f$

3. भवा, भया $m$. भธ्, भे $f$.

Kanauji. ${ }^{1} \quad$ 1. 2. 3. भए $m$., भर्ष $f$. (also भये $m$.).
Braj.
id.
Old-Parbi. 1. भये, मे m.
भरं $f$.
2. भये, भयेक्ड $m$.
3. भये, भे $m$.

भ女ं, भर्रु $f$.
भरं $f$.
Avadhi.

1. भये $m$.
भे $f$.
2. भये $m$.
भयिध्ठ $f$.
3. भयें $\cdots$.
भयेनि $f$.

Riwai. 1.2.3. मयेण, भयेम्ह.
Bhojpuri. 1. भोद्सीं, भेषी,
2. भेष्ट,
3. भेलग् .

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

[^43]Kanauji, thus भयो कोटि तामस तांम ॥"He became violently disturbed with anger" (Pr. R. i. 48), षंंगपाल भयो राज ॥ "Anangapâl became King" (iii. 17), पुब्य कथा ज्यों भर्द। सनो त्युं कहीं चपुब्वह ॥" How the former matter happened, listen while I tell the wonderful tale" (iii. 15), पुच होत भर्द मृत्य " While the son was being (born), she became dead" (i. 170), भए यादि घंत कविता विते। "As many poems as have been (written) first and last" (i. 10), भए विकल सोग घाइस छ ताप ॥ "The folk became distressed, (being) wounded and heated " (xxi. 5). Contracted मा भो हास काल पुनि जाइय ॥" Daughter becaime (arose) in her mind, then after pity came" (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% } \\ & \text { 可 } \\ & \text { to a great extent. }\end{aligned}$

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया नाम पार बति भयज । तप करता संकर वो द्यछः"Her second name was Pârvati, the ascetic (i.e. Daksha) gave her to Śankara" (Ram. 26,5), येके पुरष येषती कारी।, तातें सनि षान भो चारी। "One male (energy), one female, from them vere produced four kinds of living beings" (ib. 6), एक घंड जोंकार ते यह्ह सब बम भयी पसार "From one egg, the word Om, all this world has been created" (ib. 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as भर्यो बहोरि भयो तोशि खारा "It filled again and thus became salt (i.e. the sea)" (Lanka-k. 3), सेतुबंध भर् भोर जति । "The Setubandh became very crowded" (ib. 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in माथ नाइ पूछत चस भयन "Bowing his head, thus he uas asking" (Kis-k. 2), वरि दंडवत कहत बस भयज "Making salutation, thus he was saying" (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as मे मण मुदित पाद् प्रिय साषू । "He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved" (Ay-k. 441).

Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भिब is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in घून मेल मन्दिर शून भेल कगरी $\|$, शून भेल दूर्शिश शून भेस सगरी॥ "Empty has become the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!" (Pr. K.S. 118), कोविस कासरबे मति मेस भोरा। "From the sound of the koil's notes my mind has become distracted" (ib. 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial $b h$. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type $h$, like the cognate languages.
The aorist has the following forms:-
bingular.
Hindi. 1. होज 2. होए
3. होए-

1. होए
plural.
P.
P. 1. होवा
2. होवें
3. होवे.
4. होये
5. 安
6. होह्ये
7. होचं
8. दा
9. होर्दत.
M. 1. होर्ं
10. होस
11. होर्द.
12. हैच
13. उँ
14. इ यंति:
B. 1. हा
15. हB
16. हय.
17. हE
18. हो
19. हन.

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in ho, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of " $I$ am," etc., from as, the tense derived from ho is more usually employed to mean "I may be." The Pârbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus-

Sing. 1. हीं, 2. होस, 3. हो. Pl. 1. हीं, 2. हो, 3. ज्न.
Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in $a$ or $o$, as regards the method of joining the
terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हों in addition to होक; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होय, होवे, and हो; 1 and 3 pl . होएं, होंय, होवे, हों ; 2 pl . हो as well as होषो, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of as.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final $o$ of ho into $r$. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).


This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = "I used to be," takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as-
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Sing. 1. होय } & \text { 2. होस } & \text { 3. होय. } & \text { Pl. 1. हों } & \text { 2. हां } & \text { 3. होत. }\end{array}$
The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively="I am not," as-
Sing. 1. पहें
2. चक्षेस
3. ॠ⿳े
P1. 1. जदों
2. बही
3. घहेत (Пझत).
and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.
In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to $h u$, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes $h \hat{u}$, rarely $h 0$, except in poetry, where 3 sing. होर is met instead of Fए. The $j$, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as-

Oriya sometimes shortens $o$ to $u$, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so
slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the $o$ is changed to a very short $e$. This is generally, but not always, due to a following $i$, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the $o$-sound, $o+i=a+\mathrm{i}=a i=e$. Thus 2 sing. is in full हैं, though generally pronounced ho. In Bengali the $o$ is generally written $a$, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh $o$, like the $o$ in English not, rock, etc. Thus it comes to pass that ह्रय and \%iv may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होण respectively, and thus derivable from ho, or as equivalents of H . है and है, and so to be referred to as. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H . is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is दे, 2 pl . होवो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोषि कहो ⿳े सिष्षि सिष्चि॥" All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!'" (i.178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. दास, 2 pl. 耳ाव, like the present.
P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होवो. S . has 2 sing. हो and होष, 2 pl . हो and Fबो. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl . both हो.
M. Sing. 1. होच
2. हो
3. होवो, होज.
3. हें.
3. हुक.
3. होवोत, होछत.
3. हेउंतु.
3. हछम्.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts ( $\quad$, making होषिये " be pleased to be," G. होबे.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl . होस.
The simple future in $G$. is formed according to the usual
rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in $B$. and 0 ., to express the $o$ sound by $a$, so that side by side with the regular forms होईंश, होते, etc., we have also sing. 1. इंघ, 2. हघे, 3. हथे ; pl. 1. हईयुं, 2. हघो, 3. हथे, which we must apparently pronounce $h \delta \delta s h$, hos $\delta h$, etc.

The simple future in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होर्टों "I shall become," etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type ${ }^{\mathbf{Z}} \mathbf{}$ is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus-


We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.-
Sing. 1. हेस हूं, हूरू
2. हेसी
3. हेसी.
PI. 1. हेसा, हेसां
2. हेसो, हेसो
3. हेसो.

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg's admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, "Every twelve kos language changes, as the leaves change on the trees."

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-cultus, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होरे, a shortened form होरि, and the Braj शे . Also occasionally होर in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होए (दए). Examples are प्री होर्ही तिक बसह्ह ॥" His race shall become extinct" (Pr.-R. iii.

29），होहि बद्वनि सपूतह्ह ॥＂The Jadavani shall be with child＂ （i．249），दिवस पंच के अंतरे । होर्य सु दिखी पति $\$＂In the space of five days，he shall become lord of Dilli＂（iii．411），इण्या $\bar{\square}$ जोर दें ज वोरा＂There has not been，and there shall not be，any （like him）＂（i．331）．

To Tulsi Das，Kabir，Bihari Lal，and all the mediæval poets होरी，होर्हि，होहि，and होई are the forms of the ordinary regular future；होगा is very rarely met in their pages，if at all．In－ stances are，भये बे षहहिं बे होर्ं यागे।＂They who have been， are，and shall be hereafter＂（Tulsi，Ram．Bal－K．30），होरि यही बद्वाय सब।＂Now this good fortune will be（will happen）＂ （ib．82），चब तें रति तव नाथ बार होर्दि नाम चन्र्ड।＂Henceforth， Rati，the name of thy lord shall be Ananga＂（ib．96）．The form दें does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das，though in Bihari Lal the participle ${ }^{\mathbf{Z}}$ is common；this latter poet＇s subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future．बइरि अणम П होरी तावो＂There shall not again be birth to him（he shall escape the pain of a second birth）＂（Kabir，Ram．57）．In the majority of the poets the forms hrai and hoi seem to be regarded as virtually the same，and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre．There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them，and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government， by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests，the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected．

867．The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb．The present participle is in Old－H．₹वत，as in Chand हसन इवंत निवारि＂Laughing being prevented＂（Pr．－R．i．6）． In modern H．the classical form is होता $m$ ．，होती $f$ ．，Braj होतु； and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable．In the Rajputana dialects the form ⿳亠二口又寸市 is found．The other languages have P．₹ंडा，S．हंद्रो，G．होतो，M．होत，होता，

होताना, O . हेछ, B. होरते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in H . one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in $\S \S 46,47$, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, $H$. इष्या. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short $\overline{5}$ ष्रा, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होर्या, S. Fको, G. होषो, होयो, होयलो.
M. has a strange participle घ्याला, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form क्यासा, shortened from होयासा. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from © regular. In the poets a form बासा is found, and even वाहासा. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root या. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses धां, as धाजि पुरहे नवस । धन्ब बाला हा दिवस ॥" To-day our vows are heard, blessed has become (is) this day" (Abh. 508).

0 . होद्र, हेसा, B. होहल, हाल.
The future participle is in M. हावा, 0 . हेब, B. हस्य, contracted to हष (hŏb̄).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in $M$. forms with the aid of the substantive verb as a regular present, as 3 sing. होतो $m$. होती $f$. होतें $n$. But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb ( $\$ 42$ ) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of ho employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, hoto, etc., means "he becomes," the conditional form hota, etc., means "he was." This usage is analogous to that of the G. hato, etc., mentioned in § 59 , and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. कतो $m$., क्ती $f$. etc. It has been
suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. भूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that bhûta had at a very early epoch lost its $t$ and become in Pr. hüam, hoiam, and the like; also that in Chand the anuswadra of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुब चत्रो दुर्वणिय भोर। (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman became to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage द्वक जतो सिंगिय रिष्ष "There woas one Sṛinga Rishi."
§68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb ho are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with गिरता "falling," and गिरा "fallen" (gir " to fall")-

1. गिरता होच (aorist of $h o$ ) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारे घर को बाते "Are you going to my house ?" one might answer वाता होच "I may be going (but am not sure)."
2. गिरता इंगा (future of ho shortened from होछंगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम घबही घाता है "Is Ram coming now ?" the reply is, हों घाता होगा "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," i.e. "I suppose he is now on his way here."
3. निरता होता "(If) I were falling," conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम बदि भागता होता तो में उसको रोबता "If Ram were now running away, I would stop him" (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.
4. गिरा हों "I may have fallen." Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कबही सुणा "Have you ever heard his name?" one might say सुणा होनों "I may have heard it" (but have now forgotten it).
5. गिरा इंगा "I must or shall have fallen." This is a very commonly used tense. Thus F का होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to "I dare say," "very likely," "I shouldn't wonder." Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम चे संबाद् पाया है "Has Ram received the news?" Answer, पाया होगा "He will have received it," meaning "Oh yes, of course he has," or with a different inflection of voice, "I dare say he has."
6. निरा होता "(If) I had fallen." Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रह may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम बटि काएह खाए रहते "If you had come yesterday." The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) बो में $\bar{\square}$ घाया होता उन का पाप न होता "If I had not come . . . they had not had sin."

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of ho. In this language $h o$, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present बाडा है "He is going," side by side with a continuative present with ho, बढ्रा इंद्रा "He kept on going;" also, "He is in the habit of going." So, also, there is a continuative imperfect बादा ₹ंटा सा "He kept on going," "He was always going." Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of ho (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) बांड़ होवेगा "He will probably be going," and a continuative form containing ho twice over, बाड़ा इंडा होवेगा "He will probably be always going." Thus, to the question उह्ह वितणाकु चिर चने

रहिंदा होवेगा "How long will he be stopping there?" the answer might be, उचे चः दा घर है चह ता सदा सरबदा उचे रहिंद्रा ₹ंदा होवेगा "His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there." With तो "if" prefixed, the tense बादा इड्ा means "If I were in the habit of going."

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of ho: बांद्रावा "I may be going," and with "if" prefixed, "If I should be going;" and बाड्रा इंदा होवा "I may be constantly going," "If I should be always going."

With the past participle they combine the present participle of $h 0$, as रकिस चा इंदा "I would have put," and conditionally, के में रक्सिषा जंदा "If I had put," "If I should have put;"
 इंदा "If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it."

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of $h$, as गिश्या होवे "He may have gone," or, "If he has (perchance) gone."

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होर्भा pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन घकिष्या है "he has sent," and धक्षिया हो च्या © "he is having sent." In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of ho as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word hoïd, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिका होरा होइषा "beaten" (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of ho to form potentials, thue-l. इंड्रो F्ए "he may be going;" 2. इसियो इए "he may have gone." There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in
H. and P., probably because ho plays a more important part in S. than does as, which is represented by orily one tense, or achh, which is not represented at all.
3. हसंद्रो हो "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of $h o$.
4. हलिष्षो हो "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.
5. हंडदो छदो "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of ho.
6. इसिषो इड़ो "he will have gone." Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2,4 , and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason :

1. इएितो Fए "he may be being released." Future participle passive ( $\$ 51$ ) with aorist of $h o$.
2. 叉चितो हो "he was being released." The same with preterite of $h o$.
3. इड़ितो इंद्रो "he will be being released." The same with future of $h o$.

Gujarati employs ho in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (chad "ascend"):

1. Present participle + aorist, घउतो होय "he is ascending." Definite present.
2. The same + future, चउतो हघे "he may be ascending." Contingent present.
3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चउतो होत" (if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, घद्यो होय "he has ascended." Definite preterite.
2. The same + future, चड्यो हते "he may have ascended." Contingent preterite.
3. The same + pres. p. ind., चङ्यो होत "(if) he had ascended." Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in elo, as चडेलो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form vano (see § 52)-

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चउ्वाणो होय "he is about to ascend." Definite future.
2. The same + future, घउवानो हथे "he may be about to ascend." Contingent future.
3. The same + pres. p. ind., च्छवानो होत "(if) he were about to ascend." Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते मों छोठवाजो होत तो छोउते "If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago)." Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in ar or aro, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (\$75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from as and achh, that there is comparatively little left for ho to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of ho, as तो येत होता "he was coming."
"Incepto-continuative" imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of ho, as तो बोसता क्वाला "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of ho, as मी सिरियार होतों "I was to have written," i.e. "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is मी बास जापया बरे येयार

होतों पया घरीरोत विछ्धती घ्यास्यामुळे घरोंच राहिeों " $I$ was to have called (yeṇâr hotân) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (i.e. feeling unwell), I stayed at home."

Future continuative composed of the present participle and future of ho, as तो बोसता होर्दल "he will begin to speak (and go on speaking )."

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of ho used in the Karma prayoga, as खो सागावें होतें "you should have told," lit. "by you to be told it was." This may also be expressed by using पारिबे "ought," as मला चाललें पाराजे होतें "I ought to have walked."

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of ho to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मसा चालायाचे होतें "I had to walk," i.e. "I was obliged to walk."

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of $h o$ as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in 0 . or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेरित होरति, 0 . प्रेरित हेया "to be sent." This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.
§69. sthí. The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12 , where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense thd "was," sing. था $m$., ची $f$. ; pl. बे $m$., ची $f$. "

[^44]This form is, I believe, shortened from धिष्यो, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. ferr. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition $k d$ had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. krita; so, also, ga in the H. and P. future from gata, bha in Old-Hindi from bhûta, $l d$ and $l a$ in M., and other futures from lagna; and in exact parallelism to these is tha from sthita.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. धो $m$., धी $f$; pl. थे $m$., घीं $f$.; but the Garhwali still preserves a fuller type in sing. घयो $m$., थर्द $f$; pl. घया $m$. Nearer still to sthita, and with incorporation of the Skr. root as, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali "I was," etc.-

## $\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Sing. 1. थियां } & \text { 2. धिस्ट } & \text { 3. चिया. } & \text { Pl. 1. धियुं } & \text { 2. चियो } & \text { 3. थिया. }\end{array}$

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pârbatiya or mountain Hindi ; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. बा is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, बोषता था "was speaking." Imperfect.
2. With past participle, बोला चा "had spoken." Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp ${ }^{1}$ calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like as or bhú, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of sthd in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which घो probably = f्ञात: nom., and the latter

[^45]चे = सिति loc. घो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present-

## Sing. 1. हसं घो $m$. हसा धी $f$. <br> Pl. 1. हबूं या $m$. इसूं थिंनं $f$., "I go," etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put before the principal verb. चि has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus-

## Sing. 1. इसिंस्ि चे 2 . हसिएां बे. <br> P1. 1. हििषासी थें, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are-
घ़ बाबूं बार जे साद्ये विस्यू "Two women were quarrelling (the vidahyan) about a child."
हिकित्रा ब बर्या परे परडेहि चि निषा "Two men vere going (the bia) to a foreign country." ${ }^{1}$

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative sthite, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase "I am (in the act or condition of) having gone," is rendered "in having been, I am gone."
G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as ho. As regards meaning, थवुं is more powerful than होवुं; the latter, also, is more powerful than $\bar{\xi}$. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. " "he is," is merely the copula; तोय "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; घाय "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

[^46]as pointed out before, is analogous to that between ser and estar in Spanish.

चवुं forms compound tenses by taking parts of होषु as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus-

Imperfect घतो हतो, as in ते बठाई घती हती "That fight was going on."
Preterite चयो होय छे, as in नेनुं मन बठण चयुं होय के "His heart has become hard."
Dubitative present घतो हाेे, as in ते हवे पूतावो घतो हाये "Therefore you may now be regretting," and so on. ${ }^{1}$

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with ho, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (kar "do") ब\$ "doing"-
a. Aorist of tha वर घाए, karu thêe, "he is (or was) doing." Continuative present.
b. Preterite " वा चिला, karu thila, "he was doing." Imperfect.
c. Fature " वड चिa, karu thibr, "he will be doing." Continuative future.
2. With the past participle aरि "done"-
a. Aorist of the बारि थाए "he has (asually) done." Habitual preterite.
b. Preterite " afर चिसा "he had done." Pluperfect.
c. Future " बारि चिब " he will have done." Future past.

The difference between $1 a$ and $2 a$ is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. Karu thaë implies that a person habitually

[^47]does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question से हाटरे बसु चिला "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be हां सेठठ बसु थाए "Yes, he alcays sits there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, वबिराज हेते बेळे घासिएा मु भसहेछ धाएं "When the doctor came, I was getting well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. Kari thäë, on the other hand, literally, "He remains having done," implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as भारजा प्रति ताहार बड राग होर्ट थाए "He is always very angry with his wife," not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as से समयरे चक्रर बह काश्य होर थाए' "At that time I had a bad cough," implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles-
a. वर्या "Remain thou doing."
b. बरि चा "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. गोबिंद् से वाम बह चाउ "Let Gobind go on doing that work." But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), "The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present." ${ }^{2}$ He illustrates this tense

[^48]thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, ' Do that work so,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it so,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr. :-

तुय्ये सेहि काम सेमति का "Do that work so."
Answer मु सेमति वरिधि बे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order)

> so I have done."

Rejoinder चछा सेमति करि था "Well, always do so," literally, " thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used karu tha, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while kari thd is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional-

> क्र थांता " he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."
> करि थांता " he might have done," or, "if he had done."

These explain themselves.
Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is थाक्, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.
§ 70. FÂ. This root takes the form or, and is used in H . P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in 0 ., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own ( $(24$ ), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,
it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (dekh " see")-

| H. Aorist देखा बाए " he is seen." | P. दिठा बावे. |
| :--- | :--- |
| Imperfect देखा घाष्यो " be ye seen." | दिठा बावो. |
| Future देखा वाएगा "he will be seen." | दिठा बावेगा. |

So also in M. and 0 . The various tenses of ar are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, $j d$ is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," mar khdnd, "it comes into seeing," dekhne men ata, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, ho may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive $j d$ than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.
§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements mar "strike," and dal "throw," combine into the compound verb mar dalna "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of dalna, mar remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again
can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus lag, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as kahne lagd "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the upasargas, or prepositions, and can no longer develope from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing pra, abhi, upa, or sam. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.
§72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but
that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem ; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ते "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that $d e$ is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while le implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus de can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are-

## पेषणा " to throw," <br> निकाषणा " to take out," <br> पेंक्ष दे्वा "to throw away." <br> निवाए द्वेग "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धाज fिकासा "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in मुष्य को घर से जिवाब दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.
रसभा " to put," रस देथा " to put away, lay by."
मारणा " to strike,"

With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning-

## समष्बाना and समक्षा देगा " to explain." <br> गिराभा " गिरा देणा "to cause to fall, or to throw down," <br> बेठाणा " बेठा देणा "to seat, or to put into a seat."

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with रे a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases दे दो "give," and से हो "take," where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, de implies permission, as धाजे दो "let (him) go," छम बो शैठजे दीविये " please let me sit down."
P. uses de in the same way as H ., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तबर्डु "to abandon," तबी देघों "let (it) alone!" "let go!" णाखतु "to throw," नाखी देषो "throw (it) away!" But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, "वु "to go," बथा देडु "to allow to go," पउ्धा देडुं "to let fall," बसवा देड़ं " to permit to write."
M. has the same usage of द्; when added to the conjanctive
 write," खपून देयों "to dig;" in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as "write it off," "dig it up and have done with it," as in टावूण दे "throw it away."

With the infinitive it implies permission, as मषा बांध दे "suffer me to go," वारा सिदे देत नाहीं "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in 0 . and B., as 0 . पिटाद्द दिय " break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitive मती चासिबाकु देला चहीं "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुस्रक देखिया दियांि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as चामाबे परिते दिसेन का "They did not allow me to read."
2. ते is in all respects used similarly to दे, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed towards the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीता "he drinks," and पी लेता "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम को हमारे पास डुला लो "call Ram to me," where the simple verb गुलाना merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of de and le is well shown when added to रस्बा "to put;" thus रब हो means "put it away (for your own use)," but रब दो "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in $l e$.
P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses fिकuय, which is the same word as $l e$, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by $\overline{\text { en }}$ बाला, as in साद्रोर समुंड्ये कि निते निक्षा "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटाए fिथ्यायु "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."

In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समबी लेवुं "to understand," i.e. "to make oneself acquainted with," घीबी बेषो "learn (this)," i.e. "acquire this knowledge."
M., as before remarked, uses छे, where its sisters have बे. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. E) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in सववर सान कर्रण घ्या "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use áná "to come," in the same way, as घ्षट षसकाज वरके घाषो. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पोराने छात पोळछन छेतला "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if छेत世ा were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that
the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb नेबा is used as in H., as कागञ पच बुक्Aि नेबुं "I will take charge of the papers and accounts," where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally " having understood I will take."

So also with B. लषो, as चिटी पडाद्यया सह्लेन "they took and read the letter."
3. का "come," बा "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as $l e$ and de. H. का is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus बगणा "to be made," बन खाना, or sometimes colloquially, बने खाना "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," खेत को देख षाया安"Having seen the field, I am come," i.e. "I have been and looked at the field," and he implies, "I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it." The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of $a$ in S. is चचणु, pres. part. 委दो "coming," p.p. चायो "come." It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of $H$. and P. Thus वसय चचतु "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come on to rain," as-

## विक्हू वसय चार्दू सारंग चठिषो सेख।

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."-Trumpp, p. 344.
G. चाव is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as बगउतु अावडु "to become spoilt." But far more frequently घावी, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

ये in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as
far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as मसा बाता येतो "I can go," lit. " to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of and in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसको fिखापडी चाती नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.
4. aा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than a. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as याना "eat," खा बाना "eat up," बस्षे बाणा "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो बाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in बह, or बहि, बाणा ; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say बiी बाषो, i.e. "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in §18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say टूटना or टूट गाना "to be broken;" मिस्ब का or मिब धाना "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with jand is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears टूट गया twenty times for once of टूटा. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25 , concerning the origin of the use of बाणा to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in $\ddot{i j a}$.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem वषणु "go" (impt. वتु, p.p. विषो, pres. p. वींदो, वेंदो), from Skr. $\sqrt{\text { व्रच्, Pr. वंच. }}$ Thus, वठी वनयु " to take off," मरी वशयु " to be dead," i.e " to go, having died." चडी वमयु "to ascend," i.e. "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to ख्वयाग "to lift," as ख्यी वजु "be off!" "go away!" The
general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340) : सो वरिfिं वड़ो तड़ि़िं मरी विषो " When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). सूंहनि बो सधाद बड्ड त वोरि बंचे वभें "Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst pass over (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by $j a$ in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as बखतो का "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.
5. सक् "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in $H$. to imply power, as चक्ष सकता "he is able to walk," बा सकेगा "he will be able to do." It is rarely; if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेंमे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for ₹म कर सबेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able to do."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाँ सक्टा है "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In $S$. the corresponding verb सघयु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as बरे सध्यु " to be able to do."

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as बाने सबता नहीं "he cannot go," and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, karne sakta is much commoner than kar sakta.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§54) renders its use less frequent.
B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पार in B. with the infinitive, as वरिते पारि "I can do," in 0 . with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as वरि पारिबि "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say ताहार नाम काि पारिब, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"
6. सग "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखेे सगता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखले लगता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as इए्चया सगिएो "he began to cry." So also G., as मारवा हागवुं "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मा बागसा "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as करावयास बागसा "he began to do." B. the same, as करिते बागिe "he began to do," 0 . बरिबाकु बागिसा.
7. चुक "fail"" hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as खा चुवा "he has done eating," बब सा चुकेगा "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुव, as in बरे चुवण्यु " to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहणु "to remain," बठणु " to take," निभयु " to be ended," बसि.कारयु id. G. वरी चुकावं "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिया चुवियाधि "I have done giving." 0 . uses सार, as बार सारिकि "I have done eating," से बर्म होर्द सारिसा "That business is quite finished." B. also uses पेल "throw," in this sense, as बशिया फिलिक्षेण "They have done speaking."
8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, ठेवयों and टाकरों, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; ठेवयों = सापषं, and consequently means "put," while टावयों = त्वाग, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as è and दे in H., thus हें बापड्ड घरी कर्रण ठेष "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती गाय बाधूण ठेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but त्वारी पोधी त्वास देछन टाष "Give him up his book" (i.e. "give it him and let him go"), तें घ्बाउ उपटूक टाष " Root up that tree" (i.e. "uproot and throw away").
9. बर "do," is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as षाया बरता "he always comes," तुम क्यों ऐसा किया बरते हो "Why do you keep on doing so ?" In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सोई सो हरफु पठिकोई चो पढा "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic $t$ added to it. G., like H., uses बरंg with the inflected form of the p.p., as बर्या बरवुं "to keep on doing," वाधा बारवु "to keep on reading." The various uses of karnd in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.
10. रह "remain," differs from का, in that it implies continuance in a state, while बर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as थेठ रहणा" to remain sitting," बेल रहतें "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नदी बहती द्इती "The river flows on continually," labitur et labetur. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, वाता रहणा (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death ; thus मेरा बाप बाता रहा "My father is dead (has passed
away);" also for loss of things, as उसका सब धन बाता रहा "All his property is gone." I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहणु in the sense of continuance, as वीदो रहंदो विर्षी मिसिर घाम "He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria" (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वतयु "to turn, wander," as ढ़ीबनु घोठा चारींदो वते "Bîjalu goes on grazing the horses" (ib.). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.
G. employs रेह, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as वरी रेहेすु " to remain doing," and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चउतो रेहेषे " he ascends completely."

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायाषा राहिसा "he left off beating." This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित="deprived of."
B. and 0 . do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it थाक्ष, and 0 . था.
11. पت्ड "fall," implies generally accident, as in H. कालगा "to know," बान पड्या "to be found out" (i.e. " to be known by an accident"), as उस वा दोष बो बान परे तो हम भी नर्हीं घचेंगे "If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape." So also in G., as वळगणुं "to stick to," वळणी पउ्ड " to become attached to, to get caught in." M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू न्वरमस्ता द्याबास म्हाणून मसा खेपा घासायास परतें "On account of your being attacked with fever, I have to waste my time in travelling," literally, "to me the throwing away of journeys falls." Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in बायको कोली तर घर बांधायास पडेस " If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house." The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पह to the infinitive, as तुम बो बाजे पचेगा "You will have to go (whether
you like it or not);" so also in B. बाइते परिब, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा पचिe "he got caught," as सुब्दर पचेछे धरा छुनि बिबा परे धरा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the groand" (Bhârat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया पडिe्न "he fell asleep," मारा पचित "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as धरा परिधि (for परि घछि) " he has been caught."

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पड्डा फिरता था "A tiger happened to be prowling about," literally, "a tiger fallen was prowling," the word "fallen" being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पर्या (= पतणं), and the p.p. is पिथा; thus they say चह पिक्षा खादा है " He is engaged in eating," where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरणा "to walk," तुर पद्इया "to set out on a journey." So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पवयु, the conjunctive participle पर्द or पेर्द precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसर सो विहाइ को पर्झ पुरायो ग धिए "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p. 341) ; here पर्ष न थिए means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." सथी, the conjunctive of ख्यु "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as $l e$ and de in H., khan! being used where activity, pat where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खयी निखयु "to set to work writing," खयो वढ़ाए "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle पिषो is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंfं में तबिता सिरिणियि वाजे पिष्षा चिर्षनि "In it flashes like lightnings are found" (or "take place," or " appear;" Trumpp, ib.).
12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the
ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पाला " to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as में उसबो देखजे वहीं पाया "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर को भीतर बाने नहीं पाजोगे "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पडिते पाइ् णा "I am not able to read," that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

उासणा "to throw," is used in H. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as-

| मारणा " to strike," मार डासना " to kill." |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| तोउना " to break," | तोड उास्ना " to dash in pieces." |
| वाटना " to cat," | वाट उासना " to cut down, hack, hew." |

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth's Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.

## CHAPTER $\nabla$.

## OTHER VERBAL FORME.

CONTENTS.—§73. The Conjunctive Participle.-§ 74. The Infinitive. § 75. The Agent.-§ 76. Sindil Verbs witi Pronominal Supfixes.§ 77. Conjugation of Stams Exdeng in Vowhle ny Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindil.-§ 78. The sang in Maratil.-§ 79. The bang in Bamgali and Obita.
§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense. From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another, and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those interminable sentences of .which he is so fond, it has been called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a finite verb is added ; thus, instead of saying, " Next morning he woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken, having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed, having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel, having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in ला, as भूला " having been," the other in च, as संभूय " having met." Each
of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in $y a$ is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.
Thus in Prakrit we find शुणिषा = Skr. श्रुला "having heard," as well as डिद्धमित्य = निष्ध्रम्य "having gone out." So also द्श्च=दत्वा "having given," चोरिष = चोरयिसा "having stolen," गदुष्ष = गसा "having gone," सिंचिष्ष = सित्बा " having sprinkled," गेरिएप्र= गृछीखा " having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in $i$, as वरि "having done," चसि "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final $a$, thus-

> सुनि काग्गर कृपराब म्य ॥ भी बालन्द सुभाइ ॥
> " Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased."
> -Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in $y a$, and one in aya, as-

## भुगति भूमि किय कारः वेद् सिधिय बल पूरण ॥ <br> बीय सबय लय मध्य ॥ <br> म्बाज षवूर सवूरण ॥

" Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot, Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water, Having placed good seed in its midst, Up sprung the shoot of knowledge."-Pr. R.i. 4.
Here किय "having made," and भुगति किय = mod. भोग बरके "having made (or taken) possession," सिषिय "having watered," बय = बह्य "having placed."

Mediæval Hindi has regularly the form ending in ₹, as राम बषण मृदु गूठ सुनि "Having heard the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (Tulsi, Rám. Bálk. 113), पंचित भूके पfि गुनवेटा। "Sages having read the Veda erred as to its qualities" (Kabir, Ram.
$34,1)$, भकि विमुख बो धर्म सु सब बधर्म बरि गायो ॥"The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that having made (i.e. having declared), irreligion he sang" (Bhaktamal, Múl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding के, बर, बरके, वरवर, and even बर वा के to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of करणा "to do ;" as देब बर "having seen," वाकर " having gone." The first of these forms के is softened from की, which, again, is from aरि, the older form of the conjunctive part. of बरणा, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बF्ड विधि वे चिष्ष बनार्षि हरि र्यो कीषा रास ॥ "Hating made many kinds of appearances (mayd), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world ;" Hinḍola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of बर to all verbs, it has been added to बर itself, thus making बरके and बरवर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिके, मारके, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारीक "having beaten." Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिबेर "having beaten," which is probably the old form मारि with बेर "time" (Skr. वेला), literally, "at the time of beating."

In the case of the common verb ho, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms होर and 贯, especially the latter, as गुर भक्त एक ब्वारो कही द्श सके। "Gurubhakta alone could not remain apart" (sak ancillary with conjunctive of $h 0=$ "could be;" Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रबणी बंध दूप \% बाए "The night becomes as dark as a well" (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), माणुस बर्ते बर्ते द्रे चाये "Very great men came" (lit. "having become very great;" ib. 17, 6).
P. is the same as $H$., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short $i$, as देधि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add वारि, often pronounced किरि, as टे बिबरि "having seen." 0 . has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in ile, as मारित्न "having beaten," which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally "in having beaten." The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखि्यारे "in having seen," and देखिला "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding ठारे and ठाइ, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).
B. has, besides the form in ile, one in iyd, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पडिया "having fallen," बसिया "having sat," धरिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in ile, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhârat-

## बान छहे पुज: चाहे फिरिया फिरिया। पिंरेर पाखि मत बेडाय घुरिया।

> "Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round, Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."
—Bidyâ-S. 245.
literally, " having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."
S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending $t$, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have $e$, as मले "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. onding ia. Less widely used is a form in io or yo, as मोट्यो "having returned," धोयो " having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted $\ddot{j a}$ of Prakrit reappears here, as from खबणु " to lift," खरिए़े "having lifted."

Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds बरे, the conjunctive of बरणु "to do," as वरी बरे "having returned."
G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in $\ell$, as होर " having become." Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition में, often dropping the anuswâra, as बरीजें or बरीजे "having done," द्रेंने "having given." As G. makes no distinction between $i$ and $t$, this is often written with short $i$, as देश्रे.
M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in जन, as धाउन "having gone," होजन "having been." This is sometimes written बोण, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as छनिया, षोनियो, as तुन्हापार्थीं षन्ही येजनिया कायः (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you $P$ " (literally, "I near you having come, what ?") देबोनियां वस्त्रे भूषयाचें बज तात्वाष्ष मरख येते मख। "Having seen men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once" (ib.).

This form is the old Maharashtri Pr. form in छuय, shortened from तूए, Skr. सात, accusative of सा (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtri Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtri that the conjunctive in $\hat{u} n a$, tûna, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. -ya; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, §256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in ine from M. unna. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from $\hat{u}$ to $t$ in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that $G$. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Sastri Vrajlal (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to $M$. for the origin of any G. form. The
latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Saurasent for its parent, and the form in -ine, when compared with that in $t$ in the same language, points clearly to the Sauraseni conjunctive in ia with a modern case-postposition ne or nen added.
§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the $B a$, and the $N a$ types respectively.

The Ba type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in-

## बो विसंब वरि रहं। तो ताहि हनिये को घावे ।

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."-Pr. R. i. 198.

## उठि सरिबे कों धायी ॥

" Rising up, rushed to fight."-ib. i. 254.
It takes the junction-vowel $i$, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered "to or for the purpose of fighting." This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमेणी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तरिबे बो "to cross over," चलीवो (चलाइ्वा) "to urge on," in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das's Ramâyan, where, besides the form with junction-vowel $i$, as तोरिबे " to break," occurs also a shorter form in $a b$, as फिरव "to return." In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (mar " strike"):
Braj मारिबो, East Rajput मारबो, West Rajp. id. Old-Parbi मारब, Avadhi, and Riwai id.

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus-
Sing. साववो $m$., साववी $f$., सावडु $n$.
Pl. सावषा $m$., $\bullet$ वी $f$., ॰ वf $n$. "to bring" or "the act of bringing."
and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52 , where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as गारु "to sing," बरु " to do."

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as बसिबा "to sit," and, though without gender, is declined for case, as-
Gen. बसिबार "of sitting,"\} एहि बसिबार जागा "this is a place of sitting," i.e. "a fit place to sit in."
Loc. बसिबारे "in sitting," $\begin{aligned} & \text { बसिबारे किधि शेब नरीं "in sitting nothing } \\ & \text { will become," i.e. "you will do no good } \\ & \text { by sitting still." }\end{aligned}$
$\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Acc. बसिबाg " to or for } \\ \text { sitting," }\end{array}\right\} \begin{gathered}\text { सिबाकु हेब "for sitting it will become," } \\ \text { i.e. " you will have to, or must, sit." }\end{gathered}$ देखिबाक शायिसा "he came to see."
Abl. बसिबार "from sit-) सेटि बसिबाइ सरदी चागिय "from sitting ting," $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { there a chill will attack," i.e. } \\ \text { sit there, you will catch cold." }\end{array}\right.$

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as होहते "to be" (lit. "in being"), चाविति "to remain," बाइते "to go;" but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीव बपिबार बास घारे "It is the time of sowing, or for sowing, seed." More common still is its employment with बनेये, वारए or निमित्ते "for the sake of," as दे बिबार बन्ये " for the sake of seeing," बरिवार fuमिन्ते "for the sake of doing."

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in ava, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes kerava "to do," lava " to take," dava " to give," sovaiva " to sleep," mangava " to ask," ruvara "to weep," which may be transliterated perhaps बराव, बाव, दाव, सोवाष, मंगाष, बवाष respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-
parently drop the final $a$ and shorten the $a$, as chorav "to steal" (चोरव), kerav "to do" (बरव), chinnav "to tear" (चिणव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as $a 0$ (बषो or चाषो?), as jao "to go" (घाषो), hao "to eat" (हाषो), peo "to drink" (पेषो).'
In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the $B a$ form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तव्य, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. §51, many tenses are formed.

The $N a$ type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in ana, the other modern and classical in $n d$. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in anam, as वरणं "doing," पतل "falling." It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus-

> पुष्षातन तिज बंधन बिचारि ।
> "Having plotted to stop his virility."-Pr. R. i. 178.
> कियी चसन की साजः
> "He made preparation to go."-ib. xx. 28.
> बंग कुरण वालिम धुष्वार ॥
> "To join battle a terrible warrior."-ib. xx. 31 .
> सत्य कहीं मोहि बाज दे माईः
> "I speak truth, suffer me to go, mother."-Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.
> रम सेक्र बफ देखण बाहीं।
> "They go to ses the hill and forest of Râm."-ib. Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauji, as मारण "to strike." The other form in ना was anciently written 규, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनी "to strike," सावनीं "to come." This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

[^49]future participle in anlya, so that from बर बीय, through Pr. बरणीयं and बरब्य, would come Old-H. करणी, M. बरलें, and P. बरणा. I, however, would refer the $S$. करणु to the verbal noun in anam, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final $o=u$ of the a-stem (see Hoernle's essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in nd. That in ana is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the nd form is declined as a noun in a, making its oblique in $e$, as karne ka " of doing," karne men "in doing." In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. karanyd chd "of doing," dat. karanyd la " to doing." In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in anam by exhibiting the declension of masculines (i.e. neuters) in $u$; the oblique ends consequently in $a$, as ginhana jo "of buying," ginhana men "in buying," etc. This would not be the ease were the $S$. infinitive derived from the participle in antya.
M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in 完, as मसे "to die," which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in tum, with elision of the $t$, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in $a$, as बरा "to do," or "the act of doing," which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as था, the $y$ of which is not pronounced; thus हलोया
pronounced "hôŵ̂," देष $ो$ या "dewâ." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तब्य.
§75. On the basis of the infinitive in $n d$ is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाषा, हारा; as बर जेवाला "a doer," देखनेड्रारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पासक "protector, keeper." Thus Skr. गोपासका "cowherd," becomes H. वाला ; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारब "holder," others from बारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the al would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by $\mathbb{E}$, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp's opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as hâro or hâru=respectively karaka and kâra, as in-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { सिर्जयु " to create," सिरक्यार्हो (उ) "creator," } \\
& \text { fिखाु " to write," Eिखयहारो (ब) "writer," }
\end{aligned}
$$

also in its original form of kâro or kâru, with nouns, as छ्षेतो " quarrel," ब्मेडावाइ "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारण धारय in Chand's first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in विया, as वरवेया " $a$ doer," रखवैया "a keeper," which is shortened from वारिया, a dialectic form of वाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form वारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or
the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect the original meaning of palaka is well preserved. Thus घोरेवासा "one who takes care of a horse." So also in P. घरवासा "husband," i.e. one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently घरवाली $f$. "wife." Sindhi changes - to T more suo, and has वारो, as घरवारो "householder," from घ区 "house," and fिwयावारो "giver," from चिभ्यायु "to give," H. देशेवाबा.

Chand uses the form in हTT, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो "be." Thus-

## हो होग्हार सीता हरण ॥

"The rape of Sita, which was to be, takes place."-Pr. R. iii. 27. Also-

## तें कहू होनहार पहचानिय ॥

"Thou knowing something of futurity."-ib. xxi. 92.

## इन्डार एसी सषी। बही नु चाएँ छपाय ॥

"It is written thus as destined to be, the plan which Alha has spoken." -ib. xxi. 94.
Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix वारी in words like पटवारी "a village accountant," the व being an indication of a lost a, from बारी (वारिण्) "doer."

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as ara. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in ana, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होषे "to be," comes होणार "one who is." But, just as in the Old-H. होणहार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and honar now means "he who, or that which, is to be," as सत्बे होणार ते होय। घत वीणा बोड़ु नही बोय " "That which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else" (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long 0 , as बभार or घभारो " that which is about to become," from बड़ु "to become," घबणार "that which is able," from

घबगु " to be able;" and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the sa type, but equally common. Thus एटसा माटेब बमे तोें मारणार "For this very reason we are about to kill thee;" पोताणा धर्मने बडी घोड्जार चथी "He will never forsake his religion," in other words, " he is not a forsaker (H. छोउजेहारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" बीबाे मारीजे झुख भोगवकारी हतो "Having killed another, I woas about to enjoy happiness," literally, "I was becoming an enjoyer" (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in ana that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix nar or naro, so that chhodanaro is by them divided chhoda-nâro, instead of chhodan(a)-(h)aro.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, $a r$, ard, are used, added to the infinitive in $\begin{gathered}\text { iे, to }\end{gathered}$ make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from बरणें come करणार "a doer," and बरायारा, obl. बरखारे. But these are used in the sense of " one who is about to do," as in G. So ये यारे बोक is "the people who are coming," i.e. "who are expected to come." Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुंभवार, Pr. कुभषार, M. कुभार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in दारा."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, $\S 62$. In H. and P. the noun in wald (not vala) is used in a future sense, as नुर्ह आाेवाबा षा "he was just about to go." This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In 0 . one also hears a form in wald added to the infinitive,
as पाइ्वाकोयाला "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no $w$ in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of $a$ which it has as the last member of a nexus (the ya-phala as they call it), behind an बो. They pronounce this extraordinary combination wa, and not oya, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying "the speaker," they would say, "he who speaks," or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in तृ.
B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a nomen agentis, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता "doer," दाता "giver," used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.
§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my
undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresees the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

| mimothar. |  |  | plutal. |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sindhi 1. सि | 2. T | 3. सि. | 1. 安, 家 | 2. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 3. नि, 7. |
| Persian 1. ${ }^{\text {ا }}$ | 2. آتس | 3. | 1. Ĺo | 2. L' | 3. ¢́ان. $_{\text {. }}$ |
| Pashto 1.me | 2. de | 3.e. | 1. mu, um | 2. mu | 3. e. |

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus-
 thee go," इतिक्षांसि "I let him go," with suf. of 2 pl . रणिषांव " I let you go," इरिwifि "I let them go."

Sing. 2. तूं छरिए " thou lettest go," with suff. of 1 sing. घरियमि "thou lettest me go," and so on.

Pl. 3. ${ }^{\text {R }}$ ₹रिनि "they let go," with suf. of 3 sing. घरिजिसि "they let him go," and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes and in the singular in this connection,
 to let him go."

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third
person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हंदुसि "I shall be," m., becomes इंदोसो, and इंदिथसि "I shall be," $f$., becomes हदीसा. So that we get forms-
$m$. दंट्रोसांद "I shall be to thee," संदोसासि "I shall be to him."
f. इंदीसांव " I shall be to you," इंद्रीसांनि "I shall be to them."

So, also, the plurals इंदासीं $m$., and इंदिछंसों "we shall be," become respectively इंडासूं and इंडिचसूं. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person $m$. इंडो is shortened to दंदु, and $f$. दंदी to इंब
 first person plural, as इंद्सां "they shall be to us," but क्ट्व "they shall be to you;" pl. $f$. remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus-

1 Sing. m. होसि "I was," becomes होसt, as होसाए "I was to thee."
"f. इन्षसि " " F्रेसो, , Fई्हासि "I was to him."
1 Pl. m. इणासी " we were," " F ज्यासूं, , F च्यासूंनि " we were to them."
" f. F्यूंसीं " " " ञ्यूंसूं, " ञ्रूंसूंव "we were to you."
The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction, a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S . be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus "I forsook thee," would be in H. में ने तुम्य बो छोचा, lit. "by me thee forsaken," where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (i.e. participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,
the Bhâva or impersonal construction is used, as म्बा तुला सोरित्रें " by me to thee released," as though it were a me tibi relictum (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word इरिकोमाए, i.e. chhadio-mann-i=" forsaken-by me-thee." Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371) :

> एरिथोमांसि "I have forsaken him." इडिएर्टंसि " he has forsaken him."
> विडारिषाईंसि "he caused him to sit."
> चि प्रान्चसि "they said to her."
> चि

The suffixes denoting the agent are sing. and if pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from ₹口 "by him," instr. of हो "this," and उनि "by them," instr. pl. of F "that," respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of $\sqrt{ }$ बस् appears still in its old Pr . form of घच (घति), $\S 59$. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form याहे is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say घाहेमि and चर्थमि "there is to me," as in the line-

## 

> "There is to me a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it." -Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin "est mihi," in the sense of "I have," as षरमि "I have," चधी (for षथ्ट) "thou hast," चथसि "he
 "they have." It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (loc. cit.)
that atha has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus किसो होर "thou hadst made,"
 ते निहाराईं "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say rispondetemi "answer me," parlategli " speak to him," datele "give her," imaginarlo "to imagine $i t$," offriteci "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as assicuratemene "assure me of it," dateglielo "give it to him," mandateglielo " send them to him."

So also in Spanish, vino á verme "he came to see me," vengo á soccorrerte "I come to help thee," quiero castigaros "I will punish you," dejeme "let me go," pasandome "as I cas passing," escribale "write to him," diles " tell them." Here, also, double
suffixes may be used, as decirtelo "to tell it thee," mostradnosh "show her to us."

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period. ${ }^{1}$ It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.
§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels-a, $t, u, e, \quad 0$. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel open roots, and those which end in a consonant close roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with $\hat{u}$ or 0 , no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before $a$ and $e$ there is sometimes inserted a य or व. As types may be taken the stems aा "go,"

[^50]पी "drink," छू " touch," दे "give," and बो "sow." The aorist of these five is as follows :-
sIsGULAR.

| 1. बाँं | 2. काए, बावे, गाय | 3. id. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. पीच | 2. पीए पीवे | 3. id. |
| 1. घूप | 2. छूए | 3. id. |
| 1. देच, दू | 2. देवे, दे | 3. id. |
| 1. बोच | 2. बोए, बोषे | 3. id. |

PLURAL.

1. बाएं, बावें, काय
2. बाषो
3. बाएं, वाें, वाय
4. पीए, पीवें
5. पोषो
6. पीए, पीवें
7. 区ूए
8. कूषो
9. छूए
10. देवें, दें
11. देषो, दो
12. द्वें, दें
13. बोवें, बोएं
14. बो को
15. बोषें, बोए

The common stems $d e$ and $l e$ usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears do " give!" lo " take!" dûngd "I will give," lânga "I will take," than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in $a$, य् is inserted before the $a$ of the termination, as चा "come," p.p.p. चाला-य्- चा (झाया), पा "find," पाया, सा "eat," बाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of व् we find य् commonly inserted. Thus, एशि निधि राम सर्बः समुद्यावा "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). घावा "came," बनावा "made," पावा "found," गावा "sang," for घाया, बकाया, पाया, गाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पषाया "caused to read," पाया "found," but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and ॠावा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter व is not used, thus घार्द "she came," बनाई "she made," fem. sing., बाये, पाये masc. pl. As all
causals end in $a$ ，these forms are of frequent occurrence，and sometimes even an $\overline{\mathrm{E}}$ is inserted，as बनाइया．In the old ha future，the $a$ of the stem and the initial $i$ of the termination frequently coalesce into $\overline{\text { 人 }}$ ，as－

# बहूब दिवस बनली धर धोरा। <br> बपिन्ह सहित 这 रषुवीरा। <br> निशिष्र मारि तुर्महि से करे। <br> तिङ पूर वारदाडि बस भीं। 

＂For a few days，mother，sustain thy courage， Raghubir will come with the monkeys， Slaying the demons，will carry thee off； The three worlds，Nârada and all shall sing his praise．＂ －Tulsi，Ram．，S．－k． 36.
 find 锒＂they will find，＂for पार्हें，mod．पावेंगे（Tulsi，Ram．， S．－k．10）．In other places，however，we find the junction－letter व，as पावहि，यावहि，etc．

In Panjabi the junction－letter for the aorist，imperative，and future is regularly ，as आवे＂he goes，＂बावेगा＂he will go，＂ but before $o$ it is omitted，as बाषो＂go ye，＂वाषोगे＂ye will go．＂For the past participle it is $\overline{\text { ，}}$ ，as होर क्षा＂been，＂masc． sing．，and is omitted before $e$ ，as होए＂been，＂masc．pl．In the three first－named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure $P$ ．， but in speaking it is now sometimes，under the influence of Hindi，omitted，and देगा is heard instead of the more cha－ racteristic दे वेमा．

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel，those stems，which in other languages end in a consonant，having in that language a short $a$ or $i$ ．In this class of stems，before the neuter infini－ tive in चणुु，a वृ is inserted，as प＂fall，＂infin．पवयु ；fि＂bow，＂ infin．निवयु．Before the active infinitive in इड no junction－ letter is employed，as д＂measure，＂infin．मड्ष्यु．

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in $t$ and $\hat{u}$, and sometimes those ending in 0 , shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as-

but, on the other hand, डो "carry," has infin. डोष्या ; and stems in $\hat{a}$, including causals, retain the long vowel, as-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ग़ाए्हा " speak," infin. गाएहाइ्यु } \\
& \text { पोरा "cause to turn," " पेराइ्यु. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons a is inserted as in P., except before $\hat{u}$ or $o$; thus पवां "I fall," is declined-

## $\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Sing. 1. पवां 2. पवें 3. पवे. Pl.1. प末 } 2 \text { 2. पषो } & \text { 3. पर्वनि. }\end{array}$

The $\overline{0}$ may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चए "thou sayest," or "he says." The common verb fिक्षयु "to give," undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. तीं "thou givest," not चिए, 3 pl . तीनि, not तिष्षणि.

Verbs ending in a insert य् before $a, \hat{u}$, and 0 , as ..ुठाया "I grow old," झुठायूं " we grow old," झुठाया " ye grow old."

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are व and य, व is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as $u$ and $o$, and य is omitted before $i$ and $e$; before a both are employed, but preferentially $\overline{0}$ after short vowels, and $य$ after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, $\bar{\square}$ is either inserted or omitted, as-

पवयु " to fall," पवंदो " falling."
पिक्षयु " to drink,"
धुष्युु " to wash,"

पिंख्यो "drinking."
धुचड्रो " washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चवयु "to speak," चूंदो (चवंदो) Fकर्यु " to be," इंदो (इषंदो) चिक्षयु " to give," हींदो ( िि खंद्रो). The past participle regularly ends in द्यो or यो, and the inserted $\bar{\square}$ is naturally dropped before it, thus-

चवयु makes चयो, not चव्यो.
नवसु " नयो " नब्यो (Old-H. काया).
If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the $i$ of the termination is dropped, as-

चिख्युु "to become," थिक्षो, not चीबो = चि + इथो.
कुएकु " to speak," कुछो.
सोक्षणु "to inquire," सोक्षो.
Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as-

पवयु " speak," imperfect चठ, Passive चद्व अयु " to be spoken."
पवसु " fall," " पह, " पद्वक्यु "to be fallen."
The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as-

| पी " drink," पीबण्य " to be drunk." |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| पू " string," | पूक्बयु " to be strung." |
| धो " wash," | धोर्क्यु " be washed." |

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about $G$. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junctionletters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होये, होष, होय written in-
differently, also इए्ये and एरए. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.
§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the $u$-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject. ${ }^{1}$

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the $\Sigma$, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except $a$ have here to be considered (khâ "eat," pî " drink," ghe " take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)-


But in the 3 sing. छे, पी are used, so also देस, छेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final is elided. In 2 sing. both and $\mathbb{q}$ are changed to the palatal semivowel before $a$, though not before $\hat{u}$, so that we have षबा, घ्या side by side with पीज (not प्यू), घेक्छ (not घ्यू).

[^51]In the future there is similarly in 2 pl . खाल, प्यास, घ्यास, and so also in the imperative 2 pl . घ्या, ष्या ; ये "come," makes aorist 2 pl . या, future याल, and occasionally one hears ये aorist 3 sing. for the more regular येस.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as प्यावा, घ्यावा, but यावा simply from ये. This last verb should, by analogy, form ख्यावा, but the double $y$ in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single $y$ is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the $e$ of ये has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present वतें might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तव्य renders this course impossible. The $\pi$ of तव्य having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितव्य, Pr. खाइ क्षव्व gives खावव, the first व supplying the place of the lost е, so that in the potential we get not खावतें, but खाववतें. Similarly पीववतें, घेवरतें, येववतें, and even in stems ending in है, as सिद्ह " write," सिह्रवतें.

Stems ending in $u$ preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus dhu " wash"-

Aor. धुर्, धुर्ट, धुर्ट; धुच्च, धुक्षा (but धुत).
Fut. धुर्म, धुर्दल, धुन्ं; धुक्यास, धुतीश.
Subj. धु=्यावा or धुवावा.
Pot. धुववतें.
In the present participle only $\pi$ is added, not $\begin{aligned} & \text { होत or } \\ & \text { घत, as }\end{aligned}$ खात, पीत, छेत, येत, धुत, and in the past participle the semivowel is generally used, as-

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                                    सा p.p. खाब्षा "eaten."
                                    बे " घासा "put on."
                                    भी " भ्यासा "feared."
                                    वि " व्यासा "brought forth."
पी " प्यासा or पिब्षा "drunk."
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Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of $\pi$, as घेतसा, धुतसा (see §47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is साऊन, पीजन, घेछज, येछज. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before $a$ or $a$, but not before $t$ or $\hat{u}$. When the stem-vowel is $u$ or 0 , the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in धुवावा, not ध्वावा. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that ये makes its past part. yelo or ailo, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. छे makes gheilo (perhaps घेटसा), as well as ghetlo (घेतसा). Qhatã (खा) makes qhelo (खेसा) " outros dizem qhailo" (खाइसा), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाबा. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell, that the termination of the p.p. consists of सो, सी, सें, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बस्लो "sat" (M. बसका), पड्लें "fell" (M. पउला), रव््ली " remained" (M. राहिसी), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

[^52]think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the Oriya spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.
§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus या "go" (pronounced $j \hat{a}$ ), makessingular. plural.

$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Aorist. 1. याइ 2. दाइस } & \text { 3. याय. } & \text { 1. याइ } & \text { 2. याषों }\end{array}$
Present याइतेशि, subjunctive याइताम, and so on.
Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist,
 verb दे "give," almost throughout; thus we havebingular.

| Aor. 1. दि | 2 . दिस | 3. देय. | 1. दि | 2 देषो |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 3. देण |  |  |  | Pres. 1. दितेषि, etc. Pret. 1. दिणु 2. दिधिस 3. दिस. 1. दिसाम 2. दि $\quad$ 3. दिश्शेज


contracted from देख, देस्तेषि, देश्रु, देश्व, etc., respectively. As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in
writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, मणुन्दारे संगे निसा घोठा चडाद्यया " He took Majumdâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse" (Mansingh, 417), where fिसा is for लद्टा, from लदते "to take." So he constantly uses वय for कहे "says," as बोटाल हासिया काय। बहिते बाब ना है। "The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so ?" (Bidyâ-S. 356), also वृ for वहित, as हाय हाय कि कब निधिरे "Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?" (ib. 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as चागे दिया बतदुख मध्ये दिन बतसुख्ब "First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure" (ib. 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both $O$. and $B$. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short $i$, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. बा़ु "wilt thou eat?" for खाइड . In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from बा "go," we have fिiि "I will go," for वारीि; from था "remain," infin. थिबा for थाइ्वा ; पा "find," however, retains its vowel, as पाद्रि, पार्दि, पाइता. Also का and चा retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE PARTICLE.

CONTENTS.-§ 80. Adverbs Nominal and Pronominal.-§ 81. Pronominal Adverbs of Time, Plack, and Mannbr.- $\oint$ 82. Advbrbs Dbrived froy Nouns and Verbs.- § 83. Conjunctions.-§ 84. Intbribctions.-§ 85. Postpositions.-§86. Conclusion.
§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336-38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are
capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them， as in H．तब बी बात，lit．＂the word of then，＂i．e．＂the matter that took place then，＂wब बे काणा बोग＂the kings of now，＂ i．e．＂those of the present day．＂
§81．（1）．Pronominal adverbs of time．The near demonstra－ tive is H．『ब，G．इबे，M．एठ्दो， 0 ．एबे．All these hang to－ gether，and are apparently compounds of the Skr．वेला＂time，＂ with the type of the demonstrative $\mathbb{\nabla}$ ， $\mathbb{L}$ ，or $\mathbb{Q}$ ．The fuller form in 0 ．shows this，it is एते बेठे，which is clearly the loca－ tive case of a masculine qेक्ष，literally，＂in so much time．＂G． has prefixed a E，but many words in G．may be indifferently written with or F ；there is，therefore，nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection．In M．ए反t also the seems to be somewhat anomalous．There are also，how－ ever，many other forms for＂now＂in the various languages， which appear to be unconnected with वेला．

Hindi is mostly，however，faithful to the type in $\mathbf{~}$ ；thus in Braj wबी，Marwari चमै，and still more clearly Bhojpuri एवेर， which approaches to the 0 ．एबे．The same type runs through all the pronominal forms，as बब＂whenever，＂तब＂then，＂वब ＂when．＂Bhojpuri छेवेर，तेबेर，बेकेर，Braj बीै，तथि，बीे．The Skr．forms यदा，तड्ा，बद्र appear in H ．वद्，त＜्，वाद，and in the dialectic forms，बद्，बद्，बदू，बदा，बबां；as also तद्，etc．， वर्टि，etc．；the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have，I think，arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle ही or 辰＂indeed，＂of which more further on．

Panjabi इएय，G．S．इाये，B．एबन，and a dialectic form in 0 ． उEुय，all meaning＂now，＂are to be referred，as the B．form clearly shows，to the Skr．चब＂instant，moment．＂For the rest of the series P．has वद्，तद，वाद．S．，however，has another type fímर，होर＂now，＂in which we may，perhaps，see the Skr．वार＂time，＂combined with the pronoun fím＂this；＂
for the other members of the series it has बर्چिहीं "whenever," तरिदीं "then," बरिद्रीं "when ?" which arise from the Skr. बड्ा, etc., with the emphatic हीं, which has changed the preceding vowel into the $i$ which is so common in $S$. They also write वऱीं and वर्छें as dialectic variations; also वां, ता (but not बा), where the द of यद्रा has suffered elision.
G. has, besides हपे, also हमया, हवडा, and for the rest बेवारे, तेवारे, केवारे, commonly contracted into ध्यारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वार "time." Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also wमयाt, and with a modernized form of Skr. बष "here," घत्वारे ( बष वारे) "at this time," "now."
M. is consistent throughout एव्हा, बेठ्हो, तेव्हा, बेठ्टां. In Old-M. forms बेधवा, etc., occur, showing that the modern 알 $v h$ is an inversion from $\frac{7}{8} h v$. The suggested origin from Skr. बाटा, by aspirating the द and adding wit, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series aंव, etc., meaning "while," "as long as," which recalls H. बब with inorganic anunâsika.
O. has the fuller forms, घेते बेळे, etc., and बेषे explained above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if not more so. "Time is made for slaves," and not for Oriyas.
B. बखन, तखन, etc., uniformly, pronounced jokhon or jokhסnס, etc. H. adds constantly ही for emphasis, as षभी "now" (चबही), वभी "sometimes" (बबही), and with the negative कभी वहीं " never."

For the indefinite pronominal adverb "ever," "sometimes," the other languages have, P. बदी (बदही), बदों, बदे, S. बरहीं, G. बढ्री, M. वाीं, B. कसन, O. बेषे, केबेशिं. All these are repeated to signify "sometimes," as P. बदी बदी, M. बर्धीं बधरो.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive time, whether past, as "since," or future "until," the adverbs above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. Wi से "from now," "henceforth," तब से "thenceforth," वब से
"since when ?" बब से "from the time when," or with the older affix ते in the poets, as in बव तें राम ब्वाहि घर खाये। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. बद्दों, S. बड़िहाको, बतिहोषो, बडि़्हाकर; where बो is probably a shortened form of बरा, an oblique from वर, which we may connect with बार्ब "time," as in fिंयर "now." The long $a$ or $o$ of jadiha, jadiho, as contrasted with the $\{$ of बत्रिंी, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमयार्थं "henceforth," चत्बारथी, and apparently also क्यारर्थं, and the rest of the series. They also say जत्वार पश्शी "henceforth." M. uses मग or मायें, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor 0 . have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. हाि, सीं, बी, in modern H. सग, तeबक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand-
तब बगि बष्ट दरिद्र तन ॥
तब शगि बघु मुर्हि बात॥
बब लगि हों बायी बहीं ॥
तो पाह न सेवात ॥
"Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (i.e. mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.-Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate बव लगि by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to $H$., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi बब तब राम घर बो नहीं बावे "So long as Râm comes not home," i.e. "until he comes," and the same in P.
S. has हेसीं or एसींताईं " up to this time," बोसीं or होसींतार्श "up to that time," where तार्ं, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. साने, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सी, I suppose, is a contraction of समय " time."
(2). Pronominal adverbs of place.-See list in Vol. II. p. 336.

The Hindi series यह्डt, वह्हा, वह्हा, तहा, कहाt, is composed of the pronominal bases with It, which we are justified in referring to Skr. साजे ; thus तहां = तत्साने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari vठे, wठी, रें "here," छही, etc., "there," Avadhi एठिया, जोठिया, Bhojpuri एठा, एठाई्: But the Braj इते, दू, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series घण, तब, etc. The Bundelkhandi form थाधी is probably only another way of pronouncing यार्म, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खसाति for स्वार्षं (modern ख्वसाइया). To sthane, also, are to be ascribed the $P$. forms इत्वे, उत्ये, etc. $S$. has not only रति, fिति, etc., which may come from षष, यष, but इत्वे, which agrees with P., and हिते, which is, I suspect, like हिबिडो "one," an instance of a $\overline{\mathrm{F}}$ being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.
G. has various forms चाहीं, घाहां, हरीं, चहीष्या "here," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms ज्या, बां, काई, and even बi, तt, at, are also in use.
M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series येंे, बेचे, etc., where the final anuswara, like that of Bhojpuri एठार्ं, preserves the $n$ of sthane. But aोठे "where," has the cerebral.
O. having first made sthana into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठारे, in एठारे, सेठारे. The final रे is often dropped, and एठा, सेठा, or even shortened एठि, सेठि are used. B. uses खाने, which seems to come from साने on the analogy of सभो = सम (Var. iii. 14) and खायु = साणु (ib. iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form बोषा, in older Bengali बोषाय, as तार मत सल्बासिणी पाइए बोषाय "Where shall I find a female saint like her ${ }^{\prime \prime}$ " (Bharat, Bidya-S. 399), where the final $\bar{d}$ for $\mathbb{T}$ is a relic of the $e$ of sthane. We also find हेथा and हेथाय "here," etc.

In the case of the adverbs of this group，as in those of time， the case－affixes are used，as H．बहां से＂from where？＂ ＂whence？＂G．चाहां बी＂hence，＂P．बित्यों＂whence？＂But this practice is only in force to imply motion from a place．To express motion tovards a place a separate set is used．

In classical H．the adverbial element is धर，as घधर ＂hither，＂उधर＂thither．＂The dialectic forms are very various．Bhojpuri has एन्हर，चन्हर，as also एणे，बचे，etc．；in eastern Behar one hears एपर，हेमर，and many others．Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Rîwâ एहे बेत，एश बयोत，or एहे मुंह．If we take the original of all these forms to be धर，that is a word of many meanings both in Skr．and H．；but I am disposed to connect the series with M．न्होर＂face，＂G．मोहरं id．，a diminutive from Skr．मुख，so that the older adverbial element would be न्रा，as in Bhojpuri，whence न्र，which would，by a natural process，glide into जर and धर．For the Rîwâ form I can suggest no origin．

The S．and M．forms seem to be connected，and with them I would associate the common 0 ．expressions $\mathbb{T}$ घारे़＂in this di－ rection，＂＂hither＂（घो घाते，को षाले़，etc．），which are loca－ tives，and ए घार्，etc．，＂from this place，＂＂hence，＂which are ablatives．The Sindhi adverb，as usual in that language，is written in a dozen ways，but the simplest form is 论＂hither，＂ and एot＂hence，＂which，like 0 ．，are respectively locative and ablative．Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form प्वके ＂hither，＂locative，where the adverbial portion is बाह＂a side，＂ said to be from Skr．बट＂hip，loin．＂It has also an ablative series इ्रक्रूण＂hence．＂May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non－Aryan brethren？There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type adda，and our Sanskrit dictionaries give $\sqrt{ }$ 区下्हु＂to join，＂also＂to stop．＂On the other hand，Telugu has ikkada＂here，＂ikkadiki＂hither，＂ which looks very like M．ikade．So，also，in Telugu akkada ＂there．＂All the Dravidian languages have a root add，which，
in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," " to cross," " to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the 0 . expression ब्रात is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.
(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.-The Hindi series घif, ज्यों, लों, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms यूं and कूूं, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has 植, "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, वी or वू. Mewari adds वार and गा, as ईंकर, \&ंगा "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. E and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have क्यूंबार "how?" and in Chand and the poets वरि or बार (命) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form इस or दि, विमि, तिमि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in यो, as यों भयो रिषि षवधूत । "Thus the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), तों दह बरहा प्रमांनं ॥ ज्यों बानि बोविएं बोय ॥" Thus this story is proved, its learned folk know" (ib. xiii. 5), पद्मावती द्रम ते चब्नो । हरषि राब प्रथिराब I " King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (ima) led away Padmâvatî" (ib. xx. 35), तहां सु केम किम्धि गमन I "How can one go there?" (ib. i. 90). Tulsi Das has ₹मि, fिमि, etc., as in तन पसेछ कद्ली जिमि कापी "Her body was in a sweat, she trembled as a plantain-tree (trembles)."-Ram. Ay-k. 131.
M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as चसें, बसें, तसें. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमल, एमत, एमने, एमते, "thus," बेमन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमति, बेमति, locatives; also

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, केम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative चरम. This series is sometimes written ब्यम, त्यम, काम, but केम is the more common, as in कीff चE्ट नक वीदी़ीर्य बेम सूरण ना पसरे वीर्य ॥"The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun " (Premânand in H.-D. ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. इमि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form ; व, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. स्ध and ऐंध aiun, and the full series विन्ज, तिनु, किछं, as well as one without the $i$, बच, तचं, etc., to which is allied H. ज्यों, etc.,
 the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and 0 . preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत् or वत्. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. केमक्त, सेमक्त, for मक्तो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत्, just as वक्तो is of वर् in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus-

ह्याज्, हूती, ह्रत् " so mach,"
कियत् "how much ?"
एतावाज्, ॰ वती, ॰ वत् " so mach,"
यावत् "as much as."
But the affixes mat and vat imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in tha, of which only ittham and katham are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for
the Old－Purbi and G．forms，as well as for those in B．and $\mathbf{O}$ ． Also the S．form in seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier emana，through onan，than to ittham，unless，indeed，we regard the anuswara as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of th．S．does，undoubtedly，insert anuswara to fill a hiatus； but as the cognate languages have a $\boldsymbol{म}$ just where the anuswara in $S$ ．occurs，it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other，and the final anuswara in H．and P．as the same， pushed one syllable forwards，so that H．都 would be for an older form fís．As the change，whatever it was，was com－ pleted before our earliest writer Chand＇s days，there is no actual proof forthcoming．
§ 82．Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs．－Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol．II．p．296，which are either postpositions or adverbs， according to the connection in which they are used．In either case they are，by derivation，locative cases of nouns．Some are peculiar to one or two languages，while others are common，in one form or another，to the whole group．I do not，of course， undertake to give them all，but only a selection of those most commonly used，so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect．There are，for instance，H．सागे＂before，＂and पी⿳亠二口又一＂behind，＂which are used adverbially in the sense of ＂formerly＂and＂afterwards＂respectively，that is，with reference to time，and in this sense take，like the pronominal adverbs，the case－affixes，as घागे बी बात＂the former matter，＂ lit．＂the matter of formerly，＂पीरे के दुस में बार्रा वहीं＂I will not tell the suffering that followed，＂lit．＂the suffering of afterwards．＂So also with नीचे＂below，＂and the other words given at Vol．II．p． 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H．चाब＂to－day，＂ P．『ष्थ，S．Wड़ु，etc．（Vol．I．p．327），from Skr．Wब；also H．वार from Skr．बत्य＂dawn．＂This word has two meanings，
it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms वाब, वाषि, वाएत, and वाएत्र (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as वाल बी बराई्स में घायस इषा "He was wounded in yesterday's battle," but बर बी सडाइ् में बदि घायल संगा "If I shall be wounded in to-morrow's battle." G. बाले, S. वएश, बाएह, M. बाल.

So also are used the following :-Skr. पर:ख्या " the day after to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. परसों, and dialects परसों, परहों, परों. P. परसों, S. पfरं, परिंखंको, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परम, M. परवां. $O$. has पर always in combination with दिल, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone" and "coming" to express it more clearly, गत पर द्वि "the day before yesterday," and चसंता पर दिज "the day after to-morrow."
H. goes a step further still, and has तरसों "three days ago," or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. fि "three." Similarly S. तरिं है, but also with rejection of initial $\pi$, घरिं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. घतरसों, तरीं, तरों. In H. we have even a still further \#रसों "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from wन्स, as though it were for凶म्ध तरसों " another day (besides) three days ago."
H. सवेर "early," "betimes," and घवेर, or more usually बषेर "late," are Skr. स and \#, compounded with वेसा respectively. S. सवेर and घवेर, also ॠवेल, besides the adjectivally used forms सवेरो and सवारो, as well as चवेसो. In this sense is also used H. सबाबि, सकारे, O. and B. id.; in 0 . it is frequently used in
the sense of "early in the morning," also "early to-morrow morning," as याजि बाए पारितु गहिं सकाषे जिंदु "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तउके, conjunctive participle of तउणा "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also भोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., भोरें in B. for "at dawn ;" where G. has वाहायो, M. उब्षां (Skr. उद्य "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. प्रभाते, B. id., G. परभाते, of which the Oriyas make पाहाते "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पार्रा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मळसके "at dawn," probably connected with मळg்ं "to meet," and, like Skr. सक्था, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.
"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."-This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बर्, principally from the p.p.p. खरितम्, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are : H. तुरत, M. तूर्त, G. तुरत, तरत, सरीत, S. तुर्तु, O. B. तुरंत, खरित. M. has a peculiar word eववार "at once, quickly," Skr. लव ( $\sqrt{\bar{W}}$ "to cut") "a minute," M. षवयें "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. घ्यट "quick!" reduplicated घ्यटपट, M. घ्यद्वन, S. घ्यटिपटि and चटिपटि, O. घ्यट, घ्यटपट, B. घ्सट, from Skr. घ्यटिति. . "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तत्थाज्, O. and B. तत् खयात्, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word चचाजक ; H. also चचांच्ब "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. बथाषेते, बोचितो,
 I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमल्थार, H. चोष, in this connection. O. and B. use हठात्, literally ablative of Skr. ₹ठ, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. एकाएब "all of a sudden," M. एकाएवी, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each
language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in उ, as चाउो "opposite," बोरो "near," बोडिरो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S . is also वेप्यो "near," with its diminutive वेत्रिरो. सूधो "accompanied by," O. सुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. सार्ष्ष "with," and सकों "near," to संशित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition से in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes जाहो and घारो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus-

| बोरे "on this side," घागे "in front," | औोराहों " somewhat on this sid चागाहों "somewhat in front." |
| :---: | :---: |
| पोर्दे " behind," | पोट्रतारों " somewhat behind." |
| मथे " upon," | मथाहों " somewhat higher up." |
| मंब्दे "in," | $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { मंद्राहो } \\ \text { मंब्वारो } \end{array}\right\} \text { "somewhat inside." }$ |

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मद्यार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending बाइी, as षगाहीं, मथाईं. ${ }^{1}$

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as-

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { पुथा } \\ & \text { पुष्षों "from behind," } 1 \end{aligned}$ | abl. of पोड " the rear." |
| :---: | :---: |
| पुठिष才 "from behind," | " पुठि " the back." |

[^53]| मथो " from upon," | abl. of मघो "the head." |
| :---: | :---: |
| मथे id. | loc. of id. |
| माये "at all," | " मागु "place." |
| भूरि "completely," | " मूब "capital," "stock-in-trade." |
|  | abl. of id. |
| मझंट् "before," | loc. of मरंडु " beginning." |
| मरंदो id. | abl. of id. |
| पारे " on the other side," | loc. of पार " the other side." |
| पार¢ "from the other side," | abl. of id. |
| बदरे " within," | loc. of बंड्ड " the inside." |
| $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { बदरी } \\ \text { बंद्सें } \end{array}\right\} \text { " from within," }$ | abl. of id. |
| विचे "in the midst," | loc. of विचु " the midst." |
| $\text { हरे }\} \text { होंीं } \text { at all," }$ | " FS " the core." |
| हें "below," | " हेठु " the bottom." |
| शेठ "from below," | abl. of id. |

Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has घनत "elsewhere," Skr. षन्बक, fिकट " near," also चेरे (dialectically चेष and बेरी) ; परे "on the other side," भीतर " within," Skr. चम्बक्तरे, बाहिर, बाहर " outside," Skr. वहिस, and others.
M., like S., has मानें, but in the sense of "before," also पुतें " before," पद्गाङ " beyond," वर "above," अवळ " near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention ; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.-While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,
and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as age "before," pichhe "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp: ${ }^{1}$

## बोचितोंद कुए हिवित्रे उन भाते बे भरि में वए किखो <br> "By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here ochito-t is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic $\ell$, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject kue "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

## तरिदीं बर छारे वाक्ष घयो रों माउ वरिकोसि

"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here ghano is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with mä̈ "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

> नुकूं बयुजि बोसिध चारा तपषि तींद्र
> "The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence $I$ do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially ; चुकू "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and बोधिक्य "hot" agrees with it, so also उीह

[^54]"days," is nom. sing. masc. and डाडा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. दृठ), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, " the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in ऐं M. and \& G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute $a$, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in $H$. and $P$. which end in $a$ masc. and $t$ fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.
§ 83. Conjunctions.-In Hindi the common word for "and" is घौर, Old-H. षब, चवर, from Skr. षपर "other." In B. and $O$. it loses the final consonant, B. बो, O. we. In B., however, एवं, pronounced ebong, is very common; and जार "also." P. चते, often shortened into ते, probably from Skr. चंते "at the end," "afterwards," as well as बर (बपर). S. च马, wi, or $\mathbb{K}$, in which the fondness of $S$. for the $i$-sound comes out. G. uses generally तथा literally "then." It has besides $\mathbb{Q}$ and घो for "also," which belong to the group from घपर. G. षणे, shortened ने, I am disposed to connect with P. चते, and ascribe to Skr. घंते. In the former case the $\pi$ has been lost, in the latter the $\boldsymbol{\pi}$. It may, however, be allied to M. चायि, बयखी "and," from Skr. चन्ध " other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction $व$ is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. च has left no descendants. The Gipsies use te or ta, which agrees with P., also $u$, which is Persian g.
"Also."-H. भी, Skr. षमि हि, Pr. fि हि. The various steps from चपि downwards are all retained in S. fि, fि, fि (for निरि), and भी. The other forms पुणु, पुडि, पियि, are from Skr. पुलड् "again," and show a gradual change from the $u$ to the $i$, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. चाळे means literally " near to," locative of काठ "near." G. पय, meaning also "but," is from पुल्र्. B. uses षो, and 0 . भि.
"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the
 and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्मु, as well as बरए (Skr. वरं). In Hindi पर (Skr. पर) is also used, and in P., which also uses wपर, and a strange form ऐपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मगवt, मयों, probably corruptions of . Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हथा, S. हथा, हथो, and emphatic हरां and हर्थों "but rather." These are ablatives from है, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर " but," and पय्य, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मर्गरि, having added a final $i$ to . ${ }^{\text {. }}$. G. and M., in addition to पय, use also परंतु, $\mathbf{O}$. किन्त and पर, B. किन्तु and वरे.
"Or."-H. बा, चथबा, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic या 1 is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. fिंवा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it के, where $e$ is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization बीं, also using चघवा, as does G. P. के, घधवा, and या. S. के and aो. B. uses several varieties of fिंवा, as किम्बा, किषा, कि, and बा, also चथबा. 0 . the same.
"If."-Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written बडि, is universal. H. shortens it into बह्ट and बे ( $=$ बर्द, with loss of द) and बो, by rejection of final $i$, and द goes out, its place
being supplied by व and $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$; thus बट् $=$ बव $=$ बह $=$ बो. Persian चगर $\boldsymbol{\zeta}^{\text {t }}$ is also very common. P. बे and बेषरा. This last introduces बार for बरि "having done." S. छे.
"Although."-Skr. यब्षपि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is बो भी "if even." P. has भावें, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses वरि चो "if even." S. तोते, तोये, sometimes with बे prefixed, के तोरें this, too, is literally "if even," for तोरे alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative तो (तच $=$ तदि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. बो पया "but if." In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. बो or बो भी answers तो or तो भी "then," or "even then;" to P. भावें answers ता भी; to G. बो पया, answers तो पए, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि " yet."
"Because."-H. कूंकि literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. बार या "cause," and बे हेतु or बे हेतुक. G. माटे, probably Skr . मानिके, which is also sometimes used in 0 . in the sense of " only," "merely," " for the simple reason that." G. has also केमळे "for why," and shorter वांके. S. बेसा, बेएहं, where the last syllable is for लाद "for" (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with वा "why $P$ " as छाबो, का लाद, and इो ता, इो को. The correlatives "therefore," etc., take the त form तेषा "etc."

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.
§ 84. Interjections.-The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh ! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and
other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are है, हो, चहो, बो "Ho!" or "Oh!" हे is used to superiors, as है धर्मावतार " $O$ incarnation of justice!" which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, ते प्रभु " $O$ Lord!" है पिता " $O$ father !" हो, षहो, and बो, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by चा, घाह, हाए, हा हा, थहE "alas!" whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally "twice alas!" One often hears dohae khudâcand, dohae Angres Bahaddir, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are धि धि "fie!" चुप "hush!" चह्ह, बोह्ह "ah!" a cry of pain; 玉 छू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning "begone," and at times with a menacing tone "how dare you 9 " I suspect the word now spelt इत was originally हट from हटना "to go away," "be stopped," and तेरी the feminine genitive of ${ }^{2}$ "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी भा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "ah, teri ma," "oh thy mother." The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other's female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साला or शाला "brother-in-law," has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite vol. ill.
interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simpleminded Panjabi says "wâh! wah!" to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, " wah wodh ! fatih gurujt!"

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش shad básh, " be joyful !" is used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!" and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly without the $J$, as shabdsh, shabashe, sabds, according to the language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, बते, षरे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form шडी, डी, री. Dr. Caldwell shows ${ }^{1}$ that this word is also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows it as used in addressing (sambhashane), and in dalliance (ratikalahe). For reproach (kshepe) he prescribes हरे. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it mast have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and has there, to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is often used merely to call attention, and in friendly condescension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form चबे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of $\overline{3}$ and $T$ need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

[^55]Dravidian group-it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. रे is only used in calling males; when addressing females, $O$. uses हो, and B. गो. Thus 0 . चास हो, मा बकारकु विवा "Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;" B. निबेद्ये धणी घुन गो बरनि "The lady entreats, ' hear me, oh my mother'" (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). सो, बोलो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of eोगो, from Skr. लोक in the sense of "person," the word लोग or लोगाई being used to indicate the women of the speaker's family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.
§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर "without" (Skr. वहिस) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर के बाहिर " outside the house," or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार बाहिर "outside the door." So also पार "across," " on the other side of," is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase बदी पार "across the river," "on the other side of the river." So also समेत्र " with," "accompanied by," as सूर सामंत समेत "accompanied by his peers and pala-
 requires this construction.

बीच "in," "in the middle of," सिरे "at the end of" (Skr. faरस्), बये "near to," "at the house of" (Skr. कर्ग), संग "with," हाष " by means of," "at," "at the house of"
(Skr. स्साजे), ${ }^{1}$ are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has बोक "near," literally, "in the bosom of," बोकों "from the side of," विष् "in," which is the regular sign of the locative, पार "on the other side," and पार वार "on both sides" (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are भर or भरि "on," "leaning on" (Skr. भर), where in H. भर rather means "full," as बोस भर "a full kos;" तोडि and तोडि "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड्डु "end;" की, विए्य, छींच्ष, जिएं, "like" (Skr. यथा) ; ड़ा, ड़ह, ते towards," with an ablative form Eहt "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. दि्यि) ; रे, रिज, "without" (Skr. चहते) ; सा, साएयु, से, सेषु "with" (Skr. सम; cf. B. सने).
S. सूधा "along with," H. सूधा and सुधा "with," 0 . सुधा or सडु सुधा "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. सार्घ्घम्, according to Trumpp and others, but the 0 . usage seems to refer rather to Skr. चुर्य, in the sense of संचुए्य "completed."
S. सींच्रा "up to," "till" (Skr. सीमा), P. सीं and सीच, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

[^56]Of the second class are ד!ाद्या, बाद्यूं, ब़ाद्यों "without," P. बाप्म, बाक्षों $i d$. This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, ताज सूरिए भाव्बा देस्ट देबब बाब्मों दोस बे "Then they were considered by the hero as thorns in the absence of his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. $\sqrt{ }$ बध् in the sense of being bound or impeded. fिला " without" (Skr. विणा), is also common in H. P. B. and 0. In M. विना, and G. विना and वणा (vina, voanâ).
S. साद and लद्र "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. सिये, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in $S$. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस बिये "for that reason," but उस के शिये " for the sake of him."

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus घाउो "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like 0 . घादी "in the first place," or with a negative घद्री न "not at all," "at no time;" thus श्रादी सेठि गला गहि literally "to begin with, he did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. बादि "beginning."

षंट्रि " within," Skr. चतर्, but more probably from Persian أَنَرُ. बोडो " near to," धारों " apart, without," काये "for the sake of," contracted from कारशे; मथे "upon," loc. of मथो "head," वांगे "like to," वेप्मो "near to," are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर "on" (Skr. उपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरावर "on
the house," उब्बावर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बारिर " out," बांत " in," बत्टे " at," बतूर "by means of," वाधू " without," विषर्यी " about," " concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मायें "behind," " formerly," पुटें " before," "in future," खार्षीं " under."

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.
§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru'lkais sings-


FINIS.

## IN D E X .

The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

Note.-When the anuswara precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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FINIS.



[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Namely, 6 phases $\times 13$ tenses $\times 9$ persons $=702$. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Let) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Liṭ) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Latt), Imperfect (Lañ), Optative (Lin), Imperative (Lot), Perfect (Lit), Aorist (Lun), Future (Lrt), Conditional (Lrì), Second Future (Laṭ), Benedictive (âsir Liin). By this reckoning the number of forms would be $6 \times 10 \times 9=540$.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 1. But Turnour, Mahawanso xxix., gives s.c. 307. So also Childers, preface, p. ix.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or more strictly from an older karyat not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.
    2 The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 seqg., with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kahn, Beiträge, p. 7.
    2 Pischel's admirable edition of Hemachandra's Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.

[^8]:    1 Some of these are Mâgadhi Prakrit，but for my present parpose it is not neces－ sary to draw a distinction between Mâgadhi and Çauraseni．

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ A pandit in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives bollai as one of the ten Prakritisms of kath; he means it evidently not as derived from kath, which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sûtra he gives also sanghai for kath, in which we see the origin of M. sânganen " to speak." Hemachandra has also bolliai =kathayishyati (iv. 360), bollium = kathayitum, bolliem. $=$ kathyante ( ${ }^{\prime}$ ), ib. 383. But he gives bruva as the equivalent of brâ in iv. 391, so that the origin of bol still remains doubtful.
    ${ }^{2}$ This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 357. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ Childers, in J.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 146.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 450. Pischel's article is in the same work.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hemachandra collects a number of passives in $6 h$ from roots ending in $h$, dubbbaï, libbhaï, vabbhaï, rubbhai, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh P).-Pischel, Hem., iv. 245.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. हर and ₹Tर.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of krsh-kaḍhhaï, sâaḍḍaï, anchaï, anachchhaï, ayanchaï, and âinchaï, as well as karisaï.-Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on khainch in § 22.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ Buddaï = masjati.-Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ See note to Krsh in $\$ 20$. The cognate verb ainchnd is also in use in the moderns.

[^19]:    1 Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, "When the steed is stolen, sbut the stable door."

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kaccâyana, Senart, Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. p. 136.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, $\$ 279$.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English w, so that sumwand would more nearly represent the sound than sunvdnd. The $v$, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our $v$.

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as kar " do thou!" park

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Pincott's Sakuntalâ, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ Leckey, Grammar, p. $179 . \quad{ }^{2}$ Grammar, p. 113.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ "Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91. ${ }^{2}$ Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.
    ${ }^{2}$ Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ Trumpp, p. 64.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hemachandra＇s evidence seems conclusive against any connection between ach and gam，for he has a sutra to the effect that words of the class gam take the termination cha；the list consists of the four words gacehai（gam），icchai（ish）， jacchai（yam），and acchai（ $?$ ）．－Pischel，Hem．，iv．21б．If acchai were only gacchai， with loss of the initial consonant，it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule．In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above－

    > jâmahim risamî kajjagaï jîvahap majjhe ei tâmahim acchaü iaru jaṇu suapuu vi antarudei,
    ＂As long as［your］circumstances in life go badly（literally＇as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life＇），so long，let alono（acchaü）the base man，even the good man keeps aloof（literally＇gives an interval＇），＂＂Tempora si fuerint nubila， solus eris．＂Kajjagaï＝kâryagati，iaru＝itara．

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.

[^42]:    FOL. III.

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ Kanauji may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riwai, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the dialects in use in the medimval poets generally.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ I had formerly connected this tense tha with G. and Braj hato and been thus led to refer it to as; bat further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,-dice diom docet.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ Grammar, p. 305.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.
    ${ }^{2}$ I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the rationale, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected karu the into kari tha instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p.85, et seqq.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furninked me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore, 1872).

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 885.

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p. 440 (first edition).

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which $I$, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with yahân "here." There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.

